LINGUO-CULTURAL RESEARCH ON PHRASEOLOGY

VOLUME THREE

INTERCONTINENTAL DIALOGUE ON PHRASEOLOGY
University of Bialystok, Poland & University of Tsukuba, Japan

LINGUO-CULTURAL RESEARCH ON PHRASEOLOGY

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IDP Series Editor:
Joanna Szerszunowicz

Editors:
Joanna Szerszunowicz
Bogusław Nowowiejski
&
Priscilla Ishida
Katsumasa Yagi

Reviewers:
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Concept and elaboration of the project: Joanna Szerszunowicz

IDP Coordinator: Joanna Szerszunowicz

IDP Advisor: Katsumasa Yagi

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LIST OF CONTENTS

Preface 9

1. DIALOGUE ON PHRASEOLOGY

Elisabeth Piirainen
"Widespread idioms in Europe and beyond" New insights into figurative language 17

Włodzimierz Wysoczański
Integralność we współczesnych badaniach frazeologicznych 37

2. LEXICOGRAPHY, CORPUS LINGUISTICS & PHRASEOLOGY

Kaoru Akasu
On the Three Editions of the *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations*: A Comparative Analysis 67

Priscilla Ishida
Japanese idioms in corpus data and phraseological dictionaries: The extraction and representation of variant forms 79

Outi Lauhakangas
On Matti Kuusi's international database, type system and its challenges 105

Joanna Szerszunowicz
Cultural connotations in bilingual dictionaries of winged words 123

Alenka Vrbinc
Phraseological units and meaning: How is semantic information included in online dictionaries? 143

3. GENERAL LINGUISTICS & PHRASEOLOGY

Sabine Fiedler
"Wikipedia at its best" – phraseological anglicisms on discussion pages of the German Wikipedia 163

Siergiej Griniewicz
Терминологические аспекты фразеологии 177

Elise Lopez
A Study of Emic Proportions: Contextualising Phraseological False Friends 197
Munzhedzi James Mafela
On the Phraseology of Tshivenḓa Idioms 211
Ewa Młynarczyk
Nazwy narzędzi jako podstawa metonimicznego obrazowania w przysłowiach i w swobodnych połączeniach wyrazowych 225
Irina Naumova
English Influence on Russian Phraseology (in the late eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries) 239
Magdalena Olejarnik
Does phraseology exist in mixed languages? – A comparative study of verbal idioms in Standard Swahili and Sheng (a Swahili-English intertwined language) 261
Makoto Sumiyoshi
Phrases, non-compositionality, and functions in use: An analysis of *'Don't "yes, sir" me!'* 281

4. ETHNOLINGUISTICS, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, PRAGMATICS & PHRASEOLOGY

Saša Babič
Traffic Metaphors in the Slovenian Language 301
Anneli Baran
Gender in Estonian older phraseology 315
Paola Capponi
Threats are words. Forms of threat in Italian proverbs: variants and invariants 337
Elena V. Carter
"With an Open Heart": Somatic Idioms In Nikita Khrushchev's Political Discourse 347
Renata Dźwigoł
Types of laughter – based on the analysis of Polish phraseological units and proverbs 361
Mariarosaria Gianninoto
"When boats sail against the current, not going ahead means going back": proverbs, metaphors and slogans in Chinese political discourse 373

Karolina Makowska
Analiza modyfikacji stałych połączeń wyrazowych w wypowiedziach Violetty Kubasińskiej z serialu *BrzydUla* 389

Jadwiga Tarsa
Фразеологизмы в Интернете – смесь традиции и современности 413

5. CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS, TRANSLATION & PHRASEOLOGY

Edyta Koncewicz-Dziduch
Deskryptywno-wartościujący charakter związków frazeologicznych z nazwami roślin w języku polskim, chorwackim, serbskim 433

Laura Pinnavaia
"We are what we eat": Analyzing food and drink idioms in English, French, German, and Spanish 455

Sunil Sharma
Kontrastive Untersuchung der Phraseologismen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen im Deutschen und Hindi 471

Elena Zinovieva, Aleksiej Alyoshin
Русские и шведские устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие манеру речи человека 485

6. CULTURAL STUDIES, LANGUAGE TEACHING/ ACQUISITION & PHRASEOLOGY

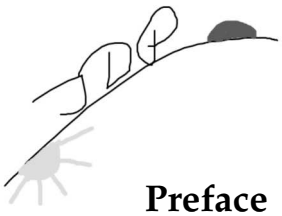
Liisa Granbom-Herranen
Proverbial expressions and cultural context in archive materials 503

Erla Hallsteinsdóttir
Phraseology and foreign language learning 519

Shin'ichiro Ishikawa
Japanese Polite Sentence-Final Markers: *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune*, and *desuyone* A Corpus-based Analysis with a Focus on Frequency, Collocation, and Functional Grouping 537

Krystyna Nikołajczuk
Najwyższy czas na frazeologię. Nauczanie polskich frazeologizmów o znaczeniu temporalnym w środowisku ukraińskojęzycznym 555

Przemysław Wiatrowski
Realia Nusantary w świetle indonezyjskiej frazeologii 577



Preface

The third volume of the "Intercontinental Dialogue on Phraseology" series is a continuation of the project, which was inspired by the symposium *Phraseology 2009* organised by Professor Katsumasa Yagi at Kwansei Gakuin University in Nishinomiya, Japan. Thanks to the participation of scholars from Europe and Asia, the symposium enabled an intercontinental exchange of views on phraseology. The present volume is a result of a two-year cooperation of phraseologists from Africa, Asia, Australia and Europe.

Each of the papers collected in the volume has been peer-reviewed by two recognised specialists in phraseology and related disciplines. In the adopted publishing procedure, two positive blind revisions are necessary for the paper to be included in the IDP volumes, including the present collection of articles.

The volume starts with the section titled *Dialogue on Phraseology*, which contains two papers by eminent phraseologists: Elisabeth Piirainen and Włodzimierz Wysoczański. Elisabeth Piirainen is an internationally recognised specialist in the field of phraseology, focussing on widespread idiomatic expressions, which are also discussed in her paper *"Widespread idioms in Europe and beyond": New insights into figurative language*. Włodzimierz Wysoczański does research on idiomatic stock of Slavic languages, who takes a special interest in cross-linguistic studies on similes. His paper, *Integralność we współczesnych badaniach frazeologicznych*, deals with problems of contemporary analyses of phraseology.

The section is followed by five parts, containing topically arranged papers. The first part, *Lexicography, Corpus Linguistics & Phraseology*, contains five papers. Kaoru Akasu's contribution, *On the Three Editions of the "Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations": A Comparative Analysis*, contains a discussion on different editions of Kenkyusha dictionary of English colloca-

tions. The paper *Japanese idioms in corpus data and in dictionaries* by Priscilla Ishida offers an analysis of Japanese idioms in corpora and dictionaries. Outi Lauhakangas in her paper *On M. Kuusi's database, type system and its challenges* presents Matti Kuusi database. Two papers deal with problems of lexicographic description: Alenka Vrbinc focuses on the inclusion of the dictionary presentation of meanings of fixed expressions in her paper titled *Phraseological units and the meaning: How is semantic information included in online dictionaries?*, while Joanna Szerszunowicz, in her contribution *Cultural connotations of winged words in bilingual dictionaries*, reflects on the place of cultural connotation in bilingual dictionaries.

The second part, *General Linguistics & Phraseology*, is composed of eight papers. In the paper *"Wikipedia at its best" – phraseological neologisms in Wikipedia discussions*, Sabine Fiedler focuses on neologisms observed in Wikipedia discussions. The paper by Sergiusz Griniewicz, titled *Терминологические аспекты фразеологии*, discusses the terminology. Elise Lopez dwells on an important problem occurring in a contrastive perspective: faux amis in phraseology. Her paper titled *A Study of Emic Proportions: Contextualising Phraseological False Friends* discusses the phenomenon in the emic perspective. Munzhedzi James Mafela's contribution, *On the Phraseology of Tshivenḓa Idioms*, contains a presentation of various aspects of idiomatic expressions used in the *Tshivenḓa language*. The paper by Ewa Młynarczyk, *Nazwy narzędzi jako podstawa metonimicznego obrazowania w przysłowiach i w swobodnych połączeniach wyrazowych*, discusses the names of tools as a basis of metonymic imagery in proverbs and loose word combinations. Irina Naumova's interest in the English Influence on Russian is reflected in her paper, titled *English Influence on Russian Phraseology (in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries)*, which contains an analysis of its selected examples of this impact. Magdalena Olejarnik analyses fixedness in mixed languages: her paper *Does phraseology exist in mixed languages? – A comparative study of verbal idioms in Standard Swahili and Sheng (a Swahili-English intertwined language)* contributes to the studies on the specifics of their phraseology. Makoto Sumiyoshi offers a in-depth analysis of the phrase *Don't 'yes, sir' me* in his paper titled *Phrases, grammatical non-compositionality and functions in use: An analysis of* "Don't 'yes, sir' me!".

The third part, *Ethnolinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Pragmatics & Phraseology*, contains eight papers. In the paper *Traffic Metaphors in the Slovenian Language* Saša Babić discusses how traffic-related issues are reflected in language, especially in fixed expressions. In her contribution *Woman in Estonian phraseology*, Anneli Baran analyses how the woman is presented in the phraseological units of the Estonian language. Paola Capponi's paper, *Forms*

of Threatening: Variants and Invariants, focuses on the threat as a linguistic phenomena. Elena V. Carter's article *"With An Open Heart": Somatic Idioms In Nikita Khrushchev's Political Discourse In America* deals with somatic phraseology in N. Khruschev's speeches delivered during his stay in the USA. The paper by Renata Dźwigoł, titled *Types of laughter – based on the analysis of Polish phraseological units and proverbs*, contains a discussion of Polish fixed expression with a view to determining how different kinds of laughter are depicted. In the paper titled *'Better working hard than yelling aloud': proverbs, metaphors and slogans in Chinese political discourse*, Mariarosaria Gianninoto discusses Chinese formulaic language. Karolina Makowska's article, titled *Analiza modyfikacji stałych połączeń wyrazowych w wypowiedziach Violetty Kubasińskiej z serialu BrzydUla*, contains an analysis of the idiolect of a sitcom character who uses many modifications of fixed expressions. The phraseology of modern media are discussed by Jadwiga Tarsa who analyses Russian phraseological units in her paper titled *Фразеологизмы в Интернете – смесь традиции и современности*.

Four papers are included in the fourth part titled *The Contrastive Linguistics, Translation & Phraseology*. The one by Edyta Koncewicz-Dziduch, *Deskryptywno-wartościujący charakter związków frazeologicznych z nazwami roślin w języku polskim, chorwackim, serbskim*, aims to analyse the descriptive and evaluative character of phraseological units containing plant names in three languages: Polish, Croatian and Serbian. A contrastive analysis of a group of idiomatic expression is also presented by Laura Pinnavaia. In her paper *'We are what we eat': Analyzing food and drink idioms in English, French, German, and Spanish*, she discusses food and drink idioms in four languages. Sunil Sharma's contribution also offers an insight into a problem of contrastive phraseology. His article *Kontrastive Untersuchung der Phraseologismen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen im Deutschen und Hindi* contains an analysis of somatic phraseological units two languages: German and Hindi. Elena Zinovieva and Aleksiej Alyoshin focus on fixed comparisons in Russian and Swedish languages. Their paper titled *Русские и шведские устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие манеру речи человека* contains the analysis of the ones characterizing a person's speech manner.

The fifth part, *Cultural Studies, Language Teaching/Acquisition & Phraseology*, comprises five papers. In the first article titled *Proverbial expressions and cultural context in archive materials* Liisa Granbom-Herranen shares her observations and remarks on using data for paremiography, especially in linguo-cultural analyses of proverbs. Three papers deal with problems from the sphere of language teaching and acquisition. In her paper *Phraseology and foreign language learning*, Erla Hallsteinsdóttir offers a discussion on the role

and place of phraseology in foreign language learning. Shin'ichiro Ishikawa's paper, *Phraseology Use in Spoken and Written Production by Asian Learners of English*, analyses the use of phraseological units in oral and written texts produced by Asian students who learn English as a foreign language. The article by Krystyna Nikołajczuk *"Najwyższy czas" na frazeologię. Nauczanie polskich frazeologizmów o znaczeniu temporalnym w środowisku ukraińskojęzycznym*, is devoted to teaching phraseology to learners of Polish as a foreign language in Ukraine. In his paper titled *Realia Nusantary w świetle indonezyjskiej frazeologii*, Przemysław Wiatrowski discusses how the realia of a given ethnic community – in this case the Indonesian one – are reflected in phraseological stock.

As the coordinator of the IDP project, I would like to express my thanks to all persons involved in the project, especially Professor Katsumasa Yagi, without whose inspiration, knowledge, experience and persistence in promoting the intercontinental scientific cooperation the project would not have begun, all contributors, who were so supportive throughout the two-year period, the Dean of the University of Białystok, Bogusław Nowowiejski, who provided financial support, the Dean of the Kwansei Gakuin University, Professor Takaaki Kanzaki for his constant encouragement – with special thanks to the three persons for agreeing to co-edit the volume.

I feel very grateful to Professor Elisabeth Piirainen and Professor Włodzimierz Wysoczański who accepted the invitation to write contributions to the section *Dialogue on Phraseology*. Their participation in the project is very much appreciated.

I would also like to thank the reviewers: Professor Anita Nacisicione from the Latvian Academy of Culture, Latvia, Professor Irine Goshkheteliani from Shota Rustaveli State University, Georgia, Professor Ai Inoue from The National Defence Academy, Japan, Professor Anna Aguirre Castañeda from the Institute Kreative, Brazil, Professor Zofia Abramowicz, Professor Elżbieta Awramiuk and Doctor Agata Rozumko from the University of Bialystok and Doctor Władysław Chłopicki from Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland.

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

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

May 2015

Joanna Szerszunowicz
IDP Coordinator
Białystok

PROFESSOR DOCTOR GYULA PACZOLAY

a world class Hungarian paremiologist and paremiographer, a widely recognised scholar, author of many works on proverbs, an engineer with keen interest in languages and true passion for research. His dictionary *European Proverbs in 55 Languages with Equivalents in Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Chinese and Japanese*, a magnificent multilingual paremiographic work, is an invaluable contribution to the development of paremiography. A great person and an eminent scholar who is a friend of all paremiologists, helpful and willing to share his great knowledge with everyone, respected and admired by all.

PART I

DIALOGUE ON PHRASEOLOGY

Elisabeth Piirainen
Independent researcher
Germany

"Widespread idioms in Europe and beyond" New insights into figurative language*

Abstract. Recently, the term **widespread idiom** was introduced into linguistics: It is idioms that occur in a large number of languages in almost the same lexico-semantic structure. Attempts at explaining multilingual parallels usually include polygenesis, the increasing influence of English, and borrowing. Our data, however, show still another possible explanation of the far-reaching similarities of idioms: an independent recourse of individual languages to the very same source. Figurative lexical units like idioms differ from all other linguistic units in that they consist of two conceptual levels: the level of figurative meaning and the level of the underlying concept fixed in their lexical structure and connected with fragments of world knowledge. These underlying source concepts (images, texts, ideas) could have been widespread themselves before parts of them turned into idioms, so that they both caused and supported the wide spread of idioms. This explanation can only apply to figurative units, due to their semantic ambiguity. Therefore, the study of widespread idioms helps provide insight into the nature of figurative language.

Key words: *widespread idioms, cross-linguistic similarities, semantic ambiguity of idioms, widespread sources of idioms, figurative language*

1. Introduction

Similarities among a number of European languages have been well-known for a long time. They have been studied at different linguistic levels, be it phonetics/phonology, morphology or syntax, including similarities of genetically unrelated and geographically or culturally distant languages. The topic of this paper is multilingual research within a linguistic category that has opened to a Europe-wide approach only recently. It is about far-reaching

* My heartfelt thanks go to József Attila Balázsi for his support in writing this article as well as for his precious assistance in the project.

correspondences within phraseology, to be precise, about a "Lexicon of Common Figurative Units" of European languages.

For the object-language units discussed in this paper, we prefer the term *figurative lexical unit* to *phraseme* or *phraseologism*, because the definition of the latter terms requires the criterion of polylexicality. Phrasemes must consist of more than one word. This term is unsuitable for a multilingual approach, as a figurative multiword unit of one language may well correspond to a figurative compound or figurative one-word of another language. The term *figurative lexical unit* includes the following definition criteria: Firstly, there is the feature of *imagery* or *figurativity*. Expressions of this type can be interpreted at two conceptual levels: the level of their literal reading and the level of their figurative meaning – which both can be activated simultaneously. The primary reading evokes a mental image that may influence the idiom's figurative meaning. Secondly, figurative lexical units have the characteristic of *conventionalization*. They are elements of the mental lexicon. Their form and meanings are fixed (within a certain standard variability), that is, they are lexicalized. *Idioms* are the prototypical units of the group of figurative lexical units. We will use the term *idiom* for the sake of simplicity.[1]

In view of the interlingual similarities and differences of idioms, two opposing "over-generalizations" can be found. According to certain research traditions, idioms were considered to be a highly distinctive – if not the innermost – part of a language, which led to the idea that idioms were unique to a particular language, had no parallels among the idioms of other languages, and even provided the basis for an "idiosyncratic worldview", like a mirror of national culture or mentality (cf. works of Russian linguo-cultural research, e.g. Teliya et al. 1998). What has been overlooked was not only the fact that – in no region and at no time – a language community can be equated with a people, a nation or a cultural community. Overlooked was also the fact that such ideas are based on the biased assumption that linguistic and cultural features develop in parallel ways. However, the emergence of idioms in a given language and the development of a mentality do not represent parallel processes.

An opposite overgeneralization can be found in works that are quick to label idioms found to be similar in some three or four languages as *Europeanisms* or even *universals*. In phraseology research, the term *internationalism* is well-known. It is often used for idioms which have their origin in the Bible or antiquity, for example, in Greek mythology, but the same term is also

[1] See Dobrovol'skij/Piirainen (2005, 2009); Piirainen (2011, 2013) for more detail.

explicitly explained as the occurrence of an idiom in three or four languages (representative of a number of studies is Mokienko 1998, among others).

What both kinds of overgeneralization have in common is the narrow data base (the small number of languages analyzed) and a complete lack of theoretical foundation and definitions. It is unacceptable to speak of *idiosyncratic idioms* or *international idioms* without a systematic empirical data collection from a large number of languages.

Recent research has shown that the similarities in the realm of a figurative lexicon of European languages are much greater than previously thought. The starting point of this paper is the long-term project "Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond" which yielded surprising results. In the following, we will briefly outline this project (section 2), and then look at possible causes of the widespread usage of idioms by some examples (section 3).

2. Research project "Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond"

The project "Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond" started about ten years ago and is still ongoing. In 2005, I made a small survey on the equivalence of idioms in several languages. I asked phraseology research experts to fill in a questionnaire, consisting of some German, English, French and Russian idioms, with "equivalents" in their own native languages. The result was encouraging, since almost all of the participating languages, ranging from Icelandic to Spanish, from Estonian and Finnish to Hungarian, or from Latvian and Lithuanian to Albanian and Greek revealed idioms of a very similar lexical and semantic structure. Unexpectedly, this initial approach to issues of "similarity" of idioms in a variety of languages resulted in a large-scale international project. The main objective of the project is to identify as many of such figurative units as possible by means of systematic investigation, that is, to discover idioms that exist in a large number of languages showing a similar lexical structure and figurative core meaning, for which I coined the term *widespread idioms* (*WI* for short). In contrast to cross-linguistic phraseology, which usually compares idioms of two or three languages, I decided to include "all" European languages, provided they are accessible for idiom research. This resulted in 80 European languages which now take part in the project. From the beginning, experts of non-European languages, especially those of Japanese, Chinese and Korean, offered their participation, and our project also comprises 20 further languages spoken in Africa and Asia.

First, we had to develop a theoretical framework which included the issues of a working definition of *widespread idioms* and a suitable meta-

language, as well as to create a catalog of criteria by which "widespread idioms" can be distinguished from other kinds of idioms found in more languages than one (cf. Piirainen 2012: 59–62). In order to ascertain WIs, we have to rely on the assistance of many native speakers, linguistic groups and institutions. An important step was to build up a network of competent participants for many languages. A wealth of questionnaires has been designed. They were modified many times and sent in several stages to the growing number of respondents who filled them out carefully. Most participants have verified their information via text corpus analyses or investigations on the Internet.

Among the European languages we analyzed there are about 42 major languages and about 38 varieties that can be subsumed under the term *lesser-used languages*, due to their sociolinguistic status; some of them are seriously endangered. Indo-European is represented by 58 languages accessible to research. Furthermore, 11 Finno-Ugric languages and 6 Turkic languages (spoken west of the Ural mountain range) take part in the project, as well as Maltese, Georgian, Basque and Esperanto.

Clear results have emerged, all of which came as a surprise. With the help of our 300 respondents who patiently completed the many questionnaires for their native languages, we were able to identify about 500 idioms which are common in a large number of – even geographically, genetically and culturally distant – languages, i.e. idioms that form the core of a "Lexicon of Common Figurative Units". From the beginning, the goal has been to examine the widespread idioms in their cultural context and to clarify their origin. Now we know which Europe-wide common idioms actually exist and which chronological layers they may be assigned to: by far not all widespread idioms are of ancient or biblical origin, as has often been claimed. In many cases there were unpredictable results in terms of which figurative units actually are common and which ones fell short of our criteria. The first results have been published; a second Volume is in the works.[2]

3. Possible causes of the wide dissemination of figurative lexical units

The issue of potential causes of the spreading of idioms across many languages is certainly one of the most intriguing questions that can be addressed to the project. Previously, it should be noted that the 500 widespread idioms

[2] See Piirainen (2012; 2014a, 2014b; 2015).

are a heterogeneous group and each idiom has its own individual history. Nevertheless, we will try to find out what the WIs have in common and, with all due caution, what the causes of the spread might be. Let us look at an example:

(1) English ***the calm before the storm*** 'a peaceful and quiet period before a period of trouble or activity'

The following idioms translate as "(the) calm/quiet/silence before (the) storm" unless noted differently.

Germanic:
Icelandic *lognið á undan storminum*, Norwegian *stillheten før stormen*, Swedish *lugnet föra stormen*, Danish *stillheden før stormen*, Scots *the lown/caum afore the storm* "the lull/calm before the storm", West Frisian *de stilte foar de stoarm*, Dutch *de stilte voor de storm*, German *die Ruhe/Stille vor dem Sturm*, Yiddish *shtilkeyt farn shturem*, Low German *de Ruh vor de Storm*, Swiss German *d'Rueh vor em Sturm*;

Celtic:
Irish *cothú na doininne soineann na hoíche* "a calm night presages a storm", Welsh *tawelwch cyn y storm*, Breton *kalm-chok kent ar barr*;

Romance:
French *le calme avant la tempête*, Provençal *dou calme drant l ourayan*, Occitan *la calmë dran dla tampêtë*, Romansh *ruaus avon il stemprau*, Venetian *aa calma prima dea tempesta*, Italian *la calma/quiete prima la tempesta*, Spanish *la calma antes de la tempestad*, Galician *a calma que precede a tempestade* "the calm which precedes the storm", Mirandese *l sereno antes de la truniada*, Portuguese *a calma antes da tempestade*, Romanian *liniştea/calmul dinaintea furtunii*;

Slavonic:
Russian *затишье перед бурей*, Belorussian *зацішша перад бурай*, Ukrainian *затишшя перед бурею*, Czech *klid před bouří*, Slovak *ticho pred búrkou*, Polish *cisza przed burzą*, Lower Sorbian *ten měr pśed njewjedrom*, Slovene *zatišje pred nevihto*, Croatian *zatišje pred buru/oluju*, Serbian *затишје пред буру/олују*, Bosnian *zatišje pred buru*, Macedonian *затишје пред бура*, Bulgarian *затишие пред буря*;

Greek *νηνεμία/ηρεμία πριν την καταιγίδα θύελλα*;

Albanian *qetësi para fortunës*;

Finno-Ugric languages in Europe:
Hungarian *vihar előtti csend*, Finnish *tyyntä myrskyn edellä*, Estonian *vaikus enne tormi*, Veps *tün' edel torokad*, Karelian *tüündü mürskün iel*, Moksha-Mordvin *сетьмоши кеподи буряда инголе* "calm before the rising storm";

Turkic languages in Europe:
Turkish *fırtına öncesi sessizlik*, Tatar *яшенле яңгыр алдындагы тынлык*;

Georgian *simshvide karishkhlis ts'in*;

Maltese *il-kalma qabel il-maltemp*;

Non-European languages:

Tunisian Arabic	*alhu:du:'u-llaδi: jasbiqu-l'a :sifa*	"the calm that comes before the storm"
Hindi	*tūphāna sē pahalē kī śānti/khāmōśī*	"storm before the quiet/calm"
Chinese	*bào fēng yǔ qián de píng jìng*	"before storm – the calm"
Vietnamese	*khoảng lặng trước cơn bão (mới)*	"the calm before the (new) storm"
Japanese	*arashi no mae no sizukesa*	"the silence before the storm"

The data given by our respondents show that equivalents of the idiom are spread evenly across about 50 European languages and also through some non-European ones. There is no striking variation with regard to form and usage. The idioms are commonly used in a context like "This is only the calm before the storm". The Irish and Galician idioms show syntactic differences, while lexical variants are mainly restricted to the closely related concepts QUIET, CALM, and SILENCE.

The image of the idiom is based on the exact observation of a weather phenomenon: there is a silent atmosphere before the outbreak of a thunderstorm. This special experience is compared with the events of life or interpersonal relationships, where a time of quiet is expected to be followed by a period of trouble and difficulties. Comparable figurative units appear as early as in proverb collections from the Middle Ages. Therefore, it may be supposed that the idioms are derived from a post-classical proverb which has been common in several European vernacular languages.[3] It seems reasonable to assume that there is no monocausality for the wide spread of this idiom, but that various factors are involved.

In the literature on phraseology, there are various attempts at explaining cross-linguistic similarities. They group around the following aspects and partly overlap: (i) the so-called common European cultural heritage, (ii) the genetic affiliation of the languages, (iii) the increasing influence of English, (iv) the contact linguistic model, i.e. loan translations, calques and borrowings, (v) polygenesis or parallel developments, and (vi) references to an already existing text.

[3] There is an English proverb from 1523: *After a Calm comes a storm*, besides several German versions, e.g. *Das blawe, das vor dem donner herlaufft* "The blue that runs before the thunder"; (cf. Tilley 1950: No C24; TPMA 12, 111 and 13, 105).

3.1. The "Common European Cultural Heritage"

Similarities among the idioms of the European languages are often attributed to a so-called "common European cultural heritage of classical and Christian provenance" (cf. e.g. Sabban 2007), a concept that itself would require a precise explanation. Included in this term are cultural traditions from antiquity and Christianity to biblical and Medieval Latin literature as well as world literature. Large domains of our "Lexicon of Common Figurative Units" could be subsumed under this term, especially idioms originating from the Bible and classical sources. For the wide spread of example (1), however, this idea offers no explanation. The idiom's origin can neither be found in any classical text, nor in a biblical verse, nor even in a piece of world literature.

Our central question, why it is precisely these idioms that were found to be widespread across various languages, while several other idioms were not, cannot be answered on the basis of this concept. The reversal of the argument does not apply: there are thousands of further idioms in European languages that could be covered by the concept of a "common European cultural heritage", but are by no means spread across any remarkable number of languages. Thus, the term in question remains quite vague and of no use for our purposes.

3.2. Genetic Affiliation of the Languages

Earlier phraseology research sometimes postulated the same genetic affiliation of two or more languages as the cause of interlingual similarities, as if idioms could be attributed to a common "proto-language" of an early past, analogous to single words (e.g. Latin *pater* vs. English *father*). According to Rúķe-Draviņa (1987: 169), for example, Swedish and German phraseology share common elements "stemming from the Old Germanic language". For the majority of widespread idioms this explanation can be excluded, since they belong to a much younger layer.

However, we should mention a remarkable project of Indo-European Studies in this context. As Bock (2010) points out, the systematic comparative historical study of original documents of many languages would enable us to reconstruct idioms from a common Indo-European base language. Among our WI data, the idiom "to have got up with the left leg" (German *mit dem linken Fuß/Bein (zuerst) aufgestanden sein*) with its near-equivalents in 56 languages most likely dates back to those early times (cf. Bock 2010: 129; Piirainen 2012: 328–330). Idiom (2) is another example:

(2) English ***the long/strong arm of the law*** 'the far-reaching and inescapable power of the law/justice'

The following idioms translate as "the long arm/hand of the law" unless noted differently.

Germanic: Icelandic *langur armur laganna*, Norwegian *lovens lange arm*, Swedish *lagens långa arm*, Danish *lovens lange arm*, Dutch *de lange arm van de wet*, German *der lange Arm des Gesetzes*;

Celtic: Breton *brec'h dir ar lezenn* "the iron arm of the law";

Romance: French *le bras long de la loi*, Italian *il braccio lungo della legge*, Spanish *el largo brazo de la ley*, Catalan *el llarg braç de la llei*, Galician *o brazo forte da lei* "the strong arm of the law", Portuguese *o braço longo da justiça*;

Baltic: Latvian *likuma garā roka*;

Slavonic: Russian *длинная рука закона*, Ukrainian *довга рука правосуддя*, Czech *ruka zákona* "the hand of the law", Polish *długie ramię sprawiedliwości*, Slovene *roka zakona* "the arm of the law", Croatian *duga ruka zakona*, Bosnian *ruka pravde* "the arm of the law", Macedonian *долгата рака на законот*, Serbian *дуга рука закона*, Bulgarian *дългата ръка на закона*;

Albanian *dora e gjatë e drejtësisë* "(sb.) is the long arm of the justice",

Greek *το μακρύ χέρι του νόμου*;

Finno-Ugric: Hungarian *vkit elér a törvény keze* "the hand of the law reaches sb.", Finnish *lain pitkä koura* "the long hand of the law", Estonian *seaduse karm käsi* "the strong arm of the law";

Turkic: Tatar *законның озын кулы*;

Maltese *l-id twila tal-ġustizzja* "the long arm of the justice";

Basque *legearen besoa* "arm of the law";

Esperanto *la longa brako de la leĝo*;

Non-European: Hindi *kānūna kē lambē hātha.*

According to Bock (2009), the "long arm" or the "big hand" must be regarded as a common Indo-European symbol of power, as there are various pieces of evidence in ancient texts: Powerful individuals, kings and rulers were often represented as persons with a long arm.[4] As stated by our respon-

[4] A well-known example of the proverbial use of this concept in Latin comes from Ovid's "Epistulae Heroidum" (17, 166) where Helena in her letter to Paris writes: *An nescias longas regibus esse manus* "Did not you know that kings have long arms?" Erasmus of Rotterdam included this sentence in his "Adagia" (i ii 3) in the entry *Longae regum manus* ("Kings have long arms"; Coll.W. 31, 147) as quotation of a proverb – a fact that may have contributed to its wide spread.

dents, equivalents of the idiom are used in a large variety of Indo-European languages, among them Hindi, spoken outside of Europe, but also in a number of non-Indo-European languages (Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Maltese, Basque). Even if the common Indo-European roots have been proven, this is not a sufficient explanation for the wide dissemination as a whole. Obviously, other factors must be taken into account as well.

3.3. The Increasing Influence of English

The influence of English on the languages of Europe has also been referred to as a cause of the spreading of idioms across many languages. According to a persistent misconception, the tendency of languages to converge with respect to their phraseology is a sign of the increasing influence of the English language in the wake of the so-called globalization. For example, there is mention of processes of "internationalization" of the phraseological basis of European languages, whose convergence is supposed to be especially strong nowadays, i.e. under the Anglo-American influence (cf. e.g. Mokienko 1998). What is missing in this line of argument is not only research based on comprehensive multi-language data but also an assignment of those idioms that are assumed to be of Anglo-American origin to their cultural-historical sources.

To what extent this modern layer of cross-linguistic contacts – i.e. borrowings and translations from recent Anglo-American idioms – is involved in the uniformity of idioms across numerous languages, cannot yet be clearly stated. Although there is a large number of research papers on all kinds of Anglicisms in individual European languages – Görlach's (2002) bibliography lists no less than 1409 titles –, the influence of English *idioms* on other languages has almost never been the topic of systematic and multilingual research. This issue became the topic of research only recently (Fiedler 2006, 2010, 2014; Piirainen 2010; Veisberg 2011; Pulcini et al. 2012).

Most widespread idioms collected by our surveys show that the convergence of idioms across languages is a much older phenomenon (cf. idiom (1) above, first mentioned in 1523) and that the modern Anglo-American influence in this field can be regarded as rather weak. There are a few cases, however, where we can observe the adaptation of an English idiom into other languages. These include the idioms *the/a glass ceiling* 'a set of unofficial social, cultural, and discriminatory barriers which prevent women, or people from minorities, from being successful' (created in the 1980s in the USA by a society determined by business and careers) and *to put all one's eggs in/into one basket* 'to invest all one's money, effort, etc. in one thing, without dispers-

ing one's risks' equivalents of which in other languages are seen as renewed loan translations of the English idiom. A similar case is idiom (3):

(3) English *to slip on a banana skin* 'to make an obvious and embarrassing mistake; to make a small error due to an insignificant reason which is likely to cause problems to oneself'

The following idioms translate as "to slip on a banana skin" unless noted differently.

Germanic:
Icelandic *renna á bananahýði*, Norwegian *gli på et bananskal*, Swedish *halka/åka ut på ett bananskal*, Danish *glide i en bananskræl*, Dutch *uitglijden over een bananenschil*, German *auf einer Bananenschale ausrutschen*, Luxembourgish *op enger Bananneschuel ausrëtschen*;

Celtic:
Breton *ramplañ war ur vanavezenn*;

Romance:
French *glisser sur une peau de banane*, Italian *scivolare su una buccia di banana*, Spanish *deslizársele algo a alguien*, Portuguese *escorregar numa casca de banana*, Romanian *a aluneca pe o coajă de banană*;

Baltic:
Latvian *paslīdēt uz banāna mizas*;

Slavonic:
Russian *поскользнуться на банановой кожуре*, Belorussian *падслізнуцца на бананавай лупіне*, Ukrainian *послизнутися на банановій шкірці*, Czech *uklouznout na banánové slupce*, Slovak *pošmyknúť sa na banánovej šupke*, Slovene *spodrsniti na bananinem olupku*, Croatian *poskliznuti se na kori od banane*, Bosnian *okliznuti se na koru od banane*, Macedonian *се лизна на лушпа од банана*;

Greek *πατάω την μπανανόφλουδα* "to step on the banana skin";

Armenian *bananí kchepí vra sayt'ak'el*;

Finno-Ugric:
Hungarian *elcsúszik egy banánhéjon* "sb. slips on a banana skin", Finnish *liukastua banaaninkuoreen*, Estonian *ta libises banaanikoorel* "he slipped on a banana skin";

Maltese *żelaq fuq qoxra ta' banana*.

The idiom *to slip on a banana skin* probably originates from the "slapstick" type comedy used in early American film production where an actor frequently slipped on a banana peel and fell comically to the ground, in order to create a humorous scene. Over time, the concept BANANA PEEL became

used idiomatically for an embarrassing and uncomfortable mishap.[5] The lexicalization process is evident from the fact that only the version *banana skin* has been fixed. The reduced noun phrase *banana skin* is also in use in several languages, figuratively meaning something like 'a pitfall for the unwary which makes the victim look ridiculous'. With the help of our respondents, we now are able to verify how the idiom has penetrated other languages. Although the idioms are considered very modern and their figurative meanings partly differ, we can observe how a new widespread idiom comes into being.

3.4. The Contact Linguistic Model

Most cross-linguistic studies share one explanation for the dissemination of idioms across several languages. They start from the well-known contact linguistic model of lexical transfer from one language to another (Weinreich 1953). According to this model, processes of borrowing take place constantly, across language boundaries, and especially in situations of bilingualism. A language may adopt a new idiom by using it first as a calque, loan coinage or loan translation, before it becomes conventionalized, i.e. transformed into a unit of the figurative lexicon of the borrowing language. This concept can be used to explain the spread of idioms to a certain extent, particularly in view of the intensive cultural contacts that the speakers of the various European languages maintained.

However, for the really wide dissemination of idiom equivalents the model of areal and bilingual contacts provides no plausible explanation. Let us return to idiom (1) which is spread from Northernmost languages (Icelandic, North-Finnic varieties) to Southernmost ones (Maltese, languages of the Balkans, Turkish) and from West (Celtic languages) to East (Tatar, Georgian). No dominant source language can be detected from which our idiom would have found its way into all these languages. It is more likely that the contact linguistic model can be applied within the area of smaller regional distributions of idioms. In view of example (1) we can assume that the idiom

[5] The Russian variant *поскользнуться на арбузной корке* "to slip on watermelon peels" goes back to a popular Soviet comedy film, "The Diamond Arm" (1968): The hero of the film, Gorbunkov had to slip on a banana peel, yet the actor Yuri Nikulin was unable to do so. However he tried, he didn't succeed – the banana peels were too small. Some kilos of bananas (being in short supply in those days!) were bought up for this very purpose. Then somebody decided to buy melons, which were plentyful in Baku, where the crew were filming. Because of the tremendous popularity of the film, the hero's slip survives in this Russian variant of a widespread idiom.

is acquired from the more dominant languages by the smaller ones (e.g. from Finnish to Veps and Karelian, from French to Breton and Provençal, from English to Scots and Welsh, or from Russian to Tatar and Moksha Mordvin). We must not draw far-reaching conclusions on the basis of the linguistic data alone, which were collected synchronically by our surveys. Careful analyses within the philology of all the individual languages, examining the idioms' development from the earliest instance onwards, would be needed to answer questions as to how each individual WI was spread, how a donor language can be identified, and how an idiom can be judged to be a borrowed one.

3.5. Polygenesis or Parallel Developments

By *polygenesis* is meant that similar figurative units have come into being independently in various languages. Polygenetic origin is a well-known phenomenon in paremiology which also coined the terms *analogous proverbs* or *parallel proverbs* (cf. Taylor 1931: 46; Tallgren-Tuulio 1932: 292). Various phraseology researchers regard polygenesis as an explanation of the similarity of idioms in several languages. Two main directions can be distinguished. On the one hand, the same psychological and biological disposition of the people is highlighted: all humans are able to create mental images, metaphors, which can be similar in different languages. On the other hand, common human experiences or general perceptions of the world are focused as causes of parallel idioms.

This latter assumption is a serious factor in our study on widespread idioms. Moreover, it is due to polygenesis based on common experiences and perceptions that already even the earliest written texts may, independently from one another, share the same images which later also appear in idioms of many modern languages. An example for this is the WI *someone's hair stands on end* 'someone feels very frightened; something is awfully terrifying them' which has parallels in more than 60 European languages. Its literal reading conveys a bodily experience, a feeling 'as if one's hair was standing up'. This bodily reaction to horror or fright is found in several prominent texts of ancient times.

Another good instance is idiom (4):

(4) English ***night and day*** 'all the time; around the clock, continually, perpetually'

Further Indo-European languages (selection):
Icelandic *dag og nótt / nótt og dag*, Faroese *(bæði) dag og nátt / nátt og dag*, North Frisian *Dai en Nacht*, Yiddish *tog un nakht*, Gaelic *latha agus oidhche / oidhche agus latha*, Breton

noz-ha-deiz, French *jour et nuit*, Occitan *dzourn e nèoutb*, Catalan *dia i nit / nit i dia*, Aromanian *dzuiuìã-noapti*, Lithuanian *dieną naktį*, Russian *день и ночь*, Kashubian *dzéń i noc*, Upper Sorbian *wodnjo a w nocy*, Macedonian *(и) денье (и) нокје*, Serbian *дан и ноћ*, Albanian *ditë e natë / natë e ditë*, Greek *μέρα νύχτα*, Armenian *gisher u cerek*, Sanskrit *divonaktam*, etc.

Finno-Ugric languages in Europe:
Hungarian *éjjel-nappal*, Finnish *yötä päivää*, Estonian *päeval ja ööl*, Karelian *üöt dai päivät*, Udmurt *уй но нунал*, Mari *jydshö-ketsyzhe*, Moksha Mordvin *шинек-венек*, Erzya Mordvin *чинь чоп*;

Turkic languages in Europe:
Turkish *gündüz gece / gece gündüz*, Tatar *көнен төнен*, Bashkir *көнен төнен*, Kazakh *күні-түні*, Azerbaijani *gecə-gündüz*;

Georgian *dgh'e da gh'ame*;

Maltese *lejl u nhar*;

Basque *gau eta egun*;

Non-European languages:

Africa: Algerian Arabic *līl u-nhār* "night and day", Tunisian Arabic *nhār w līl* "day and night", Wolof *goudi ak beuthieuk* "night and day", Yorùbá *tòsán tòru* "day and night day";

Asia: Farsi *shabaneh roony* "night and day", Hindi *dina rāta* "day night", Khanty *атанг-хатыл* "night-day", Mansi *этэ-хоталэ* "night-day", Mongolian *өдөр шөнөгүй* "by day including night" / *шөнө өдөргүй* "by night including day", Chinese *rìrì yèyè* "day-day – night-night", Aklanon *adlaw – gab-ii* "day – night", Korean *bam-kwa nat* "night and day", Japanese *nichi-ya* "day-night";

New Zealand: Māori *i te ao, i te pō* "at the day, at the night".

Equivalents have been reported for a large number of languages spoken in Europe, Asia and Africa as well as for Māori spoken in New Zealand. The bipolarity between darkness and brightness is already mentioned in the earliest writings, in the Old Testament, the Rig-Veda and works of Hesiod, Homer, Horace and other classical authors. The conceptualization of the alternating daylight and dark as 'all the time' seems to have arisen spontaneously so that we may speak of polygenesis.

For most of our widespread idioms, however, polygenetic origin alone cannot be assumed to be the cause of their popularity. This is particularly true for idioms that show a very distinctive image across a variety of languages, such as idiom (1) above. The idiom also comes from observations of the environment, but the wording "the calm before the storm" and figurative meanings are highly specified in all the languages so that spontaneous coinages are rather unlikely.

3.6. References to an already existing text

Among the attempts of explaining the wide spread of idioms, there is yet one further consideration, namely the independent recourse of various individual languages to one single textual source. As for idioms of biblical origin, there is usually no doubt that most of them go back to direct access to one of the diverse translations of the Bible into individual languages which can often be recognized by the specific wording of the underlying Bible versions. Loan translations and borrowings or polygenesis have hardly ever been postulated for biblical idioms. As our documentation of widespread idioms show, there are many other WIs that also go back to once well-known texts, to stories told by classical authors, fables, folktales and gests, to literary works, and even to titles of books and movie films. For these widespread idioms, it may be true as well that they are not primarily borrowed from one language into the other in each individual case.

Since they clearly go back to one particular source text, as is the case with biblical idioms, their usage in many languages can best be explained in the same way: the individual languages may have independently derived these idioms from the texts that were once well-known in various language communities. Regional borrowings may be additional factors for their broad dissemination. In many cases, a conclusion may be that it is not only the idioms that are spread across many languages, but the texts themselves were widely disseminated so that they both *caused* and *supported* the wide spread of the idioms. Often the lexical structure of an idiom of an individual language reveals the recourse to the knowledge of the text itself.

An excellent example is the story of the "Gordian knot" which allegedly was cut by Alexander the Great with his sword. The motif was well-known among the educated and lead to a variety of idioms in European and Asian languages. Not all of these idioms are similar to the English *to cut the Gordian knot* (figuratively: 'to solve an intractable problem in an unexpected and effective way'), as, for example, the Azerbaijani idiom *iskəndər düyünü* ("Alexander's knot"): it cannot be a loan translations, but goes back independently to knowledge about Alexander's story. Compare also parallels in Hindi *pēcīdā gutthī sulajhānā* "to untie the gordian knot", Korean *go-reu-di-u-seu-ui mae-dup* "the gordian knot" or Chinese *kuàidāo zhǎn luànmá* "sharp knife – to cut knot".

The same assumption applies to "texts" in a broader sense, to historical events, innovations or other well-known scenarios which serve as source concepts for idioms of a number of languages. Let us look at idioms which go back to images of the "tip of the iceberg", such as English *the*

tip of the iceberg 'part of an unpleasant problem, evidence that a great deal more exists but remains hidden'. Idioms of several languages use wordings like "the hidden part" or "the visible part of the iceberg" (e.g. French *la partie cachée/invisible/immergée de l'iceberg* "the hidden/invisible/immersed part of the iceberg" or Turkish *buzdağının su üstünde kalan kısmı* "the part of the iceberg which remains above the water"). These idioms correspond to the image and figurative meaning of the English idiom, but not to its lexical structure. This argues against the assumption that English is the donor language. Rather, the languages may have drawn the idioms from the same "text" independently of each other; this means: from knowledge of stories about the luxury passenger liner "Titanic" which struck an iceberg 15 April 1912 and sank. Screen adaptations of the sinking of the Titanic have been seen by millions of moviegoers in many countries of the world.[6]

It can be explained in the same way that various languages use the phenomenon of suddenly arisen traffic lights idiomatically, independently of the English *to give someone the green light* (figuratively: 'to proceed, to give someone permission to do something that they were planning to'). Several languages created their own versions (see the translations in bold letters): Dutch *het licht op groen zetten* "**to set the light at green**", Czech *dát někomu zelenou*, Slovak *dať niekomu zelenú*, both: "**to give sb. green**" or Kashubian *pòkazac kòmùs zelony wid* "to **show** sb. green light". Other languages use the concept GREEN STREET instead of GREEN LIGHT, e.g. Yiddish *gebn (far epes) a grine gas* "to give (for sth.) **a green street**", Ukrainian *дати комусь зелену вулицю* "to give sb. **green street**" or Bulgarian *давам зелена улица на някого* "to give **green street** to sb."

Let us have a look at the equivalents given by our respondents of the non-Indo-European languages:

Finno-Ugric Languages in Europe

Hungarian	*zöld utat ad vkinek*	"to give sb. **green street**"
	zöld utat biztosít vkinek	"to provide **green street** for sb."
Finnish	*näyttää vihreää valoa jklle*	"to **show** green light to sb."
Estonian	*kellelegi rohelist teed andma*	"to give sb. **green road**"
Karelian	*ozuttua zelenästü valguo*	"to **show** the green light"
Komi-Zyryan	*турунвиж би сетны*	"to give the green light"
Moksha Mordvin	*киндиге сянгяря тол максомс мезевок тиемс*	"to give **the green traffic light** to sb. to do sth."

[6] There is evidence enough that the idioms in question did not exist before 15 April 1912.

Turkic Languages in Europe

Karaim	*ješil ot jandyrma*	"to **switch** the green light"
Turkish	*birine/birşeye yeşil ışık yakmak*	"to **switch** on the green light for sb."
Tatar	*яшел урам бирү*	"to give a **green street**"
Bashkir	*асыҡ юл бирәү*	"to give an **open road**"
Azerbaijani	*kiməsə yaşıl işıq vermək*	"to give sb. green light"
Georgian	*mtsvane shukis anteba*	"to give green light to sb."
Basque	*argi berdea eman*	"to give green light"
Esperanto	*doni verdan lumon*	"to give green light"

Non-European Languages

Tunisian Arabic	*ja'tī ddaw laxdar*	"he gives the green light"
Egyptian Arabic	*iddii-lu l-achdar*	"to give sb. **the green**"
	iddii-lu l-loon il-achdar	"to give sb. **the green color**"
Farsi	*cheragh saby neshandadn*	"to **show** green light"
Hindi	*harī jhaṇḍī dēnā/dikhānā*	"to **give/show green flag**"
Mongolian	*ногоон гэрлээр хийх*	"to do sth. with/at green light"
Chinese	*kāi lǜ dēng*	"to **open** green light"
Thai	*hai fai-kiew*	"to give light-green"
Vietnamese	*bật đèn xanh cho ai*	"to **switch** on the green light for sb."
Korean	*cheong-shin-ho i-da*	"this is **green/blue signal**"
Japanese	*ao shingou wo dasu*	"to give **green/blue signal**"

The lexical structure of these idioms – how different they may be – evokes the same image.[7] The source domain of all of them is the signal system of traffic lights, which emerged since the 1920s, and spread gradually from the USA to other regions of the world. This is a good example to illustrate how various languages used this – already widespread – image to create, independently of each other, their own new idioms. The wordings of a number of idioms show that they cannot be "Anglicisms": calques, borrowings or loan translations of the English idiom.

The present explanation for the causes of a wide distribution of idioms (the fact that the source itself was widespread and the languages have used it independently of each other) is closer connected with the specifics of figurative lexical units than the previous ones. Let us remember the semantic peculiarity of figurative units, mentioned in section 1: In contrast to non-figurative units, they are processed on two conceptual levels and it is precisely their "literal reading" which is connected with text knowledge or fragments of world

[7] An exception is the Hindi idiom which comes from railway signals. In India, the trains depart only when the station master shows a small green flag.

knowledge (ideas, scenarios) that were probably widespread themselves and allow an independent recourse by individual languages.

4. Conclusions

Some results of the project "Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond" have been presented here. This project has identified about 500 idioms which are spread across a large number of languages in a similar lexical structure and figurative core meaning. We now know which Europe-wide common idioms actually constitute a "Lexicon of Common Figurative Units". The most challenging question about the causes of the wide spread of idioms across many languages can now be partly answered, with all due caution. Attempts at explaining cross-linguistic similarities of all kinds (including non-figurative elements) usually either highlight the *contact linguistic model* (it explains restricted regional borrowings, often due to bilingualism, but cannot explain the Europe-wide dissemination of idioms) or the increasing *influence of English* in the context of globalization (this applies to a very small number of WIs) or *polygenesis* (which can apply to a few WIs based on common human experience).

All these explanations do not consider the real peculiarity of figurative units of the lexicon which distinguishes them from all other (non-figurative) linguistic entities: Figurative lexical units such as idioms possess two conceptual levels: their "literal reading" (based on various fragments of text knowledge and world knowledge) and their "lexicalized figurative meaning". Starting from this peculiarity, figurative lexical units reveal a further possible explanation of the wide distribution: it is the independent recourse of individual languages to the same source concept which is evoked by the "literal reading". Underlying fragments of text and world knowledge, being fixed in the lexical structure of the idioms, can have been widespread themselves before they turned into idioms. These fragments may be a text passage, the gist of a once widely-known narrative, but also a suddenly well-known event, a technical innovation, etc. The specific lexical structure of various idioms shows that borrowings from one language into another can be excluded and an independent recourse to a common source is more likely. This explanation of the widespread use of linguistic elements can only apply to figurative lexical units, due to the two conceptual levels. We do hope that the study of widespread idioms could provide useful insight into the nature of figurative language and contribute to a Theory of Figurative Lexicon.

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„Idiomy z zasięgu ponadnarodowym w Europie i poza nią" Nowe spojrzenie na język metaforyczny

Streszczenie

Termin *widespread idioms* pojawił się niedawno w językoznawstwie. Jest on używany do nazywania idiomów, które występują w dużej liczbie języków i mają podobną leksykalno-semantyczną strukturę. Próby wyjaśnienie wielojęzycznych paralelizmów zazwyczaj wskazują jako potencjalne źródła zbieżności poligenezę, wzrastający wpływ języka angielskiego oraz zapożyczenia. Zebrane dane skłaniają jednak do wniosku, że istnieje jeszcze inna przyczyna daleko idących podobieństw pomiędzy idiomami w różnych językach: niezależne odniesienia poszczególnych języków do tego samego źródła. Leksykalne jednostki o znaczeniu figuratywnym takie jak idiomy różnią się od wszystkich pozostałych tym, że składają się one z dwóch poziomów konceptualnych: poziomu znaczenia przenośnego i poziomu konceptualnego zawartego w ich strukturze leksykalnej, powiązanego z elementami wiedzy o świecie. Te koncepty pochodzące z źródeł (obrazy, teksty, idee) mogły być rozpowszechnione zanim ich elementy przekształciły się w idiomy, tak że zarówno powodują one i wzmacniają rozprzestrzenienie idiomów. Proponowane wyjaśnienie można jedynie odnosić do stałych połączeń wyrazowych o charakterze przenośnym z powodu ich semantycznej dwuznaczności. Badania nad idiomami o zasięgu ponadnarodowym pozwolą na dogłębne zbadanie metaforycznego charakteru języka.

Włodzimierz Wysoczański
Uniwersytet Wrocławski
Polska

Integralność we współczesnych badaniach frazeologicznych

Abstrakt. Próbując określić charakter współczesnych badań frazeologicznych, należy zauważyć, że cechuje je wielonurtowość i wieloaspektowość. W przedkładanym opracowaniu przedstawienia odnoszą się – na kanwie krótkich naświetleń podejść badawczych z okresów wcześniejszych w rozwoju frazeologii – do wybranych nowych ujęć badawczych frazeologii o charakterze interdyscyplinarnym w ramach lingwistyki „integralnej", odzwierciedlających zintegrowania przedmiotowo-metodologiczne frazeologii z określonymi dziedzinami językoznawczymi oraz z dyscyplinami na pograniczu językoznawstwa. Szczegółowiej omawiane są: profil pragmatyczny, z centralną koncepcją tego nurtu – frazematyką traktowaną jako frazeologia nadawcy; profil kulturowo-kognitywny, ukazujący frazeologię kognitywną jako naukę międzydyscyplinarną; profil etnolingwistyczny, naświetlający zajmującą miejsce szczególne w kulturowo zorientowanym językoznawstwie koncepcję językowego obrazu świata utrwalonego we frazeologii, a także przesłanki frazeologicznego obrazu świata. Rozważania teoretyczne na temat współczesnych badań frazeologicznych w świetle założeń badawczych „frazeologii integralnej" ilustrują pokaźny obszar objęty konkretnymi dociekaniami oraz uświadamiają zalety takiego podejścia.

Słowa kluczowe: *teoria frazeologii, frazeologia integralna, frazeologia pragmatyczna, frazeologia kognitywna, etnolingwistyczny nurt frazeologii*

1. Wprowadzenie

Zamierzeniem zasadniczym w niniejszym opracowaniu jest przedstawienie ważniejszych zazębień dziedzinowych i dyscyplinowych, a w rezultacie zintegrowań przedmiotowo-metodologicznych, poświadczających konkretne manifestacje integralności w obszarze badań frazeologicznych, a zarazem oddających wielopłaszczyznowość tych badań obecnie[1]. W omówieniu współ-

[1] Z prac naświetlających wieloaspektowość i wielonurtowość we współczesnych badaniach frazeologicznych, zasadniczych dla podejmowanych tu dociekań, zob. Jędrzejko 2000: 99–120; Pajdzińska 2004: 27–38 (przedruk: 2006: 11–22).

czesnych studiów frazeologicznych o charakterze integracyjnym – polskich z uwzględnieniem niektórych nierodzimych dociekań – niezbędne jest przynajmniej fragmentaryczne odniesienie się do stanu wcześniejszego mających stosunkowo krótką tradycję badań frazeologicznych, a zwłaszcza bezpośrednio poprzedzającego obecny okres, poprzez wskazanie na główne nurty badawcze w rozwoju frazeologii oraz uwydatnienie podejść charakteryzujących się powiązaniem problemowym, zakresowym i metodologicznym.

2. Rozwój badań frazeologicznych

Przedstawiając językoznawstwo polskie w latach 1925–1958, Andrzej Maria Lewicki pisał, iż Stanisław Skorupka, dostrzegając, że „poza zakresem badań składniowych pozostaje wielki obszar łączliwości leksykalnej", przedłożył nową koncepcję frazeologii, która obejmowała „nie tylko związki stałe (idiomatyzmy), ale też związki łączliwe, tzn. powtarzalne w wypowiedziach połączenia wyrazów" (Lewicki 2001: 637).

Okres późniejszy, tj. lata 1958–1975 przełomu strukturalistycznego w językoznawstwie polskim i lata po 1975 roku – nowych perspektyw (określenie za: Lewicki 2001: 640, 649) do 1989 roku, odzwierciedla w badaniach frazeologicznych charakterystyczne dla strukturalizmu poszukiwanie wartości systemowych w języku[2] i wskazywanie na jego autonomiczność w opisie formalno-funkcjonalnym m.in. zróżnicowania związków, wariantywności jednostek, procesów derywacyjnych (zob. Pajdzińska 2006: 11)[3]. Konkretniej – „w połowie lat 70. sformułowano w Polsce dwie ważne koncepcje teoretyczne, które w sposób jakościowy wpłynęły na odmianę kształtu rodzimej frazeologii jako dyscypliny lingwistycznej": koncepcję frazeologii syntaktycznej Andrzeja M. Lewickiego[4] oraz koncepcję jednostek języka i jedno-

[2] Por. tu konstatację odnoszącą się do badań frazeologii języka rosyjskiego, że opis zasobu frazeologicznego jako systemu językowych wartości, mających specyficzną dla nich strukturę i znaczenie, wysunął na początku lat sześćdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia ojczystą frazeologię na główną pozycję (zob. Телия 1996: 7).

[3] W tym miejscu trzeba dodać, że „badania frazeologiczne dotyczyły jednak nie tylko najwyższego poziomu abstrakcji – systemu, lecz także pozostałych płaszczyzn: normy, uzusu i tekstu. Dążąc do sformułowania normy frazeologicznej, ukazując jej strukturę i swoistość zarówno w stosunku do normy leksykalnej, jak i gramatycznej, szczególnie wiele czerpano z koncepcji normy językowej sformułowanej na polskim gruncie przez Halinę Kurkowską" (Pajdzińska 2006: 11).

[4] Wyłożona w pracy *Wprowadzenie do frazeologii syntaktycznej. Teoria zwrotu frazeologicznego* (zob. Lewicki 1976; wznowienie: Lewicki 2003b). Czytamy w niej m.in. „przedstawione w tej pracy wywody i materiały pozwalają określić nową odmianę frazeologii – frazeologię syntak-

stek językowych Andrzeja Bogusławskiego (por. Bogusławski 1976: 356–364; 1978: 17–30)[5], tak więc „od lat 70. polska frazeologia teoretyczna weszła w etap paradygmatów metodologicznych" (Chlebda 2007: 16)[6].

Konkludując poczynione wzmianki, należy – patrząc z dzisiejszej perspektywy na rozwój polskich badań frazeologicznych – uznać, że orientacyjnie do lat siedemdziesiątych XX wieku frazeologię „ze względu na niezróżnicowanie metodologiczne" można określić „umownym mianem »frazeologii jako takiej«, »frazeologii w ogóle«" (Chlebda 2007: 15). Od tego momentu natomiast – dzięki osadzeniu w stosownych paradygmatach metodologicznych – rodzima frazeologia przybrała znamiona teoretycznej dyscypliny lingwistycznej[7], z kolei zasadnicze badania frazeologiczne zaczęły się skupiać „na rozmaitych aspektach: od analiz składniowych wymagań frazeologizmów poprzez ich semantykę do kulturowych uwarunkowań ich motywacji" (Szerszunowicz 2011: 24).

3. Badania frazeologiczne po 1989 roku w nurcie dociekań językoznawczych

Badania współczesne umiejscawiamy w okresie po 1989 roku, tj. w późniejszym czasie nowych perspektyw (określenie za: Lewicki 2001: 649). Skąd ta cezura czasowa? Mianowicie „badania sprzed roku 1989 pokazały, że konieczna jest zmiana tradycyjnego myślenia o miejscu frazeologii w struk-

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tyczną. Przedmiotem jej są związki frazeologiczne rozpatrywane nie jako oderwane połączenia wyrazów osobliwie zestawionych, ale jako kompleksy połączeń wyrazowych pozostających względem siebie w relacjach: transformacji, derywacji i wymiennoczłonowości (»wariacji«) jako swoiste podsystemy w systemie języka" (Lewicki 2003b: 138).

[5] Mianowicie Andrzej Bogusławski „sformułował postulat wyodrębniania, systematycznego gromadzenia i opisu jednostek języka (polskiego), nie odnotowanych przez źródła podstawowe (...) Postulat ten wiązał się z ustaleniami teoretycznymi, wśród których na poczesnym miejscu znajdujemy świadome poniechanie przeciwstawienia leksyki i frazeologii" (Chlebda 2003: 29). W tej kwestii zob. Bogusławski, Garnysz-Kozłowska 1979.

[6] Weronika N. Telija zauważa, że od połowy lat siedemdziesiątych i na początku lat osiemdziesiątych XX wieku we frazeologii, tj. trochę później niż w pozostałych dziedzinach lingwistyki, zaczął być zauważalny kryzys paradygmatu strukturalno-semantycznego, ponieważ podejście systemowo-klasyfikacyjne wyczerpało się. Nastąpił wówczas czas oceny uzyskanych rezultatów i poszukiwania nowego paradygmatu. Okres ten jest związany z nastawieniem na ogląd zasobu frazeologii w jego użyciu funkcjonalno-językowym, a także z wprowadzeniem do frazeologii metod opisujących „лексическую и семантическую семантику в их взаимодействии в ходе организации высказывания и текста" (Телия 1996: 7–8).

[7] Szczegółowiej o badaniach frazeologii, zwłaszcza tych, które rozwinęły się na gruncie strukturalizmu, zob. Jędrzejko 2000: 102–104.

turze języka" (Pajdzińska 2006: 13). Próbując określić charakter współczesnych badań frazeologicznych, należy zauważyć, że – jak wspomniano we Wprowadzeniu – cechuje je wielopłaszczyznowość (wielonurtowość i wieloaspektowość). Z czego ta przymiotowość się bierze? Otóż ważne okazało się „lepsze poznanie tych części zasobu frazeologicznego, których analiza była wcześniej trudna z powodów politycznych (...) lub obyczajowych", a także śledzenie zmian uwidaczniających się w zasobie frazeologicznym, które mogłyby dać „odpowiedź na pytanie, czy – a jeśli tak, to w jaki sposób – transformacja ustrojowa wpłynęła na polską frazeologię" (Pajdzińska 2006: 16). Chodzi tu przede wszystkim o badania biblizmów (zob. Koziara 2001), które wykazały „że jakkolwiek Biblia jest źródłem kanonicznym i wspólnym dla wszystkich języków europejskich, to każdy z języków ma swoisty zasób frazeologizmów przejętych z Biblii i biblizmy mogą być nieprzetłumaczalne z jednego języka na inny" (Lewicki 2007: 13; szczegółowiej o polskiej frazeologii biblijnej zob. Koziara 2006: 73–80), także szerzej – o naświetlenie frazeologii religijnej – zob. Lewicki, Chlebda (red.) 1997; Adamiec 2007; Chlebda, Kochman (red.) 1996. Dociekania objęły też związki wychodzące z użycia, a także wchodzące do użytku nowe jednostki związane najogólniej ze sferą społeczno-polityczną i gospodarczo-cywilizacyjną[8]. W ukazywanej wielonurtowości badań mieszczą się dociekania obecności frazeologizmów w różnego rodzaju tekstach: w literaturze[9], publicystyce (por. Bąba 1989) i w tekstach reklamowych – tworzenia sloganów reklamowych (por. Lewicki 1996: 69–79), także ich frazeologizacji (por. Chlebda 1996: 57–68), unaoczniające główny ich walor – perswazyjność. W obręb badań współczesnej frazeologii jako dyscypliny językoznawczej wchodzą ponadto takie zagadnienia, jak: wyznaczanie zakresu swoich badań, klasyfikacja frazeologizmów według kryteriów formalnych i semantycznych, funkcja frazeologizmów w rozmaitych sytuacjach komunikacyjnych i kontekstach językowych, toteż – w odniesieniu do tematu niniejszej pracy – należy podkreślić, „iż frazeologii przypada bardzo ważne miejsce wśród innych dyscyplin lingwistycznych" (Jóźwiak-Dądela 2006: 23–24).

[8] Por. następujące stwierdzenie: „Czasy najnowsze, szczególnie ostatnich kilkanaście lat, to okres gruntownych zmian ilościowych i jakościowych w zasobie frazeologicznym, co jest oczywiście uwarunkowane ogólnymi przekształceniami w zmieniającej swoje oblicze rzeczywistości cywilizacyjnej i kulturowej. Na plan pierwszy wysuwa się tu kilka charakterystycznych zjawisk. Bez wątpienia jednym z ważniejszych jest nowy sposób obrazowania (czyli – używając terminu z zakresu językoznawstwa kognitywnego – konceptualizowania), wywołany zupełnie odmiennymi niż całkiem jeszcze niedawno warunkami życia" (Bąba, Liberek 2011: 11–12).

[9] W szczególności studia poświęcone ukazaniu stylistycznych uwarunkowań użyć frazeologizmów w testach artystycznych – poetyckich i prozatorskich.

W odniesieniu do stosunków wzajemnych frazeologii z dziedzinami językoznawczymi wskazuje się skrajną biegunowość w podejściu do frazeologii, ujawniającą zarówno takie koncepcje językoznawcze, które w ogóle nie wprowadzają frazeologii w obręb działów językoznawczych, oraz te, które uznają ją za zupełnie odrębną dziedzinę i zarazem samodzielną podstawową płaszczyznę języka, toteż wszystkie inne podejścia stoją pomiędzy tą biegunowością i podkreślają jej związek z innymi działami językoznawczymi, tj. z innych dziedzin lingwistycznych, por.

> Ako krajné póly v prístupe k frazeológii sa ukazujú na jednej strane také jazykovedné koncepcie, ktoré vôbec neuvádzajú frazeológiu medzi jazykovednými disciplínami, na druhej strane zasa tie, ktoré vyčleňujú frazeológiu nielen ako celkom osobitnú jazykovednú disciplínu, ale aj ako samostatnú základnú jazykovú rovinu. Všetky ďalšie prístupy stoja medzi týmito krajnými pohľadmi na frazeológiu a zdôrazňujú jej súvislosť s niektorou inou jazykovednou disciplínou, resp. s niektorými ďalšími jazykovednými disciplínami (Mlacek 1977: 8–9).

Przedmiotowe i metodologiczne kwestie związków wzajemnych frazeologii z innymi dziedzinami językoznawczymi uwidaczniają się wyraziście zwłaszcza między frazeologią a semantyką, leksykologią, słowotwórstwem[10], składnią i stylistyką. Bogactwo prac wszechstronnie przedstawiających zagadnienia wymienionych pól badawczych i frazeologii w ich wzajemnych odniesieniach (zob. Bąba 1998; 2003) upoważnia do pominięcia tu

[10] Otóż w polu problemów leksykograficznych, konkretnie – opracowania słownika frazeologicznego, zauważa się, że „obok funkcji rejestracyjnej frazeologia jako nauka powinna spełniać funkcje interpretacyjne. Rozumiemy przez nie odkrywanie i ukazywanie mechanizmu frazeologii jako podsystemu (może lepiej podzespołu) mechanizmu całego słownika. Ten mechanizm frazeologii jest, oczywiście, w jakimś stopniu analogiczny do mechanizmu słowotwórstwa" (Lewicki, Pajdzińska, Rejakowa 1987: 36). Mianowicie związki między frazeologią a słowotwórstwem są złożonym problemem opisu mechanizmu generowania jednostek języka. Kwestia ta staje się trudniejsza ze względu na to, że badania nad frazeologią stawiają „w centrum zainteresowania jednostki języka unikalne, zawierające często elementy izolowane, nieregularne semantycznie i zawierające liczne nieregularności gramatyczne". Przedmiotem szczególnego zainteresowania słowotwórstwa są „serie jednostek wyrazowych tworzone na podstawie modeli produktywnych, a więc tworzące zbiory niezamknięte", tak więc w obrębie słowotwórstwa nie znajdują się „wyrazy niemotywowane i w dużym stopniu zleksykalizowane", ściślej – słowotwórstwo zajmuje się wyrazami, natomiast frazeologia – połączeniami wyrazów. Uściślenia te pozwalają konstatować, że „przedmiot badań obu działów nauki o języku jest więc rozdzielony nie tylko substancjalnie (...), ale też przedmiotowo właściwościami strukturalnymi samych przedmiotów badanych", wszelako – ze względu na „jednostki niejako pograniczne" – są punkty styczne obu tych dziedzin. Ostatecznie „słowotwórstwo zajmuje się między innymi złożeniami, w skład których wchodzić mogą komponenty niepowtarzalne w innych strukturach wyrazowych, a zakres frazeologii obejmuje także związki realizowane w seriach" (Lewicki 2003a: 245).

dogłębnej analizy zarówno idei natury ogólnej, jak też licznych kwestii szczegółowych.

Obszarem zachodzenia zbieżności między frazeologią i działami językoznawstwa jest zespolenie frazeologii z onomastyką, szczególnie ze względu na charakter (cechę skostniałości, czy lepiej – utrwalenia) zasadniczego przedmiotu badań tych dziedzin – związku frazeologicznego pierwszej i *nomen proprium* drugiej, „tworzących w języku podsystemy szerszego systemu leksykalnego (...). Obie te dyscypliny posługują się tymi samymi metodami: filologiczną, porównawczą, geografii lingwistycznej i systemowości (modelowości) itd." (Treder 1988: 11; zob. też Zaręba 1996a: 125–130; 1996b: 125–130; Ignatowicz-Skowrońska 1992: 139–149).

Sumując zobrazowanie relacji wzajemnych frazeologii z innymi dziedzinami językoznawczymi, można przytoczyć sąd uogólniający:

> Frazeologia jest tym działem, językoznawstwa, do którego przez całe lata, rozwijająca się w coraz bardziej systemową naukę, leksykologia i od dawna strukturalna składnia przenosiły ten materiał językowy, który nie mieścił się w schematach, polach, formułach, regułach i paradygmatach (Lewicki 2003a: 293).

Odnosząc się do zakresu i zadań badawczych frazeologii, można wyodrębnić „cztery typy frazeologii, różniące się między sobą zadaniami, metodologią, a nawet przedmiotem badania", mianowicie: frazeologię konfrontatywną[11], leksykalną, strukturalną (syntaktyczną) oraz generatywno-tekstologiczną (Lewicki 2003a: 293–294).

4. Frazeologia a inne dyscypliny. W stronę integralności

Od drugiej połowy lat siedemdziesiątych XX wieku następuje zauważalny rozwój dyscyplin na pograniczu językoznawstwa i nauk pokrewnych, „rozpoczyna się ewolucja w kierunku interdyscyplinarności", powstają suk-

[11] Chodzi o „rozważania konfrontatywne, omawiające strukturalne właściwości planu wyrażenia i planu treści związków frazeologicznych, opierających się na stwierdzeniu, że stałe połączenia wyrazowe stanowią osobliwość każdego języka, że są to konstrukcje, których znaczenia nie wyprowadza się z sumy znaczeń części składowych w żadnym z języków porównywanych" (Rejakowa 1986: 51). Tak więc „badania polskich frazeologów można podzielić na dwa nurty: teoretyczny i praktyczny. Pierwszy mieści w sobie rozważania na temat porównywalności systemów frazeologicznych i jej granic oraz metod analiz porównawczych. Drugi obejmuje badanie systemów frazeologicznych języka polskiego i obcego (obcych) z zamiarem ustalenia zbieżności względnie odmienności systemów frazeologicznych na wszystkich płaszczyznach konfrontacji" (Zaręba, Szpila 2007: 33).

cesywnie nowe nurty: socjolingwistyka, psycholingwistyka, glottodydaktyka, lingwistyka tekstu, translatologia, nauki o komunikacji oraz etnolingwistyka (zob. Sękowska 2012: 6). W kontekście scaleń dyscyplinowych należy podkreślić, że jednymi z cech językoznawstwa poststrukturalnego stają się: „interdyscyplinarność: język ujęty antropologicznie (część mechanizmu poznawczego człowieka) i kulturowo (składnik kultury)" oraz „antysystemowość: przedmiotem badania nie jest »język sam w sobie«, ale pozostaje on w ścisłym powiązaniu z wiedzą mówiących i warunkami życia" (Grzegorczykowa 2001: 56–57)[12].

Uogólniając zasygnalizowane zaledwie hasłowo przedstawienie powiązań językoznawstwa z innymi dyscyplinami, trzeba w pełni zgodzić się z Ewą Jędrzejko, która zauważa, że współczesne językoznawstwo charakteryzuje „swoisty synkretyzm teorii i pewien komplementaryzm metodologiczny" (Jędrzejko 2000: 59).

W nawiązaniu do przedstawionych wyżej związków wzajemnych frazeologii z niektórymi dziedzinami językoznawczymi oraz w związku z próbą uchwycenia w niniejszym punkcie przenikania idei interdyscyplinarności do badań frazeologicznych zasadne jest przywołanie trafnego spostrzeżenia, że przegląd dorobku polskich lingwistów unaocznia, iż w badaniach frazeologicznych zaznaczają się dwa współbieżne nurty. Nurt „dośrodkowy" („lingwocentryczny"), który skupiony jest przede wszystkim na samej materii czy substancji języka, oraz nurt „odśrodkowy", w którym „substancja językowa jest bardziej punktem wyjścia: wychodzi się od języka, podążając w stronę psychologii, socjologii, teorii tekstu i dyskursu, kulturoznawstwa, nawet filozofii" (zob. Chlebda 2007: 17).

W odniesieniu do problematyki niniejszego opracowania warte odnotowania jest między innymi to, że wraz z ponownym wzrostem od początku lat siedemdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia zainteresowania problematyką frazeologiczną „dążono nawet do »połączenia sił« na polu frazeologii i gramatyki generatywnej" (Jóźwiak-Dądela 2006: 18). Paradygmat generatywny w takim uwarunkowaniu nie jest bogato reprezentowany, mimo że stwarza on „również szanse na opis i wyjaśnienie nie tylko faktów prototypowych, ale także tych, które odchodzą od prototypowych schematów" (Bobrowski 2000: 41), wszelako miejsce i funkcja komponentu

[12] Szerzej odnośnie do założeń interdyscyplinarności w badaniach nad językiem, uwidaczniających się w poszczególnych obszarach lingwistyki polskiej w związku z pytaniem o otwartość i charakter otwartości językoznawstwa współcześnie oraz możliwą interdyscyplinarność badań lingwistycznych, zob. Wysoczański 2013: 3–38).

frazeologicznego w tym formalnym modelu gramatycznym języka polskiego były rozważane (zob. Bobrowski 2000: 41–48).

W badaniach empirycznych nad frazeologią ujawniało się pragmatyczne ujęcie związków frazeologicznych (zob. Zgółkowa 1982; zob. też omówienie: Chlebda 1997: 4–7).

Prowadzone badania motywacji znaczeniowej frazeologizmów, spełnianej przez nie funkcji w językowym obrazowaniu świata, a także poszukiwanie przyczyn zmienności zasobu frazeologicznego „w sposób nieuchronny prowadziły do rezygnacji z czystości metodologicznej – we frazeologii pojawiły się, podobnie jak w semantyce leksykalnej (...) prace, które z perspektywy czasu jawią się jako prekognitywne" (zob. Pajdzińska 2006: 12).

5. Integralność badawcza frazeologii

W przedkładanym opracowaniu nie sposób dać przegląd różnorodnych i bogatych dociekań w obrębie frazeologii, toteż przedstawienia będą się odnosić do wybranych nowych ujęć frazeologii o charakterze interdyscyplinarnym w ramach lingwistyki „integralnej" (termin za: Jędrzejko 2000: 99) w szczególności o nastawieniu pragmatycznym i kulturowo-kognitywnym[13]. Zanim jednak do tego przejdziemy, zasadne jest zwrócenie uwagi na to, że w obszarze badań nad frazeologią od dawna „spotykają się i wzajemnie uzupełniają różne orientacje, teorie i metodologie" (Jędrzejko 2000: 102)[14].

5.1. Profil pragmatyczny

Jeden z przejawów interdyscyplinarności i – co za tym idzie – integralności dyscyplinowo-badawczej odzwierciedla frazematyka rozumiana jako odmiana frazeologii – frazeologia nadawcy, której twórcą jest Wojciech Chlebda (zob. Chlebda 1991; wznowienie: Chlebda 2003). Tak pojmowana frazematyka zorientowana jest na człowieka w sytuacji komunikacyjnej ze wszyst-

[13] W tym odniesieniu por. np. podejścia badawcze poznawczych, kulturowych i pragmatycznych aspektów frazeologii dialektalnej w dociekaniach Elisabeth Piirainen (2000; 2004: 46–67).

[14] Mianowicie „Postulat budowania lingwistyki integralnej, wychodzącej poza tradycyjnie wyznaczone zadania opisu »systemowego«, akcentuje wszak konieczność wiązania zjawisk językowych z ogólniejszymi procesami poznawczymi w wymiarze indywidualnym i zbiorowym, zależnym od historii i kultury danej zbiorowości, od jej sposobów konceptualizacji świata. W tym kontekście zrozumiałe staje się także rosnące zainteresowanie różnymi zjawiskami właśnie z zakresu idiomatyki (frazeologia różnych odmian języka i gatunków mowy, paremiologia, kolokacje)" (Jędrzejko 2000: 101).

kimi uwarunkowaniami aktu komunikacyjnego, a zatem jest to zasadniczo ukierunkowanie w stronę frazeologii pragmatycznej[15].

Widząc frazematykę jako zbiór stałych form wyrażania się we wszystkich sytuacjach ludzkiego komunikowania się ludzi, a ponadto łącząc ze sobą koncepcje teorii aktów mowy, teorii gatunków mowy i frazematykę jako teorię frazeologii pragmatycznej, można dostrzec zarysowujące się wyraźnie

> rozgałęzione drzewko. Jego »pień« – to działalność komunikacyjna człowieka. Odchodzące od niego rozgałęzienie pierwsze – to akty mowy [...] rozgałęzienie drugie: gatunki i liczne podgatunki mowy [...] rozgałęzienie trzecie, najbardziej rozdrobnione, które na swych »gałązkach« grupuje konkretne środki językowe, poprzez które gatunki i podgatunki aktualizują się w wypowiedziach indywidualnych. Są wśród nich, oczywiście, i zestawy frazemów (Chlebda 1993: 51–52).

Wszelako frazematyka poprzez swoją podstawową jednostkę – frazem – przyjmuje w roli kryterium operacyjnego „odtwarzalność w danej sytuacji" (np. *świeżo malowane*, *ładną mamy dziś pogodę*, *krasnoludki są na świecie*). Frazem łączy zatem (poza formalnym kształtem) zawartość treściową, tj. kognitywną, i „całe jego spektrum pragmatyczne". Frazematyczna analiza teoretyczna obejmuje zatem trzy aspekty wyróżnione z pozycji frazemów: formalny, kognitywny i pragmatyczny (Chlebda 2001a: 336–342). Tak więc przeorientowanie w analizie językowej od frazeologicznego do frazematycznego punktu widzenia „jest bogate w różnorodne implikacje, mające bezpośrednią odnośność do takich dziedzin, jak lingwistyka tekstu, teoria przekładu, glottodydaktyka, teoria komunikacji czy społeczna psychologia języka" (Chlebda 1986: 49)[16].

Ostatecznie frazeologia nadawcy może być nazwana frazeologią względną, między innymi dlatego że „frazeologiczność danego ciągu wyrazów rozpatruje się tu względem określonych płaszczyzn odniesienia: człowieka

[15] Konkretniej: „frazematyka jako frazeologia nadawcy (mówiącego) siłą rzeczy przybiera charakter frazeologii pragmatycznej (w szerokim sensie terminu »pragmatyczny«, obejmującym sferę »język a czynnik ludzki«)" (Chlebda 2003: 48–49).

[16] W związku z ustaleniami frazematyki wskazać trzeba wyraźniej na ogólne i szerokie pozajęzykowe i pozajęzykoznawcze założenia frazeologii pragmatycznej. Mianowicie „pragmatyczność" frazeologii pragmatycznej sprowadza się przede wszystkim do postrzegania frazeologii w interpersonalnym i intertekstualnym układzie komunikacyjnym; kwestię istnienia frazeologizmu w procesie wytwarzania wypowiedzi przez nadawcę i w procesie jej dekodowania przez odbiorcę; uczynienia „frazeologii w ruchu" punktem wyjścia w analizach; zauważania we frazemach językowych środków wyrażania w powtarzalnych sytuacjach konkretnych zespołów treściowo-intencjonalnych; klasyfikowania frazemów według przynależności do gatunków mowy; uświadamiania sobie fonicznego i prozodycznego wymiaru frazeologii (zob. Chlebda 1997: 9–10).

(grupy ludzkiej), miejsca, czasu, stylu wypowiedzi", zatem w takiej perspektywie oglądu frazeologia ta „jest niezbywalnym organicznym składnikiem ludzkiego myślenia i mówienia, które kształtują nasze działanie" (Chlebda 2007: 18–20).

Zwieńczając informacje o przedstawionej koncepcji frazematyki (frazeologii nadawcy), celowe będzie wzmiankowanie o niektórych jeszcze kwestiach ogólnych i szczegółowych wymiaru pragmatycznego frazeologii. Zagadnienie to wypada rozpocząć od najogólniejszej uwagi dotyczącej wymiaru pragmatycznego frazeologii odnoszonego do supozycji w samym określaniu i definiowaniu związków frazeologicznych oraz odzwierciedlanego w płaszczyźnie rozwoju frazeologii, por.

> niekoľko poznámok o pragmatike celej frazeológie. Prvú z nich možno začať pripomenutím známej skutočnosti, že s pragmatickým rozmerom tejto zložky jazyka sa počíta už pri samom vymedzovaní a definovaní frazémy. Druhu zo signalizovaných poznámok o všeobecnej problematike pragmatických dimenzii frazeológie budeme venovať otázke, ako sa pragmatika premieta v okruhu vývinu frazeológie (Mlacek, Baláková 2007: 159–160).

Kwestia druga sprowadza się do formułowania głównych nurtów możliwych wspólnych studiów pragmatyczno-frazeologicznych. Walery M. Mokijenko wskazuje na następujące domeny:

> 1. Прагматические взаимоотношения адресанта и адресата во фразеологии; 2. Типология высказываний фразеологическими средствами; 3. Социокультурные стереотипы во фразеологии; 4. Скрытая семантика фразеологизмов в их функционально-прагматическом преломлении; 5. Прагматическая информация фразеологии в лексикографии (нормативные, стилистические и специализировано фразеологические словари); 6. Типология фразеологической оценочности по сравнению с оценочностью лексической; 7. Фразеологическая стилистика текста и ее прагматические потенции (zob. Мокиенко 2007a: 31).

W przesłaniach uogólniających wskazuje się, że pragmatyka frazeologiczna włącza dwa przedmioty, które są rozpatrywane jako stosunkowo niezależne lub jako wzajemnie założone. Mianowicie: badanie środków wyrażenia komponentów pragmatycznych znaku frazemowego, np. subiektywno-wartościujących, emotywnych, estetycznych, oraz badanie warunków i celów, warunkujących tworzenie wypowiedzi sfrazeologizowanych lub zawierających znak frazemowy (Алефиренко 2007a: 219)[17].

[17] W związku z przedmiotem pragmatyki frazeologicznej por. założenia frazeologii kogni-

5.2. Wymiar antropologiczny. Profil kulturowo-kognitywny. Profil etnolingwistyczny

W kontekście dotychczasowych omówień w pełni uzasadnione jest nadmienienie, że na współczesnym etapie rozwoju lingwistyki frazeologia jest jedną z najciekawszych gałęzi obrazowego poznania świata, za pośrednictwem specyficznych znaków językowych zdobywa ona nowe granice badania. Tak więc w tym względzie uznaje się za istotne badanie współdziałania oraz wzajemnego wpływu lingwokulturologii i kognitywistyki w dziedzinie frazeologii (zob. Венжинович 2013: 43)[18]. Pogląd o dominancie tendencji kulturowo-kognitywnych podkreślany jest również poprzez odniesienie do utrwalonego społecznie inwentarza frazeologizmów (znaków niecią-głych w określonej formie i znaczeniu) jako „odbitego" i względnie ustabilizowanego w języku „rezultatu pozajęzykowych procesów mentalnych – po części uniwersalnych, ale też indywidualnych, jednostkowych zdolności do obserwacji, skojarzeń, porównań, metaforycznych uogólnień i kreowania nowych znaczeń kontekstowo-sytuacyjnych", z jednoczesnym uwydatnieniem, że „właśnie te czynniki, niemożliwe do ujęcia w opisach strukturalistycznych (choć sygnalizowane w opisach poszczególnych idiomów jako ich »pozajęzykowa etymologia«), tak silnie akcentuje dziś nurt kulturowo-kognitywny" (Jędrzejko 2000: 105–106).

Biorąc pod uwagę podejście frazeologów konkretyzujących przedmiotowo-metodologiczne aspekty scaleń dyscyplinowych z udziałem frazeologii, należy przytoczyć stanowisko triady międzydyscyplinarnej, wiążącej kulturologię, frazeologię historyczną i lingwistykę porównawczą, por. „на трех дисциплинах, взаимодействие с которыми, как кажется, может стать для нашей когнитологии целительным: культурология, историческая фразеология и сопоставительная (resp. конфронтативная) лингвистика" (Мокиенко 2013: 9), oraz ukierunkowania kognitywno-dyskursywnego w ob-

tywno-pragmatycznej: „Когнитивно-прагматическая фразеология, следовательно, имеет особый аспект исследования, отличающий ее от фразеологической прагматики. Она изучает то, что не вмещается в рамки денотативной информации ФЗ [фраземного знака – dop. W.W.], представляющей преимущественно результаты когнитивной деятельности человека. Когнитивно-прагматическая фразеология, таким образом, рассматривает ФЗ в двух его ипостасях: языковой и дискурсивной, исследуя, с одной стороны, языковые средства выражения ПФЗ [прагматического компонента значения фраземы – dop. W.W.]; а с другой, – речевые способы реализации ПФЗ относительно интенциональности коммуникативно-прагматического акта" (Алефиренко 2007a: 221).

[18] W tym kontekście por. też uwagę „Two related theoretical frameworks whose practitioners are currently very much concerned with phraseologisms are cognitive linguistics and Construction Grammar" (Gries 2008: 12).

rębie paradygmatu antropologicznego, por. „современную фразеологию характеризует широкое распространение в ней когнитивно-дискурсивной направленности в рамках антропологической научной парадигмы" (Телия 1996: 14–15).

W związku z powyższymi konstatacjami celowe jest zwrócenie uwagi na dwie kwestie. Pierwsza z nich to pytanie, czy zasób frazeologii jest jakoś szczególnie predestynowany do wspomnianych badań. Otóż – jak zauważa Anna Pajdzińska, wysuwając antropologiczne nastawienie badawcze – „frazeologizmy stanowią – dzięki czytelnej strukturze wewnętrznej oraz metaforycznej lub metonimicznej motywacji znaczenia wielu związków – bardzo atrakcyjny materiał dla lingwistów o orientacji antropologicznej", tak więc „frazeologia jest poziomem, na którym pewne aspekty językowego obrazu świata ujawniają się ze szczególną wyrazistością" (Pajdzińska 2006: 21–22). Odnosząc się do koncepcji językowego obrazu świata we frazeologii utożsamianej ze sposobem ujmowania świata utrwalonym w języku, który przejawia się w różnych cechach językowych – przede wszystkim w swoistej kategoryzacji rzeczywistości, tj. podziale na wyróżnione fragmenty, oraz w cechach konotacyjnych, przypisywanych wyróżnionym obiektom – trzeba podkreślić, że cechy te potwierdzone są przez derywaty, przesunięcia semantyczne oraz frazeologizmy (zob. Grzegorczykowa 2001: 58). Jednoznacznie wskazaną rolę związków frazeologicznych ujmują definicje językowego obrazu świata, por. „Czym w istocie jest językowy obraz świata? Względna zgoda dotyczy jedynie tego, że obejmuje on zespół sądów o świecie, czyli efekty konceptualizacji świata utrwalone w systemie w słownictwie, frazeologii i w gramatyce" (Bartmiński 2006: 7), a przede wszystkim konkretne analizy, por. „szczególną popularność zdobyły sobie studia oparte na przysłowiach i frazeologizmach" (Bartmiński 2006: 19).

W odniesieniu do badania związków wzajemnych i współzależności między kulturą a językiem wskazać trzeba również na lingwokulturologiczne ujmowanie frazeologii, zwłaszcza w kategoriach frazeologizmu – szczególnego znaku językowego, bowiem „в его семантику «вплетена» культурная семантика, или культурная коннотация, которая создается референцией фразеологизма к предметной области культуры", jak w obrębie lingwokulturologicznego kierunku we frazeologii badającego „взаимодействие языка и культуры в диапазоне культурно-национального самосознания и его фразеологической презентации" (Ковшова 2013: 69), a także w kategoriach logoepistemu – jednostki semiotycznego systemu językowego, będącej „nośnikiem wiedzy o socjokulturze jego użytkowników" i traktowanej jako „wyrażenie językowe zachowanego w społecznej pamięci kulturowej śladu rzeczywistości" (Pietrzyk 2008: 413).

Kwestia druga dotyczy wspomnianego wyżej zintegrowania, ściślej – założeń badawczych „frazeologii integralnej". Koncepcja ta – według przesłanek i kryteriów wyłożonych przez Ewę Jędrzejko – zasadza się na wprowadzeniu do „języka opisu lingwistycznego także konstruktów innych nauk (socjologii, psychologii, historii lub kulturoznawstwa)" (Jędrzejko 2000: 108). Przyjęcie takiej postawy metodologicznej pozwala między innymi na spojrzenie – w propozycji semantyki kognitywnej – na metaforę jako specyficznie ludzki proces „mapowania" jednej struktury językowo-pojęciowej na inną, wpisanie się w ważny obszar opisu frazeologii poprzez poszukiwanie podstaw znaczenia znaków słownych w sferze konkretnych doświadczeń, zarówno jednostkowych, jaki i społecznych, które są poddane metaforycznej konceptualizacji (Jędrzejko 2000: 106–108)[19]. Ostatecznie narzędzia teorii kulturowo-kognitywnej, niezależnie od pewnej niedoskonałości, mogą służyć do zintegrowanego, a przy tym wielopoziomowego opisu wzajemnych relacji między idiomami o różnej postaci, współtworzących – jak należy sądzić – to samo pole pojęciowe w historii danego języka (długotrwałym procesie językowo-mentalnym), uwydatniają bowiem wraz z czynnikami systemowymi (takimi jak forma, skład, znaczenie leksykalne związku) także motywacje psychologiczne i kulturowe idiomów (zob. Jędrzejko 2000: 110)[20].

Tak więc zorientowanie na badanie języka jako części działalności człowieka w połączeniu z innymi zjawiskami, przede wszystkim kulturowymi i psychologicznymi, dotyczy bezsprzecznie rozważań frazeologii – „badając związki języka z historią i kulturą narodu, trudno wprost przecenić materiał frazeologiczny" (Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 328).

Wracając do zasygnalizowanych wyżej szczególnych związków łączących frazeologię z kognitywistyką, należy zaznaczyć, że przedmiotem frazeologii kognitywnej jako nauki międzydyscyplinarnej są w najogólniejszym

[19] W tym miejscu por. wnioski z konfrontacji międzyjęzykowej (polsko-białoruskiej) w zakresie metaforycznej konceptualizacji świata w formie idiomatycznych konstrukcji werbo-nominalnych: „o ile w zakresie metafor pojęciowych różnice między językiem polskim a białoruskim są raczej znikome, o tyle ich językowe zaopatrzenie w obu językach jest w dużym stopniu odmienne – konfrontacje dotyczące językowej realizacji aspektów tożsamości obejmują prawie połowę wszystkich frazeologizmów werbo-nominalnych. Oznacza to, że Polacy i Białorusini myślą w sposób podobny, ale mówią o tym zasadniczo inaczej" (Kiklewicz 2007: 433–439).

[20] Na przykład wykorzystując pojęcie świadomości językowej we frazeologii kognitywnej, skupia się uwagę na następujących jego składowych: „Используя понятие языкового сознания в когнитивной фразеологии, следует, на наш взгляд, акцентировать внимание на таких его составляющих, как: (1) целостность; (2) интенциональность; (3) субъективность; (4) структурированность; (5) различение »центра« и »периферии«; (6) настроение; (7) темпоральность и (8) социальность" (Алефиренко 2010: 31).

sensie „закономерности поиска и обработки информации фразеологическими средствами", a konkretniej – „взаимодействие языка и культуры в континууме фразеологического пространства как синергетического нелинейного процесса саморазвивающейся и самоорганизующейся системы" (Alefirenko 2011: 9), co warunkuje w ramach paradygmatu antropocentrycznego właściwie lingwistyczne badanie materiału frazeologicznego w aspekcie interdyscyplinarności w powiązaniu z danymi psychologii kognitywnej[21], etnografii, antropologii, kulturologii, a także z ogólnokulturowymi faktami, którymi rozporządza dzisiejsza nauka (zob. Золотых 2013: 70–71). Tak więc współczesna frazeologia kognitywna dąży do opracowania bazy teoretycznej i aparatu pojęciowego, które pozwoliłyby na ogląd jednostek nominacji pośrednio-pochodnej (frazeologizmy) i wtórnych tekstemów (paremie) nie tylko jako reprezentantów etnokultury i powstawania tworów językowych wspólnoty, lecz również jako złożonych znaków z funkcją nominatywno-kognitywną, tj. z funkcją tworzenia i utrwalania wiedzy w procesie obiektywizacji intencji komunikatywnych (zob. Семененко 2013: 125)[22].

Miejsce szczególne w kulturowo zorientowanym językoznawstwie zajmuje naświetlenie językowego obrazu świata utrwalonego we frazeologii, inaczej chodzi tu o analizy frazeologizmów odsłaniające zawarte w nich wyrażanie świata – „poprzez analizę frazeologizmów można dotrzeć do wielu aspektów utrwalonego w języku obrazu świata" (Lewicki, Pajdziń-

[21] Psycholingwistyczne aspekty funkcjonowania frazeologizmów konstytuowałyby profil psycholingwistyczny. Otóż ten kierunek w badaniu frazeologii przedstawiony jest przede wszystkim w psycholingwistyce amerykańskiej i włoskiej. Pewne badania frazeologizmów przeprowadzali też i rosyjscy psycholingwiści. Podejście, wykorzystywane w pracach psycholingwistycznych, opiera się przeważnie na założeniach psychologii kognitywnej i nosi eksperymentalny charakter. Podstawowym celem badań w tej dziedzinie jest dowiedzenie lub zaprzeczenie popularnych hipotez o istocie obrazu, leżącego u podstaw aktualnego znaczenia idiomu, jak również o współzależności między aktualnym znaczeniem i obrazem (zob. Баранов, Добровольский 2013: 29–33). Tak więc ścisła więź wzajemna frazeologii kognitywnej i psychologii kognitywnej jako nauk przyległych nie budzi wątpliwości. Wszelako badanie związku wzajemnego frazeologii kognitywnej i psychologii kognitywnej jest faktycznie badaniem współdziałania jednostek frazeologicznych (ich semantyki i kontekstowego użycia) z kognitywnym systemem nosicieli języka (Федюнина 2013: 134).

[22] Wiadomo, że wiele kognitywnych procesów pozostaje ukrytych przy badaniu przekształcenia sensu w procesie tworzenia, funkcjonowania i zrozumienia frazemów. W związku z tym powstaje konieczność określenia kluczowego pojęcia frazeologii kognitywnej, pojęcia nie tyle teoretycznego, ile funkcjonalnego w poznawczo-komunikatywnej działalności człowieka, wokół którego koncentrują się wszystkie starania komunikujących się, i które znajduje się w epicentrum wszystkich językowych przekształceń frazemu pod warunkiem zachowania jej inwariantu. Takim pojęciem jest kategoria znaczenia (sensu) (категория смысла) (Алефиренко 2008: 23–24).

ska 2001: 329)[23]. W ramach takiego etnolingwistycznego podejścia[24] mieszczą się między innymi zagadnienia roli frazeologii w ujmowaniu stereotypów językowo-kulturowych (zob. np. Mosiołek-Kłosińska 1996: 99–105) i prototypów, w ujawnianiu się metaforycznych sposobów konceptualizacji i kategoryzacji, w uchwyceniu profilowania pojęć oraz ukazywaniu punktów widzenia – „pojęcie punktu widzenia ma zastosowanie także do utrwalonych w języku frazeologizmów, które mają zwykle przejrzystą wewnętrzną motywację semantyczną" (Bartmiński 2006: 81). Z innych zagadnień w tym obszarze należy wymienić kwestie odkrywania kształtowanego przez frazeologię językowego obrazu w tekstach, zwłaszcza w poezji, prozie i reklamie (zob. Pajdzińska 1993; Ignatowicz-Skowrońska 2008; Lusińska 2010). Przedstawione założenia teoretyczno-metodologiczne zostały w licznych pracach materiałowych zilustrowane wybranymi obszarami badawczymi, tj. opisami obrazu świata lub określonych jego fragmentów – por. np. Chlebda (red.) 2007; Rak 2007; Spagińska-Pruszak 2003; Szerszunowicz 2011; Wysoczański [2005] 2006[25]. W wymiarze ogólniejszym takiego postępowania jest frazeologiczny obraz świata (odnośnie do założeń frazeologicznego obrazu

[23] W odniesieniu do istotności opisu kulturologicznego języka por. następującą uwagę: „W sprawozdaniach z badań dotyczących językowego obrazu świata jednostki frazeologiczne stanowią znaczną część relewantnego materiału językowego frazeologii. (...) Frazeologia jest językowym wykładnikiem obrazu świata specyficznego dla danej kultury, toteż badanie łączliwości wyrazów stanowi ważną składową opisu kulturologicznego języka" (Parowenko 2009: 59, 67).

[24] Por. w tym miejscu uwagi holistycznie ujmujące teoretyczne aspekty językowego obrazu świata w odniesieniu do frazeologii: językowy obraz świata w planie porównawczym stanowi w gruncie rzeczy mozaikę, która składa się z „subobrazów" różnych językowych poziomów – od fonetycznego do składniowego. Każda płaszczyzna ma swoją „obrazową" specyfikę i dopuszcza różną ekstralingwistyczną interpretację. Frazeologiczną specyfiką jest istotne ilościowe ograniczenie konceptualnych dominant w porównaniu z dominantami leksykalnymi, podczas gdy pola leksyki obejmują praktycznie cały konceptualny obraz świata. Pola frazeologiczne charakteryzują w zasadzie strefy z semantyką antropomorficzną i silnym nacechowaniem ekspresywno-emocjonalnym. Zbiór takich pól znaczeniowych w wielu językach jest prawie jednakowy. Świadczy to o uniwersalnym, typologicznym charakterze ogólnej semantycznej struktury systemów frazeologicznych w różnych językach. Ich specyfiki należy szukać nie w tej strukturze, a w wewnętrznej formie frazeologizmów różnych języków i we właściwej językowej realizacji tej wewnętrznej formy. Obiektywne zrekonstruowanie swoistego dla danego narodu obrazu świata odbitego w lustrze frazeologii możliwe jest zatem tylko na mocy konsekwentnej „etapowej" analizy faktów językowych (zob. Мокиенко 1999: 121). W kontekście wskazanych spostrzeżeń dokonana analiza porównań frazeologicznych wybranych języków typu X jak Y „pod kątem ukazywanego w nich językowego obrazu świata poświadcza regularności o charakterze ogólnym zachodzące między badanymi językami" (Wysoczański [2005] 2006: 357).

[25] Ramy niniejszego opracowania nie pozwalają na przedstawienie tego interesującego obszaru badań. Będzie on przedmiotem naszej odrębnej pracy „Frazeologiczne badania językowego obrazu świata".

świata zob. Dobrovol'skij 1992: 171–195; Dobrovol'skij, Piirainen 1993: 63–71; Мокиенко 2007b: 49–66; Wysoczański 2008: 134–138).

W kręgu badań frazeologicznych mieszczą się dociekania zorientowane na rozważania nad relacją język a wartości[26], por. „w zasobie frazeologicznym polszczyzny występuje wiele jednostek pełniących funkcje – ewaluatywne" (Pajdzińska 1991: 17), przy czym frazeologia – tak samo jak leksyka, a być może częściej niż leksyka – odzwierciedla zdarzenia i właściwości otaczającego świata przez pryzmat oceny (Степанова 2007: 492; szerzej zob. Pajdzińska 1991: 15–28).

Na zakończenie bardzo zwięzłego omówienia wymiaru antropologicznego badań frazeologicznych, a zwłaszcza w kontekście profilu kognitywnego, także o nastawieniu etnolingwistycznym, w pełni umotywowane jest przywołanie istotnego dla teorii frazeologii postulatu jedności trzech aspektów badań frazeologicznych zgłoszonego przez Wojciecha Chlebdę, wyrażonego następująco: „Jeżeli w centrum językoznawstwa w ogóle i frazeologii w szczególności postawi się właśnie człowieka mówiącego, to w przyszłej pełnej teorii frazeologicznej te trzy aspekty badań i opisu – strukturalny, pragmatyczny i kognitywny – muszą zostać zrekonstruowane" (Chlebda 2003: 47). Z tą propozycją koresponduje sugestia Weroniki N. Teliji o konieczności opisu semantyki frazeologizmów jako rezultatu współdziałania złożonego kompleksu fenomenu pragmatycznego i kognitywnego oraz właściwego semantycznego (zob. Баранов, Добровольский 2013: 22)[27].

6. Wnioski

Najbardziej ogólny wniosek wysunięty na podstawie całości dokonanych omówień sprowadza się do wciąż aktualnego stwierdzenia Andrzeja Marii Lewickiego sprzed wielu lat, że „nie ma jednej frazeologii, lub jeśli kto

[26] W charakterze potwierdzenia por. następującą konstatację: „na język możemy popatrzeć od strony poznawczej, zapytać, co mówi język o wartościach, jakie informacje o wartościach dadzą się z języka wydobyć; wtedy zakładamy, że wartości są jakoś »zmagazynowane« w języku, w znaczeniach słów (słowa są zwykle wymieniane w pierwszej kolejności) i w ich połączeniach (kolokacjach, frazeologizmach), w przysłowiach, wreszcie w całych tekstach (wypowiedziach). Ostatecznym rezultatem tego typu badań może być rekonstrukcja systemu wartości przekazywanego przez język narodowy w określonym okresie jego rozwoju i w określonych stylowo i gatunkowo tekstach językowych" (Bartmiński 2006: 135).

[27] W uzupełnieniu trzeba dodać, że próba badania semantyki frazeologizmów z wykorzystaniem kognitywnych kategorii i aparatu teorii aktów mowy została przedsięwzięta przez W.N. Teliję w monografii *Русская фразеология. Семантический, прагматический и лингвокультурологический аспекты* (Телия 1996) (zob. Баранов, Добровольский 2013: 22).

woli, frazeologia jest nauką wieloaspektową", to znaczy „każda z odmian frazeologii zakłada inny sposób patrzenia na język i inne stawia sobie cele", toteż „tylko wyraźne uświadamianie sobie punktu widzenia i celów może przynieść tej nauce trwałe osiągnięcia" (Lewicki 1974: 151). Nieodzowne jest w świetle tych konstatacji uznanie za Wojciechem Chlebdą, że frazeologia funkcjonuje dzisiaj w dwóch płaszczyznach: w tradycyjnej, klasycznej postaci „frazeologii w ogóle", która obejmuje „językową frazeologię współczesną, historyczną, środowiskową i gwarową", oraz w drugiej – w ujęciach czy paradygmatach nowszych – w postaci frazeologii syntaktycznej, pragmatycznej i etnofrazeologii (Chlebda 2001b: 163). Uściślając, należy dodać wskazanie Ewy Jędrzejko na perspektywę interesującą także dla badań frazeologii, jaką otwierają propozycje semantyki kognitywnej i etnolingwistyki (lingwistyki kulturowej) w językoznawstwie ostatnich lat, przy czym uzasadnieniem możliwości odnoszenia idei teorii kognitywnej także do frazeologizmów, potraktowanych jako specyficzne węzły dostępu do złożonej sieci struktur poznawczych, jest propozycja innego spojrzenie na zadania lingwistyki oraz nowe narzędzia opisu (Jędrzejko 2000: 106)[28].

Z bardziej szczegółowego oglądu, w związku z podejmowanymi w niniejszym opracowaniu dociekaniami powiązań frazeologii i innych dyscyplin badawczych, trzeba podnieść sprawę aspektów zastosowania określonych podejść.

Tak więc w założeniu frazeologii pragmatycznej (wyłożonej w formie frazematyki – frazeologii nadawcy) legła przyjęta teza, że „centrum frazeologii wyznacza człowiek, który w konkretnej sytuacji zwraca się w jakimś celu, z pewnym nastawieniem i z określoną intencją do drugiego człowieka". Two-

[28] Innymi słowy, złożoność semantyki frazeologicznej tłumaczona jest charakterem struktur kognitywnych będących jej słownomyślowym substratem. Tak więc w centrum uwagi w rozpatrywaniu kognitywnej bazy frazeologicznego znaczenia znajdują się podstawowe kategorie semantyki kognitywnej (koncept i frejm), które uznaje się za równoprawne kognitywne struktury (zob. Гриднева 2009: 43). Koncept frazeologiczny definiowany jest m.in. następująco: „фразеологический концепт – когнитивная (мыслительная) категория, квант знания, жестко не структурированное смысловое образование описательно-образного и ценностно-ориентированного характера (Алефиренко 2002). Источниками и способами формирования многослойной структуры фразеологического концепта являются (1) чувственный опыт человека – источник зрительных образов, (2) предметно-практическая деятельность – способ осмысления, (3) речемыслительные операции – условие интерпретации типовой денотативной ситуации и (4) лингвопрагматическе факторы, обусловливающие коммуникативную значимость идиомы. Говорящий при выборе идиомы, по мнению Н.Ф. Алефиренко, »опирается на концепт, передающий основной смысл (интенсионал) коммуникативного акта; фрейм обеспечивает понимание не только фразеологического значения, но и соответствующей коммуникативно-прагматической ситуации« (Алефиренко 2007б: 10)" (Гриднева 2009: 43).

rzone przez człowieka teksty składają się z jego własnych produktów oraz przyjmowanych świadomie bądź bezświadomie różnych reproduktów (zapożyczeń, odwołań, nawiązań, „słów cudzych"), które czynią z czyjegoś tekstu ogniwo własnego „ponadjednostkowego intertekstu, jakim jest dyskurs społeczny, a z jednostkowego frazeologizmu – punkt przecięcia różnokierunkowych linii tworzących w czasie i przestrzeni ów społeczny wielogłos". W takim zamierzeniu frazematyka ma „włączyć do programu ustalania faktycznych granic (a przynajmniej zakresu) kodu języka", co oznacza „próbę przybliżenia odpowiedzi na pytanie o faktyczne granice swobody w »myślach, mowie i uczynkach« człowieka" (zob. Chlebda 2003: 10–12).

W ujęciu kulturowo-kognitywistycznym orzeka się, że mimo różnych niejasności metajęzyka tej koncepcji „języka naturalnego jako instrumentu metaforycznej kategoryzacji i warunkowanej kulturowo interpretacji rzeczywistości (czy: swoistej reprezentacji świata w umyśle mówiących) wydaje się atrakcyjna dla frazeologii »integralnej«"[29]. Otóż „dla realizacji postulatów badawczych »frazeologii integralnej« niezbędny jest bowiem zarówno wzgląd na systemowe możliwości znakotwórcze (potencjał *langue*), jak i sięganie do szeroko rozumianej »bazy doświadczeniowej« jako źródła form językowych". Ponadto konieczne jest traktowanie metafory nie tylko jako „stylistycznego ornamentu czy odstępstwa od językowej »naturalności«", ale trzeba na nią spojrzeć – „jak proponuje to semantyka kognitywna – jako na specyficznie ludzki proces poznawczego »mapowania« jednej struktury językowo-pojęciowej na inną" (Jędrzejko 2000: 108). Zauważa się ponadto, że aktualnie frazeologia kognitywna zmieniła swój „kategorialno-pojęciowy image", odzyskała systemowy status międzydyscyplinarny, wzbogaciła się też jej metodologia, toteż byłoby zasadne uważać frazeologię kognitywną na obecnym etapie jej rozwoju nie jako nową dyscyplinę frazeologiczną, a jako uporządkowany program kognitywnie zorientowanych badań frazeologicznego składu języka z wykorzystaniem nowoczesnego aparatu pojęciowo-kategorialnego (Алефиренко 2008: 11, 13–14)[30]. W kontekście zastosowań koncepcji kul-

[29] Otóż, jeśli z pojmowania przedmiotu lingwistyki kognitywnej wypływają zadania konkretnych dziedzin leksykologii, morfologii, składni, stylistyki oraz frazeologii kognitywnej, toteż każda z tych dyscyplin winna pokazać współdziałanie „swoich" językowych jednostek i leżących w ich podstawie struktur wiedzy (Алефиренко 2008: 8).

[30] Jednym z podstawowych czynników przeprowadzających współczesną kognitywną frazeologię na nowy, zaawansowany, etap rozwoju jest jej dyskursywno-synergetyczne ukierunkowanie, przyjmując, że przede wszystkim trzeba odróżniać w fenomenie synergetyki, z jednej strony, zjawisko, a z drugiej – szczególny typ myślenia. Myślenie synergetyczne to postmodernistyczne myślenie multiparadygmatyczne lub międzyparadygmatyczne. Tak więc w lingwokognitywistyce synergetyka jest pluralistyczna (Алефиренко 2008: 22).

turowo-kognitywistycznej odnotowuje się, że wraz z umocnieniem się we współczesnej lingwistyce pozycji paradygmatu dyskursywno-kognitywnego granica między frazemami podstawowymi i marginalnymi zaciera się, ponieważ tworzenie nowego frazemu na marginalnej przestrzeni dyskursu także jest informatywne, tak jak semioza frazemów w ramach onomazjologicznego systemu języka. Tak więc zastosowanie zasad i kategorii kognitywnej onomazjologii do frazeologicznej neologii pozwoli ustanowić prawidłowości formowania nowych struktur reprezentacji wiedzy, ujawnić kognitywne czynniki dopingujące powstawanie nowych frazemów (Алефиренко 2008: 250)[31]. Ponadto do wskazań o charakterze teoretycznym odnoszących się do postępowania badawczego frazeologii kognitywnej trzeba jeszcze dodać, że istnieje duża liczba prac poświęconych nowym zasadom układania frazeologicznych słowników, różnym typom opisu frazeologicznego systemu języka. Mimo różnicy w metodologii w wielu pracach zauważa się tezę o tym, że interpretacja znaczeń frazeologizmów powinna uwzględniać nie tylko charakterystyki etymologiczne i systemowe, lecz również jego wewnątrzsystemowe kognitywne i pragmatyczne parametry (Ромашина 2007: 457).

W odniesieniu do dociekań językowego obrazu świata we frazeologii zauważa się, że jako jedno z narzędzi rekonstrukcji językowego obrazu świata traktuje się jednostki frazeologiczne w rozwijanym w Polsce kognitywnym (ściślej – etnolingwistycznym) nurcie frazeologii teoretycznej, przy czym z dzisiejszego punktu widzenia można traktować frazeologię językową, stanowiącą zbiór stereotypowych związków werbalnych, „za szczególny łącznik między, z jednej strony, teorią stereotypów w rozumieniu psychologicznym i socjologicznym oraz, z drugiej, etnolingwistyką operującą własnym (»putnamowskim«) rozumieniem stereotypu", przy czym „łącznik ten daje badaczom efektywne narzędzie analizy naszej semiosfery i aksjosfery" (Chlebda 2007: 20). Wskazuje się, że – między innymi – do głównych zadań frazeologii odnosi się opis tych fragmentów językowego obrazu świata, które szczególnie obfitują we frazeologizmy, a także zestawienie ich z danymi języków pokrewnych i niepokrewnych, które wywarły na różnych etapach rozwoju języka wpływ na frazeologię, by w ten sposób uwzględnić możliwość kalkowania (zob. Бирих 2007: 245).

Tak więc określenie obiektu badania lingwokognitywnego frazemiki jako jednolitego procesu pośrednio-pochodnego tworzenia sensu jest związane z badaniem kompleksu problemów międzydyscyplinarnych: frazeologii, se-

[31] Por. szczegółowsze wywody konkretnych autorów związane z kognitywnymi parametrami neologizmów frazeologicznych, zwłaszcza w zakresie tego, co tradycyjne i nietradycyjne we frazeologicznym obrazie świata – zob. Mokijenko, Walter (red.) 2008: 249–304.

mantyki kognitywnej, lingwistyki dyskursu, psycholingwistyki, semiotyki, filozofii języka, etnolingwistyki i innych (Алефиренко 2008: 28).

Dokonane przedstawienie sytuacji we współczesnych badaniach frazeologicznych w świetle założeń badawczych „frazeologii integralnej" pokazuje wiele zalet takiego podejścia, zwłaszcza w aspekcie pragmatycznym i antropologicznym (kulturowo-kognitywnym, etnolingwistycznym)[32], jednakże „poszczególne paradygmaty frazeologiczne nie wykluczają się przy tym, lecz dopełniają: natura frazeologii językowej jest tak złożona, że powinna być ona badana z różnych perspektyw poznawczych (teoretycznych, metodologicznych) naraz" (Chlebda 2007: 16), zatem wolno spodziewać się, że właśnie scalając „koncepcje i narzędzia wypracowane przez różne współczesne nurty badawcze, także frazeologia będzie proponować coraz bardziej wnikliwy i wielostronny, holistyczny właśnie, opis różnokształtnych i zmiennych obiektów swojej »działki«" (Jędrzejko 2000: 118)[33].

W najszerszym wymiarze przedłożone dociekania nad frazeologią integralną wpisują się – jak należy sądzić – w płaszczyznę rozważań nad tożsamością frazeologii (termin i wykładnia ujęcia Wojciecha Chlebdy), odnosząc się bowiem do określenia „zakresu działań, celów i zadań, jakie frazeologia teoretyczna stawia dzisiaj i może stawiać przed sobą w przyszłości" (zob. Chlebda 2011: 13–24), dotyka w wycinkowym, merytorycznie ważnym, zakresie refleksji metafrazeologicznej nad współczesnym stanem frazeologii jako dziedziny wiedzy[34].

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[32] W odniesieniu do nowości badawczej w obrębie frazeologii kognitywnej por. następującą uwagę: „Научная новизна исследований в области когнитивной фразеологии определяется тем, что в фокусе общей структуры системных исследований в них разрабатывается концепция континуума дискурсивного пространства фразем как совокупности гетерогенных смысловых полей, имплицитных текстовых измерений, дифференциальных смыслов. Каждому полю такого дискурсивного пространства соответствуют свои дифференциальные смыслы. Их синергетическим взаимодействием создается обобщенный, хотя и имплицитный, смысл фраземоцентрического дискурса" (Алефиренко 2008: 30).

[33] Zasygnalizowane w niniejszym opracowaniu przesłanki interdyscyplinarności trzeba uzupełnić spostrzeżeniem, że „w lingwistyce, złożoność i wieloaspektowość przedmiotu badania domaga się wprawdzie interdyscyplinarnego otwarcia i interdyscyplinarnej kompetencji badaczy [...], ale obecnie oznacza to raczej konieczność ustawicznego przeformułowywania i korygowania (drogą racjonalnej dyskusji) hierarchii celów i problemów badawczych, niż proste akceptowanie autorytatywnych sądów, podnoszących idiosynkratyczności poszczególnych szkół, nurtów czy kierunków do rangi ortodoksyjnej doktryny" (Korżyk 1994: 139).

[34] W kontekście nadmienionej tożsamości frazeologii, a ściślej – w związku z omawianym przez Ewę Jędrzejko (2000: 99–120) miejscem frazeologii w przestrzeni lingwistyki „integralnej" można potwierdzić stwierdzenie, że rola, jaką odgrywa frazeologia w teorii języka jest zróżnicowana ze względu na rozmaitość ram teoretycznych i metodologicznych oraz sposób

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zdefiniowania frazeologizmu, por. „The role phraseology has played in linguistic theory is quite varied. On the one hand, it is varied because theoretical frameworks or approaches in linguistics differ widely in terms of the importance attached to phraseologisms. On the other hand, the importance that phraseology can play in a framework also crucially depends, of course, on how phraseologisms are defined", na przykład nieznaczna w rozwoju różnych wersji gramatyki generatywnej, por. „It is probably fair to say that phraseology has generally played a rather limited role in the development of the various versions of generative grammar" (Gries 2008: 10; szerzej, w tym też wobec językoznawstwa kognitywnego zob. s. 3–25).

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Integration in the contemporary phraseological research

Summary

Attempting to define the character of the contemporary research on phraseology, one should take into consideration the fact that there are many trends and aspects. In the present paper, the discussion, touching upon the research approaches from earlier periods of the development of phraseology, refers to selected new research perspectives in phraseology of interdisciplinary character in the framework of "integration" linguistics, reflecting the subject and methodological integration of phraseology with definite disciplines of linguistics as well as with the disciplines from the border area of linguistics. The following issues are discussed in detail: pragmatic profile, with the central conception of this trend – phraseme studies treated as the sender's phraseology; ethnolinguistic profile, highlighting the conception of linguistic picture of the world contained in the language, which occupies an especially important place in culture-oriented linguistics. The theoretical discussion on the contemporary research on phraseology in the light of the research assumptions of "integrated phraseology" illustrate the significant area which studies deal with as well as shows the advantages of such an approach.

PART II

LEXICOGRAPHY, CORPUS LINGUISTICS & PHRASEOLOGY

Kaoru Akasu
Toyo University
Japan

On the Three Editions of the *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations*: A Comparative Analysis

Abstract. Akasu (2011: 45) notes that "*Eiwa Katsuyo Daijiten*, the English title of which is the *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations* was published in Japan as early as 1939, being the very first of its kind dealing with the subject of collocations in English", and has made an analysis of a selection of entries of this pre-corpus dictionary by comparing them to the corresponding entries of the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English*, Second Edition, one of the present-day collocation dictionaries in the current corpus era. The present paper compares and contrasts the contents of the dictionary in question with those of the second, revised edition (1958) and those of the third, fully revised edition (1995), in an attempt to see what kind of changes were made in the subsequent revisions and to find out further what sort of policies were behind these revision processes. The focus is on the longitudinal aspects of the revision work, rather than on the characteristic features of each of the two revised editions of the dictionary. In a nutshell, this paper is a sequel to and complements the findings presented in Akasu (2011).

Key words: *collocations, dictionary, Japan, English, English-Japanese*

1. Introduction

I carried out a critical analysis[1], in Akasu (2011), of (the first edition of) the *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations* (*KDEC1*, hereafter) by comparing it with the present-day corpus-informed dictionary, *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English*, Second Edition (*OCD2*, hereafter), which was the most up-to-date dictionary of English collocations at the time. The primary aim was to help to expand awareness of the dictionary in the West and,

[1] For further details of dictionary analysis, see Akasu (2007) and Akasu (2013).

also, to shed light on the ingenuity and prescience of editor and compiler Senkichiro Katsumata (1872–1959).

The *KDEC1* was published in 1939. An enlarged edition, entitled *Kenkyusha's New Dictionary of English Collocations* (*KDEC2*, hereafter), came out in 1958, revised by the same editor Katsumata with the assistance of a few colleagues and collaborators. In 1995, a whole new team of editors and lexicographers, headed by Shigejiro Ichikawa, published *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Collocations* (*KDEC3*, hereafter). I might point out, in this connection, the fact that nowhere in the book is it specifically mentioned that this 1995 dictionary is the third edition of Katsumata's *KDEC*. It should be safe, however, to assume that it is. In what follows, I will compare a selection of entries between the *KDEC1* and the *KDEC2* on the one hand, and between the *KDEC2* and the *KDEC3* on the other, in order to ascertain the kind of changes that were made in each of the two revisions.

2. Comparison

2.1. Sampling

I made a random selection of the following pages[2] of the *KDEC1*: 100–102, 900–902, and 1700–1702, a total of nine pages, which is less than one percent of the whole book (0.464%, to be more exact), with the main body of this dictionary consisting of 1938 pages. The entries on these pages were compared with the corresponding entries in the *KDEC2* and those in the *KDEC3*, respectively. The headwords on the pages concerning each of the editions are given in the following table:

Table 1. Number of headwords surveyed

Pages	headwords	*KDEC1*	*KDEC2*	*KDEC3*
100–102	assortment *n.* — attack *v.*	25	29	34
900–902	join *v.* — journey *n.*	17	22	17
1700–1702	swordsman *n.* — synopsis *n.*	25	26	26
	total	67	77	77

[2] The pages surveyed in this article coincide partly with those surveyed in Akasu (2011). To be more specific, I drew on three out of the five sections used in the latter.

A quick glance at the table above will show that there was a marked increase in the number of headwords entered in the *KDEC2* (14.9%). The ten headwords added anew are as follows: *athlete n.*, *athletics n.*, *Atlantic n.*, *atoll n.*, *joinder n.*, *joint-editorship n.*, *joking n.*, *jolt n.*, *jolt v.*, and *syllabary n.* No headwords in the *KDEC1* were struck out. By contrast, it appears that there was no change in the number of headwords between the *KDEC2* and the *KDEC3*. A closer look will reveal that additions and deletions did take place, however. The sum of them happened to be the same at both ends and, therefore, they cancelled each other out in number. The thirteen new headwords in the *KDEC3* are as follows: *astronomy n.*, *atlas n.*, *astute adj.*, *athirst adj.*, *astounding adj.*, *attached adj.*, *astern adv.*, *Joneses n.*, *jounce v.*, *symmetrical adj.*, *synch v.*, *syndrome n.*, *syndicate v.* Those headwords deleted in the *KDEC3* are as follows: *Atlantic n.*, *astride ad.*, *joinder n.*, *joiner n.*, *joint v.*, *joint-editorship n.*, *joking n.*, *jolly a.*, *jolting n.*, *syllabary n.*, *symbology n.*, *synchronous a.*, *synchronously ad*. One might infer from the above that, as for the revision of the *KDEC1*, the editor was keen on increasing the number of headwords to be entered in the *KDEC2*, whereas the new team of editors was more interested in the selection of words to be given as headwords in the *KDEC3*.

It might be added that the breakdown of headwords over the three editions in terms of parts of speech is shown in the table below:

Table 2. Breakdown of headwords surveyed

	KDEC1	*KDEC2*	*KDEC3*
Nouns	41 (61.2%)	50 (64.9%)	47 (61.0%)
Verbs	16 (23.9%)	17 (22.1%)	18 (23.4%)
Adjectives	8 (11.9%)	2 (2.6%)	11 (14.3%)
Adverbs	2 (3.0%)	1 (1.3%)	1 (1.3%)
Total	67	77	77

It would be safe to conclude that the prime target of description for the dictionary, be it the first or second or third edition, is definitely the noun, followed by the verb. In addition, it might be worth pointing out that there is a considerably larger proportion of adjectives in the *KDEC3*, which seems to suggest that the new editors were aware that, as far as the word class was concerned, there was an imbalance of coverage and that they made an attempt to implement a supplementary policy to redress the balance.

2.2. Comparison between *KDEC1* and *KDEC2*

2.2.1. Collocation items

The collocation items, or collocates, given on the above-mentioned pages of the *KDEC1* were all checked with those given in the corresponding entries in the *KDEC2*. The results of the survey are given in the following table:

Table 3. Number of items added and deleted between *KDEC1* and *KDEC2*

pages	headwords	*KDEC1*	*KDEC2*
100–102	assortment *n.* — attack *v.*	3/212 (1.4%)[3]	100/309 (32.4%)[4]
900–902	join *v.* — journey *n.*	13/243 (5.3%)	68/298 (22.8%)
1700–1702	swordsman *n.* — synopsis *n.*	1/189 (0.5%)	49/237 (20.7%)
	total	17/644 (2.6%)	217/844 (25.7%)

Before proceeding to make a comment on the table above, a few words of caution seem to be in order. First, the figures in the table above represent the number of tokens, not types. Look at the following simplified[5] example, taken from the *KDEC2*:

assuage, *v.*

P. *assuage* it ***by*** treatment (...). ¶ *assuage* it ***with*** remedies (...) ‖ *assuage* one's anger ***with*** gentle words (...).

There are two examples, in this particular entry, in which one and the same preposition *with* appears. In such cases, the number of collocates have been counted as two (tokens), rather than one (type). Secondly, some examples have more than one collocate in them, in different ways. Such examples include the following, quoted from the *KDEC2*: "a ***large*** (= ***rich***) assortment of goods", as in the entry for *assortment* n.; "a ***comfortable homely*** atmosphere", as in *atmosphere* n.; "the ***first*** and ***opening*** attack", as in *attack* n.

[3] The figure 3 in this particular box indicates the number of collocates given in the *KDEC1* that were deleted in the corresponding entries in the *KDEC2*, while the figure 212 denotes the total number of collocates entered in the relevant entries in the *KDEC1*. The figures in the boxes below in this column are to be interpreted in the same way.

[4] The figure 100 in this box indicates the number of collocates in the entries concerned that were newly added in the *KDEC2*, whereas the figure 309 signifies the total number of collocates given in the relevant entries in the *KDEC2*. The figures in the boxes below in this column are to be interpreted likewise.

[5] By "simplified" is meant that translations in Japanese, attached to each example in the dictionary, are omitted in the quotation. "P" in the entry stands for "preposition", signifying that this section covers collocates involving prepositions.

In cases like these, the number of collocates have been counted as two (distinct types). Thirdly, example sentences are modified or altered in some way: e.g. by adding or substituting the subject/object noun phrase, by replacing the active with the passive or vice versa, by changing the phrase example into a sentence, and so on. As long as the example is taken to represent the same collocate, the modification does not affect the counting. Put another way, I put content before form in comparing the items between the two editions. There are some more subtle differences of varying types, which I will refrain from going into any further.

As for Table 3, what is most noticeable is the fact that the number of collocates in the *KDEC1* that were struck out in the revision was very small, whereas the number of collocates that were added anew in the *KDEC2* was considerably larger. In other words, nearly all collocates in the *KDEC1* remained unchanged in the *KDEC2* and a quarter of all collocates in the *KDEC2* were new ones, as far as these pages under consideration are concerned. It may well be inferred from this that what the editor Katsumata had in mind was to improve the contents of the dictionary by increasing the number of entries in the revision, which is in accord with the finding presented in 2.1.

2.2.2. Specific entries in *KDEC2*

I would like to examine some specific entries in the *KDEC2*, based on the observations I made in Akasu (2011), in order to see whether there was any improvement on the description of collocates. First, let us consider the noun *assumption*. I pointed out, based on the Bank of English data, that such phrases as *put on an assumption*, *probable assumption*, *hypothetical assumption*, and *mere assumption* ought to be taken out. As it turned out, all of these examples remained in the *KDEC2*. On the other hand, I made a suggestion that *make an assumption*, *basic assumption*, *underlying assumption*, *common assumption*, *reasonable assumption*, *implicit assumption*, *fundamental assumption*, *certain assumption*, *general assumption*, *assumption about*, and *assumption behind* should be candidates for inclusion. Unfortunately, no change was made in the *KDEC2* as far as these phrases are concerned.

Next, let us look at the verb *sympathize*. I indicated that such adverbs as *heartily*, *keenly*, and *profoundly* were of dubious status as collocates, implying that they should be deleted. All three of them remained in the *KDEC2*. On the other hand, I suggested that *fully*, *entirely*, and *really* be included. All these adverbs turned out to be still unlisted. I made another suggestion that *sympathize with A upon B* be struck out and that *sympathize (with A) over B* be added on. No improvement took place in the *KDEC2*, however, as far as these two expressions go.

As for the adjective *synonymous*, I suggested that the example *closely and strictly synonymous* be crossed out, which did not happen in the *KDEC2*. I also suggested that examples involving modifying adverbs like *virtually*, *necessarily*, *practically*, *always*, *largely*, *roughly*, *nearly*, *often*, etc. be included in the entry. None of these adverbs appeared in the revised *KDEC2*. Incidentally, the entry for *synonymous* in the *KDEC1* had the following example: "*synonymous* ***almost*** with ..". I pointed out in my article that it should be changed to "almost synonymous with", and the *KDEC2* turned out to have it changed accordingly.

The entry for the adverb *synchronously* in the *KDEC2* had just one example: "Talkies produce sound *synchronously* ***with*** action", which is exactly the same example as in the *KDEC1*. I refrained from saying anything definite about the adequacy or felicity of this entry, in Akasu (2011), due to the apparent insufficiency of relevant data. I have come to believe that it is a good enough candidate for inclusion in view of the fact that I obtained two such instances out of eleven hits in the British National Corpus, and as many lines out of fifteen hits in the Collins Wordbanks Online. In addition, I found, in the Corpus of Contemporary American English, that the preposition *with* was the one which occurred most frequently after the adverb in question, with an MI score of 3.03.

Taken altogether, the *KDEC2* still left ample room for improvement, though it showed some advance over its predecessor. It would require another paper to say something more definitive about what sort of improvement should have been carried out in what area or areas in the *KDEC2*.

2.3. Comparison between *KDEC2* and *KDEC3*

2.3.1. Collocation items

The survey was conducted on the items listed in the entries already designated in the *KDEC2* and the *KDEC3*, in the same way as described in 2.2.1. The results are shown in the table below:

Table 4. Number of items added and deleted between *KDEC2* and *KDEC3*

pages	headwords	*KDEC2*	*KDEC3*
100–102	assortment *n.* — attack *v.*	85/311 (27.3%)	673/899 (74.9%)
900–902	join *v.* — journey *n.*	68/297 (22.9%)	386/615 (62.8%)
1700–1702	swordsman *n.* — synopsis *n.*	64/229 (27.9%)	241/406 (59.4%)
	total	217/837 (25.9%)	1300/1920 (67.7%)

It is quite obvious that, by contrast to the previous revision, the *KDEC3* underwent far more drastic, substantial revision. As shown by the results, a quarter of the collocates included in the *KDEC2* were deleted, and more than two thirds of the items entered in the *KDEC3* were newly introduced.

2.3.2. Specific entries in *KDEC3*

I will examine some specific entries in the *KDEC3* here, in exactly the same way as in section 2.2.2, that is, on the basis of the observations that I made in Akasu (2011). First, let us look at the noun *assumption*. I pointed out, according to the Bank of English data, that such phrases as *put on an assumption*, *probable assumption*, *hypothetical assumption*, and *mere assumption* be removed. The first two phrases turned out to have been taken out, with the other two remaining[6], in the *KDEC3*. On the other hand, I made a suggestion that *make an assumption*, *basic assumption*, *underlying assumption*, *common assumption*, *reasonable assumption*, *implicit assumption*, *fundamental assumption*, *certain assumption*, *general assumption*, *assumption about*, and *assumption behind* be candidates for inclusion. It should be worth noting that *make an assumption*, *basic assumption*, *common assumption*, *reasonable assumption*, *implicit assumption*, *fundamental assumption*, *general assumption*, and *assumption about*, that is, eight out of eleven phrases, were taken up in the *KDEC3*.

Next, let us consider the verb *sympathize*. There were three adverbs, namely *heartily*, *keenly*, and *profoundly*, that I suggested in Akasu (2011) be removed, out of which only the first one *heartily* was crossed off in the *KDEC3*. On the other hand, the three adverbs *fully*, *entirely*, and *really* that I suggested be included had yet to be entered. I made another suggestion that *sympathize with A upon B* be struck out and that *sympathize (with A) over B* be added on. No improvement took place in the *KDEC3*, which is the same situation as in the *KDEC2*.

As for the adjective *synonymous*, I suggested that *closely and strictly synonymous* be deleted, which again did not happen in the *KDEC3*, either. I also suggested that examples involving modifying adverbs like *virtually*, *necessarily*, *practically*, *always*, *largely*, *roughly*, *nearly*, *often*, etc. be included in the entry. None of these adverbs appeared in the *KDEC2*, but in the *KDEC3*, only one of them *virtually synonymous* was included. One more thing, "al-

[6] It is to be noted that these two examples were presented, in the *KDEC2*, as "hypothetical assumption*s*" and "mere assumption", both of which were changed in form to "*a* hypothetical assumption" and "*a* mere assumption" (italics mine) in the *KDEC3*, respectively.

most synonymous with", an item changed in the *KDEC2* from "*synonymous* ***almost*** with" in the *KDEC1*, was struck out.

The entry for the adverb *synchronously* itself was taken out in the *KDEC3*, which I would say was not an unreasonable decision in view of the fact that the lexical item in question is of low frequency[7] and that there are thousands of others which are to be entered as headwords.

It is fairly obvious that, on the whole, the revision made by the new team of editors to the *KDEC3* was far more extensive and far-reaching than that carried out by the original editor Katsumata to the *KDEC2*. How successful this revision was, however, is another matter. Further research is needed to offer a more precise answer to this question.

3. Some other observations

There are a few points that deserve to be mentioned about some of the changes made in the *KDEC2* and/or the *KDEC3*. First to be noted is the fact that a systematic change took place as to the labels or signposts for designating collocation types. The following entry for *attack n.*, taken from the *KDEC2*, is a case in point:

attack, *n.*

V. ***bring on*** an *attack* (...). ¶ ***deliver*** (= ***make***) fierce *attacks* against the enemy (...). ¶ ***disarm*** further *attacks* (...). ¶ ***foil***...

V^2. when the *attack* ***passes off*** (...).

Q. a very ***acute*** *attack* of indigestion (...) ‖ suffer from an ***acute*** *attack* of delirium tremens (...). ¶ launch an ***all-out*** *attack*...

Q^2. be destroyed by ***air*** *attacks* (...). ¶ a ***blitz*** *attack* (...). ¶ a ***bomb*** *attack* from...

P. They were alarmed ***by*** a sudden *attack*. (...). ¶ He looks quite cheerful and happy ***notwithstanding*** *attacks* of...

P^2. An *attack* ***from*** the sky (...). ¶ an *attack* ***in*** the darkness (...).¶ An *attack* ***of*** paralysis seized him. (...). ¶ an *attack* ***on***...

Labels with a superscripted number[8], namely V^2, Q^2, and P^2 in this partic-

[7] I found no more than eleven occurrences of the word in the 100 million BNC, and obtained forty-nine hits even in 450 million COCA.

[8] There is one more such label "M^2", used for verb entries like *join v.* and *jot v.* The label M stands for "modifiers" as used with verbs and adjectives, e.g. *attack ... vehemently* and *really astonishing*, whereas M2 heads those entries for what are called phrasal verbs, e.g. *jot them down in one's notebook* (*on paper*).

ular example above, were all introduced in the *KDCE2*. The label V represented the type [Verb + Noun] and the new V^2 the [Noun + Verb] type, i.e. depending on whether the collocating verb precedes or follows the noun in question. Exactly the same goes for the distinction between the labels P and P^2. Another new label Q^2 had a different character from the two above. The difference between Q and Q^2 represented the discrimination in the word class of qualifiers, i.e. whether they are adjectives or nouns. In the *KDEC1* where no distinction was drawn between these collocation subtypes, these same examples were given under each of the undistinguished labels, V, Q, and P, respectively. It seems that the introduction of these subtypes facilitated users' search for particular items by making clear the demarcation between some structurally different classes. It may, therefore, be deemed a welcome addition.

The *KDEC3* took a positive step toward user-friendliness. These labels using alphabetical letters for representing collocation patterns or types were all replaced by transparent forms. The labels V and V^2, for example, in the *KDEC2* were changed into 〈 VERB+ 〉 and 〈 +VERB 〉, respectively. It should be emphasized that the English word *VERB* is used here for purposes of illustration, but in actual fact, a Japanese word *doushi* 'verb(s)' was used in the angle brackets in the dictionary. As for the labels Q and Q^2, however, the *KDEC3* adopted a rather different approach. The two labels were combined back into one category and represented as 〈 ADJECTIVE • NOUN+ 〉, again in Japanese *kanji* though I use English words here. This treatment is understandable to a certain degree in that it is sometimes quite difficult to draw a line between nouns and adjectives in such cases as *amateur athletics*, *a leftist* [*rightist*] *attack*, *a specialist journal* and the like.

Secondly, it is to be noted that some more full sentence examples are given in the entries in the *KDEC2* than in the *KDEC1*, and that a great many more are made use of in the *KDEC3*. I counted the number of sentence examples and that of phrase examples[9] in the first ten entries, shared by the three editions, in the first section listed in Table 1. The results are summarized in the following table:

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[9] Non-full sentence examples, rather than phrase examples, may be the right term that I should use here because there are such near-sentence examples as "It may **safely** be *assumed* that ..." and "We don't have any evidence, but it seems a **reasonable** *assumption* that ..." and I have counted those examples in which any part of the sentence is omitted among phrase examples, not among full sentence ones.

[10] The figures before the slash in these boxes indicate the number of full sentence examples while the figures after the slash denote that of phrase examples. The percentage in parentheses

Table 5. Number of sentence examples and phrase examples

	KDEC1	*KDEC2*	*KDEC3*
assortment *n.* — astonishing *a.*	21/26[10] (44.7%)	26/39 (40.0%)	138/77 (64.2%)

Apparently, there is not much difference between the figures of the *KDEC1* and the *KDEC2*. By contrast, the difference between the *KDEC2* and the *KDEC3* is enormous and astonishing. The increased use of full sentence examples, rather than skeleton-like ones would mean that more context is provided to examples, which may be taken to be a welcome change because examples would be made more easily accessible and more informative to users.

Thirdly, this is about the change that should have been implemented more often, rather than about the change that took place. I pointed out in Akasu (2011) that there are some problematic cases, including cases of what Chomsky (1965) called "loose association", found in the examples in the *KDEC1* and that they should be amended or corrected. Indeed, some were corrected. For example, the *KDEC1* gave, in the entry for *astonish v.*, the example "You must have been *astonished* ***on*** seeing him", which was carried over to the entry in the *KDEC2*. The *KDEC3*, however, got rid of this particular example, which I believe was the good and right decision to make. However, some doubtful examples can still be spotted. Observe the following:

symptom *n.*:

> ⟨ PREPOSITION+ ⟩ identify a disease **by** its *symptoms* (...) / ascertain ... **from** *symptoms* (...) / Stress can lead **to** *symptoms* such as ... (...).

Do these three examples in this section represent the type in question? Take, for example, the preposition *by* in the first example above. Arguably, the association between it and the verb *identify* is stronger by far than that between it and the noun phrase *its symptoms*. The same thing can be said of the other two examples. It is regrettable that such examples as these above happen to be included in the *KDEC3*.

Although there are still some other minor points that I would like to comment on concerning the changes instituted in the *KDEC2* and/or the *KDEC3*, I will leave the details of them to some other occasion.

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shows the proportion of sentence examples.

4. Conclusions

I have conducted a comparative analysis, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, of the *KDEC1* and the subsequent two revised editions of the *KDEC2* and the *KDEC3* in order to see how the first edition developed into the second and the way that the second edition evolved into the third. It has become clear from the results that the *KDEC2* was eager to add more examples to the first edition, trying not to edit out the entries already included, whereas the *KDEC3*'s was a far more drastic and thorough revision, trying to include a great number of full sentence examples in the dictionary. Granted that a more extensive survey would have yielded a clearer and more general picture, I am firmly of the opinion that I have drawn a good enough picture of the trajectory of representative entries.

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Trzy wydania *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations*. Analiza porównawcza

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi konsytuację badań, których wyniki zostały omówione we wcześniejszych badaniach K. Akasu (2011). Słownik *Eiwa Katsuyo Daijiten*, którego angielski tytuł brzmi *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of English Collocations*, został opublikowany w Japonii już w 1939 roku. Był pierwszym opracowaniem angielskich kolokacji. W niniejszym artykule omówiono wyniki analizy wybranych haseł tego słownika pochodzącego z okresu przedkorpusowego, polegającej na zestawieniu ich z korespondującymi hasłami z drugiego wydania *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English*, jednego ze słowników kolokacji opracowanego na bazie korpusów. Porównano te artykuły hasłowe z ich odpowiednikami z drugiej, uzupełnionej edycji (1958) i tymi z trzeciej, z kolejnymi uzupełnieniami (1995). Celem analizy jest ustalenie, jakiego rodzaju zmiany zostały wprowadzone w kolejnych wydaniach i określenie, jakiego rodzaju czynniki zadecydowały o wprowadzeniu zmian. Ujęcie ma charakter historyczny, dlatego znacznie mniej uwagi poświęcono opisowi cech poszczególnych wydań analizowanego słownika.

Priscilla Ishida
University of Tsukuba
Japan

Japanese idioms in corpus data and phraseological dictionaries: The extraction and representation of variant forms*

Abstract. Traditional views of Japanese idioms hold that one of their defining properties is lexico-structural invariability, and many dictionaries present idioms as stable, fully fixed expressions. However, evidence from written texts shows that some idioms have variant forms with shared lexis/structure and synonymous or antonymous meanings. This paper investigates how Japanese idiom variants are represented in phraseological dictionaries, in light of evidence from corpus data. First, past views of the phenomenon of variability are reviewed and some problems of identification and description are discussed. Then the results of a corpus analysis of a set of 56 Japanese idioms are reported and compared to descriptions of the target idioms in seven monolingual phraseological dictionaries. Three variant types are discussed: synonymous variants, antonymous variants, and truncations/expansions. Results show that antonymous variants tend to be treated more consistently than the other two types. However, many variants of all three types that are attested in corpus data are overlooked in dictionaries. The conclusion is that there is a strong need for the integration of past research, corpus analysis, and lexicographical practice.

Key words: *idioms, variants, corpus data, lexical profiling, phraseological dictionaries*

1. Introduction

Idioms are multi-word expressions characterized by strong bonding between their individual constituents.[1] According to traditional views, this

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[1] Miyaji (1982a: 238) defines idioms as strings of two or more words that have comparatively strong internal bonding and fixed, holistic meanings ("*tango no futatsu ijō no renketsutai de atte, sono musubitsuki ga hikaku-teki kataku, zentai de kimatta imi o motsu kotoba*").

means it is usually not possible to replace individual words with synonyms or antonyms (1), or to delete them (2).

(1) *saji/*spūn o nageru* (lit. throw the spoon [Jap. word]/*spoon [Eng. loanword], 'give up'), *abura o uru/*kau* (lit. sell/*buy oil, 'loaf; waste time')

(2) *kumo no ko o chirasu yō/*kumo o chirasu yō* (lit. as if one scatters spider babies/*spiders, '(run off) in all directions')

However, newspapers, books, internet blogs, and other Japanese texts show that some idioms do allow the replacement (3) or deletion (4) of constituents.

(3) *Shikashi, gakkō kankeisha wa ijime ga atta ka dō ka wa wakaranai to kuchi o nigosu.* ('However, the parties concerned at the school prevaricate (lit. muddy their mouths), saying they don't know whether or not there was any bullying'.) [book]
cf. *kotoba o nigosu* (lit. muddy one's words, 'speak evasively; prevaricate')

(4) *Me kara uroko no rekishi kōza.* ('It's an eye-opening (lit. scales-from-the-eyes) history course'.) [blog]
cf. *me kara uroko ga ochiru* (lit. the scales fall from one's eyes, 'be awakened to the truth')

This evidence is consistent with studies of idioms in languages such as English (Moon 1998; Philip 2008) and German (Itō 1990), which show that while some idioms are quite frozen, others have pairs or sets of variant forms with synonymous or antonymous meanings. This paper takes the view that pairs of expressions like (3) *kotoba o nigosu/kuchi o nigosu* and (4) *me kara uroko ga ochiru/me kara uroko* are "idiom variants", which are defined as two or more idiomatic expressions with shared lexis and meaning that have the status of relatively stable units of the Japanese lexicon (Ishida 1998; cf. Itō 1990; Moon 1998). The aim of this paper is to show what corpus data reveal about idiom variants and to investigate how well the phenomenon of variability is represented in phraseological dictionaries.

2. Past views of fixedness and variability in Japanese idioms

"Fixedness" or "stability" is widely considered to be a fundamental characteristic of idioms. Past research on Japanese idioms defines them as strings of words that are habitually used together and resistant to the replacement, addition, and deletion of lexical constituents (Miyaji 1982a; Kunihiro 1985; Muraki 1991; Itō 1997).

However, there is evidence that many idioms have one or more variant forms that are strongly institutionalized. Miyaji (1982b) and Morita (1985, 1994) point out that some transitive verb phrase idioms have intransitive counterparts, and vice versa (e.g. *yaridama ni ageru* lit. raise s.o. on the tip of a spear, 'make an example of s.o.'/*yaridama ni agaru* lit. s.o. rises on the tip of a spear, 'be made an example of'). Miyaji (1985) shows that some verb and adjective phrase idioms have corresponding compounds (e.g. *me ga sameru* lit. one's eyes awake, 'wake up to; realize'/*mezameru* 'wake up to; realize'). Morita (1985, 1994) also notes that some idioms have synonymous or antonymous variants created by the replacement of one of their content words (e.g. *ude ga sagaru/ochiru* lit. one's arm goes down/falls, 'one's ability or performance declines', *koshi ga tsuyoi/yowai* lit. one's hips are strong/weak, 'firm; resolute'/'weak-kneed').

Building on previous studies, Ishida (1998) reports the results of an extensive analysis of idiom variants collected from Japanese novels and identifies two principal types of variation. The first is structural, which involves the addition or deletion of one or more constituents and a change in the internal structure and/or grammatical function of the idiom. The second is lexical, which arises from the alternation of a noun, verb, or adjective constituent.

Satō (2007a, 2007b) analyzes the idiom headwords in five Japanese dictionaries and points out inconsistencies in the representation of the lexical structure or phonological form of some expressions. He attributes some of these inconsistencies to the existence of idiom variants (*ikei*), which are exemplified but not discussed in detail, and others to differences in individual lexicographers' views of the degree of standardization of idiom forms. He also suggests that the lack of set procedures for establishing headword forms is problematic for lexicographers.

It is evident that past research on Japanese idioms has explored, to some extent, the phenomenon of idiom variability. However, until now, scholars have relied on intuition, manually collected data, and/or genre-specific electronic databases. This paper takes the view that corpus data can be used to gain a clearer picture of the phenomenon of variability, including types of variants, non-intuitive forms, and frequency and currency of use. Sections 3 and 4 will report the methodology and results of a corpus analysis of idiom variants, and Section 5 will investigate how well evidence from corpus data is reflected in monolingual Japanese phraseological dictionaries.

3. Extracting idiom variants from corpus data

3.1. Target idioms, tools, and procedures

In order to identify variant forms, this researcher first selected a set of 100 commonly-used idioms dealt with in past studies and then collected potential candidates for variants from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ) and an opportunistic web corpus (TWC). In order to find all possible forms of the target idioms, queries were created from the smallest possible number of constituents (Moon 1998; Fellbaum et al. 2006; Philip 2008), using the search tools described below.

1) **NINJAL-LWP for BCCWJ (NLB) ver. 1.20**: This is an online lexical profiling tool developed jointly by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) and the Lago Institute of Language. It uses the 2011 DVD version of the BCCWJ, which includes 11 text types and approximately 105 million words. The purpose of using this tool was to identify potential variant forms by extracting all phrases containing a key word in the target idiom and filtering the results yielded for phrase structures and collocates.
2) **NINJAL-LWP for TWC (NLT) ver. 1.10**: NLT is an online lexical profiling tool for the Tsukuba Web Corpus (TWC), which is a web corpus of 1.1 billion words compiled from Japanese websites by researchers at the University of Tsukuba in January, 2012. This tool has the same interface as NLB (see above) and was used in order to confirm, in a larger corpus, potential variants previously identified in the BCCWJ.

Multiple queries were necessary for both tools. After the initial search results were obtained, irrelevant data (e.g. literal examples and duplicates) were eliminated manually. The criteria used to identify idiom variants were shared lexis, shared meaning, and a threshold of at least 10 occurrences in the BCCWJ. In a few borderline cases, native speaker judgments of familiarity and acceptability were also taken into account.[2]

Search results were compiled for each variant, and the alternating forms of each idiom were then analyzed and classified. For the purpose of the dictionary analysis, the target idioms were limited to a set of 56 (with a total of 150 individual forms) exemplifying the five types of variants shown

[2] The BCCWJ yields only 8 instances of *kenka o kau* (lit. buy a fight, 'accept a challenge'; see Table 4). However, since native speakers judge this expression to be familiar and acceptable, it is considered here to be a stable variant. The same is true for *soshiranu kao o suru* (lit. do a face that doesn't know, 'be unresponsive; feign ignorance'; Table 7) and *wara ni mo sugaru* (lit. cling to a straw, 'take desperate measures'; Table 8).

below. This paper will compare the results of the corpus analysis and dictionary analysis of synonymous variants, antonymous variants, and truncations/expansions.

1) synonymous variants
2) antonymous variants
3) transitive/intransitive variants
4) idioms/compounds
5) truncations/expansions

3.2. Problems of identification and description

3.2.1. The question of "canonical" forms

Idiom dictionaries tend to present idioms as "syntactically, morphologically, and lexically fixed canonical forms" (Fellbaum et al. 2006: 350), and language users tend to believe that an idiom form listed in the dictionary is its "standard" form. One possible view is that idioms have a canonical form and variants are deviations from this form. Judgments regarding which is the canonical form and which is (are) the variant(s) are usually made on the basis of frequency, derivational relationships, or provenance. However, in some cases multiple forms of an idiom are used frequently, as in (5), and language users may judge multiple forms to be "standard" in spite of differences in frequency, as in (6).

(5) *hara ga tatsu* (lit. one's belly rises, 'get angry') 766 (BCCWJ)
hara o tateru (lit. raise one's belly, 'get angry') 570 (BCCWJ)

(6) *shūshifu o utsu* (lit. strike (typewrite) a period, 'put an end to s.t.') 164 (BCCWJ)
piriodo o utsu (lit. strike (typewrite) a period, 'put an end to s.t.') 42 (BCCWJ)

Another possible view is that pairs or sets such as those shown in (5) and (6) are one idiom with alternate forms (Moon 1998; Ishida 1998). In this view, *hara ga tatsu* is a variant of *hara o tateru* (5) and vice versa. This view places emphasis on the mutual relationships between alternate forms and also provides a framework flexible enough to handle clusters of forms with variable lexis and/or structure (Moon 1998; Philip 2008).

This paper takes the second view. Alternating idiom forms are regarded as mutual variants, and no attempt is made to distinguish between canonical and non-canonical forms.

3.2.2. Lexico-structural variants vs. independent idioms

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between pairs or sets of idiom variants, on one hand, and different idioms that happen to belong to the same lexical field, on the other. For instance, the expressions in (7) all share the noun *mimi* ('ear') and the particle *ni* (DAT 'into') and also convey the meaning 'hear s.t. unintentionally', so at first glance they may appear to constitute a set of synonymous variants.

(7a) *komimi ni hasamu* (lit. insert s.t. into one's little-ear)	60 (BCCWJ)
(7b) *mimi ni suru* (lit. do s.t. into one's ear)	1,180 (BCCWJ)
(7c) *mimi ni hairu* (lit. s.t. enters one's ear)	463 (BCCWJ)

However, a closer look at the structure and meaning of each idiom indicates that a more finely-tuned distinction is called for. Although (7a) *komimi ni hasamu* and (7b) *mimi ni suru* share the same syntactic structure (N + V tr.), *mimi ni suru* takes object nouns that refer to sounds, voices, and so on, while *komimi ni hasamu* takes nouns that refer to a cohesive piece of information, such as a rumour, news item, or conversation (Miyaji 1982a: 100, 194). (7c) *mimi ni hairu* differs from both (7a) and (7b) in that the structure and meaning of the first two idioms parallel those of the transitive verb *kiku* 'hear; listen to', while *mimi ni hairu* (N + V intr.) is closer to the intransitive *kikoeru* 'reach one's ears'. This means that *mimi ni hairu* highlights the receptivity of the agent.

Thus, although all three of the above expressions share some lexical material, as well as the general meaning of 'hear unintentionally', they are not mutually interchangeable (cf. (3) and (6) above) and should be classed not as synonymous variants but as members of the same lexical field. The practical implication is that, in order to distinguish between idiom variants and independent idioms with related meaning, it is necessary to compare not only lexis but also the structure, meaning, and usage of each expression.[3]

[3] The phrase *mimi ni hasamu* (lit. insert s.t. into one's ear), which is listed in some general-purpose and phraseological dictionaries, shares the elements *mimi* 'ear', *ni* 'into', and *hasamu* 'insert' with (7a) *komimi ni hasamu* and also has the same syntactic structure and meaning. (The element *ko-* 'small' preceding *mimi* 'ear' in *komimi ni hasamu* simply emphasizes the lack of intentionality of the act of hearing.) However, because only 6 instances of *mimi ni hasamu* were found in the BCCWJ and many native speakers judge this expression to be unnatural, this paper does not treat it as a current variant of *komimi ni hasamu*.

3.2.3. Institutionalized variants vs. creative modifications

Evidence from Japanese corpus data shows that language users sometimes produce ad hoc variants for the purpose of emphasis and/or stylistic effect, as in (8b) and (9b) below.

(8a) *me kara uroko ga ochiru* (lit. the scales fall from one's eyes, 'be awakened to the truth')
(8b) *me kara uroko ga jū mai hodo ochita* (lit. ten or so scales fell from my eyes, 'I was completely awakened to the truth')

(9a) *ne-mimi ni mizu* (lit. cold water into one's sleeping-ear, 'a bolt from the blue')
(9b) *ne-mimi ni ōame* (lit. heavy rain into one's sleeping-ear, 'a huge bolt from the blue')

This evidence is consistent with findings in studies of English idioms, which present fixedness as a cline ranging from complete frozenness through restricted variation to creative modification for the purpose of wordplay or other stylistic effects (Gläser 1998; Moon 1998; Philip 2008). This paper distinguishes between creative modifications, which are low-frequency and context-bound ((8b), (9b)), and institutionalized variants, which appear relatively frequently in texts and discourse and are widely recognized by language users ((3)–(6)). The scope of this study is limited to institutionalized variants.

4. Idiom variants in corpus data

4.1. Synonymous variants

Results of the corpus analysis (Section 3.1) indicate that some idioms allow the alternation of a content word, with little or no change to the internal structure and meaning of the idiom. Table 1 shows synonymous variants produced by the alternation of a noun constituent in an idiom.

In some cases, the alternating nouns include a noun of Japanese origin on one hand, and a loanword on the other. For example, *shūshifu* 'period' and *hadome* 'brake; skid' are both nouns of Japanese origin, and *piriodo* 'period' and *burēki* 'brake(s)' are both borrowings from English. With respect to the pair *shūshifu o utsu* and *piriodu o utsu*, the latter expression is held to be the original form, with *shūshifu o utsu* appearing after *shūshifu* was introduced as

Table 1. Synonymous variants (noun alternation)

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ*	TWC
mi ni shimiru	lit. permeate one's flesh, 'touch/sting s.o. deeply'	212 (2.02)	2422 (2.13)
honemi ni shimiru	lit. permeate one's bones and flesh	23 (0.22)	163 (0.14)
shūshifu o utsu	lit. strike (typewrite) a period [Jap.], 'put an end to s.t.'	164 (1.56)	1397 (1.23)
piriodo o utsu	lit. strike (typewrite) a period [Eng. loanword]	42 (0.40)	340 (0.30)
hadome o kakeru	lit. put on the brake/skid [Jap.], 'slow down/stop s.t.'	96 (0.92)	1229 (1.08)
burēki o kakeru	lit. put on the brake(s) [Eng. loanword]	61 (0.58)	614 (0.54)
kotoba o nigosu	lit. muddy one's words, 'speak evasively/ambiguously'	80 (0.76)	249 (0.22)
kuchi o nigosu	lit. muddy one's mouth	16 (0.15)	59 (0.05)

* Figures show the raw number of occurrences in each corpus and (in parentheses) the frequency per million words.

a Japanese equivalent for the loanword *piriodo* sometime after 1926 (Miyaji 1982a: 251). In present-day Japanese, *shūshifu o utsu* is used more frequently (Table 1), but both expressions are common and familiar.

Of the pair *kotoba o nigosu* and *kuchi o nigosu*, *kotoba o nigosu* is usually considered to be the "standard" form, but the BCCWJ also yields 16 occurrences of *kuchi o nigosu*. This is consistent with the results of a survey conducted by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs in 2005, which showed that while 66.9% of respondents tend to use *kotoba o nigosu*, 27.6% use *kuchi o nigosu* and 3.1% use both variants.[4]

There are also pairs or sets of variants with alternating verbs (Table 2). In some cases, the verbs themselves have broadly related meaning, as do *(kao-iro o) ukagau* 'glance at', *miru* 'look', and *yomu* 'read'. Both the BCCWJ and the TWC add a few instances of other verbs to this paradigm, including (*kao-iro o) saguru* 'search' (BCCWJ 5) and *(kao-iro o) tashikameru* 'check; see (if)' (TWC 3). Because of their low frequency, the latter expressions do not have the status of variants as defined in this paper. However, they do provide further evidence of the productivity of the set *kao-iro o ukagau/miru/yomu*.

[4] Details are available on the website of the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japanese only). http://www.bunka.go.jp/kokugo_nihongo/yoronchousa/h17/kekka.html. Retrieved 30.09.2014.

Table 2. Synonymous variants (verb alternation)

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
kao-iro o ukagau	lit. (steal a) glance at s.o.'s face-colour, 'judge s.o.'s feelings/thoughts from his/her expression'	98 (0.94)	778 (0.68)
kao-iro o miru	lit. look at s.o.'s face-colour	37 (0.35)	235 (0.21)
kao-iro o yomu	lit. read s.o.'s face-colour	10 (0.10)	17 (0.01)
kageguchi o tataku	lit. beat the shadow-mouth (=malicious gossip), 'backbite'	59 (0.56)	257 (0.23)
kageguchi o iu	lit. speak/say the shadow-mouth	20 (0.19)	197 (0.17)
kageguchi o kiku	lit. make use of the shadow-mouth	14 (0.13)	16 (0.01)

On the other hand, in the set *kageguchi o tataku/iu/kiku* 'backbite', the alternating idiom phrases are synonymous in spite of the fact that the meanings of the constituent verbs are unrelated (*tataku* 'hit; beat', *iu* 'speak; say', *kiku* 'make use of').

Table 3. Variants with empty slots

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
yumizu no yō ni (gotoku)...*V	V...like hot and cold water, '(waste/drain away)...like water'	43 (0.41)	371 (0.33)
yumizu no yō ni (gotoku)...tsukau	use...like hot and cold water, 'squander/waste...like water'	[31 (0.30)]**	[187 (0.16)]
chi no nijimu yō na N	N like blood oozing, 'strenuous/backbreaking N'	28 (0.27)	255 (0.22)
chi no nijimu yō na do'ryoku	effort like blood oozing, 'strenuous/backbreaking effort'	[19 (0.18)]	[157 (0.14)]

* *gotoku* is the formal, literary equivalent of *yō ni* 'like; as (if)'.

** [31] indicates that out of a total of 43 instances of *yumizu no yō ni...*V, 31 include the verb *tsukau* 'use'.

In addition to the synonymous pairs and sets shown in Tables 1 and 2, there are also cases of rather free alternation among a variety of noun or verb constituents (Table 3). For instance, although there is a strong tendency for *yumizu no yō ni* (lit. like hot and cold water) to be followed by the verb *tsukau* 'use', as in (10) below, this expression also combines with other verbs that mean 'use' or 'flow out' in a broad sense, as in (11).

(10) *Kaiin o fuyasu tame no kōkokuhi o yumizu no yō-ni* ***tsukatta***. ('They squandered (lit. **used** like hot and cold water) the ad budget allocated to increasing membership'.)

(11) *(yumizu no yō ni)...rōhi suru* 'waste; squander', *shōhi suru* 'consume; expend', *nagareru* 'flow', *ryūshutsu suru* 'flow out', *sosogu* 'pour', *dete iku* 'go/drain away'

In the same way, the expression *chi no nijimu yō na* (lit. like blood oozing) combines most frequently with the noun *do'ryoku* 'effort' (12). However, it is also used to modify a variety of other nouns expressing an activity that demands effort or labour (13).

(12) *Sono hi kara, Kazuo no chi no nijimu yō na* ***do'ryoku*** *ga hajimari...* ('From that day on, Kazuo's backbreaking efforts (lit. **efforts** like blood oozing) began'.)

(13) *(chi no nijimu yō na) renshū* 'practice', *kunren* 'training', *shugyō* 'training; apprenticeship', *kurō* 'hardship; suffering', *kutō* 'a tough struggle; a hard fight'

What is evident in these cases is a tension between fixedness and productivity, as well as a kind of extended patterning: a particular verb or noun tends to be preferred, but other verbs or nouns with similar or related meaning can be substituted rather freely. The lexical structure of the expressions in (10)–(13) can be represented as *yumizu no yō ni...*V and *chi no nijimu yō na* N, respectively. The V or N in each expression is an "empty slot" filled at the time of use by a verb or noun that belongs to the particular semantic class described above (e.g. *chi no nijimu yō na* ***kunren*** 'strenuous **training**').[5]

4.2. Antonymous variants

Corpus data also yield cases of alternation of the adjective or verb constituent of an idiom resulting in variants with shared lexis and structure and opposite meaning. Table 4 shows variant pairs in which an adjective or verb alternates with its usual antonym (e.g. *tsuyoi/yowai* 'strong'/'weak', *kasu/kariru* 'lend'/'borrow'), and the idiom phrases also have opposite or converse meaning (e.g. *ki ga tsuyoi/yowai* lit. one's *ki* (spirit/mind) is strong/weak, 'strong-willed; tough'/'timid; fainthearted', *te o kasu/kariru* lit. lend/borrow a hand, 'give help (to s.o.)'/'get help (from s.o.)').

[5] It might be argued that the V and N slots indicated above are not intra-idiomatic constituents but extra-idiomatic collocates. However, because the bonding with *tsukau* 'use' and *do'ryoku* 'effort', respectively, is relatively strong (Table 3), and because the range of alternating verbs and nouns is restricted, this paper takes the view that the V and N slots do in fact constitute parts of their respective idioms.

Table 4. Antonymous variants (1)

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
ki ga (no) tsuyoi	lit. one's *ki* (spirit/mind) is strong, 'strong-willed'	161 (1.54)	1,326 (1.17)
ki ga (no) yowai	lit. one's *ki* is weak, 'timid; fainthearted'	154 (1.47)	1,060 (0.93)
ki ga (no) mijikai	lit. one's *ki* (spirit/mind) is short, 'short-tempered; impatient'	55 (0.52)	299 (0.26)
ki ga (no) nagai	lit. one's *ki* is long, 'patient'	27 (0.26)	260 (0.23)
hagire ga (no) yoi	lit. the teeth-sharpness is good, 'clear and crisp; articulate'	98 (0.94)	584 (0.51)
hagire ga (no) warui	lit. the teeth-sharpness is bad, 'inarticulate; evasive'	50 (0.48)	368 (0.32)
te o kasu	lit. lend a hand, 'give help (to s.o.)'	297 (2.83)	1,432 (1.26)
te o kariru	lit. borrow a hand, 'get help (from s.o.)'	99 (0.94)	905 (0.80)
kenka o uru	lit. sell a fight, 'pick a fight'	74 (0.71)	683 (0.60)
kenka o kau	lit. buy a fight, 'accept a challenge'	8 (0.08)	79 (0.07)

However, the antonymous element is sometimes unpredictable (Table 5), as in the case of *kuchi ga karui* (lit. one's mouth is light, 'be unable to keep a secret') and *kuchi ga katai* (lit. one's mouth is hard, 'be able to keep a secret'). In addition, the relationship between antonymous forms may be asymmetrical, as in *futokoro ga atatakai* (lit. one's breast pocket is warm, 'have a fat wallet'), on the one hand, and *futokoro ga sabishii*/*samui* (lit. one's breast pocket is lonely/cold, 'be low on cash'), on the other.

Table 5. Antonymous variants (2)

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
kuchi ga karui	lit. one's mouth is light 1) 'be talkative' 2) 'be a blabbermouth; can't keep a secret'	24 (0.23)	115 (0.10)
kuchi ga omoi	1) lit. one's mouth is heavy, 'be reticent/slow to speak'	58 (0.55)	131 (0.12)
kuchi ga katai	2) lit. one's mouth is hard, 'be able to keep a secret'	46 (0.44)	193 (0.17)
futokoro ga atatakai	lit. one's breast pocket is warm, 'have a fat wallet'	13* (0.12)	34 (0.03)
futokoro ga sabishii	lit. one's breast pocket is lonely, 'be low on cash'	11* (0.10)	46 (0.04)
futokoro ga samui	lit. one's breast pocket is cold, 'be low on cash'	10* (0.10)	21 (0.02)

* Variants marked with an asterisk were retrieved from the BCCWJ using the web concordancer *Chūnagon*.

There are also examples of complex networks of antonymous and synonymous variants that overlap partially in terms of meaning, lexis, and syntactic structure. Table 6 shows a cluster that exploits the metaphor of a "curtain" to indicate the beginning and ending of actions or events. First, there is a set of transitive synonyms/antonyms that includes *maku o akeru* (lit. open the curtain, 'start s.t.'), on one hand, and *maku o tojiru/orosu/hiku* (lit. close/lower/draw the curtain, 'put an end to s.t.'), on the other. Secondly, there is a set that includes the intransitive antonyms *maku ga aku/oriru* (lit. the curtain opens/comes down, 's.t. starts to happen'/'s.t. comes to an end'), as well as the expression *maku ga kitte otosareru* (lit. the curtain is cut and dropped, 's.t. starts with a bang'), which is an emphatic synonym of *maku ga aku* that contains the passive form of the verb *otosu* 'drop'.

Table 6. Cluster of synonymous/antonymous variants

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
maku o akeru	lit. open the curtain, 'start s.t.'	75 (0.72)	706 (0.62)
maku o tojiru	lit. close the curtain, 'put an end to s.t.'	101 (0.96)	1,403 (1.23)
maku o orosu	lit. lower the curtain, 'put an end to s.t.'	39 (0.37)	411 (0.36)
maku o hiku	lit. draw the curtain, 'put an end to s.t.'	14 (0.13)	146 (0.13)
maku ga aku	lit. the curtain opens, 's.t. starts to happen'	14 (0.13)	119 (0.10)
maku ga kitte otosareru	lit. the curtain is cut and dropped, 's.t. starts with a bang'	19 (0.18)	84 (0.07)
maku ga oriru	lit. the curtain comes down, 's.t. comes to an end'	10 (0.10)	69 (0.06)

As noted in Section 1, many idioms do not have synonymous or antonymous variants, even if they contain a word with a commonly-used synonym or antonym in the Japanese lexicon (see (1) *saji/*spūn o nageru*, *abura o uru/*kau*). Insofar as lexico-structural frozenness is a defining property of idioms (Section 2), it is possible to say that idioms without synonymous or antonymous variants are prototypical idioms with a relatively high degree of "idiomaticity". Indeed, idioms with potential but unrealized antonymous variants often have a meaning that is specialized to one end of a dimension (e.g. *kao ga hiroi/*semai* lit. one's face is wide/*narrow, 'know a lot of people') or lacks the relational orientation of a constituent verb (e.g. *abura o uru/*kau* lit. sell/*buy oil, 'loaf; waste time'). On the other hand, idioms like *kotoba/kuchi o nigosu* (lit. muddy one's words/mouth, 'speak evasively') and *te o kasu/kariru* (lit. lend/borrow a hand, 'give/get help'), along with the others in Tables 1 to 6, exhibit a relatively low degree

of lexico-structural frozenness, as well as regular lexical relations akin to those found among words. These idioms are thus relatively less prototypical – and less "idiomatic" – than those without synonymous/antonymous variants.

4.3. Truncations and expansions

Sometimes the borders of Japanese idioms are hard to establish. Corpus data show cases of alternation between an expanded form that includes a particular word, and a truncated form without that word. In some cases (Table 7), the alternation involves the addition or deletion of the light verb *suru* 'do'.

Table 7. Addition/deletion of the verb *suru* 'do'

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
nanikuwanu kao	a face that doesn't eat anything, 'an air of complete nonchalance'	62 (0.59)	227 (0.20)
nanikuwanu kao o suru	do a face that doesn't eat anything, 'look innocent; assume a nonchalant air'	26 (0.25)	85 (0.07)
ukanu kao	a face that doesn't float, 'a gloomy/long face'	27 (0.26)	74 (0.06)
ukanu kao o suru	do a face that doesn't float, 'look gloomy; pull a long face'	19 (0.18)	80 (0.07)
soshiranu kao	a face that doesn't know (that/the sky), 'an air of unconcern/indifference'	24 (0.23)	83 (0.07)
soshiranu kao o suru	do a face that doesn't know (that/the sky), 'be unresponsive; feign ignorance'	9 (0.09)	39 (0.03)

The compound noun *nanikuwanu kao* tends to combine either with the particle *de* 'with', in which case it functions as an adverb phrase (e.g. *nanikuwanu kao de tachisatta* 'he walked off with an air of unconcern'), or with the verb *suru* 'do', which creates a verb phrase (e.g. *nanikuwanu kao o shite ita* 'he had (lit. was doing) an innocent/unconcerned air'). The compounds *ukanu kao* and *soshiranu kao* follow the same pattern. The variants with *suru* can be classed as VP idioms that correspond to the respective NP idioms *nanikuwanu kao* etc. However, since the substantive meaning of the VP expressions is borne entirely by their noun components and *suru* serves a grammatical function only, these can also be viewed as a type of light verb combination (cf. Muraki 1985, 1991).

Table 8. Addition/deletion of a lexical constituent

idioms/variants	meaning (literal/idiomatic)	BCCWJ	TWC
me kara uroko ga ochiru omoi (kimochi/kibun)	feel like/as if the scales fall from one's eyes,'feel like/as if one has been awakened to the truth'	20 (0.19)	172 (0.15)
me kara uroko ga ochiru	the scales fall from one's eyes, 'be awakened to the truth'	16 (0.15)	609 (0.54)
me kara uroko	scales from one's eyes, 'now (I) see; an eye-opener'	47 (0.45)	1907 (1.68)
wara ni mo sugaru omoi (kimochi/kibun)	feel like/as if one clings to a straw, 'ready to take desperate measures'	12 (0.11)	271 (0.24)
wara ni mo sugaru	cling to a straw, 'take desperate measures'	5 (0.05)	69 (0.06)
nodo kara te ga deru hodo... hoshii	want...so much that it's almost as if one's hand comes out of one's throat, 'be dying to have s.t.'	19 (0.18)	167 (0.15)
nodo kara te ga deru hodo	almost as if one's hand comes out of one's throat, 'be dying to (have/get s.t.)'	8 (0.08)	31 (0.03)
nodo kara te ga deru	one's hand comes out of one's throat, '(want) very badly'	7 (0.07)	34 (0.03)

There are also cases of alternation between expanded and truncated forms involving words other than *suru* 'do', as shown in Table 8. *Me kara uroko ga ochiru* is a VP idiom that is often used in the simple past *-ta* form (e.g. *me kara uroko ga ochita* lit. the scales fell from my eyes, 'I was awakened to the truth'), or as an adnominal modifier (e.g. *me kara uroko ga ochiru taiken/kenkai/naiyō* lit. (an) experience/view/subject matter that made the scales fall from (my) eyes, '(an) eye-opening experience/view/subject matter'). In the latter case, the VP idiom is frequently combined with the noun *omoi* ('feeling') to create an expanded form, as in *Daigakusei wa, me kara uroko ga ochiru omoi de kiita* ('The university students listened, with the feeling they were being awakened to the truth').

Moreover, *me kara uroko ga ochiru* is frequently used in the truncated form shown in (14a)–(14c). The tendency for the verb *ochiru* 'fall' to be omitted, especially in the web corpus data, is particularly notable (Table 8).[6]

[6] 20 of 47 examples of *me kara uroko* in the BCCWJ are also from the internet. The relationship between variant types and register is a question for future investigation. However, it is possible that truncation may be more common in internet communication than in other registers, because of its emphasis on speed and brevity. Since truncation assumes shared knowledge of a longer form and tends to be colloquial, it may also be more common in registers in which the writer seeks to establish a dialogue with the reader (e.g. internet and/or journalism).

(14a) *Me kara uroko datta.* (lit. it was scales from my eyes, 'It was an awakening'.)
(14b) *Me kara uroko.* (lit. scales from my eyes, '(It was) an awakening'.)
(14c) *me kara uroko no hanashi/taiken/hakken/jōhō* (lit. (a) scales-from-the-eyes tale/experience/discovery/information, '(an) eye-opening tale/experience/etc.')

The expressions *wara ni mo sugaru* (lit. cling to a straw) and *nodo kara te ga deru* (lit. one's hand comes out of one's throat) are most commonly used in the expanded forms *wara ni mo sugaru omoi* (lit. the feeling of clinging to a straw, 'ready to take desperate measures') and *nodo kara te ga deru hodo...hoshii* (lit. want...so much that it's almost as if one's hand comes out of one's throat, 'be dying to have/get s.t.'). At the same time, examples without *omoi* and *hodo...hoshii,* respectively, are attested ((15)–(16)).[7]

(15) *Wara ni mo sugaritai hito ga kau kamo shiremasen.* ('Someone who is desperate (lit. wants to grasp at straws) might buy it'.) [internet bulletin board]

(16) *'Ferārisuto ni totte wa, nodo kara te ga desō-na shoseki ga ōbei de wa kankō sarete iru.'* ('A book that Ferrari fans would love to get their hands on (lit. for which their hands would likely come out of their throats) has been published in the West'.) [book]

Tables 7 and 8 show that it is sometimes difficult to judge exactly how much lexical material certain idioms contain. More research is necessary to clarify the factors that cause truncation and expansion; however, these phenomena can be considered as "two sides of the same coin" (Moon 1998: 131). Based on the data obtained in this study, it is possible to suggest the following. First, idioms themselves are groups of words that are used together habitually (e.g. *me kara uroko ga ochiru, nanikuwanu kao*); they may also develop strong patterns of collocation that stabilize as extended alternative forms (e.g. *me kara uroko ga ochiru omoi, nanikuwanu kao o suru*). On the other hand, truncated forms such as *me kara uroko* may be created for the sake of stylistic effect or economy of communication. These forms are viable because

[7] Some classifications of Japanese idioms propose a distinction between "simile-based" and "metaphor-based" idioms, on the basis of formal characteristics (Miyaji 1982a, 1999). Simile-based idioms are figuratives that contain a linguistic marker of comparison such as *yō* 'like; as if' or *omoi* 'feel as if', and metaphor-based idioms are figuratives without such a marker. The evidence in Table 8 suggests that the distinction between these two types of idioms may not be as clear-cut as has been claimed in the past.

speakers and listeners can depend on shared knowledge of the meaning and usage of a longer form (Moon 1998; cf. Gläser 1998). At the same time, the shorter forms are stable and widely-used units of the lexicon.

5. Idiom variants in phraseological dictionaries

5.1. Materials and procedures

In order to investigate the extent to which Japanese phraseological dictionaries provide a reliable account of idiom variants, the results of the corpus analysis (Section 4) were compared to representations of the target idioms/variants in seven commonly-used dictionaries:

(17) semasiological dictionaries
KIY (1982): 245 entries
HKKJ (1988): 3,500 entries
NKJ (2005): 1,563 entries
YWKJ (2007): 3,000 entries
SKKKJ (2010): 6,550 entries

(18) onomasiological dictionaries
RKJ (1992): 3,700 entries
IHKJ (1998): 1,100 entries[8]

The dictionary analysis targeted the 150 variant forms previously identified in the corpus analysis, investigating if and how each form was presented in each dictionary. Four types of listings were found and coded as follows:

◎ = listed as a headword/entry;
○ = not listed as a headword but shown somewhere in the entry of a related variant form (in a usage note and/or illustrative example, or under a marker such as *rui* 'synonym' or *tai* 'antonym');
● = listed as a headword only (no entry) and cross-referenced to a variant form with an entry;
× = not listed or shown in any way.

[8] Full titles and bibliographic details of these dictionaries can be found at the end of this paper. Of these dictionaries, only KIY (1982) and NKJ (2005) are theory- and text-based. KIY contains a relatively small number of entries in comparison to the others; however, it also includes a "Table of Commonly Used Idioms" (*Jōyō Kanyōku Ichiran*) with a total of 1280 idioms. Variants listed in the KIY table are shown in Table 9, for the sake of comparison; however, these results are not included in the analysis reported in Sections 5.2–5.4.

This paper will report the results of comparison of the corpus and dictionary analyses of synonymous variants, antonymous variants, and truncations/expansions.

5.2. Dictionary analysis of synonymous variants

Results of the dictionary analysis of synonymous variants are shown in Table 9. (For the literal and idiomatic meanings of each idiom, see Tables 1–3.)

Some dictionaries list both members of a pair of synonymous variants as individual headwords (12.5%). For example, both *mi ni shimiru* (lit. permeate one's flesh) and *honemi ni shimiru* (lit. permeate one's bones and flesh) are listed in three dictionaries (HKKJ/RKJ/NKJ), *shūshifu o utsu* (lit. strike (typewrite) a period [Jap.]) and *piriodo o utsu* (lit. strike (typewrite) a period [loanword]) in two (YWKJ/NKJ), and *kageguchi o tataku* (lit. beat the shadow-mouth) and *kageguchi o kiku* (lit. make use of the shadow-mouth) in one (NKJ).

In a greater number of cases (36%), one expression is listed as a headword, and a synonymous variant is listed elsewhere in the entry, sometimes under the marker *rui(ku)* 'similar (phrases)' (YWKJ/RKJ; see also SKKKJ). *Kageguchi o tataku* (lit. beat the shadow-mouth) is listed as a headword, with *kagekuchi o kiku* (lit. make use of the shadow-mouth) specified as its synonymous variant, in four dictionaries (YWKJ/SKKKJ/RKJ/IHKJ). This may reflect lexicographers' intuitions that the variant with *tataku* 'hit; beat' is used more frequently. On the other hand, in some dictionaries *kao-iro o miru* (lit. look at s.o.'s face-colour) is listed as a headword with *kao-iro o ukagau* (lit. (steal a) glance at s.o.'s face-colour) as its variant (SKKKJ/RKJ), despite the fact that the latter has a considerably higher frequency in both the BCCWJ and the TWC.

NKJ and YWKJ are overall the most consistent of the seven dictionaries with respect to the treatment of synonymous variants, listing multiple variants either as independent headwords or as synonymous forms within an entry in just over half the cases surveyed here.

Finally, in many cases, only one of the variants is listed, with no indication of an alternate form attested in corpus data (30%). HKKJ lists *piriodo o utsu* (lit. strike (typewrite) a period [loanword]), but not *shūshifu o utsu* (lit. strike (typewrite) a period [Jap.]). The only dictionary that lists *kageguchi o iu* (lit. speak/say the shadow-mouth) as a synonym for *kageguchi o tataku* (lit. beat the shadow-mouth) is YWKJ, even though *kageguchi o iu* is used more often than *kageguchi o kiku* (lit. make use of the shadow-mouth). *Hadome o kakeru*

Table 9. Synonymous variants in Japanese phraseological dictionaries

synonymous variants	frequency		HK KJ	YW KJ	SKK KJ	RKJ	IH KJ	KIY (entry)	KIY (list)	NKJ
	BCC WJ	TWC								
mi ni shimiru	212	2422	◎	◎	○	◎	×	×	◎	◎
honemi ni shimiru	23	163	◎	○	◎	◎	◎	×	×	◎
shūshifu o utsu	164	1397	×	◎	◎	◎	◎	×	×	◎
piriodo o utsu	42	340	◎	◎	●	○	○	×	×	◎
hadome o kakeru	96	1229	×	×	×	×	×	◎	◎	○
burēki o kakeru	61	614	◎	◎	◎	◎	×	◎	◎	◎
kotoba o nigosu	80	249	○	◎	◎	◎	◎	×	◎	×
kuchi o nigosu	16	59	◎	○	×	×	×	×	×	×
kao-iro o ukagau	98	778	◎	×	○	○	×	×	×	×
kao-iro o miru	37	235	×	×	◎	◎	×	×	×	×
kao-iro o yomu	10	17	●	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
kageguchi o tataku	59	257	×	◎	◎	◎	◎	○	×	◎
kageguchi o iu	20	197	×	○	×	×	×	×	×	×
kageguchi o kiku	14	16	×	○	○	○	○	○	×	◎
yumizu no yō ni	43	371	×	×	×	×	○	×	◎	◎
yumizu no yō ni tsukau	[31]	[187]	◎	◎	◎	◎	×	×	◎	○
chi no nijimu yō (na)	28	255	○	◎	◎	◎	×	◎	◎	◎
chi no nijimu yō na do'ryoku	[19]	[157]	×	○	×	×	×	○	×	○

◎ = listed as a headword/entry; ○ = not listed as a headword but shown somewhere in the entry of a related variant form (in a usage note/illustrative example or under a marker such as *rui* 'synonym'); ● = listed as a headword only (no entry) and cross-referenced to a variant form with an entry; × = not listed.

(lit. put on the brake/skid) and *kuchi o nigosu* (lit. muddy one's mouth) also tend to be overlooked. This may be for reasons of space (cf. Miyaji 1982b: 94), or it may be related to lexicographers' intuitions of currency or stability. However, considering the frequency and familiarity of these variants, it is arguable that they should be included in dictionaries, in order to meet users' lookup needs and to provide a clear picture of the variability of individual idioms.

It should be noted that the "empty slot" idioms identified in this paper are not treated consistently. Four dictionaries list *yumizu no yō ni tsukau* (lit. use like hot and cold water) as a headword, with no indication of potential alternation with other verbs. An exception is NKJ, which lists *yumizu no yō ni* (lit. like hot and cold water) as a headword and presents the combination with *tsukau* in a usage note and examples. On the other hand, all of the dictionaries that list *chi no nijimu yō (na)* (lit. like blood oozing) as a headword present it in this form, and only a few (YWKJ/KIY/NKJ) show the tendency of this expression to combine with the noun *do'ryoku* 'effort'.

5.3. Dictionary analysis of antonymous variants

Some antonymous variants are treated systematically in Japanese idiom dictionaries. In 46% of all possible cases, both members of an antonym pair (Table 4) or at least two members of an antonym set (Tables 5 and 6) are listed as independent headwords.[9] This includes the pairs *ki ga mijikai/nagai* (lit. one's *ki* (spirit/mind) is short/long) and *te o kasu/kariru* (lit. lend/borrow a hand), which each appear in four dictionaries (HKKJ/YWKJ/SKKKJ/RKJ and YWKJ/SKKKJ/RKJ/NKJ, respectively), as well as the set *kuchi ga karui/omoi/katai* (lit. one's mouth is light/heavy/hard), which appears in five (HKKJ/YWKJ/SKKKJ/RKJ/NKJ). However, while *kuchi ga karui* (lit. one's mouth is light) is marked as an antonym of both *kuchi ga omoi* (lit. one's mouth is heavy) and *kuchi ga katai* (lit. one's mouth is hard) in YWKJ/RKJ (cf. Table 5), most dictionaries present it as an antonym of *kuchi ga katai* only.

[9] For the dictionary analysis, the cluster in Table 6 was split into a set of transitive antonymous variants (*maku o akeru* lit. open the curtain vs. *maku o tojiru/orosu/hiku* lit. close/lower/draw the curtain) and a set of intransitive or passive antonymous variants (*maku ga aku/maku ga kitte otosareru* lit. the curtain opens/is cut and dropped vs. *maku ga oriru* lit. the curtain comes down).

In fewer cases (22%), one variant is listed as a headword and an antonymous form is listed somewhere in its entry. In five dictionaries (YWKJ/SKKKJ/RKJ/IHKJ/NKJ), *hagire ga ii* (lit. the teeth-sharpness is good) appears as a headword with *hagire ga warui* (lit. the teeth-sharpness is bad) listed as its variant, usually under the marker *tai/tsuiku* 'antonym' or *han(tai)* 'opposite'.[10] Six dictionaries list both *futokoro ga atatakai* (lit. one's breast pocket is warm) and *futokoro ga samui* (lit. one's breast pocket is cold) as headwords; however, *futokoro ga sabishii* (lit. one's breast pocket is lonely) appears as a headword in only two of these (HKKJ/NKJ). The other four dictionaries list this variant as a synonym under the entry for *futokoro ga samui*. This preference may reflect lexicographers' judgments that *samui* 'cold' is a better antonym for *atatakai* 'warm', in spite of the fact that the variant with *sabishii* 'lonely' is at least as stable as the other two (Table 5).

Some variants do not appear at all (6%). RKJ/NKJ have an entry for *ki ga tsuyoi* (lit. one's *ki* (spirit/mind) is strong) but not *ki ga yowai* (lit. one's *ki* is weak), and SKKKJ lists *kenka o uru* (lit. sell a fight) but not *kenka o kau* (lit. buy a fight). Treatment of the *maku o akeru* (lit. open the curtain) cluster shown in Table 6 also lacks consistency. NKJ lists all variants of this cluster, with most as independent entries. However, *maku o orosu* (lit. lower the curtain) is not shown in IHKJ, *maku ga kitte otosareru* (lit. the curtain is cut and dropped) does not appear in RKJ, and both of these dictionaries lack *maku o hiku* (lit. draw the curtain). Also, HKKJ lists none of the transitive variants (*maku o akeru/tojiru/orosu/hiku* lit. open/close/lower/draw the curtain).

At the same time, it is true that about two thirds (68%) of the antonymous variants surveyed here do appear in phraseological dictionaries. YWKJ, SKKKJ, and RKJ are the most consistent of the dictionaries surveyed here with respect to the representation of this type of variant. About half of the pairs/sets shown in Tables 4–6 appear in these dictionaries as independent headwords with entries, and most of the rest are listed as antonymous variants within a related entry. Attention paid to this type of variant likely reflects lexicographers' intuitions that antonymous variants have the status of independent lexical items.

[10] Some of the dictionaries surveyed here make use of markers such as *tai/tsuiku* 'antonym' (HKKJ/RKJ/YWKJ) or *han(tai)* 'opposite' (IHKJ) to specify the relationship between a headword and a variant that may or may not be listed separately. NKJ subsumes synonymous/antonymous variants and semantically-related independent idioms under the marker *ruiku* 'similar phrases'. Markers provide valuable information to the user regarding lexico-semantic relationships and should be used consistently.

5.4. Dictionary analysis of truncations and expansions

There are no cases in which both a truncated and an expanded form are listed as headwords. In slightly more than half of all cases (57%), either the truncated form is listed as a headword with the expanded form shown somewhere in the entry, or vice versa. With respect to the variants shown in Table 7, there is a clear tendency for the compound nominal form to be listed as a headword. For example, *ukanu kao* (lit. a face that doesn't float) is listed as a headword in five dictionaries (HKKJ/YWKJ/SKKKJ/RKJ/IHKJ), with the VP idiom *ukanu kao o suru* (lit. do a face that doesn't float) shown as an illustrative example in all of these. This seems to reflect a judgment that the compound nominal is the idiom proper, and *suru* 'do' is an optional component.

On the other hand, for idioms that allow the addition or deletion of a lexical constituent other than *suru* 'do' (Table 8), there seems to be a preference to list the VP form as the headword (e.g. *me kara uroko ga ochiru* lit. the scales fall from one's eyes; *wara ni mo sugaru* lit. cling to a straw; *nodo kara te ga deru* lit. one's hand comes out of one's throat). This may reflect lexicographers' intuitions of the typical usage of these expressions, but it may also be the result of an unstated editorial policy to "standardize" the headword forms of idioms that potentially contain a verb. Expansions such as *me kara uroko ga ochiru omoi* (lit. feel as if the scales fall from one's eyes), *wara ni mo sugaru omoi* (lit. feel as if one clings to a straw), and *nodo kara te ga deru hodo...hoshii* (lit. want...so much that it's almost as if one's hand comes out of one's throat) tend to be shown in illustrative examples or – more rarely – usage notes. The truncated form *me kara uroko* (lit. scales from one's eyes) appears only in NKJ, despite its frequency in both of the corpora used here.

Finally, in some cases, either a truncated or an expanded form is listed as a headword, with no indication of any corresponding variant (14%). Several dictionaries (HKKJ/RKJ/NKJ) illustrate use of the VP *nanikuwanu kao o suru* (lit. do a face that doesn't eat anything) in the examples provided under the NP headword *nanikuwanu kao* (lit. a face that doesn't eat anything), but others do not (YWKJ/SKKKJ/IHKJ). IHKJ lists *me kara uroko ga ochiru* (lit. the scales fall from one's eyes) as a headword but gives no indication of either expanded or truncated forms.

The analysis indicates a gap between patterns of truncation and expansion found in corpus data and their treatment in dictionaries. Since corpus data suggest that it is difficult to assign firm borders to some idioms, it is arguable that dictionaries should find a way to indicate the possibility of

variation between shorter and longer forms, through usage notes as well as the judicious selection of illustrative examples. Further analysis of sufficient data is needed to determine how to treat this type of variation consistently.

6. Conclusions

This paper has shown that corpus tools are useful for the systematic extraction of idiom variants and the identification of patterns of correspondence that are difficult to discover based on introspection alone. Future research on Japanese idioms should take advantage of corpus data to clarify the degree of variability of individual idioms and to investigate further the phenomenon of variability, including creative modification (Section 3.2.3) and the borders between lexico-structural and syntactic variation.

The dictionary analysis reported here suggests that Japanese phraseological dictionaries tend to treat antonymous variants more systematically than synonymous variants and truncations/expansions. A separate analysis has also indicated that transitive/intransitive variants are treated less systematically than antonymous variants, but more systematically than idiom/compound variants (Ishida 2013). Future studies should extend these results and suggest a principled basis for the representation of different types of variants in dictionaries.

The analysis reported here also shows that some Japanese phraseological dictionaries are more consistent in their treatment of variants than others. NKJ is the most consistent overall, presenting many variants as headwords or within an entry for a related headword, and NKJ and KIY both provide rich information about some variants through usage notes and examples. This is no doubt because these dictionaries refer to past research and rely on data collected from newspapers and books. However, even in these dictionaries, some variants attested in corpus data are overlooked.

The results suggest a strong need to integrate the findings of past research, corpus analysis, and lexicographical practice. An important purpose of dictionaries is to provide information on usage, so phraseological dictionaries should move beyond the received view that idioms are fixed expressions and present reliable descriptions of their relative variability. Since many idioms are low frequency, descriptions should be based on the analysis of data from large-scale corpora (Moon 1998; Fellbaum et al. 2006). Future research should also address the practical issues of representing variants, such as principles for the selection of headwords, cross-referencing, and the use of markers to indicate semantic relationships and frequency.

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Sanseidō Koji Kotowaza Kan'yōku Jiten (The Sanseidō Dictionary of Sayings, Proverbs, and Idioms). 2010. Sanseidō Henshūjo (eds). 2nd ed. Tokyo: Sanseidō. (SKKKJ)

Yōrei de Wakaru Kan'yōku Jiten (Dictionary for Understanding Idioms by Example). 2007. Gakken Jiten Henshūbu (eds). Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha. (YWKJ)

Data and tools

NINJAL-LWP for BCCWJ (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics-Lago Word Profiler for the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese) http://nlb.ninjal.ac.jp/

NINJAL–LWP for TWC (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics-Lago Word Profiler for the Tsukuba Web Corpus) http://corpus.tsukuba.ac.jp/

Japońskie idiomy w korpusach i słownikach. Ekscerpcja i reprezentacja form wariantywnych

Streszczenie

Powszechnie przyjmuje się, że cechą definicyjna japońskich idiomów jest niezmienność ich struktury i składu komponentów. W wielu słownikach idiomy przedstawiane są jako stałe wyrażenia, których postać jest niezmienna. Jednak, w tekstach pisanych znajdujemy poświadczenia form wariantywnych o wspólnej strukturze i/lub leksyce i synonimicznych lub antonimicznych znaczeniach. Niniejszy artykuł zawiera omówienie wyników badań dotyczących przedstawienia japońskich idiomów w świetle danych korpusowych. Autorka omawia wcześniejsze poglądy na temat niezmienności idiomów i przedstawia niektóre problemy związane z identyfikacją omawianych jednostek i ich opisem. Artykuł zawiera analizę 56 japońskich idiomów zestawioną z ich opisami w siedmiu jednojęzycznych słownikach idiomów. Badaczka omawia trzy rodzaje wariantów: warianty o charakterze synonimicznym, warianty o charakterze antonimicznym, warianty o postaci zredukowanej/rozbudowanej. Wyniki pokazują, że widoczna jest większa konsekwencja w przypadku jednostek wariantywnych antonimicznych. Jednak należy zauważyć, że wiele wariantów mających poświadczenia w korpusach to jednostki nieodnotowane w słownikach. Na podstawie przeprowadzonych badań autorka dochodzi do wniosku, że istnieje konieczność połączenia dotychczasowych badań, analiz korpusowych i praktyki leksykograficznej.

Outi Lauhakangas
independent researcher
Finland

On Matti Kuusi's international database, type system and its challenges

Abstract. *The Matti Kuusi International Type System of Proverbs* is on its basis a daring experiment to reach all human ways of proverbial thinking. The aim of the type system is to serve a general setting for understanding and comparing proverb-lore around the world. For Kuusi the most important aim of the universal type system was to design it to be as comprehensive as possible and at the same time to offer an interpretative tool for paremiology. In this article these aims are discussed, and examples of classification difficulties caused by different uses and attitudes towards proverbs in different cultures are demonstrated. Future possibilities and means to combine contextual knowledge of proverb use to a universal database are considered. The ideal result of improvements would be the rise of awareness of common and special features of the proverb-lore of every nation. Kuusi's classification is a good basis for analyzing and comparing paremiological material.

Key words: *proverb databases, proverb types, international paremiology*

1. Introduction

Practically, all European proverb types are written down in collections or card files in national archives. Whereas, the literal history of the old Eastern cultures is so long that it is difficult to distinguish oral and literal proverb use. Proverbs – defined[1] as paremiologists nowadays agree – can be iden-

[1] Wolfgang Mieder mentions that every scholar makes his/her own work definition of 'proverb'. He gives his own definition: "A proverb is a concise statement of an apparent truth that has currency among the folk." To this can be added such matters as linguistic, poetic, and metaphorical markers, but a certain currency, frequency, and traditionality are also part of it all. In other words, we are not looking for witty one-day wonders but rather for generally known, short and easily remembered statements that are used in different contexts both in oral and written communication. (Mieder 2008: 82)

tified in ancient Sumerian scripts (Alster 1979; Lambert 1960) and Egyptian hieroglyphs (Grandl 2009: 200–213). There are plenty of proverb collections (e.g. Kuusi 1970; Alaba 1986) both from Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa. The tradition of the Bible has sustained and spread out a large number of Eastern and Western proverbs.

Thus, collecting of traditional proverbs is not an acute task for paremiologists today. If we admit this point of view, it is time to concentrate on collecting more knowledge about proverbs already recorded. Alternatives for collecting data connected to proverb texts have dramatically increased in the Information Era. New methods have changed the way information is looked at. Text material on the Internet reached by search engines is also a challenge for modern databases of proverbs.

This article has two aims. At first, it shows what hypotheses are behind an international database and a classification of proverbs. Academician Matti Kuusi's brave experiment to construct a "world wide web" of proverbial thinking needs a critical review. The author of this article has already written a short history and an introduction to Kuusi's international type system of proverbs (Lauhakangas 2001). The second aim of this article is to continue with opening new challenges to produce more culturally comprehensive knowledge about the folkloristic genre of proverb. Some of the problems with classification and understanding local meanings of proverbs will be demonstrated through a few examples.

2. Some concepts: proverb type, equivalence, variant

Folklorists have learned the term 'type' when dealing with fairy tales. Antti Aarne and later Stith Thompson (1961) constructed an international type catalogue of fairy tales (AT numbers). This system was one ideal for Matti Kuusi to create a register of common proverb types of different cultures in the world.

A proverb type is a more general term than a proverb text, although in thematic and even structural classifications a proverb type very often goes in line with some original proverb. Using terms like 'type' or 'class' is often based on quite practical delimiting. They are like names with which at least scholars can refer to a complex cluster of texts. Sometimes the cluster of proverb texts may consist of proverbs that have same idea but different wording in different languages.

Proverbs can be equivalent or parallel in different cultures, when they have the same idea and the idea would remain in translation. Kuusi (1966)

found three aspects important for the classification of proverbs. They can be analysed according to their **idea**, structure (**formula**) and **basic core**. He proposed that proverbs with a common idea would be called *synonymous proverbs*. Within one culture and one language equivalence means that two proverbs have the same idea but different forms. A more strict approach to proverb types is needed especially when the corpus of proverbs covers only one culture. In this case a proverb type consists only of regional or communal variants with slightly different wordings or structure.

3. What is special in Matti Kuusi's database of proverbs?

Organizing linguistic matter has been a practical question for centuries. Lexicography has developed into a branch of science (See e.g. F. Čermák's (2011) work on the Czech National Corpus), and encyclopedists have organized human knowledge according to themes of life and hierarchies of general values. For lexicons as well as proverb collections there has been one universal system to organize the chosen entries: alphabetical order.

The alphabetical order is also considered to be made on neutral terms. In some cases it also gives keys for understanding proverbial structures. The title may represent some typical beginning of a proverb, for example 'Better', 'Bättre', 'Besser', 'Lushe', 'È meglio', 'Más', 'Il vaut mieux'. This tells us that a proverb is constructed using one of the universally popular structures 'Better x than y'. With these kinds of molds people have generated and created hundreds of proverbs.

A few words about Matti Kuusi (1914–1998) must be mentioned. He was the Professor of Finnish and Comparative Folk Poetry Studies (today called folkloristics) at the University of Helsinki. His first proverb collection (Kuusi 1953) and at the same time a profound paremiological study dealt with the oldest literal sources of Finnish proverbs (1544–1826). Actually, he specified proverbs as "moral maxims, popular aphorisms, lofty sayings and witticisms".

Although Kuusi had generally specialized in the material of a single country, not only in proverbs, but also in epic Kalevala metre poetry, he also proved to be cosmopolitan. In the period of 1965–1974 he was the editor-in-chief of the journal *Proverbium*, inviting proverb scholars around the world to contribute to the same forum.

Kuusi's universal database is in a sense a storage of literature references to all those proverb collections and other sources of proverb texts he had encountered during his active years of paremiological scholarly work. It had

started from the interest of tracing the age, distribution and directions of adoption concerning some old proverbs. The core of the database – or previously the index of proverb titles – consisted of the oldest Finnish proverb types (Kuusi 1953), which he could see mostly being loans from the European proverb heritage.

A thing that makes Kuusi's proverb index and database special is that he did not exclude sources in foreign languages. He did not only search for equivalents for European proverb types in other cultures but took whole collections for his task to go through. During this process he learned by heart most of the titles in his proverb index and could compare and join similar texts. His most fascinating (and perhaps most questionable) contrastive experiment was to join African proverbs (Kuusi 1970), which he had studied, to his general index of proverb types.

At present the database[2] consists of almost 8300 proverbs types. It is important to remember that Kuusi's aim was not to increase the amount of proverb texts. More important for him was to find typical forms of proverbs and study the creative potential of this folklore genre.

3.1. Old and new sources for an international database of proverbs

By taking a single proverb type, or rather a cluster of proverbs that is one of the most global proverb types, it is possible to demonstrate the extent of literature sources Kuusi could use to refer to a proverb idea. The example is *Who begins with a needle, will end up with a bar* (the code C4c 25 in Kuusi's classification).

One of the oldest sources that Kuusi used as a reference to this proverb type was Q.W. Freytag's collection: *Arabum proverbia III* from 1838–1843. An exhaustive German collection of K.F.W. Wander is also from 1800s. Wander compared his German proverbs to equivalent proverbs of other European languages (English, Dutch, Swedish etc.). For example *Wer eine Nadel stiehlt, wird auch bald Rock und Mantel stehlen.* (*Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon III*, page 853, No. 31). Another old German, but at the same time multilingual, collection is the one edited by Ida von Düringsfeld and Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld. E.g. in French *Larronneau premier d'esguillettes, avec le temps*

[2] The database is in the address: http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/cerp.html More information about the database in *Oral Tradition*. 28: 2. http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/28ii/lauhakangas. More information about the construction of the database and classification is in Outi Lauhakangas' book *The Matti Kuusi International Type System of Proverbs*. FFC no 275. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. 2001.

de la boursette (lit. At first the rogue [takes] ribbons, over time [h(sh)e takes] a purse) in which the images differ from the German proverb text *Wer im Kleinen anfängt zu stehlen, der treibt's in's Grosse* (lit. Who starts by stealing a small thing is driven to big things).

Kuusi also used multi-cultural collections translated into English, in case he could trust the editor's expertise. Selwyn Gurney Champion's *Racial Proverbs* was first published in 1938 and it would be interesting to study as such, this collection offering introductions to several cultures. Kuusi used the second edition and got a lot of equivalents outside of Europe:

> Steal needles when young, you'll steal money when old (Chinese)
> When the rat gnaws the handle it means it is going to attack the hoe (African Ruanda)
> Who steals a needle will steal a cow (Moroccan) / an ox (Korean)
> Who steals an egg will steal a camel (Lebanese). (Champion 1950.)

Another paremiologist that Kuusi could trust was Wolfgang Mieder. In the 1990s he went through Mieder's collection *The Prentice-Hall encyclopedia of World Proverbs. A treasury of wit and wisdom through the ages* (1986).

Hungarian Gyula Paczolay (1997) edited an ambitious collection of 106 proverb types with equivalents in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese. References to Paczolay's collection have been added to Kuusi's database. In addition he has also written studies on European and Far-Eastern and Eastern proverb-lore with elaborate literature references (Paczolay 2008). Special about him is his ability to read and understand all those languages.

Kuusi's own multi-lingual project with Estonian colleagues *Proverbia Septentrionalia* (Proverbs of North-Europe) (Kuusi et al. 1985) has also been a very important part of constructing the database. He could see the continuance of that PS-project when Arvo Krikmann (et al. 2000) initiated the so called PS II in late 90s. Finnish archival data compared to Karelian, Estonian, Vote, Vepsian and Livonian sources showed that the same proverb type with needle – horse or e.g. axe – horse images was also known in the Baltic region.

As a result of a Google search with one of the above mentioned proverb equivalents, there was an interesting discussion on a professional language forum[3] on the Internet (23rd December 2010). Most of the comments were in French, now translated into English. Only participants behind pseudonyms

[3] A special thread in a language forum WordReference: French and English words, phrases and idioms: meaning, translation, usage http://forum.wordreference.com/showthread.php?t=2016044 (last visited 2.9.2014).

"sabres" and "mgarizona" wrote initially in English. Proverb texts are highlighted (italics and bold) for this quotation.

sabres: Hi, could anyone please explain to me the meaning of this proverb? ***Qui vole un œuf, tue un keuf***? Thanks.

BEEKEEPER: The proverb is: ***Qui vole un oeuf, vole un boeuf***. I have never heard about this: *Qui vole un œuf, tue un keuf*, etc. it doesn't make sense.

jprr: Bonsoir, as BEEKEEPER said the original proverb is: *Qui vole un oeuf, vole un boeuf* [lit. The one who steals an egg, will steal an ox)... the one who commits a little crime is inclined to commit a big crime. Here the proverb is modified to a comical version, exaggerating : ... *keuf* when turned around = *flic* (policeman)

mgarizona: "He that steals an egg will steal an ox" in English.

"He that steals an egg will kill a cop.

"The logic of the former is as faulty as that of the latter, but there's plenty of those who believe the one who would believe the other.

BEEKEEPER: Could you explain it?

mgarizona: The logic is faulty ... is it not true that any person capable of committing un petit délit (i.e. most everyone alive) is just as capable of committing un plus gros délit.

This sort of logical fallacy is known as "Affirming the Consequent" ... where you base a conclusion on evidence that does not in fact support that conclusion.

Still there are many people who believe that someone who commits a small crime is just as likely to commit a large one, however fallacious the notion and whether that large one is stealing an ox or killing a policeman.

BEEKEEPER: Yes, I understand your explanation. Mine is a little different: If it's a question of stealing it doesn't make a difference between small or big. No matter if you steal 5 Euros or 1000 Euros, you are a thief.

hampton.mc: Well, I have always understood it like "if you begin with a little crime it leads you to engage in a big crime".

BEEKEEPER: And what is your conclusion?

jprr: The logic of proverbs is often questionable. But they have commonly accepted meanings ...In any case this was not the question sabres made about the proverb (Big grin smiley)

mgarizona: Yes, the sense of "gateway crime" as we say in English is apparent in the other options listed here: [a reference to a network address]

doinel: Sabres, could you please tell us where you found this expression? Was it among jokes about cops? *Si tu voles un œuf c'est comme tuer un poulet* ??? (lit. If you steal an egg it is like killing a chicken ???)

Punky Zoé: "*larronneau premier d'aiguillettes, avec le temps de la boursette*" (At first the rogue [takes] ribbons, over time [h(sh)e takes] a purse) (Big grin smiley) (I don't know this word for a traitor!) or maybe this is describing suburban circumstances? (*si tu voles un œuf tu finis par tuer un flic* (lit. if you steal an egg you will end up killing a cop)

(...)

The discussion above well demonstrates typical problems around proverb texts. If a proverb is brought into a question without a context, its meaning and function is often unclear. Rare words, associations it arouses, illogical conclusion, possible irony and wordplay raise questions.

In German Wikiquote[4] you can find e.g. an Armenian equivalent "Who steals an egg will steal a horse". German equivalents are *Wer einen Pfennig stiehlt, stiehlt auch wohl einen Gulden. Wer im Kleinen anfängt zu stehlen, der treibt ins Große. Wer im Kleinen nicht treu ist, der ist noch weniger im Großen.* We do not get sources for these texts, but it is always possible to search them from old collections.

Through Google search you could find a couple of hits with words 'varastaa' and 'neulan' (steal and needle). One hit was from a discussion about political behavior. It took place on a popular internet forum.[5] The thread is called "Härskiä demarivaltaa ylen tv-1:ssä" (lit. Crass use of social democratic power on the TV channel One) and it has been started by 'Matti Maalta' (Jack from the countryside) having a long dispute with couple of other debaters. After many lines Matti wrote the next quotation including the proverb we were searching for. The use of this proverb (which he does not mention as a proverb) shows Matti's way to develop his argument. He wants to prove how media and the opposing politicians start the process of telling lies.

> **Matti Maalta**: (...) But it is a kind of a habit, a way of behavior, a manner that we human beings seem to have: *if you steal a needle, you also steel a nail, – and soon you steal an iron bar*; at first you take a little shot, then a longer – and soon the whole bottle is finished; you lie at first just a little, then more – and soon there isn't a grain of truth in your speech. (...)
>
> In January, 2010. (The italics of the proverb text by Lauhakangas)

In the next chapter we proceed on to the classification of proverbs. The above discussed "needle-iron bar"-proverb, or a cluster of proverbs gathering around a global proverb idea, gets its basic explanation in Kuusi's classification system. The proverb text is to be found in the subgroup C4c: **from a little comes much; from a small beginning or trifle comes great damage**.

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[4] In Wikiquote' site there are plenty of special proverb links. One of them is to Armenian proverbs. This is a German version http://de.wikiquote.org/wiki/Armenische_Sprichwörter (Last visited 3.9.2014).

[5] http://keskustelu.plaza.fi/plaza/kotimaa/1819362/harskia-demarivaltaa-ylen-tv-1-ssa/sivu3/ (Last visited 3.9.2014).

Excerpts from the International and Finnish internet sites prove that a huge number of supplementary and explanatory materials for databases are nowadays available. The crucial question for a scientific database of proverbs is how this volume of material can be reliably evaluated and dynamically related to the paremiological knowledge. How do we get sufficiently input providing interpretative background and points of reference for our international database of proverbs?

5. Kuusi's universal type system of proverbs

In this article we have become familiar with Kuusi's experiment of constructing a universal thematic and structural order in proverb-lore. Kuusi already arranged his collection of ancient Finnish proverb texts thematically and contained the idea of basic oppositions in the human mind. One important feature in this conscience collection was the all inclusive index of keywords with page numbers, not only to the first noun of every proverb, but to the second semantically important word, too.

Kuusi was not the only scholar who became interested in classification of universal proverb material. A Russian paremiologist Grigori Permyakov (1919–1983) devoted his works to the folklore of Oriental peoples, especially those living under the Soviet rule. He was also interested in African and even in Oceanic folklore. Kuusi learned to know Permyakov's work and discussed about it on the pages of *Proverbium* in the 1960's.

Permyakov is best known for his approach to the 'proverb' as a sign. He concentrated on semiotic and logical aspects of proverbs. Although he saw proverbs in the first place as a language phenomena, a particular type of cliché, he interpreted them as representing different situations. Every situation was a special kind of 'logico-semiotic construction' establishing a model of relationship between objects. For him folklore items were artistic miniatures reflecting facts of everyday life in a vividly expressive form. (Permyakov 1979: 163.)

In 1972 Kuusi wrote an article in which he demonstrated how he would construct a semantic classification that would at the same time utilize structural qualities of proverbs. The article was also published as a book (Kuusi 1972). He took numeral proverbs as a testing ground. Kuusi's aim in this stage was also to give critical remarks on Permyakov's system of classification.

Kuusi reconstructured his earlier design for a universal type system of proverbs together with Outi Lauhakangas (2001) in the 1990s. Thanks to

computational device it was (at least in principle) possible to make a scheme of dynamic classification. Proverb types with individual codes could be arranged in several ways according to alternative codes. Each proverb could now have links to extra data.

Future plans for the database and its classification get stimulus from new proverb data. There will be proverb types that do not fit into the old-time attitudes. Wolfgang Mieder and his colleagues have collected *The Dictionary of Modern proverbs*, where you can find counter-proverbs and American expressions that have got proverbial status. E.g. *Go with a flow* has spread abroad, at least in Europe. (Doyle et al. 2012: xi, 82.) There is no subgroup in Kuusi's classification which could catch this attitude towards life. Thus, the most important aim for the universal type system is to become as comprehensive as possible and at the same time to act as an interpretative tool for contemporary paremiology.

5.1. Thematic and structural classification

Kuusi's afore-mentioned pilot study (1972) was a very important basis for all structurally motivated classes he designed later. Kuusi analyzed systematically the reference literature he had used. He chose proverbs that contain numerals and tested how they function in his classification. Kuusi's aim was to find categories corresponding the intrinsic diversity and the similarities he had in his material of international proverbs.

There is a set of classes that are uniform in Kuusi's and Permyakov's systems. For example, Permyakov's class IXA, "All things retain their qualities and do not turn to other things under any circumstances (neutral things remain neutral, good things good, and evils evil)" matches almost exactly with Kuusi's category C1b **X remains X, even if ....** It belongs to Kuusi's main theme "Basic observations and socio logic". Socio-logic refers to reasoning that functions in social interaction without being particularly logical. The term is used by Paul D. Goodwin and Joseph W. Wenzel (1981) when dealing with proverbs and practical reasoning. Some sub-groups under this heading come directly from Kuusi's former (1972) classification experiment. Apparently, for this experiment he looked for cultural neutrality. In order to be able to classify discrete, uncontextualized foreign proverb texts he chose as universal criteria as possible. Without claiming complete understanding of the meaning or use of some exotic expression he could still integrate it to his system. Thus, the structural classification, even if it does not regard all possible interpretations of proverbs, could include certain proverb types that would otherwise have been forgot-

ten or ignored. This is important to remember when you analyze thematic classifications.

There are 13 main themes. Finnish example texts, mainly translations into Finnish, are in relation to each other according to 325 categories which are arranged into 52 headings. English proverb texts are titles for a more limited database of global and near global proverb types. It is equally categorized and equipped with literature references.

The order of the following main themes reflects Kuusi's point of view to proverb-lore. The most concrete and practical advice begin the classification. Themes based on wisdom of experience come only after folk belief and religious norms and values. Themes concerning social managing and communal life cover a large part of classification. Then there is an important theme of coping and learning with a stress on human activity. As a philosophical end comes the theme dealing with time. You can notice that between M and T Kuusi left possibilities to insert themes N-S for potential new themes. He was well aware that his classification was designed from a North-European and Christian Lutheran point of view.

A practical knowledge of nature (A),
Faith and our basic attitude (B),
Basic observations and socio-logic (C),
The world and human life (D),
A sense of proportion (E),
Concepts of morality (F),
Social life (G),
Social interaction (H),
Communication (J),
Social position (K),
Agreements and norms (L),
Coping and learning (M),
Time and the sense of time (T)

Especially in the themes C and E you can find classification made according to basic structures of proverbs.

C. **Basic observations and socio-logic**
C1. durability of X's nature/durability of identity
C2. X yields/requires/belongs to X
C3. nothingness/emptiness yields/loses nothing
C4. little: big/a little: a lot
C5. signals & their meaning/interpretation
C6. appearance: internal values

E. Sense of proportion
E1. relativity of ranking/the essential unity of differing things

Some of the titles of subgroups are almost like mathematical formulas. For example E1e: **the value of X increases through lack of Y**. On the level of proverb types we see how the formula of E1e is substantiated:

We never know the worth of water until the well runs dry.
When there is no fish in the river, shrimps are valued. (lit. translation, Chinese)
A drowning man will catch at any straw.
In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is a king.

A great part of proverb types are equipped with cross-references to alternative categories or to one or two single proverb type. (In the Internet version this quality is so far shown only in Finnish side of the database.) Thus, structural classification may get a thematic alternative and vice versa.

In Kuusi's system, the ideal interpretation of a proverb would be the same as the most comprehensive use of it. Of course, the decisions to place a proverb type in a subgroup are often uncertain just because contextual information depends on the quality of literal sources. Dealing with several languages causes continuous uncertainty, because checking every text with a native speaker is mostly impossible. We will always live with the problem of authenticity, if only translations of proverbs are available.

5.2. National and international points of view

Going through some thematically arranged national proverb collections might reveal which themes or topics are missing or at least weakly represented in Kuusi's classification.

Encyclopedist Vladimir Dalj's (1862) thematically organized collection of Russian proverbs has been published in several editions. It is interesting to compare Dalj's Russian themes to Kuusi's universal starting point. Dalj's headings are not exclusive. Instead he repeats some themes that seem to be central in Russian proverbs. The clearest difference in Dalj's and Kuusi's ways to deal with a single theme is manifested in a theme 'legal norms'. 'Punishment' occurs seven times in different compositions. One of Kuusi's main themes "agreements and norms" (L) corresponds to Dalj's 'penalty', which occurs in connection with obedience and disobedience, compassion, recognition, submission, attack and threat. Dalj has a group of proverbs for monitoring and hosting. The judiciary will come under headings of order, truth and extortion. These special differences between Dalj's national themes and Kuusi's international classification are quite clear. (Lauhakangas 2014b: 101.)

To think about reasons why some proverbs are familiar in one culture and remain unfamiliar in the neighboring culture is as interesting as considering the process of adopting proverbs from other cultures. Even between cognate languages as Estonian and Finnish some proverbs have for a long time been general in Estonia but rare in Finland and vice versa (Krikmann et al. 2000; Lauhakangas 2014a: 102). These observations reveal how important it would be to take into consideration what points of view any classification may exclude if it is constructed only from a national point of view.

5.3. An experiment for testing Matti Kuusi's type system of proverbs

We will simulate a situation where a proverb text as well as the language and culture behind it are unknown to us. We will try to find the closest proverb type for a translation of a foreign proverb and at most a general theme connected to the text in the Matti Kuusi international database.

There is suitable material for this experiment in a new collection of Afghan proverbs in Dari language (Zellem 2012). This small collection is quite exceptional, because it has been recently collected by an American commodore Edward Zellem, who has been working with Afghan people and learned their languages (Dari and Pashto). Zellem discussed with his Afghan friends about the meanings of each proverb. He even specified interpretations through twitter messages. Let us consider closer one of the Afghan proverbs.

(1) *Koh har qadar beland bāšad, sar-e <u>h</u>od rāh dārad*. Although the mountain is very high, there is a path leading to the top (Zellem 2012: 6).

Browsing Matti Kuusi's type system and database we find quite easily by word search the primary classification sign M6a 12 for this Afghan proverb. The title of this corresponding proverb type is "There is no mountain impossible to climb up". Quite near this proverb type there is another (M6a 14) that is in Finnish *Ei halulla hankea eikä uskolla umpea* (lit. Desire has no unbeaten snow and belief has no dead end). It is equivalent to an English one *Where there is a will there is a way*. If taken the concrete meaning of the '*way*' the English proverb brings us back to the Afghan 'path'.

In Kuusi's classification we can check out that both the "mountain"-proverb and the "snow" proverb belong to the theme M: Coping and learning. More precisely, they are classified under the title M6 'Own initiative / enterprise / responsibility' and finally, they are placed to a subgroup M6a: **one's own desire to act and manage; unscrupulousness, each will answer for one's own actions**.

The subgroup we found seems to fit the interpretation Zellem has suggested in his book. The title for this proverb is '*movafaq*', which means success and achievement. Zellem emphases common striving towards a goal and uses this proverb in his short introduction to the collection.

But perhaps mountains mean something else for Afghans than for most European and American people. They are a necessary part of everyday life, not so much as personal challenges for an individual mind. They mean striving, but how much does an individual goal play a part in the Afghan proverb? Same question must be asked about the wading in snowdrifts in the North. Both are impressive images of obstacles in life and beliefs in managing them. How much do success and personal achievement play part in those proverbs?

The difference brings us to search for an extra interpretation for the original Afghan proverb as well as for the Finnish one. Which subgroup would fit as a supplementary classification sign for them?

In Kuusi's database the proverb type *He that endures, is not overcome* (M6c 26) belongs to the same theme and class as the previous one, but this time the subgroup is M6c: **enterprise, perseverance and toughness is better than short-sightedness, giving up easily or the easy way**.

Is this a good way to bring more explanatory power for this single proverb text?

The former experiment and the arisen question lead us to search for the narrowest and most exact cultural meanings for those proverbs. If this must be done in a situation where we do not have any information of authentic social contexts in which the Afghan proverb is used, we have to rely on Zellem's interpretation of the explanations he has been told. Especially proverbs that we know to be universal can be surprisingly diversely interpreted in different cultures. A classic example of this process is the loan proverb *Rolling stone gathers no moss*. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Kimblett (1973) proved that it even had contrary interpretations in different cultures.

If we proceed on to the level of proverb use, above mentioned proverbs should also be interpreted according to their use. All of them (Afghan, Finnish and English) can be used when you want to inspire confidence in a person. They can be perhaps also used for comforting your friend. Or you may use those proverbs to pressure somebody, e.g. a child to try harder.

Some of those proverbs can be your grandfather's favorite saying, which you keep in mind as a motive to strive to reach your personal goal. You want to prove something to yourself or it is profitable and worth doing. You can get honor, prestige, win respect, self-esteem and admirers by doing it. We really do not know exactly, how people have used those proverbs long time ago in everyday interaction.

6. What is possible for digital paremiology?

Communicability is the quality number one for designing a general database of proverbs. A logical and clear code system established for proverb types like Kuusi's dream of AT codes of folk-tales (Aarne; Thompson 1961) would certainly help, if all paremiologist would agree on the same system of proverb types. This is only an utopia. Scholars have quite diversified approaches to proverbs. Actually, all these different interests make paremiology an interdisciplinary domain. It is better to plan a flexible changing perspective for classifications according to cultural emphases or research questions.

Full digitization of proverbial corpora and collections has changed the coding possibilities. New information technology and digitized collections can be easily made available online and accessible instantly to the paremiologists worldwide. New collections are already *born-digital*, a term commonly used for published materials that originate in digital form (possibly in addition to paper form). The comprehensiveness of the background information that can be collected for a certain proverbial research is going to be substantially increased. (Kats; Lauhakangas 2010: 114.)

Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt (2010) has made an analysis of the development from the printed dictionaries and proverb collections to modern database systems applied to proverb research. Taking into account multidimensionality and new possibilities to use networks we may find new ways to approach proverb material.

Pavel Kats wants to open up a discussion of how the paremiological community would like to see the proverbial research in the coming years, and whether the technological achievements of these years are a part of this picture (Kats; Lauhakangas 2010: 112). The question is also open, if it is in principle possible and sensible to make a scheme of proverb types and claim that it could function universally.

A really hard challenge comes from a Swedish paremiologist Daniel Andersson, who shows from his cognitive linguistic point of view that actually every proverb should be interpreted in its whole meaning potential. If a proverb is in real use, the 'base meaning' of it is continuously in a blending process. It is used in context-bound meaning creation. The impressive and interactive features of proverbs tell about their fitness to get over language borders. Thus, any categorization of proverbs should be done keeping in mind their importing and exporting history, their potential flexibility to immigrate or emigrate as folklore. (Andersson 2013: 28)

The long history of this genre of speech, anonymity, traditional flavor, memorable form, figurative meanings in contexts, and often universality de-

fine proverbs. If everyday use of proverbs is taken as a part of information connected to a certain proverb text, use of proverb-like expressions should consequently enrich this image. Through modifications of memorable forms of familiar proverbs and more or less stable proverb-like expressions this tradition remains alive and develops.

Kuusi's database with thematically and structurally analyzed proverb types is a good basis for identifying the culturally most common 'base meanings' of proverbial expressions. Paremiologists can better differentiate the local features of proverbs and those qualities that depend on cultural history, if they have comparative material.

7. Conclusions

An important aim for the universal type system of proverbs is to become as comprehensive as possible and at the same time to act as an interpretative tool for contemporary paremiology. New wide-spread and proverb-like expressions, new kinds of use of old sayings, contrary-proverbs and modifications are a challenge for classification of proverb types. Matti Kuusi's ideal was a dynamic classification, which is now possible through information technology. Requirements for contextual knowledge joint to proverb texts can be satisfied with new reference technology. Thus, the whole meaning potential for every proverb text is possible to reach, at least in principle.

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Międzynarodowa baza danych Matti Kuusiego: klasyfikacja i jej wyzwania

Streszczenie

The Matti Kuusi International Type System of Proverbs jest odważnym eksperymentem, mającym na celu dotarcie do wszystkich rodzajów paremiologicznego myślenia.

Celem zaproponowanego systemu jest zapewnienie narzędzia, które mogłoby być wykorzystywane do rozumienia i porównywania przysłów na całym świecie. Kuusi postawił sobie za cel stworzenie uniwersalnego systemu, opracowanego tak, by mógł on być powszechnie stosowany, i aby stanowił narzędzie do interpretacji przysłów. Niniejszy artykuł zawiera omówienie tych celów i przykładów trudności powodowanych przez różne sposoby wykorzystywania przysłów i nastawienia do nich w poszczególnych kulturach. Przedstawiono również dotyczące przyszłości rozważania na temat możliwości i środków połączenia kontekstowej wiedzy o użyciu przysłów do bazy danych. Optymalnym wynikiem ulepszeń byłoby podniesienie świadomości o powszechnych i indywidualnych cechach przysłów każdego narodu. Klasyfikacja Kussiego stanowi właściwą bazę do prowadzenia analiz i porównywania przysłów.

Joanna Szerszunowicz
The University of Bialystok
Poland

Cultural connotations in bilingual dictionaries of winged words

Abstract. The correlation between language and culture is reflected in many phenomena, one kind of which are winged words, both international, for instance, those of biblical and mythological origins, and intracultural, whose origins are connected with the culture of a given language community and which are often used only in this ethnic community. Winged words tend to be rich in cultural connotation, which in the case of intralinguistic units are often limited to the target culture. Therefore, the expressions in question are difficult from the point of view of translation and bilingual lexicographic description. The present study is conducted within the research on winged words in a cross-linguistic perspective. So far the problem of translation of cultural connotations of winged words has already been discussed. The aim of this paper is to present how cultural connotations of winged words can be presented in bilingual lexicographic works.

Key words: *cultural connotations, winged words, systematic equivalents, bilingual dictionaries*

1. Winged words & Cultural connotations

Phraseology encompasses a variety of phrases, both word-like structures and sentence-like ones. What differs winged words, the Latin term for which is *epea pteroenta*, from other fixed expressions is the fact that they can be traced back to an author or a historical source (Diadechko 2010: 137; Chlebda 2005: 296). In fact, it means that the name *winged words* functions as a term encompassing various units, such as catchphrases, slogans, sententious remarks, quotations etc. (Fiedler 2007: 47), which meet this criterion. Thanks to Henryk Markiewicz's interest and involvement, in Poland such reproducible word combinations started to be collected in the 1950s. It is worth adding that in Polish terminological dictionaries

the expression *skrzydlate słowa* (lit. winged words) was used for the first time in 1970s.

Winged words were coined in a given culture, therefore, many of them are carriers not only of meanings, but also of connotations. The term *connotation* is used with reference to the emotive and associational aspects of a term (cf. McArthur 1996: 235; Apresjan 2000: 86). *Cultural connotations* can be defined as the interpretative relations between between linguistic signs and symbols of other non-verbal code, for instance, stereotypes or myths, which manifests themselves especially clearly in idioms and restricted collocations (Teliya et al. 2001: 59). According to Teliya et al. (2001: 60), they can have twofold origins: either they develop their connotations as a result of alluding either to cultural realia or to cultural concepts. Therefore, it can be concluded that culturally marked words, which are constituents of phraseological units, can be carriers of connotations, or the units as a whole can have a connotative potential.

Cultural connotations of intracultural winged words are important in a contrastive perspective. Due to their culture-boundness, they play an important role the process of translation (Szerszunowicz 2014). Their presence in the original poses problems, which have to be solved after a multiaspectual analysis of their occurrence in a given context. The units in question are also problematic in terms of their bilingual lexicographic description. Taking into consideration the cross-linguistic asymmetry of intracultural winged words, it is advisable to analyse their cultural connotations with a view to including the information in the entry.

2. Mono- and bilingual dictionaries of winged words

In Poland, in 1990 the first dictionary of 12.000 winged words was compiled by Henryk Markiewicz and Andrzej Romanowski (1990). The latest edition of the dictionary at issue, *Skrzydlate słowa. Wielki słownik cytatów polskich i obcych* (Markiewicz, Romanowski 2007) contains a total of 16 000 units. The entries comprise many various kinds of winged words, such as: biblical phrases and units from other religious books, philosophical and theological theses and sentences, aphorisms, leaders' and politicians' sayings, legal formulae, political slogans, initial verses and choruses of songs, advertising slogans. In 2012, the second part of the dictionary, *Skrzydlate słowa 2* (Markiewicz 2012), was published. It contains about 5.000 units: some of them existed, but were not included in the first part, while others have been coined recently.

Moreover, there are some other dictionaries containing the units in question. For example, some winged words can be found in dictionaries of well-known Polish sentences (Bralczyk 2004, 2005, 2006), lexicographic works containing units of political origins (Laskowska 2004; Zimny, Nowak 2009) and the dictionary of slogans used in advertisements and commercials (Spychalska, Hołota 2009).

Winged words are important for communication, yet, very few bilingual dictionaries of winged words have been published in Poland so far. One of them is *Czesko-polski słownik słów skrzydlatych*, compiled by Teresa Zofia Orłoś and Joanna Hornik (1996), which contains Czech winged words and their Polish equivalents. Another important lexicographic work is *Rosyjsko-polski słownik skrzydlatych słów* by Wojciech Chlebda, Walerij M. Mokienjko and Swietłana Szuleżkowa (2003). It is a collections of Russian winged words and their Polish counterparts.

It is worth mentioning one more dictionary of winged words, mainly *Deutsch-polnisches Wörterbuch der geflügelten Worte. In 80 geflügelten Worten um die Welt. Niemiecko-polski słownik skrzydlatych słów, czyli w 80 skrzydlatych słów dookoła świata* (Walter, Komorowska, Krzanowska et al. 2013). It is a Polish-German dictionary, which also contains eighty Polish winged words and their German counterparts. The equivalents in other European languages are also given. Moreover, some units are accompanied by additional information, including cultural components.

3. Winged words in a contrastive perspective

3.1. Inter- and intracultural winged words

As culture-bound phrases, winged words constitute a group which deserves special attention in a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. The units in question can be divided into two main groups: intercultural phrases (cf. Piirainen 2008) and intracultural ones (Tarsa 2001: 124). The former, international units, are found in many different languages, they have various origins. For example, some of them are connected with historical events in classical antiquity (e.g. *The die is cast*). Moreover, a big number of expressions come from literary works (e.g. *Something is rotten in the state of Denmark*). Furthermore, nowadays popular culture is a source of winged words, too (e.g. *Life is like a box of chocolates*).

The other group, intracultural winged words, contains units motivated by national culture, therefore, phrases which are often specific to a given

language. Many winged words, which belong to this group, were coined by politicians, military strategists, philosophers and other figures important in a given culture, as it is the case with Lech Wałęsa's winged words in Polish (Szerszunowicz 2011a). It is worth adding that many modern units of intracultural character also originate from popular culture, mostly films (e.g. *Nie ze mną te numery, Bruner*[1]), commercials and advertisements (*Prawie robi wielką różnicę*).

3.2. Translational equivalents of winged words

Analysing winged words from a translational viewpoint, one should pay attention to the fact that apart from several widespread units, they tend to be underrepresented in bilingual dictionaries of given languages (Szerszunowicz 2009). It means that the vast majority of them does not have a systematic equivalent, either phraseological or non-phraseological, which the translator can find in bilingual dictionaries. Therefore, translating intracultural winged words is a particularly difficult task.

It can be assumed that at least some intercultural winged words, such as the biblical ones, may have cross-linguistic equivalents, which often show great similarity in terms of lexico-structural character. In the case of intracultural winged words, one can make the assumption that they mostly verbalize individual contents created by the author, which means that hardly ever can symmetry be found in a contrastive perspective (Chlebda 2001: 301). Therefore, the translator has to find a proper technique of translating the units in question.

As to the techniques of translation of winged words[2], from the theoretical point of view, the following can be distinguished: borrowing, calque, also called loan translation (optionally followed by markers and/or source reference), neologism, neosemantism, description, combination of the above (Tarsa 2001: 126). Borrowing consists in using the units in its original form. The source language unit can be calqued by using a calque sanctioned by its presence in the translation of the source text into the target language or creating an occasional calque[3]. When a new combination is made in order

[1] In fact, the phrase is not used in this form even once in the film, in which very similar phrase occurs. It is not a unique case of some changes of original expressions, for instance, the English winged words *Beam me up, Scotty* is also a result of language users' transformation.

[2] On translation of fixed expressions see Hejwowski (2004), Naciscione (2010).

[3] Using a calque or introducing a quotation from the original may evoke an effect of foreignness in the receiver of the translation. The effect at issue is discussed by Roman Lewicki (2002).

to translate winged words, a neologism is created. It is also possible to use existing winged words in a new meaning corresponding to the meaning of the target language winged words. The winged words can also be translated in a descriptive way. It should be emphasized that it is possible to introduce the markers and source references into the target text, which results in its amplification.

It is worth emphasizing that the translational equivalent is context-dependent (Szerszunowicz 2009). Once the string of lexical items is identified as winged words, it is paraphrased in the source language to express the meaning, which is then verbalised in the target language and the prospective equivalents in the target language can be proposed. A multiaspectual analysis if a given context is conducted so that the most adequate equivalent could be chosen.

3.3. Systematic equivalents of winged words

Equivalence of fixed phrases can also be discussed at the systematic level (Dobrovol'skij 2011), which is very important for bilingual lexicography. Given source language winged words have to be assigned target language equivalent or – in some cases – equivalents, either phraseological or non phraseological. As in the case of other phraseological units, four basic kinds of cross-linguistic equivalents can be distinguished, i.e. absolute, partial, parallel and zero equivalents.

Many of widespread units[4] have absolute equivalents, which more precisely can be called quasi-absolute counterparts. The unit has an equivalent which is identical in terms of wording, meaning, structure and other parametres, such as for instance stylistic markedness. For instance, the English unit *To be or not to be (that is the question)* has a Polish equivalent *Być albo nie być (oto jest pytanie)*. However, it should be observed that in the vast majority of cases differences can be expected if two units are compared: the source language unit and the target language unit may differ for instance in frequency.

Partial equivalents are the ones which correspond to each other in meaning, wording and structure, however, small differences, like a substitution of constituents belonging to the same field, are allowed. The relation of partial equivalence is observed between the Polish unit *rzecz sama w sobie* and its English counterpart *the thing itself*.

Parallel equivalents are the units which express the same meaning, but they convey it by means of different words and structures. The German

[4] On widespread phraseological units see Piirainen (2012).

winged words *Potemkinsche Dörfer* have an English systematic equivalent *facade/façade sham*, which differs greatly in the imagery, yet conveys the same meaning.

The last group of equivalents is composed of units which do not have phraseological equivalents. They have zero equivalents, which means that their cross-linguistic counterpart is either a word or a descriptive equivalent. They constitute either a linguistic gap, i.e. they verbalize the meaning known to the target language users, which is not expressed by a fixed phrase in the target language, or a cultural gap when they convey the meaning not known to the target language user. An example of the latter kind is the Polish unit *Polak potrafi*, which is deeply rooted in Polish culture and has no equivalent in English and many other languages.

4. Lexicographic description of cultural connotations in bilingual dictionaries

4.1. Microstructure of an entry for winged words

In lexicography the term *microstructure* "is used to describe the arrangement of lexicographic data provided in individual subdivisions of a dictionary" (Burkhanov 1998: 155). The microstructures of particular dictionaries differ, yet, their composition is to a significant degree determined by lexicographic tradition. It should be observed that there is a tendency to create a hybrid dictionaries. Moreover, new technological solutions can be implemented, which allows for inclusions of new elements in the lexicographic description.

In a linguo-cultural perspective, winged words constitute a group of various units, both inter- and intracultural ones. However, the origins of all of them are known, which means that they are culture-bound. Therefore, it can be assumed that the bilingual lexicographic description should include the information on the origins, which means encompassing the cultural component in the entry. One of lexicographic works, which contains comprehensive information on the presented units, is *Rosyjsko-polski słownik skrzydlatych słów* by Wojciech Chlebda, Walerij M. Mokienjko and Swietłana Szuleżkowa (2003), a collections of Russian winged words and their Polish counterparts.

In this dictionary, the entry is composed of the following elements: the number of a given unit within the letter range; the unit; stylistic-pragmatic markers; a letter-number typological symbol of a given unit; lexical-syntactic

variants of a given unit and typical syntactic constructions, in which the unit appears (optional); the Polish translation equivalents; a genetic table containing information on the origin of a given unit as well as completing units; a selection of Russian and Polish quotations illustrating the usage of a given unit (Chlebda, Mokijenko, Szuleżkowa 2003: 13).

4.2. A proposal of an entry of a bilingual dictionary of winged words

The above presented entry model, adopted in *Rosyjsko-polski słownik skrzydlatych słów* (Chlebda, Mokienjko, Szuleżkowa 2003), constitutes a solid base, which can be developed further, so that the description can be extended and complemented with additional elements. As in the case of the presentation of winged words, cultural connotations are of great importance and special attention should be paid to those elements, which may be treated as ones beyond the traditional description, but the knowledge of which is indispensible for dictionary user for communication purposes.

The proposed entry consists of three main parts: the linguistic description of a given unit, examples of its usage, cultural component including information regarding origins and various cultural connotations (Szerszunowicz 2011b). As for its linguistic description, it comprises the following components: semantic, syntactic, and stylistic. The meaning should be explained and the information on the usage given together with that on syntactic variants and potential limitations. Stylistic markedness is also a very important element of the lexicographic description, so labels should accompany the units.

Table 1. A proposal of an entry for winged words

HEAD UNIT	
stylistic markers	
lexical-syntactic variants of a given unit	
meaning and information on usage	
syntactic characteristics and limitations	visual material (optional)
typical syntactic constructions (optional)	
examples	
information on the origin of a given unit	
cultural connotations	
additional information	
(e.g. links to various texts of culture containing a given unit)	

Examples are very important elements of the lexicographic description, complementing the explanation of the meaning. They may sentences created for the needs of the dictionary, so that the prototypical example of use could be provided. They may also come from various texts, such as literature or press. Corpora, like *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (NKJP), constitute a good source of such examples. Moreover, it is worth considering the World Wide Web as a source of exemplification (Colson 2007), especially in the view of the fact that fixed phrases are often underrepresented in corpora (cf. Moon 1998).

The inclusion of additional information regarding winged words enables the dictionary user to learn more about a given unit and its status in the target culture. If the dictionary is an on-line one, then it can be easily updated, which is important in terms of intertextuality of given winged words. Moreover, visual material can be included easily, encompassing both canonical uses and modifications.

5. Winged words in a Polish-English lexicographic description: Case studies

5.1. *Jestem za, a nawet przeciw*

After 1989, the year marking the statehood transformation of Poland, Wałęsa, who became the first non-Communist president of Poland, played an important role not only in the history of the country, but also in the development of political discourse (Bralczyk 1990). In the period of Communism, Newspeak dominated the sphere of public communication, with its artificial fixed combinations of words. The new President's idiolect differed greatly from the Communist party style way of communication.

Wałęsa, a graduate of vocational school, who worked as an electrician in a shipyard, communicated in a completely different way. He used colloquial language in formal situations, which was perceived as a better way of communication than the communist Newspeak by Polish language users.

What is important for the present study is the fact that he either coined or popularized many phrases, which became winged words. The biggest dictionary of Polish, *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, contains the word *wałęsizm*, which is defined in the following way: 'wyraz, wyrażenie, metafora charakterystyczne dla języka Lecha Wałęsy' (lit. a word, expression, metaphor characteristic of Lech Wałęsa's language; PSWP, 44: 471). His idiolect was so characteristc that Lech Wałęsa has been given the *Srebrne Usta*

Award (lit. Silver Mouth Award), given to politicians whose expressions are chosen by listeners of Program Three of the Polish Radio since 1992, as many as three times: in 1992, 2002 and 2003.

The units associated with Lech Wałęsa, elements of his idiolect, are rich in connotations and they tend to be stylistically marked. A selection of as many as 57 Wałęsa's winged words is included in the dictionary of Polish winged words (Markiewicz, Romanowski 2007). Moreover, some collections of his winged words are also present on the Internet (http://pl.wikiquote.org/wiki/Lech_Wałęsa; Facebook: *Nie chcem, ale muszem*). It is worth observing that the units at issue are not registered in Polish-English dictionaries.

Lech Wałęsa is a person known to the vast majority of Poles and associated with concrete events. So is his idiolect, his personal language, rich in metaphors and mistakes, which makes it stylistically marked. The way of communication is an element of his image, stored in the collective memory of Poles. Therefore, in a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective, the connotative potential of the phrases at issue has to be taken into consideration.

Table 2. The proposal of an entry for *Jestem za, a nawet przeciw*

Jestem za, a nawet przeciw
coll, hum a phrase used in a situation in which the speaker is not able to say whether (s)he is for or against something
Examples: – Mam zamiar wyjechać na stałe do Nowej Zelandii. – Jestem za, a nawet przeciw. (A)[5] Jak widzimy, ta ustawa budzi wiele emocji, wiele kontrowersji, bardzo dużo pytań do sprawozdawców, do przedstawicieli ministerstwa. Trwało to rzeczywiście dosyć długo. Powiem państwu szczerze, że ja też nie mam jednoznacznego stosunku do tej ustawy. Jeśli mam powiedzieć, jaki jest mój stosunek, to użyje sformułowania, które w tym kraju przeszło już do historii polityki: jestem za, a nawet przeciw. Bo właściwie trudno mi jest powiedzieć, czy to jest ustawa potrzebna, a przede wszystkim, czy za jej pomocą cokolwiek zmienimy. (NKJP, Sprawozdanie z 51. posiedzenia Senatu RP część 2, wersja robocza, 4. kadencja)

[5] In all the proposed entries there are two examples: the first, marked with letter A, is made by the author to illustrate the typical use of the phrase; the second is taken from the National Corpus of the Polish Language (NKJP). The inclusion of the first example ensures that the meaning is well illustrated, while the presentation of corpus material allows for showing a real use of the phrase, which is often less representative, and thus more difficult for a foreign language learner.

Origin: One of phrases attributed to Lech Wałęsa, the first non-Communist president of Poland, known for using figurative language.

Cultural connotations: Wałęsa's idiolect (colloquial, figurative), phrases coined by Wałęsa

Additional information: Lech Wałęsa was born in 1943, was a trade union activist, politician and electrician by profession. He was a worker of Gdańsk Shipyard, from December 1970 a member of the Strike Committee. In September 1980 he co-founded Solidarity Trade Union. In 1983 received the Nobel Price. In 1988 he co-organized a strike in Gdańsk Shipyard. In 1990 he was the co-creator of the Round Table agreements where he represented the social movement Solidarity; contributed to the formation of the first non-communist government in the post-war Poland and co-initiated the fundamental reconstruction of the political and economic systems in Poland (independence, democracy, market-based economy). From December 1990 to December 1995 he was the President of the Republic of Poland (*Poland. An Encyclopedic Guide* 2000: 460).

Other phrases coined/popularised by Lech Wałęsa:

Nie chcem, ale muszem (lit. I want not, but I have to)
Punkt widzenia zależy od punktu siedzenia (lit. The view point depends on the sit point)
Gdyby w jeziorze były ryby, wędkowanie nie miałoby sensu (lit. If there was fish in the lake, fishing wouldn't make any sense)
Furman nie może być koniem i odwrotnie (lit. The cart driver cannot be a horse and the other way round)
Są plusy dodatnie i ujemne (lit. There are positive pluses and negative pluses)
Zbij pan termometr, nie będziesz pan chory (lit. Break the thermometer, sir, and you won't be ill)
I tak, i nie. (lit. And yes, and no)
Widzę to jasno na białym (lit. I can see it white in light)
To są ostatnie godziny naszych pięciu minut (lit. these are the last hours of our five minutes)
Dobrze się stało, że źle się stało (lit. it happen well that it happened badly)
Dokonałem zwrotu o 360 stopni (lit. I have done a 360-degree turn),
Odpowiem wymijająco wprost (lit. I will answer evasively straight)

In its structure, the proposed entry includes the information on cultural connotations: it is mentioned that the winged words are carriers of idiolectal features of Wałęsa's language, briefly characterised so that the language user could familiarise with its specifics. Moreover, it is important that the occurrence of the phrase at issue relates it to other units, which Wałęsa coined or

popularised. Therefore, the inclusion of such information supplements the description of the meaning and usage of the phrase, contributing to its better presentation.

5.2. *Dla zdrowotności*

Popular culture is a domain, from which many fixed expressions, including winged words, originate. Many phrases come from films, some of which depict the culture of a given ethnic community. One of popular Polish cinematographic pictures of the post-war Polish reality is a trilogy directed by Sylwester Chęciński, which comprises the following parts: *Sami swoi* (lit. Only ours; English titles: *All Friend Here, Our Folks*, 1967), *Nie ma mocnych* (a Polish fixed expression meaning 'nobody can do it', 1974), *Kochaj albo rzuć* (*Love It or Leave It*, 1977). The comedies show two families who, after having left Kresy, forced to move to the Regained Territory, live next door to each other, presenting their everyday life. In fact, Andrzej Mularczyk, who wrote the script, modelled one of the character, Pawlak, on his father's brother.

The neighbours, Władysław Kargul and Kazimierz Pawlak, tend to quarrel, but still they form a small community. They have been in conflict since one of Karguls ploughed his field by three fingers too far on Pawlak's side. After hitting Kargul with a scythe, Jan Pawlak leaves for America to avoid being punished. After many years he comes back to find his brother's family being on friendly terms with the neighbours, since their children, Pawlak's son and Kargul's daughter, got married.

The comedies are very popular with Polish viewers of different ages, shown many times on television, especially on a festive day, such as Christmas Day or Easter Sunday. Their popularity continues, irrespective of realia which are rather unfamiliar to younger generations. One of the strong points of the films is the construction of the characters, including their language. What is culturally relevant is the fact that they speak in a characteristic way. In fact, it is not only pronunciation that differs from the standard one, in terms of pronunciation, lexis and syntax. Therefore, it is the language differentiates people who belong to the community.

Due to the ongoing popularity, several phrases from the comedies are commonly known among native users of Polish (Połowniak-Wawrzonek 2010: 88), who used them in everyday communication. Two of them are attested in the collection of winged words titled *Wielki słownik cytatów polskich i obcych* (Markiewicz, Romanowski 2007: 294), both are Kargul's lines from the film *Sami swoi*: *Pawlak, podejdź-no do płota* (lit. Pawlak, do come

to the fence)[6] and *Sąd sądem, ale sprawiedliwość musi być po naszej stronie* (lit. Court is court, but justice must be on our side). The former one has a variant *podejdź do płota [jako i ja podchodzę]* (lit. come to the fence [as I do so]). According to Połowniak-Wawrzonek (2010), the other two considered to gain the status of winged words are *sami swoi* (lit. only ours) and *dla zdrowotności* (for health sake).

The latter expression contains the lexical constituent *zdrowotność*, which is labeled *medical* in the dictionary of modern Polish (USJP, 4: 953). According to this lexicographic work, it has two meanings: 'general state of health of a society or its particular groups' and 'beneficial influence on somebody's health'. The analysed winged words make use of the noun *zdrowotność* to express the notion of positive influence. As observed before, the word is stylistically loaded, not often used in everyday language. Thus, its occurrence creates a special effect in terms of markedness.

Table 3. The proposal of an entry for *Dla zdrowotności*

Dla zdrowotności
Variant: Dla zdrowotnosti
Coll. used to justify doing something, for instance, drinking alcohol
Examples: Lubił wypić do obiadu kieliszek wina, dla zdrowotności, jak mawiał. [A] Chudego mięsa to ja bardzo nie lubiłem – przyznaje jubilat. – Ale ogólnie to jadło się wszystko – tłuste żeberka, boczek. A jeśli chodzi o alkohol, to tylko dwa albo trzy razy w życiu byłem pijany. – Prawie zawsze do obiadu miareczkę spirytusu lub nalewki na spirytusie chlapnął. Dla zdrowotności. Mówił, że to mu poprawia krążenie – dodaje córka. [NKJP, "Głos Siemiatycz", 21.03.2010]
Origins: The phrase comes from a Polish comedy titled *Sami swoi*, directed by Sylwester Chęciński with the script by Andrzej Mularczyk.
Cultural connotations: the film *Sami swoi*, pronunciation typical of Kresy, folksy speech

[6] The unit contains an onomastic constituent, i.e. the anthroponym *Pawlak*, which is culture-bound itself and evokes connotations in native users of Polish. In the case of many units, including the discussed winged words, cultural knowledge may be of importance for decoding the expression in a given context (Szerszunowicz 2008).

Additional information: Sylwester Chęciński directed the comedy *Sami swoi* (lit. Only ours; English titles: *All Friend Here, Our Folks*, 1967), followed by *Nie ma mocnych* (a Polish fixed expression meaning 'nobody can do it', 1974) and *Kochaj albo rzuć* (*Love It or Leave It*, 1977). The protagonists of the films are two families who, after having left *Kresy*, the Eastern Borderland, were forced to move to the Regained Territory. They live next door to each other. The neighbours, Władysław Kargul and Kazimierz Pawlak have been in conflict since one of Karguls ploughed his field by three fingers too far on Pawlak's side. After hitting Kargul with a scythe, Jan Pawlak leaves for America to avoid being punished. After many years he comes back to find his brother's family being on friendly terms with the neighbours, since their children, Pawlak's son and Kargul's daughter, got married.

The above presented winged words have stylistic qualities, which contribute to the attractiveness of the phrase. Their dialectal features evoke the associations with Kresy. Moreover, the unit is rich in cultural connotations: it reminds of the film and the character who utters them. Providing this information in the entry allows for presenting the linguo-cultural specifics of the phrase in question.

5.3. *A świstak siedzi i zawija je w te sreberka*

Advertisements and commercials are an important source of modern winged words: they employ many phrases which are easy to memorise and attractive from the point of view of communication. The imagery is one of the key factors deciding on the incorporation of a given phrase in a language. For instance, one of Milka Alpen Gold chocolate commercials shown in Poland features a man at the cash desk, telling the cashier about a marmot packing Christmas presents in silver foil. After listening to him, the woman replies *Tak, taaak, o-czy-wiście...* (lit. Yes, yeees, cer-tain-ly), expressing her disbelief. Her facial expression shows this opinion, too. The picture was so vivid that the phrase about the marmot started to be used as a pragmatic idiom, meaning 'I do not believe what you say' (Bralczyk 2005: 13–14)

Thanks to its linguo-cultural properties, the phrase gained a status of a popular expression, which is corroborated by its numerous modifications. The vast majority of them are based on the word play on the verb *siedzi* ('is stitting', the third person singular of the Polish verb *siedzieć* 'to sit'), which can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it can be decoded as 'is sitting'; second, it can be understood as 'is in prison'.

Discussing the unit, Połowniak Wawrzonek (2010: 334–335) gives several examples of the creative use of the winged words at issue, such as: *A świstak siedzi, bo sreberka były kradzione* (lit. And the marmot is sitting, because silver foil was from theft), *A świstak siedzi, bo wiewiórka była nieletnia* (lit. And the marmot is sitting, because the squirrel was under age), *A świstak siedzi, bo go ktoś przykleił do krzesła* (lit. And the marmot is sitting, because somebody stuck it onto the chair), *A świstak siedzi, bo nie stoi* (lit. And the marmot is sitting, because he is not standing). In all the examples, the first part of the phrase is retained and the second undergoes modifications.

Creative adaptations of the initial part are attested, but it should be admitted that they are not so numerous. The insertion of additional elements are observed in a few cases. One of modifications consists in changing the sentence into the negative form: *A świstak nie siedzi, bo jest na warunkowym* (lit. And the marmot is not sitting, because he has been conditionally released from prison). Another contains an additional verb form: *A świstak siedzi i płacze, bo komornik zabrał mu te złotka* (lit. And the marmot is sitting and crying, because the debt collector has taken his golden foil). The verb *siedzi* can be substituted with a different one, as it is the case with *A świstak nie ma roboty, bo mu ukradli te sreberka* (lit. And the marmot does not have any work, because silver foil has been stolen).

What is really interesting is that even allusive modifications are created, such as *Ja mam dwadzieścia lat, ty masz dwadzieścia lat, a świstak dożywocie* (lit. I am twenty, you are twenty, and the marmot – life sentence). The initial phrase is the beginning of a well known Polish popular song. Another example employs a creative use of winged words from a Polish film: *Świstak do Lindy, co ty k... wiesz o zawijaniu* (lit. The marmot to Linda .... what the f.... you know about wrapping).

The way native users of Polish play with the phrase proves that they are well familiar with it and its modification potential. Therefore, the entry should contain the information regarding its adaptability. Moreover, language users associate the expression at issue with the commercial, which is also important in terms of the lexicographic presentation of the unit.

Table 4. The proposal of an entry for *A świstak siedzi i zawija je w te sreberka*

A świstak siedzi i zawija je w te sreberka
Variants: A świstak siedzi i zawija, A świstak siedzi
Coll. winged words of pragmatic character, used to express disbelief in what somebody is saying

Examples: – Nauczę się mówić biegle po angielsku w pół roku. – A świstak siedzi i zawija je w te sreberka. (A)
Sama Alicja Tysiąc wielokrotnie mówiła, że nie chciała zabić dziecka, lecz przerwać ciążę. A świstak siedzi i zawija je w te sreberka (NKJP, Blog J. Kumocha)

Origin: Milka Alpen Gold commercial shown on Polish television, in which a man at the cash desk tells the cashier a story about a marmot packing presents in silver foil. The woman replies in disbelief: *Tak, taaak, o-czy-wiście...*

Cultural connotations: Milka Alpen Gold commercial (featuring a customer saying the phrase and a cash desk assistant reacting by making a face showing her disbelief; originally uttered with a characteristic intonation), many modifications (paraphrases, riddles, jokes)

Additional information: Native users of Polish associate this phrase with the commercial. The unit has a big connotative potential and undergoes various modifications, for example: *A świstak siedzi, bo Milka była konfidentem* (lit. And the marmor is sitting, because Milka was an informer), *A świstak siedzi, bo w sreberka zawijał amfę* (lit. And the marmot is sitting, because he wrapped amphetamine in silver foil), *A świstak siedzi, bo ukradł czekoladę ze sklepu* (lit. And the marmot is sitting, because he stole chocolate from the shop). There are also some riddles and jokes which allude to the phrase, for instance: *Dlaczego świstak siedzi? Bo wiewiórka była nieletnia* (lit. Why is the marmot sitting? Because the squirrel was under age).

The above entry contains all the elements which have been mentioned before: the information regarding the modification potential of the described winged words is included in the entry, which shows the prospective dictionary user how the phrase really functions in language and culture. Furthermore, the commercial is mentioned, since the winged words at issue evoke the associations connected with the short film advertising Milka and the characters which appear in it. It can be concluded that the inclusion of the information in the entry facilitates proper acquiring the winged words by the prospective dictionary users.

6. Conclusion

Winged words constitute a special group of units, since they are fixed phrases of known origins. In many cases, they are culture-bound and rich in connotative potential. The intracultural ones tend to pose special difficulties in a bilingual lexicographic perspective. They require special attention for two reasons: first, due to cross-linguistic asymmetry; second, because of cultural

connotations, which function in the collective memory of native users of the Polish language.

In fact, many winged words evoke such association. Therefore, they should be considered as an important component of lexicographic description, especially in bilingual dictionaries. Certain elements of cultural knowledge need to be presented, so that a non-native user of a given language could be able to acquire winged words with some background information, which will ensure proper decoding and using them.

The inclusion of the information regarding the connotations will facilitate developing dictionary users' linguo-cultural competence by providing them not only with linguistic properties of the units, but also with extralinguistic features. Such a hybrid description of winged words allows for giving a true picture of how given units function in language and culture.

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Konotacje kulturowe w dwujęzycznych słownikach skrzydlatych słów

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest opisowi leksykograficznemu konotacji kulturowych intrakulturowych skrzydlatych słów w słownikach dwujęzycznych. Materiał egzemplifikacyjny stanowią wybrane polskie związki, dla których zostaną zaproponowane polsko-angielskie artykuły hasłowe. Jednostki te są charakterystyczne dla języka polskiego i wiele z nich ma duży potencjał konotacyjny. Ich użycie przywołuje określone asocjacje uwarunkowane elementami wiedzy obecnej w pamięci zbiorowej rodzimych użytkowników polszczyzny. Z tego powodu powinno się uwzględniać konotacje kulturowe skrzydlatych słów w artykułach hasłowych. Taki opis pozwoli użytkownikowi danego opracowania leksykograficznego na pozyskanie wiedzy o charakterze językowo-kulturowym niezbędnej do właściwego interpretowania użyć kontekstowych danej jednostki i prawidłowego posługiwania się nią.

Alenka Vrbinc
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics
Slovenia

Phraseological units and meaning: How is semantic information included in online dictionaries?

Abstract. The aim of this contribution is to study the usability of dictionary entries for phraseological units (PUs) in online dictionaries. The study is based on a database consisting of 141 PUs from literary works, ancient legends, fables and the Bible. The focus is on the definition part of the dictionary entry, which is often confusing for various reasons: etymology used in place of a definition; definition and etymology included under different sense numbers or separated by a punctuation mark; definition, (example of use) and etymology merged; incorrect part of speech for the definition or misleading definition. Note and Usage notes sections are also discussed. Last but not least, suggestions are made as to possible improvements in the structure of the definition part and the inclusion of other types of information, suggestions which would contribute to the usability, intelligibility and user-friendliness of the dictionary entries for PUs in online dictionaries.

Key words: *online dictionaries, phraseological units, definitions, etymology, information categories*

1. Introduction

Phraseology forms an important part of the vocabulary of any language and encompasses a wide variety of lexical items known as phraseological units (PUs) that give tone and colour to the language. A PU, which is defined by Gläser (1998: 125) as "a lexicalized, reproducible bilexemic or polylexemic word group in common use, which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomatized, may carry connotations, and may have an emphatic or intensifying function in a text" often gives some insight into the history of the language community and its culture (Fiedler 2007: 7). Owing to the idiomaticity and connotative value of PUs, these units pose problems for native speakers and even more so for non-native speakers. Non-native

speakers in particular may be unable to identify a string of words they encounter in a text as belonging together and thus forming a whole. From the point of view of a non-native speaker of a language, PUs are transparent and easy to understand if one and the same PU is used in different languages that belong to the common European linguistic and cultural heritage (e.g., PUs from well-known literary sources, such as the Bible, PUs that can be traced back to ancient mythology and legends or PUs that allude to historical events). This means that extralinguistic knowledge is absolutely necessary when analysing figurative language (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005: 1). However, since cultures are typically localized, PUs are frequently not used outside that local context, which means that they are difficult or even impossible to comprehend if encountered by a non-native speaker. According to Teliya et al. (1998: 55), phraseology can be considered a language of culture; that is why they propose the analysis of PUs for cultural data, since they believe that linguo-cultural competence is acquired by native speakers in the process of internalizing collective cultural experience (ibid: 57). Non-native speakers who come across a PU in a foreign language lack this competence and can only rely on a good dictionary that, apart from providing the definition(s) of the meaning of the PU in question, also tries to give some information about cultural connotations, cultural background, motivation and etymology. Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 80) stress the fact that, from a cognitive point of view, the motivation of a PU influences its cognitive processing. They (ibid: 81) understand motivation as "the possibility of an interpretation of the mental image in a way that makes sense of the use of a given word or word combination in the meaning conventionally ascribed to it" and claim (ibid: 82) that research on the motivation of figurative units cannot but include etymological description, although etymology does not always influence actual meanings and does not always bring about relevant usage restrictions. Since the aim of this contribution is to closely study the treatment of PUs with a specific cultural background in online dictionaries, it can be observed that the majority of dictionary entries employ definitions as well as etymological explanation or information about origins.

Since the treatment of PUs in online dictionaries is closely studied in this research, a few words should be dedicated to the types of online dictionaries. First of all, it should be pointed out that some online dictionaries are written by non-professionals (e.g., *Urban Dictionary*, *Reverso*). They invite users to participate in different ways, e.g., by adding a comment to suggest another translation or definition or by creating their own entries. On the other hand, institutional dictionaries, i.e., dictionaries from dictionary publishers, are now also freely available on the Internet, e.g., *Macmillan Dictionary*, *Oxford*

Dictionaries, *Longman English Dictionary Online*, *Merriam-Webster*, etc. Another point that should be stressed is that many dictionaries simply aggregate lexicographic content from other (online) dictionaries, the result being that users may come across highly repetitive information (Lew 2011: 248), a phenomenon which can also be observed in our study. *The Free Dictionary* should be mentioned as a good example of such an aggregator, since it takes definitions from various sources. Lew (ibid: 241–242) warns that the ability to hyperlink and embed is often taken to extremes by dictionary aggregators, the result being extremely long articles that are a product of mechanically pasting together entries from several online dictionaries.

One of the main advantages of online dictionaries is that they can be continuously subjected to updating (cf. Svensén 2009: 447). However, online dictionaries seem to be closely associated with the paper-based dictionary tradition, utilizing only to a small extent the great lexicographic potential offered by the Internet (Svensén ibid: 448). This observation corresponds to Fuertes-Olivera and Bergenholtz (2011: 1), who claim that there are only a few existing electronic dictionaries that exploit fully the technical potential of the electronic medium, be it in the conception and preparation of dictionaries or in the access to and presentation of the data therein. Most lexicographers, however, ignore the development of the computer and information sciences, which have created a completely new technological environment in which lexicography is now developing (Tarp 2011: 56).

One of the most important information categories in any dictionary, regardless of the type, is the semantic information conveyed by the definition in monolingual dictionaries (and translation equivalent in bilingual ones). The definition should be clear, concise and intelligible, and special attention should be paid to the intended user. This is why this study is aimed at the definition section of PUs collected in the database.

2. Methodology

In order to be able to study the entries of PUs in online dictionaries, a database was created consisting of PUs originating from literary works, ancient legends, fables and the Bible. These PUs were compiled using two print dictionaries of idioms, i.e., *Dictionary of Idioms and Their Origins* and *Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English*. In the *Dictionary of Idioms and Their Origins*, all the PUs that can be found in the Index of themes on pages 317–320 under the following headings were included: Idioms from ancient legends, Idioms from the Bible, Idioms from fables, Idioms from literature and Idioms

from Shakespeare. The *Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English*, however, includes notes on the origin of some PUs, and only those stating clearly the literary source for PU were taken into consideration. The database of PUs obtained by taking account of the above criteria contains 141 PUs. Using the Google Search "define: ..." query option, the PUs were sought in online dictionaries. Among the online dictionaries, the first three yielded by Google Search were taken into consideration. All the information found in these three dictionaries was copied into the database and investigated to be able to determine the type and usability of semantic information, especially from the point of view of a non-native speaker of English.

The main aim of our research was to investigate what kind of semantic information can be found by users of dictionaries when looking up PUs. The focus of our study was online dictionaries only, since these are available free of charge on the Internet, and nowadays this is the preferred source consulted by an increasing number of dictionary users. Apart from that, users retrieve information quickly and easily. Last but not least, there are no space constraints, which makes it possible not only to define PUs but also to include valuable pieces of information on etymology, which can prove useful in understanding a PU and in remembering it more easily.

3. Definition and etymology

In any dictionary, the definition is the central element of the dictionary entry. This is in line with Béjoint (2000: 140–147; 2010: 240–244), who gives an overview of studies of reference needs and summarizes their findings, saying that monolingual dictionaries are mostly used for meaning. That is why it is of the utmost importance to include the definition in such a way that a dictionary user has no problems identifying it. In many online dictionaries consulted for the purpose of our research, users can find not only the definition but also etymological information about PUs. One of the greatest problems they face is that it is often difficult to tell apart the definition and the etymology. Some of the issues concerning the inclusion and treatment of the definition and etymology are discussed below.

3.1. Etymology in place of a definition

Some online dictionaries offer an etymological explanation of the PU rather than providing a definition proper, which can be illustrated by the following examples from our database:

(1) *The face that launched a thousand ships*

Meaning
A reference to the mythological figure Helen of Troy (or some would say, to Aphrodite). Her abduction by Paris was said to be the reason for a fleet of a thousand ships to be launched into battle, initiating the Trojan Wars.

Origin
Christopher Marlowe, in *Doctor Faustus* (variously dated between 1590 and 1604), referring to Helen of Troy, or as Marlowe had it 'Helen of Greece'

(Source: *Phrase Finder*)

(2) *Kill the fatted calf*

A phrase referring to a specially fed calf that was killed for the feast to celebrate the return of the Prodigal Son.

(Source: *YourDictionary*, the definition taken from *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*)

Example (1) shows that the section entitled 'Meaning' does not contain any of the semantic information one would expect to find. On the contrary, this section provides etymological information which would logically be included under the title 'Origin', also an element of the dictionary article. In the 'Origin' section, however, information about the literary source in which the PU was first used is provided, whereas the meaning of the PU 'a very beautiful woman' is nowhere to be found. The same holds true of (2) ('welcome home sb who has been away for a long time by having a big celebration'), which includes etymological information instead of information on the meaning of the PU.

3.2. Definition and etymology under different sense numbers

Another problem encountered is the division of senses by means of sense numbers. In metalexicography, sense numbers indicate two or more senses of the lexical item, thus clearly indicating a polysemous entry. In the examples below, it can be seen that the PUs are not polysemous at all, because one of the senses provides the semantic information while the other one gives information on etymology. Clearly, the PUs below are monosemous rather than polysemous.

(3) *Apple of discord*

1. Gr. Myth. a golden apple marked 'For the most beautiful', claimed by Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite, and awarded by Paris to Aphrodite: in return, she helps him kidnap the beautiful Helen, thus starting the Trojan War
2. anything causing trouble, discord, or jealousy

(Source: *YourDictionary*, definitions taken from *Webster's New World College Dictionary*)

(4) *Gordian knot*

1. An exceedingly complicated problem or deadlock.
2. An intricate knot tied by King Gordius of Phrygia and cut by Alexander the Great with his sword after hearing an oracle promise that whoever could undo it would be the next ruler of Asia.

(Source: *Free Dictionary*, definitions taken from *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition)

Examples (3) and (4) are treated as if they had two senses. In (3), sense 1 is an etymological explanation, whereas sense 2 is the definition of the meaning of the PU. In (4), the situation is reversed, i.e., sense 1 is the definition of the meaning and sense 2 the etymological explanation.

3.3. Definition and etymology separated by a punctuation mark

There are cases in our database where the definition of the PU and etymological information are separated by means of punctuation marks.

(5) *rich as Croesus*

extremely wealthy. Croesus was an ancient Greek king whose wealth was legendary

(Source: *Dictionary.com*, definition taken from *The American Heritage New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*, Third Edition)

(6) *to bell the cat*

to perform a very dangerous or very difficult task; – taken metaphorically from a fable about a mouse who proposes to put a bell on a cat, so as to be able to hear the cat coming

(Source: *Free Dictionary*)

(7) *forbidden fruit*

Fig. someone or something that one finds attractive or desirable partly because having the person or thing is immoral or illegal. (Biblical; from the apple in the Garden of Eden that was forbidden to Adam by God.)

(Source: *Free Dictionary*)

In (5), the first place is occupied by the definition, which is separated from the etymology by a full stop. In (6), however, the definition consists of two parts, clearly separated by a combination of a semicolon and a dash, which implies that the first part provides semantic information and the second part information on etymology. In (7), the information on the origin is provided in brackets following the definition proper.

3.4. Definition and etymology merged

In the definition part of some PUs, there is no clear demarcation line between the actual definition of the meaning and the etymological information.

(8) *The emperor's new clothes*

a fairy tale (= old children's story) by Hans Christian Andersen about an emperor who pays a lot of money for some new magic clothes which can only be seen by wise people. The clothes do not really exist, but the emperor does not admit he cannot see them, because he does not want to seem stupid. Everyone else pretends to see the clothes too, until a child shouts, "The Emperor has no clothes on!" The title is often used to describe a situation in which people are afraid to criticize something because everyone else seems to think it is good or important

(Source: *Longman English Dictionary Online*)

(9) *Jekyll and Hyde*

This term is derived from R. L. Stevenson's "The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde." Dr Jekyll, the atypical good scientist, unleashes his dark side, nicknamed Mr Hyde, through self-experimentation. Although Jekyll and Hyde have contradictory natures, they are one and the same person.

(Source: *Investopedia*)

A parallel can be drawn between (8) and (9) in that the lengthy explanations refer to etymology rather than to the meaning of the PUs in question. In the very last part of the explanations, a careful user would detect some

information on the semantic meaning of the PUs, which is merged with etymology to a great extent.

3.5. Definition, example of use and etymology merged

Several entries from our database include definitions, examples of use and etymological information within one and the same paragraph, without a clear demarcation line between these three pieces of information.

(10) *Rich as Croesus*

Very wealthy, as in *They're rich as Croesus, with their penthouse, yacht, and horses*. This term alludes to Croesus, the legendary King of Lydia and supposedly the richest man on earth. The simile was first recorded in English in 1577

(Source: *Dictionary.com, YourDictionary*; definitions in both online dictionaries taken from *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms*)

(11) *Dog in the manger*

One who prevents others from enjoying something despite having no use for it. For example, *Why be a dog in the manger? If you aren't going to use those tickets, let someone else have them.* This expression alludes to Aesop's fable about a snarling dog that prevents horses from eating fodder that is unpalatable to the dog itself. [Mid-1500s]

(Source: *Dictionary.com*; definition taken from *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms*).

In the examples above, three elements of the dictionary entry are ordered in the same way: definition, example of use and etymology. The only difference is that the example illustrating the use of the PU is introduced either by 'as in' or by 'for example'.

4. Information categories in the Note and Usage notes sections

Many online dictionaries employ the section entitled Note or Usage notes, which, as a rule, provides significantly different types of information.

(12) *Big Brother is watching you*

A warning that appears on posters throughout Oceania, the fictional dictatorship described by George Orwell in his book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Note: The term *Big Brother* is used to refer to any ruler or government that invades the privacy of its citizens.

(Source: *Dictionary.com*)

(13) *Cheshire cat*

A cat with an enormous grin encountered by Alice in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, by Lewis Carroll. The cat tends to disappear, leaving only its smile hanging in the air.

Note: "Smiling like a Cheshire cat" refers to anyone with a conspicuous and long-lasting smile.

(Source: *Dictionary.com*)

In (12) and (13), the first piece of information the user encounters is etymological information, which occupies the position that should be reserved for supplying semantic information in the form of a dictionary definition. Then follows the Note section, including the definition of the core expression *Big Brother* in (12), which is not accompanied by its optional expansion, i.e., *is watching you*. In (13), however, the Note section also contains the definition, but the PU is expanded by means of the verbal component *smiling*. The only difference between PUs in the Note sections is the form of the PU: in (12), it is included in its basic form, as opposed to (13), in which it is given in full.

(14) *The wish is father to the thought.*

Meaning: Our opinions or beliefs are often influenced by our desires and hopes. The phrase "father to" is used in the sense of parentage: the thought is born from the wish.

Note: wish (noun): desire, hope | thought (noun): an idea or opinion in the mind

(Source: *English Club*)

In (14), the semantic meaning of the component elements of the PU is explained, which means that the information provided in the Note section is entirely unrelated and is also not comparable to the information in the Note sections in (12) and (13).

The next two examples contain Usage notes sections that convey different types of information. In (15), the Usage notes section provides the definition for one sense of this PU, which is indirectly related to etymology, though the relation is not clear from the contents of the Usage notes.

(15) *halcyon days*

a very happy or successful period in the past

Usage notes: Halcyon days are two weeks of good weather during the winter when the days are the shortest in the year.

(Source: *Free Dictionary*)

Contrary to (15), (16) gives the etymological explanation in the Usage notes section.

(16) *a doubting Thomas*

a person who refuses to believe anything until they are given proof

Usage notes: In the Bible, Thomas would not believe that Jesus had come back from the dead until he saw him.

(Source: *Free Dictionary*)

5. Problems with definitions

5.1. Part of speech of the definition

One of the most important principles of defining is that the definition must correspond to the part of speech of the word defined (cf. Zgusta 1971: 257–258; Landau 2001: 166). This principle, however, seems not to be observed in all definitions of PUs in our database.

(17) *Turning the other cheek*

to love your enemies while resisting them non-violently

(Source: *Urban Dictionary*)

(18) *gild the lily*

1. trying the (sic!) adorn something that is already beautiful
2. also, as an alternate meaning, another phrase for female masturbation; the manual stimulation of the clitoris performed on oneself

(Source: *Urban Dictionary*)

(19) *Sour grapes*

acting meanly after a disappointment

(Source: *Phrase Finder*)

In (17), the gerundial form of the PU is defined using the infinitive; in (18), the PU starts with the infinitival form of the verb and the definition

of sense 1 is participial, while that of sense 2 is nominal; and (19) is nominal while the definition is participial.

5.2. Misleading "definition"

In our database, some PUs can be found where the definition provided is completely misleading from the point of view of an average dictionary user. In (20), for instance, a dictionary user is likely to interpret 'literal meaning' as the definition of the PU. The same holds true of sense 2 of (21), but here, the "definition" is typographically different from the definition proper in sense 1.

(20) *Discretion is the better part of valour*

Meaning
Literal meaning.

Origin
Shakespeare, in *Henry IV, Part One*, 1596: Falstaff: 'The better part of valour is discretion; in the which better part I have saved my life.'

(Source: *Phrase Finder*)

(21) *Eleventh hour*

1. a point in time which is nearly too late; the last minute
2. *(idiomatic, usually hyphenated) Used attributively*.

(Source: *Wiktionary*)

6. Discussion

One of the issues highlighted in Section 3 is the inclusion of definition and etymology in online dictionaries. Needless to say, the definition is the most central information category in any dictionary. PUs, especially idioms proper, can also be etymologically explained, which is why etymology should be considered an important element because it can help the users of any dictionary to understand the PU better and to remember it more easily. However, the question is whether etymological explanation can replace definition. The main purpose of a definition is to supply the user with the essential semantic information about a lexical item. It is therefore totally misleading to provide etymological information in the section entitled 'Meaning' (example (1)), and it is a shortcoming to provide etymology rather than the definition, as is the case in (1) and (2). The absence of a definition is a serious flaw, since users

are supposed to infer the meaning of a PU from etymological information, which is a difficult if not an impossible task entrusted to them.

Many online dictionaries included in our database contain both the definition and etymology in dictionary entries for PUs. This is a most welcome feature but, as can be seen from examples (3)–(7), both elements are included in ways that cannot be regarded as recommendable. To include definition and etymology under different senses (examples (3) and (4)) is extremely misleading, since such a treatment implies that a PU is polysemous instead of clearly separating two different information categories. Similarly, a punctuation mark (examples (5)–(7)) used to separate these two pieces of information is much too weak for a dictionary user to be able to differentiate between the definition and the etymology. Each punctuation mark has a very specific function in texts, but apart from a semicolon, which may be used to separate two senses or subsenses, especially in pocket dictionaries, they have no special role in lexicography.

Another issue that should be addressed is the problem of merging either the definition and the etymology (examples (8) and (9)) or the definition, example of use and etymology (examples (10) and (11)). This results in a lengthy "definition" and the user is supposed to read it all and work out the meaning. Two questions can be raised as regards such a treatment: "Does the user read the entire entry from beginning to end?" and "Is the user able to distinguish between etymology and definition or between definition, example of use and etymology?" Regardless of the answers to these two questions, a dictionary should make it absolutely clear which information category is dealt with and not leave it to the dictionary user to be able or not be able to separate two or even three different information categories. It is therefore advisable to follow the established order of information categories: definition, example(s) of use if needed and etymology. It is a convention to include examples of use after the definition without any introductory element such as 'as in' (example (10)) and 'for example' (example (11)). Etymological information, however, should either be included in a special section entitled 'Etymology' or 'Origin' or be provided in brackets at the end of the entry; in other words, it should be clearly separated from the definition(s) and example(s) of use.

As can be seen from the analysis of the material gathered in our database, there are cases where the definition is included in sections entitled Note or Usage notes. As a rule, the definition occupies a prominent position at the beginning of the entry, which means that the section entitled Note (examples (12) and (13)) is no place for such an important information category, since it is unacceptable to invert the order of the definition and etymology and include etymology as the first piece of information and

the definition as the second, especially if we know that dictionary users normally do not read the dictionary entry from beginning to end but rather pick things from the beginning. Note is a section commonly found in monolingual phraseological dictionaries. This section includes semantic information about a word or word combination that is a component part of the PU. As the *Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English* claims, Notes in this dictionary provide explanations of difficult vocabulary. For example, the PU *have a mind/memory like a sieve* is explained as 'forget things easily or quickly' and the noun *sieve* is additionally defined in the Note section in the following way: 'A *sieve* is a kitchen tool with small holes in it, used for separating solids from liquids or very small pieces of food from larger pieces.' This definition, however, relates to the explanation of the word whose comprehension facilitates the comprehension of the entire PU, because the dictionary user can make a mental connection between the denotative meaning of the noun *sieve* and its connotative meaning in the PU. If we compare the Note in (14), where the meanings of two nouns (i.e., *wish* and *thought*) in the PU are explained (while the third noun *father* is not explained with no particular reason), it seems that the same policy was adopted, but the explanations of *wish* and *thought* do not aid in the comprehension of the PU as a whole.

Dictionary users could be even more puzzled if they come across a section entitled Usage notes, since in such a section they would most probably expect to find information on usage (e.g., discussion of (near) synonyms or common mistakes made by learners of English). The information provided in the Usage notes in (15), however, provides just another sense of the PU, while the Usage notes in (16) provide etymological information. None of these two Usage notes contains information connected with the use of the PU, which is contrary to the established function of usage notes in dictionaries. Apart from that, the use of the plural form Usage notes is also difficult to explain, and one can only wonder why it is not used in the singular.

However, our database does include examples where the section Usage notes includes a piece of information one would expect to find in a section thus entitled, and such a treatment is to be preferred. For example:

old chestnut (*plural* **old chestnuts**)

1. (*idiomatic*) A well-worn story.

Usage notes

Often used disapprovingly, to imply "a tired old story", but also used approvingly to introduce an aphorism – "as the old chestnut goes, ...".

(Source: *Wiktionary*)

not have a clue *also* **without a clue**

to have no knowledge or information about something *The guy doesn't have a clue what forestry is all about.*

Usage notes: sometimes used in the form *have a clue*: *Before most doctors have a clue about what a new drug can do, it's being sold to the public.*

(Source: *Free Dictionary*)

The next issue that we came across when studying our database is the part of speech of the definition in relation to the grammatical properties of the PU (examples (17)–(19)). It should be stressed that dictionary compilers should pay meticulous attention to certain principles and guidelines as to how different parts of speech can be defined. As a rule, each dictionary has its own recommended style for defining a particular part of speech. This means that a definition whose headword differs in word class from the word class of the headword of the PU should be considered a serious lexicographic error.

Apart from problems with the part of speech of the definition, some definitions in our database are not definitions proper, but contain different types of information (examples (20) and (21)). In (20), the section entitled Meaning clearly introduces the section in which a user would rightly expect an explanation of meaning. The "definition" says simply 'Literal meaning'; consequently, the user could justifiably infer from such a treatment that *discretion is the better part of valour* means 'literal meaning'. This is, of course, not the case – what the lexicographers want to convey here is that the PU is to be interpreted literally rather than figuratively. This information should not replace the definition, which is obviously not given at all. In (21), however, sense 2 is also not defined. Instead, grammatical information (i.e., 'used attributively') is provided, and the information in brackets indicates that *eleventh hour* is used idiomatically (but its idiomatic meaning is not explained) and that it is usually hyphenated. No semantic information whatsoever is provided in (20) and in sense 2 of (21). Such treatment should by all means be avoided.

5. Conclusion

The issues addressed in this contribution concern mainly the confusion regarding the information categories included in general as well as phraseological dictionaries. The compilers of any dictionary should stick to the established principles of including different types of information categories. The interpretation of different information categories is crucial for a suc-

cessful look-up operation, which naturally is also heavily dependent on the mother tongue of the potential dictionary user. One of the main problems concerning online dictionaries is the absence of information about the target users of the dictionary in question, which means that anybody with internet access can consult an online dictionary. Although online dictionaries may be used by native speakers of English without any particular problems, non-native speakers may experience difficulty. In traditional lexicography, a clear demarcation line exists between dictionaries intended for native speakers and those intended for learners, and the same principle should also be applied to online dictionaries.

A general dictionary user, especially a non-native speaker, should not be expected to decipher the meaning of any lexical item on the basis of etymology; the definition of its meaning is therefore an element that should never be absent. No other element can replace the definition as the most basic information category providing the semantic information about a lexical item. In the treatment of PUs, the inclusion of information on origin is a salient feature, but it is advisable to strictly separate meaning from etymology. In this way, the user can immediately learn what a particular PU means, but if s/he is interested in the origin, s/he can also read etymological information in a separate section that follows the definition(s). Doubtlessly, the part of speech of the definition should match the part of speech of the headword of the PU, a principle that lexicographers should follow to the letter. Last but not least, if compilers of a dictionary decide to include additional information in sections such as Note or Usage note, they should determine at the planning stage what they would like to include in such sections. The aim of including additional information is to tell the users what they need to know, which again reinforces the importance of knowing who the target users of the dictionary will be.

Since online dictionaries will probably be consulted even more frequently at the expense of print dictionaries, owing to the faster and easier look-up operation, online dictionaries should pay attention to certain improvements regarding the treatment of PUs, thus making these dictionaries more user-friendly.

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Frazeologizmy i ich znaczenie: Jak uwzględnia się informacje semantyczne w słownikach on-line?

Streszczenie

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadania przydatności opisów związków frazeologicznych w słownikach dostępnych w wersji on-line. W badaniu wykorzystano bazę danych, w której zebrano 141 frazeologizmów pochodzących z dział literackich, legend, baśni i Biblii. Najważniejszym elementem analizy jest definicja zawarta w artykule hasłowym. Jego wybór uwarunkowany jest tym, że często obserwuje się brak konsekwencji w tej części opisu leksykograficznego: zamiast definicji podaje się etymologię, definicja i etymologia są uwzględniane przy różnych znaczeniach lub rozdzielane znakami przestankowymi; definicja, (przykłady użycia) i etymologia są łączone; niewłaściwa część mowy podana jest dla danej definicji lub definicja jest myląca. Autorka analizuje również informacje o użyciu jednostki. Artykuł zawiera również sugestie dotyczące możliwych ulepszeń, które przyczynią się do poprawienia jakości słowników związków frazeologicznych dostępnych on-line.

PART III

GENERAL LINGUISTICS & PHRASEOLOGY

Sabine Fiedler
The University of Leipzig
Germany

"Wikipedia at its best" – phraseological anglicisms on discussion pages of the German Wikipedia

Abstract. Phraseological units are expected to first occur in spoken language before being encountered in written texts. This causes problems for their identification in studies that utilise corpus-based approaches as corpora are mainly based on written data. Against this background, the article sheds some light on Wikipedia discussions and their use as a source for phraseological studies. Wikipedia discussions exist in large numbers, can be publicly accessed and present relatively spontaneous naturally occurring communication that manifests itself as a mixture between spoken and written language. The article will include a description of the text type and its character. The empirical part will focus on phraseological anglicisms and their functions in Wikipedia discussions. These are used both in their original English forms, i.e. as direct loans, and as loan translations. The examination shows that Wikipedia discussions serve as a good starting point for detecting potential new items.

Key words: *phraseology, anglicism, Wikipedia, loan words, German, English*

1. Introduction

As with language as a whole, the phrasicon of the language, i.e. the set of phraseological units in the lexicon of a language community, is in a state of flux. New polylexemic expressions are created in various contexts, above all in the media, in popular culture, advertising, at the work place, or borrowed from other languages and then gain currency. How can linguists identify these neologistic items? A large and growing number of studies on phraseology utilise corpus-based approaches. Several authors, however, have shown that the average frequency of well-known phraseological units is very low in corpora (Moon 1998, Colson 2007, Cowie 2003). A well-known English idiom such as *from rags to riches* occurs only 19 times in the British National

Corpus (BNC) and 78 times in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (CoCA). Phraseological units are salient, but not frequent in authentic speech, and the majority of corpora only include a small percentage of oral texts. Against this backdrop, this article will investigate Wikipedia discussion pages as a possible source for phraseological studies. It focuses on the detection of phraseological neologisms borrowed from English. While the article is based on the German edition of the Wikipedia, the results can easily be transferred to other languages.

2. The text type Wikipedia discussion page

As we know, Wikipedia, the peer-produced online encyclopaedia, has the aim of providing access to human knowledge on the Internet to everyone free of charge. Its main characteristic is that the content of its articles is steadily updated and corrected by its users through edits. These edits, i.e. the changes that are made in articles, can reach a considerable number. Hale (2014) found that within a single month (from 8 July to 9 August 2013), no less than 3.5 million major edits to Wikipedia were carried out by 55,000 users.

Editing Wikipedia pages is not difficult. The user simply clicks on the tab labelled "Edit" at the top of the Wikipedia page which brings up a new page with a so-called edit window in which the editable text can be modified. In addition, each page provides a link to a corresponding discussion page via a tab labelled "Talk". If the changes are likely to be controversial and the user wants to improve the chances of keeping their contribution, a recommendation is made to post a comment or explanation on this talk page (O'Sullivan 2009: 124).

Wikipedia discussion pages (also called talk pages) are a suitable basis for linguistic investigations. They exist in large numbers and their authors are mainly young people who speak several languages (Barandovská-Frank 2014). In contrast to Wikipedia articles, which present 'living documents' (cf. Storrer 2014: 14), their content is stable and can be publicly accessed at any time. The texts present relatively spontaneous naturally occurring communication that manifests itself as a mixture of spoken and written language. Editors can give their opinions about Wikipedia articles here and discuss their improvements in an open way. They thus address each other, criticise the content of articles and former edits in a way that reminds us of oral communication. Comments are marked by indentations and they are, in principle, signed (although pseudonyms are often used) and dated.

3. Phraseological anglicisms in Wikipedia articles

3.1. Types of phraseological anglicisms

Linguistic items borrowed from another language can be classified according to the degree of their integration into the recipient language, as proposed in the seminal works on loan influence by Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953). When applied to phraseology, the following three types of phraseological anglicisms can be identified (cf. Fiedler 2014: 41–49):

A. The first group is made up of items whose form and content are borrowed from English. They are used in their original English form and can therefore easily be identified as "foreign". As Haugen (1950: 214) puts it, they "show morphemic importation without substitution". Examples from a Wikipedia discussion page include communicative formulae that are inserted into argumentative passages as ready-made constructions in English to make them more lively (e.g. *the best ... ever; if you know what I mean; also known as; forget it*) (cf. [1]).
B. In contrast to the items identified in A, those in the second group are inconspicuous. The form is translated (or in Haugen's term "substituted") by German material. These are phraseological loan translations (also known as *calques*). Examples from Wikipedia discussion pages are *goldener Fallschirm* (cf. Engl. *golden parachute*), the proverb *Wem es in der Küche zu heiß ist, der soll nicht Koch werden* (cf. Engl. *If you can't stand the heat get out of the kitchen*) or the formula *So lange die dicke Frau/fette Lady noch singt, ist die Oper nicht zu Ende* (cf. *It isn't over until the fat lady sings*) (cf. [2]).
C. A third group that can be identified includes hybrid constructions characterised by "the transfer of some elements and the reproduction of others" (Weinreich 1953: 51). Examples are *das Go geben* ('to give sb. the go' [or give the go ahead, i.e. permission) and *den Turnaround schaffen* ('to manage the turnaround').

The three types of loans can occur simultaneously, for example, the English expression *out of the blue* has come into the German language both in its original form as a direct loan and as a loan translation (*aus dem Blauen heraus*); *Nice try* is used on discussion pages both as *Nice try* and as *Netter Versuch*; *Fair enough* can also be found as *Fair genug*.

(1) *deine Metapher hinkt. Sie träfe zu, wenn du geschrieben hättest, "die einen behaupten, dass Glas sei leer, die anderen behaupten es sei voll, beide Ideen haben eine gewisse Anerkennung, daher brauchen wir nicht einen Artikel, der das eine*

behauptet, sondern einen, der sich neutral zum Füllstand äußert." Dies ist aber nicht der Fall. Der Gegenstand der Bildungsbenachteiligung ist erstens unumstritten und zweitens allseits bekannt. Zu der *Stadt Bielefeld gibt es schließlich auch nicht das Lemma "Zur Existenz Bielefelds", sondern ganz frech "Bielefeld", als sei es unumstritten, dass diese Stadt besteht ;–).* ***you know what i mean?*** *Bei Einigkeit des "Ob" geht es um das "Dass". und dieses "Dass" rückt in die Lemma-relevanz auf.* –– schwarze feder 21:40, 21. Sep 2006 (CEST) (Wikipedia discussion page "Bildungsbenachteiligung in der Bundesrepublik" [educational discrimination in the Federal Republic of Germany])[1]

[Your metaphor does not work. It would have been true if you had written "some claim that the glass is empty, the others claim it is full, both ideas gain a certain degree of recognition, therefore we do not need an article that claims one of the things, but one that makes a neutral comment about the glass's filling." But this is not the case. The subject of educational discrimination is, firstly, uncontroversial and, secondly, known everywhere. As regards the town of Bielefeld, there is no lemma "on the existence of Bielefeld" either, but cheekily one on "Bielefeld" as if it was uncontroversial that this town existed ;–) **you know what I mean?** If there is agreement on the "if", the point is the "that" and this "that" moves up to lemma relevance. (...)]

(2) *Ich finde die Wertungen im Artikel etwas befremdlich. Wenn man den Artikel liest, könnte man glauben, daß das die entscheidende Schlacht der Rosenkriege war und die Yorkisten am Ende den Sieg davontrugen. Da sind mehrere Stellen, die das implizieren. Dann frage ich mich aber, wie die Rosenkriege mit dem Untergang der Yorks enden konnte? Es war eine bedeutende Schlacht, die den ersten Abschnitt des Krieges beendete – aber* ***die fette Dame hatte noch lange nicht gesungen****. Es folgten noch 10 Jahre Krieg mit blutugen Schlachten. Der Artikel erschlägt einen auch etwas mit den statistischen Tatsachen. Nur weil es viele Tote gab, macht das eine Schlacht nicht zwangsläufig bedeutend. Marcus Cyron Bücherbörse 12:52, 9. Jun 2006 (CEST)*

[I find the evaluations in the article a bit strange. When you read the article, you might believe that this was the decisive battle of the Wars of the Roses and that the Yorkists finally were victorious. There are several points that imply this. But then I ask myself how the Wars of the Roses could end with the Yorkists' fall. It was a decisive battle that brought the first phase of the war to an end – but **the fat lady had not sung yet for a long time**. There

[1] All texts are presented in their authentic forms (i.e., for example, without correcting orthographic mistakes and typing errors).

were still 10 years of war with bloody battles to come. Also, the article is a bit overwhelming with all the statistical facts. A huge number of deaths alone does not make a battle necessarily significant. (...)]

Hmmm, stimmt schon, ich verstehe was du meinst. Eines der Grundprobleme das ich ja auch im Artikel selber versucht habe zu erläutern, ist die Einseitigkeit der Berichterstattung in den Chroniken. Da die Tudors ihren Anspruch auf den Thron anhand eines eher wackligen genealogischen Rechtes durchsetzen wollten mußte natürlich vorher einiges so furchtbar und schlimm gewesen sein das nur die neuen Herrscher...blabla alles weitere folgt bekannten Mustern, und deswegen wurde die Schlacht massiv als blutigste ever aufgebaut. Aus Sicht der Chronisten und einer Mehrheit der Historiker hat für die erste Phase der Rosenkriege in Towton ***die fette Dame ihr Lied durchaus schon gesungen****, die betrachten alles was hinterher noch kam als Ausklang. War zwar nicht so, aber guck dir mal den engl. Artikel an. Da steht rein garnix über Zweifel an den Quellen drin. Viele Historiker der Vergangenheit haben das "Lobpreisen" halt genau so übernommen und deswegen ist in England immer noch die Tudor Geschichtsschreibung die im öffentlichen Bild maßgebende. Erst in den letzten Jahren setzt sich sehr langsam eine kritischere Betrachtung mit dem Thema durch, hauptsächlich auch weil man die Ausgrabungsfakten nicht immer mit den Chroniken zur Deckung bekommt. Das Problem ist halt auch das es wirklich schwer wird ohne eigene Forschung von der in eigentlich fast allen mir bekannten Quellen vorhandenen einseitigen Darstellung.* (Wikipedia discussion page "Schlacht von Towton" [Battle of Towton])

[Well, that's right, I see what you mean. One of the main problems, as I also tried to explain in the article, is the one-sided reporting in the chronicles. As the Tudors wanted to accomplish their claim to the throne on the bases of a rather shaky genealogical law, something had to be so terrible and horrific before, of course, that only the new rulers ... blabla Anything else follows well-known patterns, and that's why the battle was massively presented as the bloodiest ever. From the perspective of the chroniclers' and the majority of historians, for the first phase of the Wars of the Roses in Towton, **the fat lady had already sung**; they regard everything that came afterwards as conclusion. True, it wasn't like that, but have a look at the English article. There's nothing to be found about doubts about the sources. Many historians of the past have just taken over the praise and therefore, in England, it is still the Tudor historiography that is decisive in the public view. Only in the last few years has a more critical discussion of the theme been gaining acceptance slowly, mainly because the facts of archaeological finds cannot be brought in

accord with the chronicles. The problem is that it is really difficult [to come to an opinion] on the basis of the accounts, which is one-sided in almost all the sources known to me, without having done research of one's own.)]

Example (2) shows the text-constituting function of the communicative formula. In addition, it illustrates that phraseological units can contribute to the creation of cooperative communicative situations: I have understood what you mean and want to show this by re-using your figurative expression. This and other functions will be in the centre of our attention in the next section.

3.2. Functions

The majority of phraseological anglicisms function as discourse markers. Editors address each other to express their opinion about the content of articles, to thank their authors (cf. [3] and [4]) and to encourage users to make changes according to their own wishes (cf. [5]):

(3) *vielen, vielen Dank!! Ewig nach Infos zu dem Mann gesucht.* ***Bist mein Held****.* – – Goggleboxer 22:36, 20. Jan. 2009 (CET) (Wikipedia discussion page "Liste der Reichstagsabgeordneten der Weimarer Republik (3. Wahlperiode)" [List of Reichstag deputies 3rd term of office])

[Many, many thanks!! Looked for information about the man for ages. **You are my hero**.]

(4) Vielen Dank an die Ersteller des Artikels – ich suchte eine Tabelle, die die Watt-Zahl von Energiesparbirnen im Vergleich mit Glühbirnen anzeigt – und hier finde ich sowas: Wikipedia **at its best** –– Eagle22 01:36, 19. Jun. 2008 (CEST) (Wikipedia discussion page "Kompaktleuchtstofflampe" [compact fluorescent light])

[Many thanks for writing this article – I was looking for a table that shows how many watts a low-energy bulb has compared with lightbulbs – and it is here that I find something like that: Wikipedia **at its best**]

(5) *Der Artikel ist zudem ja nur ein Anfang und weit von einer angemessenen Beschreibung ihrer Arbeit entfernt. Da Asha Bhosle so viele Backlinks hatte, musste aber langsam mal ein Text in die de-WP. Bitte* ***fühl dich frei****, den Artikel zu verbessern und zu erweitern. –Xquenda 18:33, 20. Okt. 2008 (CEST)* (Wikipedia discussion "Asha Bhosle")

[Furthermore, the article is only a beginning and far from an adequate description of her work. As Asha Bhosle had so many backlinks, it was really

time for a text in the de-WP. Please **feel free to** improve or expand the article.]

In substantial and argumentative contributions, the text-structuring formula *Das gesagt habend / nachdem ich das gesagt habe* can be found (cf. [6] through [8]). The German equivalent of the English expression (*Having) said that/this/that said/That being said*, is the one that is mainly used to introduce a statement that limits or softens a preceding statement. By means of this construction, a speaker suggests that although what has been said is taken for granted, he or she wishes to add something else or contradict it. In other words, its meaning can be summarised as "while accepting the aforementioned, it is also true that ...". There is no parallel construction in the German language, which leads us to a possible explanation as to why the phrase has recently gained ground in the German language.

(6) *ich fand, dass das truthiness-zitat in deutsch eher hilflos übersetzt war; wenn man truthiness als nennenswert betrachtet (das wort ist kein hauptbestandteil der engl. sprache) sollte man es kürzer umschreiben. ganz davon abgesehen, dass S.C. im deutschen sprachraum/kulturraum eher unbekannt ist, finde ich, dass wir uns auf notwendige fakten beschränken sollten. tek jansen ist z.B. noch unbekannter als sein schöpfer Stephen Colbert und sollte daher nicht unbedingt erwähnung finden. ansonsten können wir ja auch davon anfangen, dass in ungarn eine brücke nach ihm benannt wird. :)*
***das gesagt habend**, bin ich nicht gegen zitate, sie sollten halt etwas sorgfältiger ausgewählt sein, kurz, und –– bitte bitte –– nicht übersetzt.––Nevrdull 12:49, 19. Jun. 2007 (CEST)* (Wikipedia discussion page "Stephen Colbert")

[I found that the truthiness quote was a rather helpless translation into German. If one considers truthiness worth mentioning (the word is not a main element of the English language), one should describe it in a shorter way. Apart from the fact that S.C. is largely unknown in the German cultural area/language area, I think we should restrict ourselves to necessary facts. Tek Jansen, for example, is even more unknown than his creator S.C. and should therefore not necessarily be mentioned. Otherwise we could also add that in Hungary a bridge is named after him. ;–)
Having said that, I am not against quotations, but they should be selected a bit more carefully, be shorter and, please, they should not be translated.]

(7) *Ich stimme da Simon-Martin voll zu. So konnte man das keinesfalls lassen. **Das gesagt**, denke ich aber schon, dass eine übersichtliche aufgliederung der folgen des klimawandels nach graden interessant wäre. Natürlich dürfen wir uns da nicht an ein einziges buch halten und sollten besser bandbreiten bzw. best/worst-case szenarien inkl. der positive auswirkungen des klimawandels anführen. Jeden-*

falls muss jede einzelne aussage belegt sein. Wie wärs wenn wir so eine auflistung mal hier auf der diskussionsseite versuchen? Ich werde dazu unten einen neuen abschnitt einfügen. Mal schau was wir so zusammenbekommen. ––spitzl 12:33, 3. Dez. 2007 (CET) (Wikipedia discussion page "Folgen der globalen Erwärmung" [consequences of global warming])

[I fully agree with Simon-Martin. We couldn't have left it like that. **Having said that**, I do believe that a clearer overview of the consequences of climate change structured according to degrees would be interesting. Of course, in doing so we cannot take a single book as our basis, but should have a range in mind or best/worst-case scenarios and include the positive consequences of climate change. At any rate, for each single statement a reference has to be given. What about trying to create such a list here on the discussion page? I'm going to add a new paragraph about it below. Let's see what we can get together in this way.]

(8) *Zum einen sind die Artikel laenger (Frankfurt etwa doppelt, Dresden fast viermal so lang) und zum anderen gibt es in Frankfurt oder Dresden auch mehr zu knipsen.* ***Das gesagt*** *wuerde ich uebrigens auch in Frankfurt einige Bilder entfernen, etwa das von den Wohnhaeusern in der Westend und einige der Skyline, die fuenfzig mal abgebildet ist, eins der Bilder ist sogar zweimal im Artikel. ––DaTroll 14:06, 17. Mär 2006 (CET)* (Wikipedia discussion page "Matrei in Osttirol" [Matrei in Eastern Tyrol])

[First, the articles are longer (Frankfurt about twice as long, Dresden almost four times as long), and, second, there is more to take photos of in Frankfurt or Dresden. **Having said that**, I would, by the way, remove some photographs of Frankfurt as well, the one of the homes in Westend and some of the Skyline, which is shown fifty times, one of the pictures can even be seen twice in the article.]

Critical remarks on other editors' work are not always as positively and conciliatorily formulated as in the previous examples. In particular, the English phrases *Nice try* and *You made my day* are used in an ironic way to ridicule other editors or their texts and to characterise information as questionable (cf. [9] through [12]):

(9) ***Nice try****, Saxo. Diejenigen, die auf die eindeutige Konnotation eines Begriffes hinweisen auf eine Stufe mit jenen zu stellen, die den Begriff in dieser Weise verwenden ist ein netter Trick. Also ist die Darstellung des Umstandes rassistisch, die Verwendung des rassistischen Ausdrucks aber nicht; verkehrte Welt. ––Tsui 15:50, 8. Okt 2006 (CEST)* (Wikipedia discussion page "Neger" [negro])

[**Nice try**, Saxo. To put those who point at the clear connotation of a term on the same level with those who use the term in this way is a nice trick. Thus the presentation of the fact is racist, but the use of the racist term is not; upside down world.]

(10) *Wenn Studien zitiert werden, muss zumindest die Übersetzung korrekt sein! Daneben sollten auch eventuelle Kritiken und Peer-Reviews berücksichtigt werden. Das Zitat widerspiegelt ganz eindeutig die vorgefasste Meinung des Autors.* ***Nice try!*** (Wikipedia discussion page "Passivrauchen" [passive smoking])

[When studies are quoted, the translation has to be correct at least! In addition, possible critiques and peer reviews should be considered. The quote clearly reflects the author's preconceived opinion. **Nice try!**]

(11) *Bitte ersetze das Salvia Divinorum mal durch irgendwas anderes (z.B. griechisches Olivenöl) und dir sollte klar werden, wie bescheuert diese Aussage ist. Wenn man alle Tätigkeiten die man mehrmals ausführt (obwohl nicht lebensnotwendig) unter dem Begriff Sucht zusammenfassen würde, wäre der Begriff ziemlich unbrauchbar. Auf den restlichen Unsinn gehe ich erst gar nicht mal ein.* ***You made my day****... ––89.217.191.33 16:25, 6. Nov. 2007 (CET)* (Wikipedia discussion "Azteken-Salbei" [Aztec sage])

[Please replace the Salvia Divinorum with something else (e.g. Greek olive oil) and you will see how stupid this statement is. If one summarized all the activities that are undertaken repeatedly (although not essential to life) under the term addiction, the term would be rather useless. I won't say anything about the rest of the nonsense at all. **You made my day** ...']

(12) ***You made my day*** *:) Wer nichts weiss hat ja den Vorteil, einfach mal alls behaupten zu können, aber du schiesst den Vogel ab. Marxistischer Feminismus, was kommt wohl als nächstes? Honeggers Vorbild war Adenauer? Der Stalinismus ist eine Folge von da Vincis Homosexualität?––Nico b. 09:12, 12. Feb. 2009 (CET)* (Wikipedia discussion page "Feminismus" [feminism])

[**You made my day** :–) Those who don't know anything have the advantage of simply claiming what they want, but you surpass everyone. Marxist Feminism, what comes next? Adenauer was Honegger's [Honecker's] example? Stalinism is a consequence of da Vinci's homosexuality?]

Occasionally, harsh criticism is even combined with personal attacks:

(13) *Die Wikipedia ohne Manfred Riebe* ***ist ein besserer Ort*** *als mit Manfred Riebe!!!* (Wikipedia discussion page "Sprachkritik" [language critique])

[The Wikipedia without Manfred Riebe **is a better place** than with Manfred Riebe!!!]

Proverbs are often used evaluatively to support an argument (Norrick 1985). In (14), a modified version of the proverb *Wem es in der Küche zu heiß ist / Wer die Hitze nicht verträgt, sollte nicht Koch werden – cf. If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen*), which is attributed to US President Harry S. Truman, is employed to criticise an editor. At the same time, the example shows that the topic of an article – in this case 'food and cooking' – can be the chief motivation for using a specific phraseological Anglicism.

(14) *Das fertige Gericht heißt Kuttelfleck. Kuttelfleck wird aus Kaldaune, Magen, Pansen Innereien, usw, sauersüß mit Zutaten zubereitet. Verdünnt man dieses sauersüß zubereitete Kuttelfleck Gericht mit Wasser, dann ist dasselbige eine Suppe. Also zu sagen, es handelt sich nicht um Kuttelfleck, sondern nur um Kuttelfleck-Suppe ist, um es mild auszudrücken, doch recht eigenartig.*

['The finished dish has the name Kuttelfleck [Tripe soup]. Kuttelfleck is prepared from tripe, belly, entrails etc., sour-sweet with ingredients. If you dilute this sour-sweet dish with water, it will be a soup. Thus, to say it is not Kuttelfleck, but only Kuttlefleck soup is a bit strange, to put it mildly.']

> *Schon 1485 wurde das Gericht Kuttelfleck mehrmals auf dem Glocknerhof serviert. Meine von Rainer Zenz entfernte Referenz besagte, daß Kuttelfleck in Schwänken (H. Sachs) 1560 erwähnt wurde. Rainer Z hat ebenfalls die Referenz, daß Fleck schon in althochdeutsch als flec bekannt war, ebenfalls entfernt. Warum werden absichtlich immer wieder deutsche/altdeutschen Referenzen von ein paar Leuten bei DEWikipedia entfernt? Beobachter (70.133.65.117 21:05, 14. Mär. 2009 (CET)*
>
> [As early as 1485 the dish Kuttlefleck was served several times at Glocknerhof. My reference, which was removed by Rainer Zenz, says that Kuttelfleck was mentioned in comical tales (H. Sachs) in 1560. Rainer Z also removed the reference that Fleck was already known in Old High German as flec.
>
> Why are German/Old German references constantly being removed deliberately by some people at DEWikipedia?]
>
> > *Kutteln, Fleck, Kuttelfleck und Kaldaunen sind Synonyme. Kuttelfleck ist dabei der "weiße Schimmel". Da kannst du z. b. im Duden sowie in Herings oder Gorys' Küchenlexikon schauen. Es mag sein, dass irgendwann irgendwo "Kuttelfleck" auch als Name einer Kuttelsuppe verstanden wurde.*

Das lässt sich aber nicht verallgemeinern im Sinne von "Kuttelfleck ist ein Wort für Kuttelsuppe". Rainer Z ... 22:50, 14. Mär. 2009 (CET)

[Kutteln, Fleck, Kuttelfleck and Kaldaunen [tripe] are synonyms. So Kuttelfleck is like "white grey/white white horse". You can look it up in Hering's or Gorys' encyclopedia of cooking. Mayby "Kuttelfleck" was also understood as the name of Kuttelfleck soup sometime somewhere. But this cannot be generalised in the sense that "Kuttelfleck is a word for Kuttelfleck soup".]

***Wer die Hitze nicht verträgt, soll sich nicht in die Küche, sprich dem Fachbereiche Essen begeben**. Es ist völlig abwegig, einzelne Bruchstücke von Informationen irgendwo zu platzieren, wo es einem gefällt. Der Fachbereich ist systematisch aufgebaut, und es kann auch von bewahrern altdeutscher Referenzen erwartet werden, daß sie sich im Sinne des enz. Charakters mehr mit dem Thema in der aktuellen Reflexion beschäftigen. Das hat nichts mit der "absichtlichen entfernen" zu tun. Oliver S.Y. 01:57, 15. Mär.* 2009 (CET) (Wikipedia discussion page "Kuttelsuppe" [tripe soup])

[**Those who can't stand the heat should not come in the kitchen, in other words, the special field of food**. It is totally absurd to place individual fragments of information whereever one likes to do so. The field is systematically structured and even guardians of Old German references can be expected, in the sense of an encyclopedic character, to deal with the topic in its current reflection. This has nothing to do with a "deliberate removal".]

3.3. Abbreviations as a special type of phraseological anglicisms

A characteristic feature of computer-mediated communication are abbreviations (Crystal 2006, 2008), i.e. initialisms such as *AFK* (*away from keyboard*) or acronyms such as *LOL* (*laugh out loud[ly]*). They are significant in two ways for phraseology. First, they are used so frequently that they have found their way into other text types and everyday speech, i.e., they have become phraseological units, e.g. *LOL*, *ROFL* (*Rolling on [the] floor laughing*). Second, a number of them have always existed as phraseological units in the language and have now become popular in their condensed forms on the Internet, e.g. *IMHO* (*in my humble opinion*), *GMTA* (*Great minds think alike*), *CU* (*see you*), *BTW* (*by the way*), *OOH* (*on the other hand*) and *OMG/OMFG* (*Oh my God / Oh, my fucking God*). As the following examples show, on Wikipedia discussion pages these abbreviations are often found having sim-

ilar functions as other phraseological anglicisms, namely to express users' opinions about the content of edits and to make proposals:

(15) ***OMFG*** *Kapitol mit K das ist nicht so toll... das ist ein Eigenname... bitte ändert das* (no signature) 22:52, 25. Apr. 2011 (CEST)) (Wikipedia discussion page "Barack Obama")

[**OMFG** Kapitol with a K, that's not so good ... it's a proper name, please change it]

(16) *Ich finde die Neufassung gut gelungen. Das ist* ***IMHO*** *jetzt ein sehr schöner Artikel.* ––Skriptor 12:14, 20. Mär 2004 (CET) (Wikipedia discussion page "Ausbildungsplatzabgabe" [contribution a company has to pay for not training enough apprentices])

[I think the new version is great. **IMHO** it is a very good article now.]

IMHB and AFAIK are also used as hedges by editors to indicate that they are not totally sure about the information they give:

(17) *Ich möchte einfach mal nicht unerwähnt lassen, dass sich nicht nur diese beiden Leute (Kuhn und Henkel), sondern zahlreiche Kritiker und Kollegen negativ über AS geäußert haben (Angefangen von Hermann Hesse nach anfänglichem Lob, später* ***AFAIK*** *Marcel Reich-Ranicki und Hans Mayer;* ––Joachim Pense (d) 17:52, 25. Apr. 2009 (CEST) (Wikipedia discussion page "Arno Schmidt")

[It should not go unmentioned that not only did these two people (Kuhn and Henkel) criticise AS severely, but also many other colleagues (starting with Hermann Hesse after initial praise, later **AFAIK** Marcel Reich Ranicki and Hans Mayer ...]

(18) ***Imho*** *war VGA zur Markteinführung von AGA keine echte Konkurrenz.* (...) *Erst für 500DM oder mehr bekam man 16/24Bit bis 800x600 und genau die gleichen Grafikchips gabs auch für den Amiga zum Nachrüsten für etwas mehr (****imho*** *kosteten die ersten Piccolos 600-800DM).* Crass Spektakel 22:37, 19. Okt. 2011 (CEST) (Wikipedia discussion page "Advanced Graphics Architecture")

[**IMHO** VGA was no real competitor when the branch was launched ... Only for 500 DM or more could you receive 16/24 bits up to 800x600 and exactly the same graphics chips were available for the Amiga for updating for a bit more [**imho** the first Piccolos cost 600–800 DM].]

Abbreviations can also be found together with other phraseological Anglicisms:

(19) ***LOL. ROTFL. You made my day.*** *Inuits, denen nur Hasen zur Verfügung stehen. −−Zikkurat 69 14:53, 19. Aug. 2010 (CEST)* (Wikipedia discussion page "Steinzeiternährung" [nutrition in the Stone Age])

[**LOL. ROTFL. You made my day.** Inuits who have only rabbits at their disposal.]

(20) Lol, netter Versuch, hier anderen Dummheit zu unterstellen. Den Film verstehen kann auf mehrere Arten, was auch von den Machern so gewollt war. –Benny der 1. – 11:15, 19. Jul. 2007 (CEST) (Wikipedia discussion page "K-PAX – Alles ist möglich" [K-PAX – everything is possible])

[**Lol, nice try**, to imply that the others are stupid. One can understand the film in different ways, which was also the producers' intention.]

4. Conclusions

The investigation has shown that Wikipedia discussion pages are a suitable source for phraseological studies. This is above all due to the fact that they present language use between writing and speaking and are oriented towards interaction. Phraseological units mainly serve the function of expressing opinions, which can include harsh criticisms and biting ridicule. The language of this text type can be characterised as vivid, informal, playful and innovative. It therefore is no wonder that many phraseological loans from English begin their lives in German from here. Comparative research about other languages can provide insights into parallel developments.

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"Wikipedia at its best" – frazeologiczne anglicyzmy na stronach dyskusyjnych niemieckiej Wikipedii

Streszczenie

Zakłada się zazwyczaj, że jednostki frazeologiczne najpierw pojawiają się w języku mówionym, a dopiero potem w pisanym. Z tego powodu pojawiają się trudności z identyfikacją związków frazeologicznych w badaniach korpusowych – korpusy zawierają przede wszystkim tekstu pisane. Artykuł zawiera analizę materiału pochodzącego ze stron dyskusyjnych Wikipedii, został on wykorzystany do przeprowadzenia badań frazeologicznych. Dyskusje na stronach Wikipedia są bardzo liczne i dostępne dla każdego użytkownika Internetu. Można więc przyjąć, że stanowią więc one przykład spontanicznej o naturalnej komunikacji, co przejawia się w jej usytuowaniu między odmianą mówioną i pisaną. Przedstawiony jest omawiany gatunek tekstu i jego cechy. Dominantą części empirycznej są frazeologiczne anglicyzmy i ich funkcje w analizowanych dyskusjach. Omawiane jednostki w występują w oryginalnej postaci, czyli jako zapożyczenia bezpośrednie, i jako kalki. Przeprowadzone badanie wykazało, że analizy stron dyskusyjnych Wikipedii stanowią dobry punkt wyjścia do identyfikacji nowych związków frazeologicznych.

Siergiej Griniewicz
Uniwersytet w Białymstoku
Polska

Терминологические аспекты фразеологии

Аннотация. Рассматривается область пересечения специальной лексики и фразеологии. Указываются основные типы и свойства фразеологизмов. Анализируются фразеологизмы, функционирующие в качестве специальных лексем – терминов и профессионализмов. Описываются причины появления, тенденции развития и основные модели составных наименований.

Ключевые слова: *типы фразеологизмов, модели составных наименований, тенденции развития фразеологизмов*

1. Вступление

В настоящее время термин «фразеология» многозначен, обозначая как раздел языкознания – науку о фразеологизмах и идиомах, так и совокупность фразеологизмов и идиом какого-н. языка – Ожегов, Шведова (1992). Полвека назад такое же положение наблюдалось с термином «терминология», который имел несколько значений: 1) система терминов определенной области знания, 2) вся совокупность терминов языка и 3) наука, изучающая термины. Для устранения возникавших неудобств для наименования второго понятия был предложен термин "терминологическая лексика", а позднее принят его более краткий и удобный вариант "терминолексика", а для последнего понятия еще в 1969 году был предложен более употребительный в настоящее время термин "терминоведение" (на Западе – terminology science) Гринев-Гриневич (2008: 10–11). В ситуации с фразеологией до сих пор не удалось найти удачного термина для науки, поэтому термин остается двузначным. Здесь мы будем использовать термин «фразеология» во втором его значении.

Всестороннее рассмотрение фразеологии невозможно без учета ее терминологических аспектов, поскольку между фразеологией и специальной лексикой существует значительная область пересечения. Большая часть специальных лексем является фразеологизмами, а многие фразеологизмы функционирует в качестве специальных лексем. При этом величина общей области может изменяться в зависимости от отнесения разными авторами к фразеологизмам различных типов словосочетаний.

В целом под фразеологизмами по мнению Шмелева (1977: 288) могут пониматься «словосочетания, которые необходимо включать в словарь, так как они существуют в самом языке как **целостные единицы номинации** и подобно словам не создаются, а **воспроизводятся** в речи». Эта точка зрения разделяется рядом авторов: Гинзбург и др. (1979: 74); Антрушиной, Афанасьевой и Морозовой (1999: 229–230); Dubieniec (2002: 16); Griniewicz, Dubieniec (2004: 66). И.В. Арнольд (1986: 165) использует для этого понятия термин “set expressions”, а В.В. Елисеева (2003: 28) добавляет к этому признак переосмысления компонента или компонентов словосочетания. Э.В. Кузнецова (1989: 194) добавляет к признакам фразеологизмов идиоматичность:

> ...В отличие от свободных словосочетаний значение фразеологизма идиоматично, и в этом фразеологизм сближается со словом, семантическая природа которого в принципе идиоматична. Таким образом, фразеологизм имеет уже два признака, общих со словом: номинативную функцию и идиоматичность.

Минаева (2007: 57) различает фразеологические единицы, идиомы и словосочетания с частично фиксированным составом слов, а Кодухов (1987: 174) различает фразеологизмы и составные наименования. Однако все упомянутые авторы согласны между собой в том, что фразеологизмы, включая и составные наименования являются лексемами наряду со словами.

2. Причины появления и тенденции развития составных наименований

В XIX веке в результате промышленной революции появилось большое число технических наук. Термины этих наук используются не в сравнительно узком кругу ученых, а на производстве, где занято большее число людей. Поэтому при их создании используется лексика

национальных языков. Бурное развитие новых областей знания требует большого числа новых терминов. Одновременно с этим промышленное производство позволило резко увеличить число видов выпускаемых изделий Наиболее легким путем быстрого пополнения терминологии для новых разновидностей понятий является образование сочетаний, т.е. добавление к термину-названию родового понятия определений для наименования видовых понятий. Традиция такого способа образования терминов уже выработана в XVIII веке.

Этот способ становится ведущим, что отражается в количественном преобладании словосочетаний почти в любой области терминологии в большинстве европейских языков, и в увеличении их протяженности, что приводит к появлению составных терминов из трех, а в конце века из четырех элементов, например: *saws – continuous saws – disc continuous saws, chain continuous saws*; *paper – building paper – impregnated building paper – asphalt impregnated building paper*. Так, во многих языках двухсловные термины старых областей знания характерны для первой половины 19 в., трехсловные – для второй половины 19 в. и начала 20 в. и т.д.

С учетом известных в терминоведении тенденций развития средств образования терминов можно определять последовательность развития представлений в данной области знания. Сопоставляя производственные составные наименования некоторых базовых понятий с однословными наименованиями видовых для них понятий (например: *flexural members – beams, lintels, etc., arable crops – rye, wheat, barley, rice, etc.*; *cutting tools – knives, chisels, saws*; *головные уборы – шапка, шляпа, кепка, фуражка*; *кондитерские изделия – конфеты, пирожные, торты, пряники*), мы можем сделать вывод о том, что первые появились в 19 в. и значительно позже вторых. Подобные явления происходят в развитии научных понятий: в медицине, например, *медицинские учреждения – больницы, клиники, госпитали, поликлиники, амбулатории; аномалии зубов – супрадентия, адентия, трема, микродентия; заболевания зубов – кариес, пульпит, периодонит*).

Еще показательнее пример в области инфекционных заболеваний, где формы терминов (*инфекционные заболевания – инфекционные заболевания дыхательных путей – ангина, грипп, дифтерия, коклюш, корь, краснуха, скарлатина*) свидетельствуют о том, что уже известные заболевания позднее были сгруппированы в класс, а еще позднее в нем были выделены подклассы. (В последнем примере “дыхательные пути” – явно поздний термин, объединяющий нос, гортань, глотку, трахею, бронхи и легкие).

Следует заметить, что признание фразеологизмов в качестве разновидности лексемы пришло не сразу. Лексикализованные словосочетания появились очень давно, но первые зафиксированные словосочетания, например в строительной лексике, появились в английском языке в 14 в., а в русском языке – в 18 в.

Показательно, что раньше составители словарей неохотно включали словосочетания в свои издания. В этом отношении интересно сопоставление разных изданий наиболее полного словаря английской лексики – Оксфордского словаря английского языка (The Oxford English Dictionary). В двенадцати томах первого издания, вышедших с 1884 г. по 1928 г., содержалось довольно незначительное число фразеологизмов, в вышедшем позднее (в 1934 г.) дополнительном томе их было значительно больше. Изданные в 1971–1986 гг. дополнительные тома Оксфордского словаря включают значительное число словосочетаний, в особенности терминологических, образованных в 19 в. и ранее, но не включенных в изданные в начале века основные тома. Это свидетельствует о том, что раньше существовала тенденция не рассматривать словосочетания в качестве лексических единиц. Во втором двадцатитомном издании, вышедшем в 1980-е годы, число фразеологизмов уже превышает число слов.

3. Основные типы фразеологизмов

Исследования фразеологизмов в 20 веке привели к более точному пониманию их характера. Во-первых, было проведено разграничение фразеологизмов и ранее обычно рассматривавшихся вместе с идиомами поговорок и пословиц; последние стали объектом новой дисциплины – паремиологии. Во-вторых, стали различаться основные типы фразеологизмов и предлагаться различные их классификации. Наиболее принятым в восточной Европе стало деление фразеологизмов по степени семантических изменений компонентов фразеологизмов.

Принято выделять **фразеологические сращения** – абсолютно неделимые, неразложимые: словосочетания, значение которых совершенно независимо от их лексического состава, от значений их компонентов и так же условно и произвольно, как значение немотивированного слова-знака; **фразеологические единства** – словосочетания, в которых значение целого связано с пониманием внутреннего образного стержня фразы, потенциального смысла слов и **фразеологические сочетания**, образуемые реализацией несвободных значений слов. К ним были до-

бавлены **фразеологические выражения** (составные наименования) – устойчивые в своем составе и употреблении фразеологические обороты, которые не только являются семантически членимыми, но и состоят целиком из слов со свободными значениями. Большинство фразеологизмов последнего типа являются терминами. В то же время в профессиональной лексике встречаются и фразеологические единства с переосмысленным опорным элементом, например, *monkey's paw*, *ласточкин хвост, детский сад*, *медвежье ухо* (растение); а также фразеологические сочетания – *blind arcade, проселочная дорога, белый налив, солнечное сплетение*.

В современной терминоведческой литературе не существует сомнений в правомочности использования словосочетаний в качестве терминов. Синтаксический способ терминообразования – преобразование обычных свободных словосочетаний в сложные "эквиваленты слов" – является наиболее продуктивным средством пополнения специальной лексики. С помощью этого способа образуется 60%–95% состава различных исследованных терминологий европейских языков, что свидетельствует о преобладании терминологических словосочетаний (составных терминов) над однословными терминами как характерной черты современной терминолексики.

В числе основных свойств терминов-словосочетаний наряду с устойчивостью (цельностью номинации), обусловленной их функцией наименования одного понятия, указывается их номинативный характер и атрибутивный вид связи составляющих их элементов. Эти свойства грамматически оформлены. Это значит, что существуют объективные предпосылки выделения и фиксации терминов-словосочетаний из текста и определения основных их моделей, что может быть использовано, например, для создания алгоритма автоматического распознавания составных терминов в тексте Гринев-Гриневич (2008: 136).

4. Основные модели терминологических составных наименований

Наиболее простым и, в то же время, наиболее распространенным видом составных терминов как в английской (64% от общего числа терминов-словосочетаний), так и в русской технической терминолексике (65% от общего числа составных терминов), является двухкомпонентное атрибутивное словосочетание, состоящее из основного, ядерного элемента, выраженного, как правило, именем существительным в именительном падеже, и атрибутивного, определяющего элемента. Различия

между типами двухкомпонентных составных терминов основаны на формальной выраженности определяющего элемента. Основными типами английских двухкомпонентных составных терминов являются следующие:

1. Наиболее распространенными являются атрибутивные словосочетания с именем существительным в функции препозитивного определения, например – *clock tower, clay brick, language unit, call address*. Такие словосочетания в строительстве составляют примерно треть всех исследованных строительных терминов и около 65% от общего числа двухкомпонентных сочетаний; по данным Акулининой (2003: 67) в английской терминологии информатики 28% от общего числа составных терминов и 16% от общего числа терминов (для ряда других терминологий от 8,2% до 68,1% и в среднем 43%).

Как показывает компонентный анализ, из двух элементов такого словосочетания второй элемент является опорным, ядерным. Он указывает на родовой признак понятия, а первый (атрибутивный) элемент передает отличительный видовой признак понятия. Структура такого термина является мотивированной, отражающей связь данного понятия с другими: опорный элемент обычно выступает в роли указателя тематической группы, к которой принадлежит данное понятие. Он занимает фиксированное конечное положение в словосочетании и процесс образования терминологических словосочетаний сводится к присоединению новых слов, обозначающих видовые признаки, к существующему родовому слову.

Как указывает Костюкова (1972), существуют три точки зрения на сущность первого элемента таких словосочетаний. Согласно одной из них, первым компонентом является существительное, выступающее в роли препозитивного (находящегося перед опорным элементом) определения. Более убедительной кажется другая, согласно которой первый элемент таких сочетаний представляет собой основу существительного, подвергшуюся адъективации (т.е. переходу в прилагательное), поскольку в английском языке отсутствие флексий существенно облегчает переход слов из одной грамматической категории в другую, но затрудняет определение их грамматической принадлежности, а функционально, содержательно и синтаксически такие компоненты должны быть отнесены к прилагательным. Существует и третья точка зрения, согласно которой все такое образование представляет собой нестойкое сложное слово, а первый компонент – его первую основу, но большинство критериев, используемых для разграничения сложных слов и словосочетаний, не подтверждают этого.

Структурную формулу такого словосочетания можно представить в виде NN (для представления английских структурных формул используются общепринятые сокращения: N – noun; N's – noun in possessive case; A – adjective; Ving – verbal forms ending in -ing; Ved – verbal forms, ending in -ed; Adv – adverb; p – preposition).

2. Следующими по распространенности являются атрибутивные терминологические словосочетания с прилагательным в функции препозитивного определения – *blind arcade, temporary building, peripheral device*. Они составляют 9% от общего числа строительных терминов или более 19% строительных двухкомпонентных терминов-словосочетаний; по данным Акулининой (2003: 67) в английской терминологии информатики 36% от общего числа составных терминов и 20% от общего числа терминов (в других терминологиях от 17,6% до 60% и в среднем 29%). Структурная формула таких словосочетаний – AN (adjective + noun).

3. В словосочетаниях типа *bearing wall, bowling alley, consulting program* статус первого элемента вызывает некоторые разногласия. В литературе есть упоминание о том, что всякий атрибутивный элемент с суффиксом -ing, находящийся в препозиции к определяемому ядерному элементу-существительному, принято считать причастием настоящего времени [Симакина, 1972]. Вместе с тем причастие является носителем временного, преходящего признака, связанного с определенным процессом, а в данном случае видовой признак, отражаемый первым элементом, не отражает каких-либо процессов и носит постоянный характер. В словосочетании *bearing wall* мы имеем дело с адъективированным причастием, утратившим временной и приобретшим качественный признак – *bearing* означает не происходящее действие, а постоянное качество данного вида стены. Поэтому есть основание считать такие первые элементы, имеющие значение качества или функции, разновидностями прилагательных, генетически восходящими к неличным глагольным формам – причастиям, а модель Ving N – разновидностью предыдущей модели. Словосочетания, образованные по модели Ving N, составляют около 4% от общего числа исследованных строительных терминов и 8% от числа двухкомпонентных словосочетаний; в английской терминологии информатики такие термины составляют 5.5% от числа словосочетаний и 3% от общего числа терминов (Акулинина 2003: 69) (в других терминологиях от 0,4% до 7,6% и в среднем 4%).

4. Несколько чаще встречаются терминологические словосочетания типа *arched bridge*, образованные по модели Ved N, то есть первый элемент которых является причастием прошедшего времени, значение которого,

как в предыдущем случае, утратило временной характер и приобрело характер качества. Поэтому определяющий первый элемент таких словосочетаний превратился, как и определяющий элемент в предыдущей модели, в прилагательное, а сама модель образования Ved N – в разновидность модели A N. Словосочетания, образованные по модели Ved N, составляют около 4,5% от общего числа исследованных строительных терминов и 9% от числа двухкомпонентных словосочетаний; по данным Акулининой (2003: 69) в английской терминологии информатики термины с препозитивным причастием составляют 4,6% от числа словосочетаний и 2,6% от общего числа терминов (в других терминологиях от 1% до 4% и в среднем 2%).

5. Незначительное число строительных терминов образовано по модели N's N – *bosun's chair, glazier's diamond*, первый компонент которых отражает признак одушевленности, с точки зрения терминологического употребления несущественный. Такие словосочетания составляют 0,2% от общего числа строительных терминов и 0,4% от числа двухкомпонентных словосочетаний (в других терминологиях от 0% до 1,5% и в среднем 0,5%).

6. Еще меньше число предложных сочетаний, к которым относятся модели N of N, например *clerk of works, end of block* и N for N, например *school for the blind*, вместе составляющие 0,15% от общего числа обследованных строительных терминов и 0,3% от числа двухкомпонентных словосочетаний; по данным Акулининой (2003: 69) в английской терминологии информатики такие конструкции составляют 5,5% от числа словосочетаний и 3% от общего числа терминов (в других терминологиях от 10,5% до 34,9% и в среднем 20,4%). Это можно считать свидетельством вытеснения предложных сочетаний более компактными беспредложными формами, то есть тенденции к компрессии, наблюдаемой в научно-технических текстах.

Обзор типов английских двухкомпонентных терминологических словосочетаний позволяет сделать вывод о том, что наиболее типичными являются словосочетания, образуемые путем определения исходного термина, в которых в роли атрибутивного элемента выступают прилагательные, а также адъективированные существительные и причастия настоящего и прошедшего времени. Значение определяющего элемента обычно указывает на функцию, свойство, форму, состав, материал объекта, обозначаемого ядерным элементом, например – *bar room, blind arcade, angle grain, urea-formaldehyde resin, vinyl roofing.*

Изучение русских составных терминов показывает, что двухкомпонентные словосочетания образуются по нескольким основным мо-

делям, состоящим, как и в английском языке, из ядерного элемента, выраженного именем существительным в именительном падеже, и определяющего элемента. Эти модели, как и в английской терминологии, различаются формальной выраженностью определяющего элемента:

1. Наиболее употребительным является терминологическое словосочетание с именем прилагательным в функции препозитивного определения, например – *плотничные работы, водяное отопление* (такие термины составляют в строительной лексике 68% от общего числа двухкомпонентных словосочетаний).

2. Как и в английской терминолексике, в роли определений используются адъективированные причастия – как действительные, так и страдательные, настоящего и прошедшего времени, например *несущие стены, режущий инструмент, сгораемые материалы, напрягаемые тросы, гашеная известь, затвердевший бетон*. Доля таких сочетаний с определением-адъективированным причастием в общем числе двухкомпонентных сочетаний невелика – 6,5%, а эта модель может рассматриваться как разновидность предыдущей.

3. Довольно распространены атрибутивные словосочетания с именем существительным в функции постпозитивного определения – их доля в двухкомпонентных словосочетаниях составляет около 20%. В подавляющем большинстве случаев в роли определения выступает существительное в родительном падеже, например, *снос зданий, кондиционирование воздуха*, однако определяющее существительное может быть и в творительном – *сварка трением* и, реже, в дательном падеже – *сопротивление сдвигу*.

4. Встречаются и предложные терминологические словосочетания с предлогами *в, для, за, из, к, на, о, от, по, под, при, с*. При этом, как и в беспредложных словосочетаниях, опорный элемент занимает первое место. Определяющее существительное может находиться в родительном, дательном, винительном, творительном и предложном падежах, например, *кухни в квартирах, добавки к бетонам, переходы для пешеходов, уход за бетоном, перерывы в работе*. Всего было обнаружено 19 формальных разновидностей этой модели образования двухкомпонентных терминовсловосочетаний, общая доля которых составляет около 5,5%. С учетом позиций и функций компонентов таких словосочетаний эту модель можно считать разновидностью предыдущей.

Таким образом в русской терминологии наиболее типичными являются словосочетания, образуемые путем определения исходного термина, в которых в роли атрибутивного элемента выступают прилага-

тельные и адъективированные причастия действительного и страдательного залогов настоящего и прошедшего времени. Значение определяющего элемента также обычно указывает на функцию, свойство, форму, материал объекта, обозначаемого ядерным элементом, например *подъемный кран, изолирующая оболочка, прямоугольный лист, масляный компресс, керамическая посуда*.

В настоящее время в строительстве встречаются и пред-термины, представляющие собой словосочетания, связанные не атрибутивными, а сочинительными отношениями, например, *лаки и краски, мосты и тоннели, клеи и мастики, добавки и наполнители, двери и ворота, лестницы и пандусы, вспенивание и вспучивание, дробление и помол*. Такие образования нельзя рассматривать как простые сочетания терминов, поскольку одновременно с ними часто существуют термины с объемом значения, равным сумме объемов терминов таких сочетаний. Так, наряду с термином *лаки и краски* существует термин *лакокрасочные материалы*, наряду с термином *клеи и мастики – клеящие вещества*. При этом наблюдается тенденция к замене таких пред-терминов терминами – так, кроме вышеприведенных случаев, сочетания *мосты и тоннели, вспенивание и вспучивание, дробление и помол* вытесняются терминами *искусственные сооружения, порообразование, измельчение*.

Среди трехкомпонентных английских строительных терминов, составляющих 30% от общего числа терминов-словосочетаний, наиболее распространенными являются следующие модели, перечисляемые в порядке убывания:

а) N N N – *amusement park building*, составляющие 37% от общего числа трехкомпонентных терминов и 8,5% от общего числа проанализированных терминов; в английской терминологии информатики такие конструкции составляют 11% от числа словосочетаний и 6% от общего числа терминов (Акулинина 2003: 69);
б) A N N – *architectural design studio* (25% и 5,7%);
в) Ved N N – *buttressed foundation wall* (9% и 2,1%);
г) N Ving N – *air conditioning system* (6,5% и 1,5%);
д) N Ved N – *bush hammered stone* (3,9% и 0,9%);
е) N A N – *service main pipes* (3,4% и 0,8%);
ж) Ving N N – *hanging roof gutter* (3,3% и 0,7%).

Менее распространены следующие модели:

э) A Ving N – *artificial building stone* (2,9% и 0,7%);
и) A A N – *best bright finish* (2,1% и 0,5%);
к) N & N N – *bath and shower fittings* (1,3% и 0,3%; по этой модели образуются пред-термины);

л) A Ved N – *high pitched roof* (1,3% и 0,3%);
м) Adv Ved N – *automatically opened skylights* (0,8% и 0,2%);
н) Ved Ving N – *glazed flooring tile* (0,8% и 0,2%);

и еще реже встречаются модели:

о) Ved A N – *cast structural metals* (0,5% и 0,1%);
п) N's N N – *bull's eye window* (0,25% и 0,05%);
р) N for Adv N – *school for the physically handicapped* (0,2% и 0,04%).

Всего для образования английских трехкомпонентных строительных терминов-словосочетаний используется 27 формальных моделей, из них 8 – для образования одного термина; для образования пред-терминов используется 7 моделей, из них по 5 моделям образовано только по одному прел-термину.

Как правило, трехкомпонентные терминологические словосочетания образуются на базе двухкомпонентных словосочетаний, характеризуемых более тесными структурно-семантическими отношениями. Такие сочетания называются исходными. Исходные словосочетания обычно функционируют в качестве самостоятельных терминов-словосочетаний, например, *bush hammered stone* и *hammered stone*; *precast panel construction* и *precast construction, panel construction*; *compression cable connector* и *compression cable, cable connector*; *concrete placing equipment* и *concrete placing*.

По положению исходного словосочетания выделяются централизованная x > (y > z), например *bush (hammered stone)* и децентрализованная (x > y) > z, например *(concrete placing) equipment* модели трехкомпонентных словосочетаний, где x, y и z – соответственно первый, второй и третий компоненты словосочетания, а также смешанная модель {x > (y} > z), образованная из двух сочетаний xy и yz, например (*compression (cable) connector*).

Разнообразие типов исходных словосочетаний обусловливает различие формально-семантических структур трехкомпонентных словосочетаний. Поэтому в последних можно встретить как последовательную родовидовую зависимость x > y > z, так и параллельную зависимость однотипных элементов x,y > z.

Комбинированная классификация структурных типов трехэлементных терминологических словосочетаний с учетом положения исходных словосочетаний и установлением порядка зависимости будет выглядеть следующим образом:

1) x > (y > z), например *bush hammered stone*, где к исходному терминологическому словосочетанию добавляется препозиционное определение, уточняющее определение исходного словосочетания;

2) (x, y) > z, например *glazed flooring tile*, где однотипные определяющие элементы двух исходных словосочетаний с совпадающим ядерным элементом – *glazed tile* и *flooring tile* – соподчинены третьему, ядерному компоненту;
3) (x > y) > z, например *air conditioning system*, где исходное словосочетание играет роль составного определяющего элемента; и наконец,
4) {x > (y} > z), например *compression cable connector*, где второй элемент был ядерным в первом исходном словосочетании *compression cable* и определяющим во втором исходном словосочетании *cable connector*.

Во всех этих случаях два первых элемента подчинены третьему ядерному элементу, сужая, уточняя и определяя его значение.

Среди русских трехкомпонентных терминологических словосочетаний, составляющих 25% от общего числа терминов-словосочетаний, наиболее распространенными структурными моделями являются:

а) С Пр Ср, например *удаление буровой мелочи*, составляющие 26,3% от общего числа двухкомпонентных русских строительных терминов-словосочетаний и 5,2% от общего числа исследованных русских строительных терминов (для представления русских структурных формул используются следующие общепринятые сокращения: С – существительное; П – прилагательное; Прич – причастная форма (адъективированное причастие); Н – наречие; р – родительный падеж, д – дательный падеж, т – творительный падеж);
б) П П С – *тепловая импульсная сварка*, составляющие 18,3% от двухкомпонентных терминов и 3,6% от общего числа исследованных русских терминов;
в) П С Ср – *подземная прокладка трубопроводов* – 16,2% и 3,2%;
г) С Ср Ср – *методы нанесения покрытий* – 6,1% и 1,2%;
д) С с Пт Ст – *проходка с постоянным копром* – 3,2% и 0,6%;
е) С для Пр Ср – *оборудование для отделочных работ* – 2,4% и 0,5%;
ж) Прич П С – *напрягаемые арматурные пучки* – 2,3% и 0,5%;
з) П Прич С – *составные напрягаемые элементы* – 1,8% и 0,4%;
и) С для Ср Ср – *машины для острожки полов* – 1,8% и 0,4%.

Всего для образования трехкомпонентных словосочетаний в русской строительной терминологии используется 115 формальных моделей, причем многие из них (53 модели) – только один раз. Среди рассмотренных моделей попадаются такие, которые в целях краткости можно было бы заменить другими. Так например, в модели С с Ст Ср (*бурение с помощью лазера, проходка с помощью щитов*) второй элемент не является необходимым и модель может быть заменена моделью С Ср (*бурение лазером, проходка щитом*) или, еще лучше, П С (*лазерное бурение, щитовая*

проходка). Модель С по Сд Ср (*обжиг по методу Гумбольдта*) может быть заменена на С Ст Ср (*обжиг методом Гумбольдта*) или упрощена далее до С Ср (*обжиг Гумбольдта*).

Четырехкомпонентные английские термины-словосочетания, составляющие 5,5% от общего числа словосочетаний, структурно оформлены по 45 моделям. Из них наиболее распространенными являются N N N N (*bottom drapery track rail*) – 26% от общего числа четырехкомпонентных терминов, A N N N (*blind corner base cabinet*) – 20%, Ved N N N (*bonded rubber carpet backing*) – 7%, N Ved N N (*air operated door closer*) – 5%, N Ved Ving N (*asphalt impregnated building paper*) – 4%. По остальным моделям образовано немного терминов, а 16 моделей представлены каждая только одним термином. В четырехкомпонентных словосочетаниях основной компонент также занимает фиксированное конечное положение.

Анализ этих словосочетаний по непосредственно составляющим показывает, что они образованы на базе исходных двухкомпонентных словосочетаний либо путем их сочетания, либо путем добавления определяющих компонентов к исходному сочетанию с получением трехкомпонентных, а затем четырехкомпонентных словосочетаний. Основные структурные модели, таким образом, имеют вид (n > x) > (y > z), например *bonded rubber carpet backing*; n > [x > (y > z)], например *baseboard radiant heating equipment*; [n > (x > y)] > z, например *bottom drapery track rail*; (n > x) & y > z – *air conditioning and ventilating contractor*.

Таким же образом строятся и немногочисленные пятикомпонентные и шестикомпонентные словосочетания, например, (m > n) > x > (y > z) – *building module grid ceiling system*, (l > m) > (n > x) > (y > z) – *low voltage alternating current circuit breaker*.

В русской строительной терминологии для образования четырехкомпонентных словосочетаний (7% от общего числа словосочетаний) применяется 135 структурных моделей, причем большинство из них по одному разу. Наиболее употребительны модели П С Пр Ср (*раздельная укладка бетонной смеси*) – 13%, С Ср Пр Ср (*технология производства строительных изделий*) – 9%, П С Ср Ср (*косвенная передача энергии вибрации*) – 5%.

При образовании пятикомпонентных терминов (1,7% от словосочетаний) употребляется 115 моделей, а при образовании шестисловных терминов (0,4%) – 28 моделей, почти все из них только однажды. Шесть семисловных сочетаний образованы каждое по своей модели. По всей вероятности предельное число слов, составляющих словосочетание, подчиняется особенностям человеческого восприятия. Поэтому можно

предположить, что семикомпонентные термины-словосочетания представляют собой предел лексической протяженности термина, так как количество информации, воспринимаемой человеком одновременно, определяется объемом непосредственной памяти, а ее пределом является семь элементов.

Вместе с тем даже шестисловные терминологические словосочетания (*предварительное напряжение арматуры при отсутствии связи с бетоном*, *сооружения естественной биологической очистки сточных вод*) из-за своей громоздкости очень неудобны в употреблении и вполне естественна тенденция к сокращению их формы (Гринев-Гриневич 2008: 144).

В русской терминолексике опорный элемент словосочетаний не занимает фиксированного места. В сочетании прилагательного с существительным опорный элемент замыкает словосочетание, однако в сочетаниях существительных опорный элемент находится на первом месте. Тем не менее существует средство формального выделения опорного элемента в русских составных терминах с любым количеством компонентов, действительное для всех моделей образования – опорный элемент всегда выражен существительным в именительном падеже. Если же в словосочетании больше одного существительного в именительном падеже, то все такие существительные являются опорными элементами и связаны между собой сочинительной связью (например *оборудование и инструмент для отделки поверхности*), а такое образование является пред-термином.

Изучение структурно-семантических типов терминологических словосочетаний показывает, что в их семантике выделяются интегрирующие и дифференцирующие компоненты. Интегрирующий компонент передает родовой признак понятия и объединяет словосочетания в тематические группы (например, *doors – bi-parting doors, double doors, mirror doors, panelled doors*, etc.; *сварка – сварка давлением, точечная сварка, холодная сварка, сварка под флюсом* и т.д.), а дифференцирующий компонент, носящий ограничительный характер (что генетически свойственно терминологическим словосочетаниям), указывает на отличительный видовой признак понятия. В многокомпонентных словосочетаниях к исходному двухкомпонентному сочетанию добавляются дальнейшие дифференцирующие компоненты, указывающие на подвид данного вида понятия, или же каждый из компонентов исходного сочетания превращается в сочетание, выступающее в качестве единого целого [Даниленко, 1973].

Структура терминологического словосочетания указывает на место называемого им понятия в системе родственных ему понятий. Родо-

вое слово, ядерный компонент словосочетания указывает на группу, к которой принадлежат называемые словосочетанием понятия. Это слово выделяется в словосочетании фиксированностью места (в английской терминолексике) или падежным окончанием (как в русском языке) и процесс образования сочетаний обычно сводится к присоединению к нему новых слов (или словосочетаний).

Увеличение длины словосочетаний вызывается стремлением к точности выражения понятия (что чрезвычайно важно в технике), реже – к устранению многозначности, поскольку с увеличением количества компонентов в термине степень его многозначности убывает. Однако увеличение длины словосочетаний приводит к неудобству в их употреблении из-за громоздкости, поэтому наиболее употребительны двухкомпонентные словосочетания, а с увеличением длины словосочетания уменьшается их доля в общем числе словосочетаний. Кроме того, длинные словосочетания сохраняются тогда, когда ими редко пользуются, если же словосочетание используется достаточно часто, оно будет подвергаться сокращению, в том числе теряя отдельные компоненты, например *air cooling equipment – air cooler, cable car railway – cable railway, cable pulling tools – cable tools*.

Количество моделей словосочетаний в русском языке значительно сокращается, если учесть, что адъективированные причастные определения и по функциям и по грамматическим показателям совпадают с прилагательными.

5. Тенденции развития и возможности оптимизации составных терминов

При рассмотрении тенденций развития словосочетаний в первую очередь внимание должно быть обращено на двухкомпонентные словосочетания, как наиболее многочисленные и как исходные для образования более протяженных словосочетаний. В наиболее общем виде эти сочетания можно разбить на два типа – модели с препозитивным определением и модели с постпозитивным определением. К первой группе относятся модели образования с расположением элементов, характерным для сочетания прилагательного с существительным (*взрывное бурение*). В этом случае, когда в роли препозитивного определения находится другая часть речи (причастие или порядковое числительное), она превращается в прилагательное. Ко второй группе относятся модели с расположением элементов, свойственным сочетанию существительных (*бу-*

рение взрывом), поэтому при использовании в качестве постпозиционного определения других частей речи (количественных числительных и наречий) у них появляется тенденция к субстантивации.

Следует заметить, что во втором типе словосочетаний отношение между определяемым и определяющим гораздо менее тесное, более свободное. Более тесный характер связи первого типа больше соответствует стремлению к синтаксическому единству терминов-словосочетаний, для отражения нерасчлененности обозначаемых понятий, поэтому заметно численное преобладание терминов, образованных по первому типу (75%).

Кроме того, существует тенденция к трансформации моделей второго типа в сочетания первого типа и одновременно с этим – к трансформации предложных словосочетаний в беспредложные. Так, *конструкции из железобетона* встретятся намного реже, чем *железобетонные конструкции*. Многие сочетания второго типа уже сейчас трансформируются в сочетания первого типа: *тележки кранов – крановые тележки, выветривание окислением – окислительное выветривание, бетоны на гравии – гравийные бетоны, арматура из древесины – древесная арматура, соглашения об изобретательстве – изобретательские соглашения, исследования по заказам – заказные исследования, расстояния между трещинами – межтрещинные расстояния*. В ряде случаев такая трансформация затруднена невозможностью или неудобством образования прилагательного из постпозиционного определения (*уход за бетоном, защита от облучения, снос зданий, плиты перекрытий*) что по-видимому и является причиной существования терминологических словосочетаний с постпозиционным определением.

Синтаксический способ образования терминов является в настоящее время самым продуктивным в большинстве научно-технических терминологий, что объясняется легкостью такого терминообразования. При этом составные термины часто семантически прозрачны, понятны и систематичны. Вместе с тем составные термины порой отличает разнобой используемых моделей образования. Встречается и ряд моделей, содержащих “паразитные" элементы (модели С с Ст Ср и С Ст Ср – *бурение с **помощью** плазмы, монтаж **методом** надвижки*. В связи с этим можно рекомендовать выделение нескольких основных моделей, к которым зачастую могут быть сведены путем трансформации другие, менее эффективные модели. Так, к модели П С в ряде случаев могут быть сведены некоторые другие модели, в частности, С Ст, С Ст Ср и С с Ст Ср, например, термины *бурение с помощью лазера*и *бурение лазером* вытесняются термином *лазерное бурение*, в котором теснее синтаксиче-

ская связь между компонентами, а термин *монтаж методом надвижки* может быть заменен термином *надвижной монтаж*.

Аналогичным образом некоторые предложные модели могут быть трансформированы в беспредложные: *помещения для доения, помещения для приготовления корма – доильные помещения, кормоприготовительные помещения*.

6. Заключение

Существует значительная область пересечения фразеологии и специальной лексики, поскольку многие фразеологизмы являются терминами или профессионализмами. Из четырех выделяемых в настоящее время основных типов фразеологизмов вследствие большого числа терминов, исчисляемых в развитых языках миллионами, и увеличением их численности в геометрической прогрессии наиболее распространены фразеологические выражения – составные наименования.

Анализ моделей образования составных наименований показывает, что их число увеличивается с ростом лексической длины словосочетаний, пределом которой являются редко употребляемые сочетания из 6–7 компонентов. С увеличением числа моделей уменьшается их продуктивность. Наблюдавшийся с 19 века рост длины составных наименований приводит к их громоздкости, поэтому наиболее употребительными являются двухсловные модели, а в наиболее употребительных более протяженных составных терминах заметна тенденция к компрессии. Анализ функционирования составных наименований позволяет предложить методы трансформации ряда неудачных моделей и оптимизации формы составных наименований.

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Teminological Aspects of Phraseology

Summary

The common area of phraseology and terminology is being considered. The main types of phraseologisms and their basic properties are presented. The analysis of the most actively used in English and Russian means and patterns of forming terminological phraseologisms shows that lengthening of phraseologisms is accompanied by increase in the number of their patterns and decrease of their productivity and that varieties of patterns may be reduced to the several basic types. In some patterns of Russian terminological phraseology in the second half of the previous century there existed a tendency towards lengthening of forms due to superfluous elements. Possibilities of shortening some cumbersome terminological phraseologisms by excluding redundant elements and substituting prepositional phrases by phrases without prepositions are suggested.

Elise Lopez
University of Adelaide
Australia

A Study of Emic Proportions: Contextualising Phraseological False Friends

Abstract. The discipline of phraseology covers a wide variety of topics relating to the structure and usage of phraseological units. These units of language carry cultural meanings which are reproduced within their own cultural context. Among the different types of phraseological units are false friends. False friends are lexical or phraseological units that take a similar or identical form in two or more languages, but which vary semantically. False friends are deeply intertwined with the context in which they are created. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the importance of the relationship between text and context in the study of phraseological false friends using an emic approach. The findings outline the need for context to be emphasised in the production of dictionaries containing phraseological false friends. The study of these deceptive phraseological units has implications for contrastive analysts, curriculum designers, foreign language teachers and students, philologists, translation theorists, translators, as well as phraseographers and phraseologists.

Key words: *context, emic, false friends, language learning, methodology*

1. Introduction

Language is all about context. The two go together like salt and pepper. Understanding the context of a given text is required to understand the text itself, but understanding context is not always easy. Contexts exist which we are not familiar with, especially when it comes to studying language across cultures. False friends are an example of context-specific texts which deceive those who are not familiar with a particular language. False equivalence occurs when words or phrases take an identical or similar form in two or more languages but differ semantically. At a lexical level, *false friends*, *false equivalents* or *false cognates* appear or sound similar or identical, such as the Polish word *lunatyk*, meaning "sleepwalker", which takes

a similar form to "lunatic" in English, or the Russian word *город*, meaning "town", which takes an identical form to the Ukrainian word meaning "garden". False lexical equivalence has earned a great deal of attention from linguists concerned with misunderstandings in intercultural communication (Szpila 2000b: 77). However, *phraseological false friends* (PFFs), which are units of false equivalence at the phraseological level, present a greater problem for language learners, as the concept behind the phrases does not equate to the sum of its parts. Even if each word is understood, the meaning of the phrase may vary greatly. One example of PFFs can be found in the Italian idiom, *essere una lucertola* "to love basking in the sun" and the Polish idiom *być jaszczurką* "to be a malicious woman", both of which have the literal translation "to be a lizard" (Szerszunowicz 2006: 1056). There have been far less studies conducted on false equivalence at the phraseological level (Leonidova 1983: 174), yet an effective record of PFFs, for example in the form of a dictionary or database, would make an effective learning resource for language learners. To record these phrases, one must understand them from the perspective of the native speaker, as an understanding of expressions and idioms relies heavily on knowledge of the cultural context in which they exist. A native speaker will understand the meaning much more comprehensively than an outsider. Therefore, the best approach to gathering information on the context of a phrase is an emic approach.

The term "emic", as coined by Pike (1967), refers to a subjective approach to gathering information; that is, analysing a language from the perspective of a native speaker. The emic approach is rarely mentioned in the field of phraseology, yet it has a great deal to offer. PFFs cause an issue for non-native speakers of a language because they carry metaphors that are specific to their cultural context. Therefore, if an insight into the meanings of PFFs can be acquired from the perspective of native speakers, these insights should be recorded as a reference tool for non-native speakers. These records could then be systematised in the form of a dictionary or database. However, the structure of the dictionary or database is also important. As beneficial as it is for linguists to gather information about the context of a language using an emic approach, it is also beneficial to language learners to understand this context when learning about false friends. Therefore, dictionaries should use a context-based format, where language learners can look up PFFs according to their context. Each entry should be informed by an etymological analysis to describe the historical origin of the phrase, and follow up with an emically informed description of contemporary use of the phrase for a deeper understanding. This structure would emphasise the importance of context in understanding PFFs.

The main goal behind this study is to look at ways of structuring language learning tools to deal with the problem of understanding and translating PFFs for language learners. There is currently a need for resources containing PFFs, but before we can meet this need, we must look at how to structure resources to effectively suit their purpose. Resources should be structured in a way that is most effective for users. Dictionaries and databases that are developed as language learning tools should reflect the importance of context in language learning throughout their structure. Therefore, this chapter proposes a structure for PFF dictionaries and databases as language learning tools, that is contextually-centred with each entry comprised of information on the type of PFF language learners are dealing with, along with an etymologically and emically informed description of the phrase.

2. Types of False Equivalence

False friends at the lexical level are often discussed in linguistics because of the difficulties they present for language learners. Studies on PFFs, on the other hand, are not so common, though there are some useful works available. Rajxštejn (1980) deals with lexical, syntactic and semantic aspects of German and Russian PFFs, while Ettinger (1994; 2004; 2009; 2011; 2012) has done a great deal of work on French and German PFFs and false cognates. Piirainen's work with Dobrovol'skij (2005) looks at the cultural foundation of conventional figurative language. Szpila's works (2000a; 2000b; 2005; 2011) look at false friends and false equivalence using Polish-English and Polish-Upper-Sorbian case studies. Although Marzan and Chahardahcherik (2015) argue the relevance of genealogy in the exploration of cognates and false cognates at the lexical level only, their study may be relevant to phraseology, as it traces false friends back to Proto-Indo-European, indicating the possibility of semantic divergence as a cause of false equivalence. Vrbinc (2010) also looks at etymological origins, using English-Slovene PFFs as a case study. In an attempt to accurately define the problem presented in this chapter, this study will borrow Vrbinc's description of idioms as "a linguistic unit comprising two or more items whose meaning does not represent the sum of meanings of its individual components" (2010: 1243–1244) and Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen's definition of PFFs as "two or more expressions that evoke almost identical or very similar mental images but show significant differences in the actual meaning" (2005: 109). However, rather than "mental images" (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005: 109), this chapter will use the term "form", referring to the syntactic similarities between PFFs.

False equivalence can be described and categorised in many different ways, according to the type of study that is undertaken. Some studies, such as that conducted by Marzan and Chahardahcherik (2015), categorise types of false equivalence into either chance false equivalence or semantically divergent false equivalence, according to origin. Chance false equivalence occurs when there is no etymological relationship between two similar or identical words or phrases across two or more languages (Marzan and Chahardahcherik 2015: 22). Semantically divergent false equivalence occurs when words or phrases that are similar or identical across two or more languages have the same etymological origin, but differ semantically because their meanings have diverged from their origin (Marzan and Chahardahcherik 2015: 22). This may be due to a difference in conceptual metaphors (Szpila 2011: 354) or the adaptation of borrowings to suit local contexts.

In her study of faunal themed PFFs, Szerszunowicz divides PFFs into seven categories of pseudo-equivalents: 1) idioms whose components and structure are identical in two or more languages, but differ semantically; 2) idioms whose components and structures are identical in two or more languages, but are composed of fewer/more components and differ semantically; 3) idioms whose components are similar in two or more languages, but differ structurally and semantically; 4) idioms whose components are similar in two or more languages and whose structures are identical, but differ semantically; 5) idioms whose components are similar or identical in two or more languages, but which are polysemous in one language and monosemous in in the other/s; 6) idioms whose components and structures are identical in two or more languages, but which differ in their stylistic markedness; and 7) idioms whose components and structures are identical in two or more languages, but which differ in meaning and register (2006: 1056–1059). Szerszunowicz's study provides a thorough categorisation of PFFs according to the different ways in which the components and structure can differ. The *tertium comparationis* of similar or identical form remains constant, as this is the aspect of PFFs that presents a problem for language learners, and the phenomenon that is of interest to linguists.

3. Availability of Resources on False Equivalence

There are entire dictionaries dedicated to idioms and false cognates (Dronov 2011; Szpila 2005; 2007). In any bookshop with a section dedicated to languages, one can find a book on slang, colloquialisms and other lo-

calised phrases. University bookshops have useful tools for students, such as the *faux amis* wheel which, when turned, lines up a false friend in another language with its semantic equivalent in English. However, there is much less information available for false friends at the phraseological level. After studying twelve dictionaries of false friends, Szpila found that only one of the twelve included PFFs (2005: 82–83). This Czech-Polish dictionary, entitled *Czesko-polski słownik zdradliwych wyrazów i pułapek frazeologicznych* or 'Czech-Polish dictionary of treacherous word and idiom traps', contains several phraseologisms that are similar in form, but semantically different, as is consistent with the definition of a false friend (Szpila 2005: 83). However, Szpila contests that most of the phrases in the dictionary do not adhere to this definition (2005: 83). In some cases, idiomatic phraseological units from one language in the dictionary were compared with a free unit in another, for example:

Czech	
phraseological unit stát někde s kloboukem v ruce	*gloss* 'ask humbly', cf. *go cap/hat in hand*
Polish	
phraseological unit stać z kapeluszem w ręce	*gloss* lit. stand with a hat in one's hand

(Szpila 2005: 83)

In other cases, the dictionary documented phraseological units that took a similar form in two languages, but differed semantically due to a false cognate, for example:

Czech	
phraseological unit dobré bydlo	*gloss* 'good living conditions'
Polish	
phraseological unit dobre bydło	*gloss* 'good cattle'

(Szpila 2005: 83)

Other phraseological units had a different form but the same meaning, for example:

Czech	
phraseological unit natáhnout bačkory	*gloss* lit. put slippers on, cf. *kick the bucket*
Polish	
phraseological unit wyciągnąć kopyta	*gloss* lit. stretch the hooves, cf. *kick the bucket*

(Szpila 2005: 83)

These examples do not adhere to the description of PFFs as two or more expressions which have a similar or identical form, but which differ semantically: the first is an example of an idiom that does not have an idiomatic equivalent in the second language and instead uses a literal translation; the second is an example of lexical equivalence, rather than phraseological equivalence; and the third is an example where two phrases are identical semantically, but do not take a similar form (Szpila 2005: 83). In the final example, the units diverge from the original *tertium comparationis*; "they are traps, but do not result from false semantic similarity" (Szpila 2005: 83). Examples such as these should not be included in a record of PFFs, but are instead suited to a study of idioms which highlights different issues in cross-cultural understandings of idioms that does not specifically focus on PFFs.

Another aspect that is often lacking in these dictionaries is context. Dictionaries with a focus on idioms, whether monolingual or bilingual, may include some information on the origin of the idiom and its context, but this is not always the case for dictionaries of false friends. Lubensky's *Russian-English Dictionary of Idioms* sets out to provide as much context as possible, so that English speakers can understand in which contexts the idiom can be used (2014: xiv). This context should be the focal point in a dictionary of PFFs. Another example of a record of idioms is *Excuse my French!* by Best and Van Waes (2013). Although it was never intended as an academic study, the book is well-structured for the purpose of recording PFFs. Chapters are divided according to a situation-specific context, for example chapter one looks at idioms used to describe people, while chapter five looks at those related to expressing opinions and chapter nine looks at those related to food and drink (Best and Van Waes 2013). Each chapter describes the meanings of a number of idioms further, with some reference to etymology (Best and Van Waes 2013). An index is provided at the end of the book with a list of all of the idioms in alphabetical order (Best and Van Waes 2013: 202–207). How-

ever, the index only provides the English idioms, as the book is intended for English speakers to find equivalents of English idioms in French (Best and Van Waes 2013: 202–207). In this book, the *tertium comparationis* is clearly the meaning; idioms are provided in English with an equivalent French idiom and an explanation of why they are semantically similar or identical. Thus, this cannot be described as a record of false friends, but it nevertheless provides a framework that could be used to construct an effective dictionary of PFFs.

4. Approaches to Phraseological False Friends

When we study PFFs, we want to understand what these utterances mean to the societies that use them. Colson argues the importance of an insight into culture in phraseological studies, claiming that culture and phraseology are closely linked and that this link "is best revealed by proverbs and fully idiomatic set phrases, because they tend to rely heavily on images, traditions or habits that are characteristic of a given culture" (2008: 193). An understanding of this link can be developed through an etymological analysis and an emic approach. Etymological analysis is a traditionally-used method of developing an understanding of phrases through an insight into their origins and the historical context in which they were created (Marzan and Chahardahcherik 2015). Less commonly spoken of in phraseology is the emic approach, which takes a subjective view of the current uses of phrases by native speakers. Reesink argues the need for understanding the meanings of words and syntactic constructions within their own system of language, stating that "glosses of words or morphemes, as well as the free translations of complete utterances they are part of, are indispensible in descriptive grammars, but they can easily obscure the genius of the language described" (2008: 867). Together, an etymological analysis and an emic approach to gathering information can provide a comprehensive understanding of the context of language use. For language learners to acquire an understanding of PFFs, they must first understand the context in which each phrase exists, because the context is the key to understanding the localised meanings behind the text. Dictionaries and databases that are developed as language learning tools should reflect the importance of context in language learning throughout their structure. Thus, a context-based structure in which each entry has an etymologically and emically informed description would be most effective.

4.1. Etymological Analysis

In 1786 Sir William Jones suggested that Greek, Latin and Sanskrit had a common root in a language family that was later referred to as Indo-European (Patil 2003: 249). Although he was not the first to suggest this notion, his announcement is considered to have marked the beginning of the branch of linguistics called "etymology" (Auroux 2000: 1156; Marzan and Chahardahcherik 2015: 25). Etymology looks at the origin of words, and more recently of phrases, and how they have developed and changed over time. While some overlaps in form may occur simply by chance, the many languages of the world appear to have many connections and correspondences, and if we can trace texts back to their origins, we can locate several divergences from a common root (Marzan and Chahardahcherik 2015: 25). Marzan and Chahardahcherik argue that "some languages show correspondences of form that cannot be because of chance convergences" (2015: 22). Their argument that lexical and syntactic overlap can be traced back to a single language, Proto-Indo-European, gives rise to the question of cultural influence on the divergence of language to create false equivalence. Phraseological units, particularly idioms and proverbs, are frequently traced back to folk etymology, which is specific to a particular culture, meaning that the images conjured by the phrases "trigger certain associations in native speakers" (Vrbinc 2010: 1242). This is where etymological and emic methodologies go hand-in-hand; while an etymological analysis looks at the history of a phrase, situated within its cultural past, an emic approach looks at the contemporary use of the phrase, situated within its current cultural context. Thus, the etymological analysis is the precursor to the emic approach. When PFFs are identified, an understanding of the cultural history, through a folk etymology analysis, can give an insight into the reasons behind semantic divergence, paving the way for an emic approach to the understanding of the contemporary context of the phrase.

4.2. Emic Methodologies

An emic approach to the study of the context of a given text allows us to better understand the meanings behind the text. In the case of PFFs, which are made up of phrases that are deeply enshrined in cultural context, this approach means we can better understand where they come from and why they are culturally significant. The term "emic", along with its counterpart, "etic", was developed by the linguist and anthropologist, Kenneth Pike (1967). Derived from the suffixes of the words "phonemic" and

"phonetic", the two terms represent two different perspectives. The word "phonetic" refers to an outsider's perspective of a language, exemplified in the International Phonetic Alphabet, which allows speakers of any language to record and analyse the sounds of another without being a native speaker. The term "phonemic", on the other hand, refers to the native speakers' representation of that sound from an insider's perspective. For instance, the initial sound in the English word "shoe" is represented by the phonetic symbol [ʃ], or the phoneme /sh/. While each language has its own set of phonemes to represent the units of sound that make up its lexicon, the phonetic representation of these units of sound were developed by an outsider in the attempt to transcribe language using a system that allows comparisons to be drawn with other languages. The emic perspective is therefore an outsider's attempt to accurately reproduce the perceptions of an insider, while the etic perspective is an outsider's attempt to compare, contrast and systematise information about the insider (McCutcheon 1999). In short, the emic approach is subjective, while the etic approach is objective. While each of these approaches has its place in particular areas of study, they work best together, where an emic approach is used to gather information and develop an understanding of the subject, and an etic approach is used to organise the information, for example in the form of a dictionary or database. One key reason that Pike's distinction between emic and etic is so valuable is that we, as researchers, remain constantly aware of the bias that our understanding of our own language puts on our analysis of other languages (Reesink 2008: 867). We need to be careful and well-informed when we choose which glosses to use in translations. An emic approach to gathering this information can help us to more accurately record and describe phrases.

To study PFFs emically is to look at the context of utterances from the perspective of a native speaker. Methodologies for gathering data using an emic approach include surveys and interviews, or any other method that focuses on the perspective of the native speaker. Benish-Weisman and Horenczyk used surveys in their emic study of cultural identity and perceived success amongst Israeli immigrants in Russia (2010). They argued that taking an emic approach provided a richer understanding of participants' experiences (2010: 518). If we apply the same concept to phraseology, we can see a link between the experiences of a culture and the use of a particular expression. Culture provides a context in which the expression is used to communicate a specific meaning that is relevant to that culture. Therefore, directly consulting a native speaker leads to a deeper understanding of the phrase in question, as it is currently used in its relevant cultural context.

While the focus of this study is on the emic approach to gathering information, it is also important to outline the uses of an etic approach. The main advantage of taking both an insider and an outsider approach is that the researcher is presented with two perspectives: a subjective perspective through the eyes of one who is experiencing a phenomenon first-hand and an objective perspective through the eyes of one who is able to take a step back and observe from a contrastive viewpoint. This allows each language to be observed as its own unique phenomenon, while also allowing for cross-linguistic comparison of specific constructions (Reesink 2008: 869). The most effective way to use an emic-etic approach is to gather information with an emic perspective and analyse or systematise it with an etic perspective. While an emic approach is effective for understanding language as it is understood by a native speaker, bilingual dictionaries of false friends are created with an outsider's perspective to cater to outsiders, for example language learners, using a descriptive format.

4.3. Contextualising Phraseological False Friends

In order to share the contextualised concepts behind the PFFs with language learners, dictionaries should be systematised according to their context. This allows language learners to gain a stronger understanding of the context in which the phrases are used, so that they can learn to use them appropriately and distinguish more easily between L1 and L2/L3 phrases. For this concept to work effectively, dictionaries and databases used to record PFFs as a resource for language learners should have the following: 1) a context-centred structure; 2) an index in each language, sorted by alphabetical order; 3) an etymological explanation to describe the origin of the phrase; 4) an explanation of the type of PFF according to its structure, as outlined by Szerszunowicz (2006: 1056–1059); and 5) an emically-informed description.

While *Excuse my French!* admits to being "neither a grammar study nor a serious dictionary", and contains idioms which do not adhere to the *tertium comparationis* of PFFs, it is well-structured in the sense that it is sorted according to situation-specific contexts and contains an index in alphabetical order (Best and Van Waes 2013: 7). Sorting the phrases according to context gives the reader an understanding of the situation in which the use of each idiom is appropriate. However, an alphabetised index in each language is important for cases where the phrase is unknown. After looking up a phrase in the index, the language learner is directed to the context-specific section for an explanation of the phrase and thus, will visualise the phrase in its

relevant context. Unlike traditional alphabetised dictionaries this structure allows language learners to look up phrases according to their contexts for use in real-life situations, which serves as a practical language learning tool, as well as an academic reference tool. In this way, the dictionary would function much like a phrasebook, as well as a dictionary.

The structure of each entry is equally important to the structure of the dictionary or database as a whole. Each entry should contain an etymological explanation of the phrase and its false equivalent, so that it is known to the reader if it is a chance false friend or a semantically divergent one. There should also be an explanation of the type of false friend, as outlined by Szerszunowicz's seven categories of pseudo-equivalents (2006: 1056–1059) mentioned in section two of this chapter. This would prevent the addition of any idioms whose equivalence exists outside their form, as in the case of Szpila's findings in his study of dictionaries (2005: 83) mentioned in section three of this chapter. Finally, each entry requires a detailed explanation of the contemporary use of the phrase, informed through the emic approach to gathering information. This structure provides important information required for language learners to develop a comprehensive understanding of PFFs and their uses.

5. Conclusion

Each language has its own inventory of lexical and phraseological utterances with which to communicate. This inventory is defined by the cultural context in which its texts were created. The phenomenon of phraseological false friends in the field of phraseology should be analysed through the application of an emic approach, in order to gain an insight into this cultural context and to pass this insight on to language learners. Dictionaries and databases of PFFs should be structured with context as their main focal point, sorted by situation-specific contexts with an alphabetised index for reference. Structuring a dictionary or database on PFFs according to the context of each phrase improves the practical usage of these language learning tools as a phrasebook, as well as a dictionary. Each entry in the dictionary or database should include an etymological explanation to describe the origin of the phrase, an explanation of the type of PFF according to its structure, and an emically-informed description to provide a comprehensive record of PFFs to language learners. Contextual information gives language learners an insight into language as it is experienced by a native speaker. Moreover, it aids the development of cross-cultural understandings and improves learn-

ers' metaphorical competence by allowing them to visualise phrases within their cultural context, as a native speaker would.

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Badanie proporcji emicznych: kontekstualizowanie frazeologicznych fałszywych przyjaciół

Streszczenie

W obrębie frazeologii prowadzone są rozmaite badania poświęcone strukturze związków frazeologicznych i ich zastosowaniom. Stałe połączenia wyrazowe występujące w języku są nośnikami znaczeń kulturowych, które są odtwarzane w danym kontekście kulturowym. Wśród związków frazeologicznych – podobnie jak w przypadku wyrazów – występują również jednostki wykazujące znaczne podobieństwa leksykalno-składniowe, ale różniące się znaczeniem. Noszą one nazwę fałszywych przyjaciół tłumacza. Takie połączenia wyrazowe są powiązane z kontekstem, w którym powstają. Celem artykułu jest omówienie znaczenia relacji między tekstem

i kontekstem w badaniach nad frazeologicznymi fałszywymi przyjaciółmi z wykorzystaniem podejścia emicznego. Przeprowadzona analiza pokazuje, że przy opracowywaniu słowników fałszywych przyjaciół istnieje konieczność uwzględniania kontekstu. Badanie tych jednostek, wykazujących pozorne podobieństwo, ma implikacje dla analiz kontrastywnych, twórców programów nauczania, nauczycieli języków obcych, filologów, teoretyków przekładu, tłumaczy oraz frazeografów i frazeologów.

Munzhedzi James Mafela
University of South Africa
South Africa

On the Phraseology of Tshivenḓa Idioms

Abstract. Languages all over the world are characterised by idiomatic phrases. In the African languages idiomatic phrases are popular and used in daily communication. Although idiomatic phrases are regarded as fixed expressions in many instances, their basic structure differs from that of their structure in a communicative situation. In a communicative situation the structure of the idiom is guided by context, whereas many of the idiomatic phrases have a basic structure which is common to all. The structure of an idiomatic phrase is focused on a verb stem because an idiom is concerned with action. In a communicative situation the structure can change through the omission of the infinitive of the verb *U*, the addition of additives of the verb stem, and additions of aspects such as adverbs and possessives in Tshivenḓa. The purpose of the discussion is to demonstrate that the structure of idiomatic phrases in African languages, with particular reference to Tshivenḓa, does change when used in context. The discussion will further reflect the impact of these changes on the meaning of the idiomatic phrases. Examples from Tshivenḓa will be used to illustrate the discussion.

Key words: *African languages, compositional idiom, idiomatic phrases, fixed expressions, verb stem*

1. Introduction

Languages all over the world are characterised by idiomatic expressions which come in different forms. Jackendorf (1995) and Moon (1998), cited by Fellbaum, Geyken, Herold, Koerner and Neumann (2006: 349) state that idioms are frequent enough to qualify as a significant part of the language. Cacciari (1993: 27) notes that:

> Idiomatic expressions belong to the vast family of fixed phrases, clichés, proverbs, indirect speech acts, speech formulas, and so forth, that share some degree of conventionalization of meaning yet at the same time differs in semantic as well as syntactic properties.

Idiomatic expressions can only be expressed by people who are competent in the native language. A person not familiar with the genius of the language or with its usage cannot gather the meanings of the expressions from their component elements (Ntsanwisi 1980: 3). Johnson-Laird (1993: vii) states: "Idioms are transparent to native speakers, but a course of perplexity to those who are acquiring a second language." People are not considered competent speakers of a language until they can master the various clichés and idiomatic expressions that are ubiquitous in everyday discourse (Gibbs 1995: 97). Fromkin and Rodman (1998: 189) state:

> Knowing a language includes knowing the morphemes, simple words, compound words, and their meanings. In addition it means knowing fixed phrases, consisting of more than one word, with meanings that cannot be inferred from the meanings of the individual words.

Lack of knowledge about idiomatic phrases of a foreign language creates a communication gap. It is this gap that needs to be bridged by making it possible for those who are keen to learn, to study idiomatic expressions of languages other than their own (Neluvhalani 1987: preface).

Idiomatic expressions, mostly idioms and proverbs, are regarded highly in African languages in general, and Tshivenḓa in particular, because they are used on a daily basis in a communication situation. Like in other languages, idioms add effect to both the spoken and written forms of Tshivenḓa; some of them originate from the ritual life of Vhavenḓa (Ntsanwisi 1980). Ntsanwisi (1980) further states that idioms are connected with aspects of life with which human beings are confronted in their everyday existence. They comment on the people and animals, including the physical world around them. Kwasniak (2006: 478) notes: "Phraseological research often regards sentential idioms as phenomena of the spoken language because many constitute formulae expressing encouragement, admiration, reprimand, anger or curses that are generally considered colloquialisms." As a result, idioms have a lot to tell about the life of the Vhavenḓa. They are used in all situations by both young and adults. They are used in ordinary conversations among ordinary citizens and even in traditional courts when judgements are made.

Idioms are fixed or semi-fixed expressions with meanings that cannot be distributed over their parts (Ishida 2011: 101). Szerszunowisz (2014: 2) adds:

> ... the term idiom can be used in a broad meaning, encompassing all kinds of fixed expressions, and a narrow one, in which idioms are units of figurative character, the meanings of which are not equal to the sums of the meanings of their constituents.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the structure of idiomatic phrases in African languages, and Tshivenḓa in particular, when used in different contexts. The discussion will further comment on the effect of the changing structure on the meaning of the idiom. Therefore the syntactic structure and the meaning of the idiom will form the basis of the discussion. Tshivenḓa examples will be used to illustrate the arguments.

2. The syntax of idiomatic phrases

The structure of an idiomatic phrase in a communicative situation differs from that of its basic structure. Whereas the structure of idiomatic phrases is guided by context in a communicative situation, the basic structure of idiomatic phrases in Tshivenḓa is common to all. The structure of an idiomatic phrase is focused on a verb stem because an idiom is concerned with action. Although idioms are said to be fixed expressions, they assume different structures in various contexts. Guma (1977: 68) states:

> In their basic form, idioms are based on the infinitive of a particular verb stem, which is the key-word in the whole construction. This verb stem may appear in its simple form or in one or other of its derivative forms.

Most idioms are not absolutely fixed but flexible to some extent (Dobrovol'skij, 2005). The discussion in the sub-headings below will focus on the basic form and the modified forms of the idiom in Tshivenḓa.

2.1. The basic form

Idioms in African languages, and Tshivenḓa idioms in particular, are centred on the verb stem. These idioms are not a one word phrase because they are complex in that they consist of more than one word; in some other sense they are units (Evaraert, Van den Linde, Schenk and Schreuder 1995: 3). Most of Tshivenḓa idioms follow a regular syntactic pattern, which herewith is referred to as the basic form. The basic form of an idiom in Tshivenḓa consists of the **infinitive of the verb *U***, the **verb stem** and the **object** as indicated below.

(1) ***U bika matope*** – *U ṱapanyedza zwithu lwa u tshinya* (To cook mud – To make a lot of mistakes) (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 14)

(2) ***U bwa fhasi*** – *U hana u pfa* (To dig the ground – To refuse without any compromise) (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 22)

(3) ***U humbela zwaṋḓa*** – *U ṱoḓa thuso* (To ask for hands – To ask for help) (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 64)

The three idioms above consist of more than one word each, which generally represents the **infinitive of the verb *U***, the **verb stem** and the **object**. For example, the idiomatic phrase ***U humbela zwaṋḓa*** starts with the infinitive of the verb ***U*** (to), which is followed by the verb stem **humbela** (ask), and ends with an object **zwaṋḓa** (hands). Almost all the idioms in Tshivenḓa, except for a few, follow this pattern of the arrangement of words in their basic form. The exceptions are idioms such as the following:

(4) ***Mativha o xa*** – *Khosi yo dzama* (The pools are dry – The chief or king is dead) (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 191)

(5) ***Mushumo u shavha zwaṋḓa*** – *Mushumo u fhela nga u shumiwa*. (Work runs away from hands – People who work make progress) (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 193)

(6) ***A i dzwaleli nzhini*** – *Mafhungo a ndeme ha ambiwi vhathuni* (It does not give birth where there are many cattle – A secret cannot be divulged in a crowd)

The above-mentioned idioms do not follow the normal arrangement of words which start with the **infinitive of the verb *U***, followed by the **verb stem** and the **object**. ***Mativha o xa*** does not make use of the infinitive of the verb ***U*** because in its place there is the subject **mativha** (pools). Although the verb stem is the centre of the idiomatic phrase, there is no object after it. The use of infinitive of the verb ***U*** in this idiom can render the idiom ungrammatical and meaningless. The idiom will only be meaningful if the verb stem **-xa** (dry) collocates with the subject **mativha**. This idiom ***mativha o xa*** is fixed, it cannot be modified. The same applies to the idiom ***mushumo u shavha zwaṋḓa***. It cannot be modified or its parts be omitted. Without the use of the subject **mushumo**, the phrase **u shavha zwaṋḓa** will not have the same meaning as that of the idiom ***mushumo u shavha zwaṋḓa***. ***U shavha zwaṋḓa*** is no more figurative, and therefore not an idiom. The phrase ***u shavha zwaṋḓa*** cannot be an idiom if it does not collocate with the subject **mushumo**. The pattern of the arrangement of words in the idiom ***A i dzwaleli nzhini*** is also fixed. Modifying the parts of this idiom will result in a phrase which is not an idiom. It remains an idiom if it retains the same structure, and the same pattern of the arrangement of words.

Idioms which do not follow the pattern of the arrangement of words of the infinitive of the verb ***U***, the verb stem, and the object are fixed expressions; they cannot be modified or their parts omitted. However, there is a small number of such idioms in Tshivenḓa. In this regard Abeillé (1995: 17) states: "It has been noticed that idiomatic expressions are much less exceptional syntactically than they are semantically." The low number of idioms which are less exceptional syntactically is not restricted to Tshivenḓa but also realised in other languages of the world.

2.2. The modified form

The use of idiomatic phrases is part and parcel of communication in African languages. However, when idiomatic phrases are used in a communication situation, be it in writing or spoken, they change the structure through the omission of the **infinitive of the verb *U***, sometimes with addition of derivatives of the **verb stem**. Abeillé (1995: 16) cites Nunberg (1978), Wasow, Sag, and Nunberg (1983) and Ruwet (1983) who argue that:

- Parts of idioms can be modified, either by adjectives or by relative clauses, and the consequent semantic modification may be local.
- Parts of idioms can be quantified, with a possible local interpretation as well.
- Parts of idioms may be emphasised through topicalisation.
- Parts of idioms can be omitted in elliptical constructions.

Many idiomatic phrases in Tshivenḓa can be modified by the addition of derivatives of the verb stem. When used in context, the following idiom could be a good example of this assertion:

(7) ***U fara ludongo nga hu fhisaho*** (To hold the earthenware on the side which is hot) (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 38)

When the idiom ***U fara ludongo nga hu fhisaho*** (To hold the earthenware on the side which is hot) is used in context it can read as follows: *Vho mu **farisa ludongo nga hu fhisaho*** (They made him hold the earthenware on the side which is hot). **U fara ludongo nga hu fhisaho** means *to suffer, mainly from ill-treatment*. In ***Vho mu farisa ludongo nga hu fhisaho***, the infinitive of the verb *U* has been omitted, and the derivative *-farisa* has been added. *Farisa* has been derived from the verb stem *-fara*. **U fara ludongo nga hu fhisaho** simply means that one is suffering. It is a general statement which could also mean that one is suffering from different causes; it might be from ill-treatment or from any other natural cause of ill-treatment. However, the meaning of ***Vho***

mu farisa ludongo nga hu fhisaho is specific because it means *one is made to suffer by other people*. *Vho* refers to people. However, the general meaning remains the same.

Another example of an idiomatic phrase to illustrate the addition of derivatives of the verb stem is ***U bva dzimamuḓi*** (To go away from home, especially when one is ill), meaning *to recuperate elsewhere, i.e. away from home*). Used in context, one can say *Musi vhulwadze vhu tshi vhonala u nana,* ***o mbo ḓi bviswa dzimamuḓi*** (When it was realised that he or she was too ill, he or she was taken away from home). The derivative *-bviswa*, derived from the verb stem *-bva*, has been added to the idiomatic phrase. Although the basic meaning of the idiom remains the same, that is, going away from home, with the use of the extended verb stem *-bviswa* the emphasis of the meaning is that of being taken away from home by others, instead of going away to recuperate elsewhere voluntarily.

Sometimes, when an idiom is used in context it can be modified by adding aspects such as possessives. The idiom ***U ḽa tsha biko*** (To eat that of sweat) which means *to eat what one has worked for*, can be used as follows in context: Marubini *u ḓo* ***ḽa tsha biko ḽawe*** (Marubini will eat that of his or her sweat), meaning *Marubini will eat what he has worked for*. The infinitive of the verb *U* has been omitted, and in its place there is a personal name Marubini. The possessive **ḽawe** (his or her) has been added to refer to Marubini. The addition of the possessive **ḽawe** does not change the meaning of the idiom, but refers specifically to the subject Marubini. The meaning of the basic idiom ***U ḽa tsha biko*** is general.

3. The semantics of idiomatic phrases

Idiomatic expressions in African languages carry important information for the community concerned. Besides the fact that idioms enrich the language, they encourage, teach moral values, and educate members of the community. This means that idiomatic phrases have significance in the life of community members; they are not uttered for the sake of saying them. Idiomatic phrases make use of the ordinary language, but in a figurative way to convey the message. Therefore, the meaning of an idiomatic phrase is not literal, but figurative. They cannot be explained grammatically because they mean something different from the literal meanings. This means that idioms are not supposed to be interpreted literally, but figuratively. Cacciari and Glucksberg (1995) assume that when people encounter idioms in discourse, two kinds of meanings are available: the specific meaning assigned

to the idiomatic expression, and the meaning(s) of the linguistic constituents. In this regard, idiomatic phrases are expressions that mean something other than their constituent words or phrases (Glucksberg, 1993: 7).

In African languages, and Tshivenḓa in particular, many idiomatic phrases are non-compositional, i.e. their meaning is assigned to the verb phrase as a whole. Their meanings do not depend on the meanings of their individual parts. Gibbs (1995: 98) expressed this as follows:

> At the same time, idiomatic phrases are traditionally seen as being distinct from ordinary literal language because they are non-compositional in that their conventional interpretations are not functions of the meanings of their individual parts.

Idioms can therefore be defined as expressions the meaning of which is not a function of the meanings of the parts (Everaert, Van den Linden, Schenk, & Schreuder, 1995).

The Tshivenḓa idiomatic phrase ***U luma muthu nḓevhe*** (To bite one's ear), meaning *to tell a person sensitive information* is non-compositional. The meaning of this idiomatic phrase is assigned to the verb phrase as a whole. *U luma muthu* and *nḓevhe*, as individual parts cannot provide us with the meaning of the idiomatic phrase. The English equivalent of *U luma muthu* is *to bite a person*, and that of *nḓevhe* is *ear*. *U luma muthu* (to bite a person) does not come nearer to the meaning of the idiomatic phrase, which is *to tell a person sensitive information*. However, *nḓevhe* has the quality of hearing. Information told gets into the listener through listening with an ear. This means that one part of the idiomatic phrase reveals part of the meaning of the idiomatic phrase. The other part, *u luma muthu*, does not have any relation with *to tell a person*. Therefore, the meaning of the idiomatic expression ***U luma muthu nḓevhe*** cannot be fully assigned to individual parts.

The same holds for the idiomatic phrase ***Mativha o xa*** (*The pools are dry*), meaning *the chief or king is dead*. All parts of this idiomatic phrase cannot provide its meaning individually. The meaning is assigned to the idiomatic expression as a whole. *Mativha* is *pools*, and *xa* is *become dry*. *Mativha* does not have any relation to *chief or king*, likewise *-xa* does not have relation to *die*. However, *xa* and 'die' have something in common, which is *stop to exist*. Whereas *mativha* is associated with *chief or king*, *-xa* is associated with *die*. Therefore, when one interprets the idiomatic phrase figuratively one will only notice the association of both *mativha* (pools) and *chief or king*, and *-xa* (become dry) and *die* as individual parts; which does not provide the meaning of the whole idiomatic phrase. The figurative meaning can only be realised when the idiomatic phrase is interpreted as a whole.

At the same time Tshivenḓa has idiomatic expressions which are compositional, i.e. their meaning is distributed over the parts, and these parts may retain their idiomatic meaning outside the idiom (Abeillé 1995: 23). According to Gluckberg (1993: 17), idioms which are compositional display a one-to-one semantic relation between the idiom's words and components of the idiom's meaning. The idiomatic phrase below can shed some light regarding idioms which are compositional in Tshivenḓa.

(8) ***U dzhena maḓini*** (To get into the water) To take a bath. (Ṋeluvhalani 1987: 29)

The idiomatic phrase ***U dzhena maḓini*** has three different parts, that is, the **infinitive of the verb *U***, the verb stem -**dzhena**, and the object **maḓini**. The English equivalent of -*dzhena* is *get into*, and that of *maḓini* is *water*. When a person bathes, he or she uses water, of which the container is the bath. There is one-to-one semantic relation between the parts of the idiomatic phrase and the meaning thereof. The literal meaning of the idiom can be constructed compositionally, that is, it can be composed from the meanings of parts according to the syntactic relations among them (Johnson-Laird 1993: vii). *Dzhena maḓini* (get into the water) means *get into the bath*, which means *to take a bath*. The parts -*dzhena* and *maḓini* can retain their meanings even outside the idiomatic phrase. The interpretation of the idiom *u dzhena maḓini* is literal.

We have seen that some idiomatic phrases can be modified by the addition of derivatives of the verb stem and still retain the basic meaning. What happens to the interpretation of an idiomatic phrase when its parts are substituted or omitted? Parts of the idiomatic phrase have got meaning, although the meaning may not be related to the meaning of the phrase. Johnson-Laird (1993: viii) asserts:

> Words have meanings; each syntactic rule in the grammar has a corresponding semantic principle. As the mental parser makes its way through a sentence it uses syntactic rule, it also uses the corresponding semantic principle to build up an interpretation of the sentence.

It shows that both the syntactic and the semantic aspects of a sentence are important in the interpretation of a sentence. It would be interesting to see how the substitution and omission of parts of an idiomatic phrase impact on the interpretation of the phrase. The sub-headings below will focus on the impact of the substitution and omission of parts of the idiomatic phrase on the interpretation of the phrase.

3.1. Substitution of parts

In some ordinary sentences in a language words can be substituted by their synonyms and retain the same meaning. Abeillé (1995: 16) mentions that some idiomatic expressions allow for certain substitutions of semantically related elements. However, with non-compositional idiomatic phrases in Tshivenḓa, the substitution of idiomatic parts is not possible. Some phrasal idioms seem odd when synonyms are substituted for the original words, and indeed may not even be recognised as idioms (Glucksberg, 1993: 7). Abeillé (1995: 15) maintains that the substitution of a synonym for an idiomatic part does not preserve the idiomatic meaning of the expression.

When a part, that is, *mativha* of the idiomatic phrase ***Mativha o xa*** (The pools have run dry) is substituted by the synonym *madamu* (dams/pools), the phrase will read ***Madamu o xa***. This phrase does not carry the weight similar to that which uses *mativha*. *Madamu* is a synonym borrowed from the English or Afrikaans word *dam*. This is perhaps the reason why it does not carry the same weight as that of *mativha*. When *madamu* is used, Vhavenḓa do not associate it with the figurative meaning of the idiomatic phrase ***Mativha o xa***, they take it literally. ***Mativha o xa***, figuratively means *The chief or King is dead*. *Mativha* here is associated with the chief or the King. We can further illustrate the above with the following idiomatic phrase:

(9) ***U ladza tsimu*** (To let the field sleep), meaning *to leave the field fallow*. (N̂eluvhalani 1987: 86)

The synonym of the verb stem *-ladza* is *-eḓedza*. When the verb stem *-ladza* (make sleep) is substituted by the verb stem *-eḓedza* (make sleep), the idiomatic phrase will read ***U eḓedza tsimu***. Although the verb stems *-ladza* and *-eḓedza* are synonyms, ***U ladza tsimu*** and ***U eḓedza tsimu*** do not have the same figurative meaning, *to leave the field fallow*. Whereas ***U ladza tsimu*** is assigned the figurative meaning *to leave the field fallow*, ***U eḓedza tsimu*** is associated with the literal meaning, *to let the field sleep*. The community does not associate ***U eḓedza tsimu*** with leaving the field fallow. From the two examples given above, it can be concluded that parts cannot be substituted in Tshivenḓa non-compositional idioms, whether it is a subject or a verb stem. The substitution of such parts does not reflect the figurative meaning of the idiomatic phrase.

The substitution of a part of an idiomatic phrase by its synonym can be possible in idiomatic phrases which are compositional. According to Gluckberg (1993), the more compositional an idiom, the more likely will it be avail-

able for variation of one type or another, but as we already have seen, compositionality alone is insufficient to constrain idiom use. In Tshivenḓa some of the parts in compositional idiomatic phrases can be substituted with their synonyms. Hereunder is an example of the substitution of parts of idiomatic phrases with another word.

(10) ***U ṱusa ḓora*** (To remove thirst), meaning *to quench thirst*

(11) ***U dzimula ḓora*** (To remove thirst), meaning *to quench thirst* (Ṋeluvhalani, 1987: 24)

Both idiomatic phrases ***U ṱusa ḓora*** and ***U dzimula ḓora*** figuratively mean *to quench thirst*. The verb stems *-ṱusa* and *-dzimula* mean remove in this sense. Whereas the literal meanings of the verb stem *-dzimula* are *eliminate*, *reduce*, those of *-ṱusa* are *eliminate, cut out, reduce*. The meanings of the two verb stems are related. The figurative meaning of the two phrases is *to quench thirst*. From the two idiomatic expressions discussed above, we can see that the two verb stems can substitute each other in one idiomatic phrase, and still have the same meaning.

The synonym for the verb stem *-ṱusa* is *-bvisa*. According to Wentzel and Muloiwa (1982: 10) the equivalents of *-bvisa* are *take/cut out*; *produce*; *eliminate*; *remove*. The authors further provide the equivalents of *-ṱusa* as *eliminate*, *cut out*; *subtract*, *deduct*. However, these two verb stems are synonyms and are normally used interchangeably by the community. One can substitute the other without affecting the meaning of the phrase. In a communication situation, people can use the two verb stems interchangeably in the idiomatic phrase ***U ṱusa ḓora***. People can say ***U ṱusa ḓora*** (*To remove thirst*) or ***U bvisa ḓora*** (*To remove thirst*) and understand one another very well. As indicated above, both ***U ṱusa ḓora*** and ***U bvisa ḓora*** are interpreted figuratively to mean *to quench thirst*.

The substitution of synonyms in Tshivenḓa idiomatic phrases can only take place in compositional idioms. However, Tshivenḓa is characterised by very few idiomatic phrases which are compositional. Glucksberg (1993) states that the more compositional an idiom, the more likely will it be available for variation of one type or another. Therefore one can conclude that there are few idioms in Tshivenḓa which allow the substitution of parts by their synonyms.

3.2. Omission of parts

It has been indicated above that the interpretation of an idiomatic expression depends on the idiom as a whole. Although the interpretation of

parts of the idiomatic phrase can provide independent literal meanings, these meanings do not provide the figurative meaning of the idiomatic phrase, whether they are compositional or non-compositional. However, the omission of parts of idioms will affect the interpretation of the idiomatic expression. The Tshivenḓa idiomatic phrase below can shed some light in this regard.

(12) ***U fara ludongo nga hu fhisaho***. (To hold the earthenware on the side which is hot) meaning *to suffer, mainly from ill-treatment.*

This idiomatic phrase is made up of four parts, i.e. the infinitive of the verb *U*, the verb stem *-fara*, the object *ludongo* and the adverb *nga hu fhisaho*. All these parts have got different literal meanings. Their combined meanings produce the figurative meaning of the idiomatic phrase. In the idiomatic phrase above, the infinitive of the verb *U* can be omitted when the phrase is used in context, and the idiom will not lose its figurative meaning. In context the idiom can be used as follows: *Vho mu **farisa ludongo nga hu fhisaho*** (They made him or her hold the earthenware on the side which is hot). The infinitive of the verb *U* has been omitted, but the idiom stays, and its meaning stays the same, which is *they made him to suffer*. In Tshivenḓa, and some other African languages, all idioms which start with the infinitive of the verb *U*, when used in context, the infinitive of the verb can be omitted and the idiomatic phrases retain the same meaning.

This is not the case with the other parts of the idiomatic expression; when they are omitted the figurative meaning of the idiomatic phrase is affected. If the verb stem *-farisa* in the idiomatic phrase given above is omitted the whole meaning of the phrase is lost. The verb stem *-farisa* carries the action of the whole idiomatic phrase. Without the action the idiomatic phrase is meaningless. The same applies to the omission of the object *ludongo* and the adverb *nga hu fhisaho*; if each is omitted the meaning of the idiomatic phrase, which is *making him to suffer*, is lost. Although the basic structure of the idiomatic phrase is made up of the infinitive of the verb *U*, the verb stem and the object; in the example given above *U fara ludongo* would be meaningless without the use of the adverb *nga hu fhisaho. Nga hu fhisaho* carries the message of *suffering*. The meaning of the whole idiomatic phrase is about suffering. With the omission of the adverb *nga hu fhisaho* the element of suffering will be removed. Therefore aspects such as adverbs are important in the interpretation of some of the Tshivenḓa idiomatic phrases.

4. Conclusion

Idiomatic phrases are regarded as fixed expressions in many languages of the world, including African languages. The discussion in this article has demonstrated that many idiomatic phrases are not fixed expressions in African languages, because the basic forms can be modified when used in context. In other instances, when modification takes place the meaning of the idiomatic expression is affected, whereas in others the meaning stays the same. The analysis of Tshivenḓa idiomatic phrases has revealed that the structure of an idiomatic phrase can be modified through the omission of the infinitive prefix of the verb, substitution of synonymous words, addition of additives of the verb stem and addition of aspects such as adverbs and possessives. The discussion has confirmed that the basic form of an idiomatic phrase in some of the African languages consists of the infinitive of the verb *U*, the verb stem and the object. However, there are few idiomatic phrases which do not make use of the infinitive of the verb *U*. In many instances idiomatic phrases which do not follow the normal arrangement of words are fixed, they cannot be modified or their parts omitted. The discussion further revealed that in Tshivenḓa idiomatic phrases are generally non-compositional, that is, their meaning is assigned to the verb phrase as a whole. Their meanings do not depend on the meanings of their individual parts. Omitting one part of the idiom affects the meaning of the idiomatic expression. The same applies to the substitution of parts of the idiom. Therefore, the omission and substitution of parts is not possible in non-compositional idiomatic phrases in Tshivenḓa. Parts of idioms do not preserve the idiomatic meaning of the expression. At the same time, few idiomatic phrases which are compositional do exist in Tshivenḓa, and their meanings are distributed over the parts, which also retain their meanings outside the idiom. Substitution of synonymous words is possible in idiomatic phrases which are compositional; but they are very few. This substitution can be carried out without changing the meaning of the idiomatic phrase.

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O idiomach w języku tshivenḓa

Streszczenie

We wszystkich językach świata występują idiomatyczne połączenia wyrazowe. Jednostki należące do tej grupy są popularne w językach afrykańskich i używa się ich w codziennej komunikacji. Chociaż idiomatyczne wyrażenia uważa się za stałe połączenia wyrazowe, ich struktura w danym kontekście może ulec zmianie w porównaniu do postaci kanonicznej danych idiomów. W określonej sytuacji komunikacyjnej kontekst wpływa na postać jednostki, przy czym wiele związków ma wspólną strukturę. Głównym jej komponentem jest rdzeń czasownikowy, co wynika z faktu, że idiomy te opisują czynności. W sytuacji komunikacyjnej struktura może ulec zmianie w wyniku opuszczenia końcówki bezokolicznika *U*, dodania elementów do rdzenia czasownikowego i dodania takich elementów jak przysłówki i określenia dzierżawcze używane w języka tshivenḓa. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie zmienności struktury wyrażeń idiomatycznych w konkretnych użyciach, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem języka tshivenḓa. Analizie poddano również wpływ tych zmian na semantykę idiomów na przykładzie stałych połączeń wyrazowych języka tshivenḓa.

Ewa Młynarczyk
Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny w Krakowie
Polska

Nazwy narzędzi jako podstawa metonimicznego obrazowania w przysłowiach i w swobodnych połączeniach wyrazowych

Abstrakt. Artykuł jest poświęcony relacjom semantycznym obserwowanym w rozmaitych językowych użyciach rzeczowników nazywających narzędzia. Są one podstawą metonimicznego obrazowania, w którym zastępują na zasadzie styczności pewne obszary ludzkich doświadczeń. Głęboko utrwalona w języku relacja metonimiczna NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ jest rozwijana w bardziej złożonych schematach wyobrażeniowych, w których narzędzie zastępuje pracę, zawód, a nawet stan społeczny. Relacje te są udokumentowane zarówno w przysłowiach, jak i w swobodnych połączeniach wyrazowych używanych w zróżnicowanych stylistycznie i tematycznie tekstach współczesnej polszczyzny.

Słowa kluczowe: *metonimia, nazwy narzędzi, przysłowia*

1. Wprowadzenie

Używanie narzędzi uznawane jest za niezwykle ważną umiejętność człowieka, wymaga bowiem złożonego symbolicznego myślenia. Większość zwykłych czynności domowych, jak i wyspecjalizowanych prac zawodowych wykonywana jest skutecznie jedynie za pomocą odpowiednio dobranego i właściwie użytego narzędzia. Z tego względu jest to sfera doświadczeń bardzo bliskich człowiekowi, która – jak wszystko co dla niego ważne i bliskie – znalazła odzwierciedlenie w strukturze pojęciowej języka. Badaniem tejże struktury w sposób szczególny zajmują się językoznawcy nurtu kognitywnego, którzy w centrum swoich zainteresowań umieścili semantykę, a podstawowym obiektem badań uczynili mechanizmy poznawania świata ujawniane w strukturach języka[1].

[1] W sposób syntetyczny główne założenia tego nurtu zostały omówione (w języku polskim)

Wyrażanie poprzez język pojęć-konceptów istniejących w naszej świadomości umożliwiają przede wszystkim mechanizmy metafory i metonimii, tkwiące u podstaw ludzkiego myślenia. Metafora łączy obiekty na zasadzie podobieństwa, jest to „pojmowanie jednej rzeczy w terminach innej, a jej podstawową funkcją jest zrozumienie. Metonimia natomiast pełni głównie funkcję desygnacyjną, co pozwala nam używać pewnego pojęcia tak, by zastąpiło inne" (Lakoff, Johnson 1988: 59)[2]. Pomiędzy tymi procesami istnieje kontinuum obejmujące różne pośrednie, mieszane przypadki. Teoretyczne ujęcia obu zjawisk przedstawiają m.in. prace *Metafora a metonimia – dwa dopełniające się sposoby opisu świata* Jolanty Maćkiewicz (2009) czy *Teorie metonimii – historia, dzień dzisiejszy, perspektywy* Bogusława Bierwiaczonka (2006). Relacja styczności jako podstawa obrazowania w przysłowiach polskich stała się przedmiotem bliższego oglądu Grzegorza Szpili (2005), który na wstępie swojego artykułu stwierdza: „Większość przysłów, a szczególności te, które zawierają w swej płaszczyźnie literalnej skonkretyzowany obraz, stanowi przykład typowej figury stylistycznej, której podstawą jest relacja styczności. Zawarta w paremii konkretna sytuacja w warstwie dosłownej jest elementem większej całości i równocześnie jej paremicznym reprezentantem" (Szpila 2005: 129).

W ujęciu neurolingwistycznym zwraca się uwagę na wszechobecność „metonimii jako procesu decydującego o semantycznych własnościach wyrażeń", co ma być konsekwencją tego, że jest ona „pojęciowym (a więc mentalnym) odpowiednikiem procesów neurologicznych centralnego układu nerwowego, które leżą u podstaw wszelkiej ludzkiej działalności poznawczej, w tym również działalności językowej" (Bierwiaczonek 2006: 238).

Obserwacja konkretnych przykładów daje możliwość analizy różnorakich tekstowych realizacji mechanizmów metafory i metonimii, co pozwala ukazać regularności w sposobach ujmowania i interpretacji świata oraz pokazuje modele wiedzy potocznej tkwiące w języku. Regularności te są szczególnie wyraźne, jeśli weźmie się pod uwagę jeden obszar konceptualizacji, czyli tzw. domenę pojęciową. Część prac za punkt wyjścia przyj-

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w pracach m.in. Romana Kalisza (2001), Elżbiety Tabakowskiej (2001, 2004), Renaty Przybylskiej (2002), a także innych badaczy tego nurtu publikujących m.in. w kolejnych tomach serii *Językoznawstwo kognitywne*.

[2] Przywołuję tu rozumienie metafory i metonimii przez autorów klasycznej już dzisiaj pracy *Metafory w naszym życiu* (Lakoff, Johnson 1988), zdając sobie sprawę z tego, że od czasu jej wydania powstało wiele prac nurtu kognitywnego podejmujących i twórczo rozwijających zagadnienia metaforycznego i metonimicznego ujmowania rzeczywistości (por. próba uporządkowania terminologii, m.in. Evans 2009). Sądzę, że dla naszych rozważań podstawowe, klasyczne rozróżnienie metafory i metonimii jest wystarczające.

muje domenę docelową, czyli obszar pojęć, które przedstawiamy za pomocą języka, np. *Konceptualizacja uczuć w języku polskim* Iwony Nowakowskiej-Kempny (1995), *Polska i francuska frazeologia śmierci* Anny Krzyżanowskiej (1999), *Polszczyzna o pamięci* Anny Pajdzińskiej (2012), *Metafory początku i końca* Anny Tyrpy (2000).

Inne prace za punkt wyjścia przyjmują domenę źródłową – tę, która niejako dostarcza materiału wyrazowego dla wyrażenia pewnych pojęć z innej dziedziny, np. *Środki płatnicze w polskich i słowackich schematach wyobrażeniowych* Bożeny Rejakowej (2004), *Wyrażenia metaforyczne motywowane czynnością spożywania pokarmów (w języku polskim i francuskim)* Anny Krzyżanowskiej (2003), *Związki frazeologiczne współczesnego języka polskiego motywowane sytuacją walki (zbrojnej)* Doroty Połowniak-Wawrzonek (2008), *Wrażenia zmysłowe jako podstawa metafor językowych* (1996) i *'Temperatura' jako domena źródłowa metafor pojęciowych* Anny Pajdzińskiej (2000).

2. Materiał

Wpisując się w drugi nurt badań, w niniejszym artykule chciałabym prześledzić prawidłowości w sposobie ujmowania pojęć za pomocą metonimii, dla których językowym materiałem stały się nazwy narzędzi. Interesują mnie semantyczne relacje odzwierciedlone w przenośnych użyciach wyrazów i połączeń wyrazowych. Chcąc wykazać trwałość i powtarzalność pewnych modeli semantycznych, wykorzystałam zróżnicowany materiał egzemplifikacyjny: z jednej strony rozmaite teksty współczesnej polszczyzny pochodzące bądź z Narodowego Korpusu Języka Polskiego (dalej skrót NKJP), bądź z bezpośredniej ekscerpcji tekstów informacyjnych i publicystycznych, z drugiej – ustabilizowane połączenia wyrazowe, frazeologizmy i przysłowia rejestrowane głównie w najobszerniejszym polskim zbiorze paremiograficznym o charakterze diachronicznym *Nowej księdze przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich*, pod redakcją Juliana Krzyżanowskiego[3] lub w innych słownikach[4].

[3] W dalszym ciągu artykułu będę posługiwać się skrótem NKP. Dokładną lokalizację wskazują: cyfra rzymska oznaczająca numer tomu i cyfra arabska wskazująca stronę.

[4] Opis bibliograficzny wraz ze skrótami znajduje się na końcu artykułu.

3. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ

Najbardziej wyrazistą relacją semantyczną leżącą u podstaw obrazowania przysłów z nazwami narzędzi jest relacja semantyczna NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ, będąca jedną z podstawowych rodzajów metonimii, umieszczonych m.in. w klasyfikacji N. Norricka w grupie CZYNNOŚCI – GŁÓWNI PARTYCYPANCI (Bierwiaczonek 2006: 231)[5]. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ oraz – szerzej – za PRACĘ wykonywaną za jego pomocą jest częstą podstawą obrazowania w przysłowiach, gdzie na przykład rozmaite zajęcia rolnicze są przedstawiane za pomocą odpowiednich narzędzi, najczęściej cepów (młócenie zboża), pługa (orka), kosy lub sierpu (koszenie), np. *Czyja kosa pierwsza, tego łąka szersza* (NKP II 147) ‘zyska ten, kto pierwszy zacznie kosić (zacznie pracować)’; *Sierp swój w cudze żniwo zapuścił* (NKP III 191) ‘zaczął kosić, żąć cudze zboże, naruszył czyjąś własność’. Relacje semantyczne są jednak zazwyczaj bardziej złożone, konkretne prace rolnicze mogą – także metonimicznie – oznaczać ogólnie PRACĘ ROLNIKA, np. *Za pługiem chleb znojny, ale zdrowy i spokojny* (NKP II 968) ‘praca rolnika jest ciężka, ale zapewnia zdrowie i dobrobyt’. W przysłowiu *Gdzie cepy obracają, tam się wszyscy dobrze mają* (NKP I 234) cepy oznaczają metonimicznie młockę, która jest z kolei znakiem plonów zbóż zapewniających dobrobyt.

Narzędzia mogą też oznaczać JAKĄKOLWIEK PRACĘ, ZAJĘCIE, np. *Śmiechy do kónta, a cepy z kónta* (NKP III 447) ‘weźcie się do roboty, przestańcie leniuchować’; *Jeden przy pługu, a siedmioro z łyżką* (NKP II 968) ‘jeden pracuje, a pozostali z tego korzystają’; *Nie potrzeba apteki, tylko rydla, motyki* (NKP I 25) ‘zamiast się leczyć, spróbuj pracować’.

Przedstawianie czynności za pomocą narzędzia służącego do jej wykonania jest obecne również w tekstach współczesnej polszczyzny. Wyrazistym tego przykładem jest połączenie słowne *pierwsza łopata*, używane często w tekstach publicystycznych jako informacja o rozpoczęciu budowy jakiegoś obiektu, zazwyczaj odnosi się ono również do rzeczywistego symbolicznego wbicia łopaty w ziemię przez przedstawiciela władzy, np.

> Supersam w Katowicach: **pierwsza łopata na budowie** galerii handlowej. (...) W czwartek na placu budowy wbito **pierwszą łopatę**, do końca roku przy ulicy Skargi powstanie wykop pod nową galerię handlową (*Dziennik Zachodni* 2013).

[5] B. Bierwiaczonek zwraca uwagę na fakt, że oparta na ogólnych zasadach semiotycznych typologia N. Norricka miała duży wpływ na późniejsze, szerzej znane koncepcje Z. Kövecsesa i G. Rraddena (Bierwiaczonek 2006: 231).

Pierwsza łopata na budowie węzła DK1 – al. Jana Pawła II. (...) Nowa świecka tradycja: prezydent miasta wręczył w czwartek symboliczną łopatę wykonawcy, by ten ją oddał – zużytą – za rok po zbudowaniu węzła (*Gazeta Częstochowa* 2013).

Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ występuje często w połączeniach z czasownikami *brać się za* (*pióro, dłuto* itp.); *złapać za* (*młotek, kielnię* itp.), *zamienić* coś *na* coś (*dłuto* na *pędzel* itp.). Zwroty te mają znaczenie ‘zacząć wykonywać jakąś czynność’:

Jacek Grabowski, który zajmuje się montażem okien od wielu lat, opowiada, że przy gwałtownym napływie zleceń właściciele firm zatrudniają robotników spod pośredniaka, a nawet sami **biorą się za dłuto, młotek i kielnię** (NKJP).

Szczególnie chętnie połączenia wyrazowe odnoszone są do zajęć artystycznych, wyraziście kojarzonych z jednym narzędziem, społecznie rozpoznawalnym atrybutem danej dziedziny, np.

Urok Tatr (...) sprawił, że choć byłem rzeźbiarzem z zamiłowania, zamieniłem **dłuto na pędzel**. W ciszy mogłem przeżywać i tworzyć (NKJP).

Długo interesowałem się rzeźbą, aż któregoś dnia postanowiłem **wziąć dłuto do ręki** (NKJP).

Nazwy narzędzi są również podstawą obrazowego ukazywania zdolności i predyspozycji zawodowych człowieka. np. zwrot *iść do łopaty* w znaczeniu ‘podejmować jakąkolwiek pracę fizyczną’ podaje *Słownik polszczyzny potocznej* wraz z egzemplifikacją: *Wykształcenie mam siedmioklasowe, niepełne, **do łopaty nie pójdę**, nie to zdrowie* (SPP 113).

W wielu tekstowych użyciach przeciwstawiane są zdolności do wykonywania prac rolniczych lub artystycznych predyspozycjom do służby wojskowej, symbolizowanej przez swoiste narzędzia, jakimi dla żołnierza są różne typy broni, np.

Zachary miał lepszą rękę **do karabinu niż do pługa** (NKJP).

Chłopaczysko rosłe, choć chude jak drąg, a układają go **do pióra** i pergaminów, zamiast **do miecza i łuku** (NKJP).

Gdybym nie był już tak stary, rzuciłbym **dłuto** i wziął **muszkiet** w ręce (NKJP).

Że byłem tak zajęty myśliwskimi zabawami, iż nie dostrzegłem, jak zmawiasz się pokątnie z moim synem, któremu milsze rzeźbiarskie **dłuto** niż **rycerski oręż**? (NKJP).

Taki sposób obrazowania – przeciwstawianie prac rolniczych lub domowych zajęciom żołnierza – jest charakterystyczny dla przysłów, w których

łączy się on z wyrazistym wartościowaniem: *Lepiej w domu kosą kosić, niż na wojnie szable nosić* (NKP III 746); *Lepiej w domu cepem buchać, niż na wojnie kuli słuchać* (NKP III 746); *Lepiej w domu pługiem orać, niż na wojnie szablą dołać* (NKP III 746).

Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ służy także konceptualizacji innych sądów, np. niedojrzałego wieku: *Jeszcze brzytwy niewiele uszkodził* (NKP I 212) 'jeszcze młody, niedoświadczony', gdzie rzeczownik *brzytwa* metonimicznie oznacza czynność golenia się, która z kolei jest symbolem dorosłości.

4. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za ZAWÓD

Kojarzenie czynności z narzędziami wykonywanymi za ich pomocą prostą drogą prowadzi do kojarzenia zawodów – jako stale wykonywanych czynności – z charakterystycznymi narzędziami. NARZĘDZIA to jedna z podstawowych kategorii, używanych w naukach socjologicznych do opisu, klasyfikacji i porównywania zawodów (m.in. Tomaszewski 1965).

Konotacje te przejawiają się najjaskrawiej w ikonicznych sposobach przedstawiania zawodów w obrazach, rysunkach, rzeźbach, symbolach cechów rzemieślniczych, herbach miast, a także w podręcznikach dla dzieci, do nauki języków obcych itp. Językowym znakiem „zawodowej" przynależności narzędzi są przymiotniki pochodne od nazw zawodów *topór* ***ciesielski***, *miech* ***kowalski***, ***szewski*** *gnyp* 'nożyk'.

Choć niektóre narzędzia były i są używane przez wykonawców różnych zawodów, to stereotypowo stały się atrybutami tylko jednego z nich, co ilustrują przysłowia: *Po furmanie bicz zostanie, a po szewcu szydło* (NKP I 584), w innej postaci: *Po furmanie bicz zostanie, po kowalu trypy, po mularzu kielnia, a po chłopie cépy*; *Mnisi, gdy się zejdą, mówią o kapicach, kowale o kleszczach, krawcy o nożycach* (NKP II 195).

Relacja semantyczna NARZĘDZIE za ZAWÓD najpełniej przejawia się we frazeologizmach i przysłowiach, w których nazwa narzędzia metonimicznie oznacza zajęcie będące źródłem utrzymania, np. *Igła krawca żywi* (NKP I 194); *Szewski gnyp kraje chlyb* (NKP III 395); *robić/zarobkować siekierą* (SFJP II 113); *Kto się chce pługiem dorobić, niech sam za nim chodzi* (NKP II 968); *Rośnie dla cywki, nie dla dziewki* (NKP III 70) – w tym przysłowiu mamy w strukturze powierzchniowej relację partytywną CZĘŚĆ za CAŁOŚĆ (*cywka/cewka* 'element warsztatu tkackiego'), a następnie relację metonimiczną (warsztat jako symbol zawodu tkacza), stąd znaczenie całości 'interesuje się rzemiosłem, tkactwem, a nie kobietami'.

Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za ZAWÓD realizuje się także w przysłowiach pokazujących zawody w perspektywie porównawczej: *Kto młotem kuje, cepa nie potrzebuje* (NKP II 508) ‘osoba wykonująca zawód nierolniczy, kowal lub górnik, nie musi uprawiać roli’; *Kto żelazem orze, ten gęsią nie może; kto gęsią orze, ten żelazem nie może* (NKP I 737) ‘rolnik nie nadaje się do pracy urzędniczej i odwrotnie’.

Omawiana relacja metonimiczna obecna jest również w peryfrastycznym nazywaniu zawodu, przy czym możliwe są użycia podniosłe i ironiczne, np. *mistrz igły* ‘krawiec’, iron. *mistrz od dratwy i pocięgła* ‘szewc’.

5. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZŁOWIEKA wykonującego zawód

Kolejnym niejako etapem rozwoju metonimicznej relacji są użycia typu *najlepsze pióro w Polsce* ‘najlepszy pisarz’, gdzie wyrażona powierzchniowo relacja NARZĘDZIE (ATRYBUT) za CZŁOWIEKA ma jednak swoje źródło w omówionej wyżej relacji NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ/ ZAJĘCIE/ ZAWÓD. Tego typu użycia spotykamy we współczesnych tekstach, np.

> Ludwik Flaszen też należał do szkoły krytyków w Krakowie. Zaliczał się on **do piór** szczególnie zjadliwych (NKJP).

Takie konteksty są częste w odniesieniu do zawodów artystycznych, o dużym społecznym prestiżu (*najlepsze pióro* ‘pisarz’, *najlepsze dłuto* ‘rzeźbiarz’), ale również w stosunku do zawodów rzemieślniczych: *pierwsza igła* ‘krawiec’, np. *Pierwsza igła archidiecezji* ‘o krawcu szyjącym sutanny w Łodzi’ (*Łódź. Nasze miasto* 2004).

6. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za ROLĘ SPOŁECZNĄ

Nazwy narzędzi w wyrażeniach z przyimkiem *do* służą często w tekstach propagandowych i agitacyjnych jako wezwanie do zajęcia się właściwą dla kogoś pracą, z konotacją: ‘zajmij właściwe dla siebie miejsce w społeczeństwie i nie wtrącaj się w sprawy innych’. Konotacja ta jest obecna m.in. w powiedzeniu powstałym w okresie tworzenia kobiecych brygad murarskich po II wojnie światowej, obrazującym głęboko zakorzeniony w tradycyjnej polskiej kulturze podział prac według kryterium płci: *Chłop do kielni, baba do patelni* (NKP I 261), gdzie *kielnia* symbolizuje murarstwo, a *patelnia* – wszelkie prace domowe.

Wskazywanie odpowiedniego zajęcia (i tym samym roli społecznej) jest również obecne w przysłowiach odnoszących się do archaicznych już dziś realiów: *Chłopie, stul pysk, a do cepów* (NKP I 265); *Chłop rodzi się do cepu i sierpu* (NKP I 263).

Ten sam sposób konceptualizacji stereotypowego postrzegania ról społecznych przejawia się w wielu tekstach publicystycznych, agitacyjnych, propagandowych[6], np.

> Partie chłopskie **do pługa** (NKJP).
>
> Lepper **do pługa** za wprowadzanie ludzi w błąd i narażanie na utratę zdrowia i życia rolników, bo w analogicznej sprawie Jaruzelskiego ciąga sie po sądach (NKJP).
>
> Stąd moje przekonanie o konieczności specjalizacji, o podziale kompetencji w społeczeństwie, o podziale funkcji: jedni **do piór**, inni do gwiazd, jeszcze inni **do kielni** (NKJP).
>
> Książnica ogłosiła dwa konkursy pod wspólnym hasłem: Dzieci **do piór i pędzli** (NKJP).

7. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za STAN SPOŁECZNY

Nazwy narzędzi mogą również symbolizować stan społeczny kojarzony z jakimś charakterystycznym zajęciem. Ta relacja semantyczna także znana jest przysłowiom, np. *Bóg nie rozróżnia cepu od krzesła* tzn. chłopa od senatora (NKP I 150). Można ją też odnaleźć w tekstach o charakterze podniosłym, czego świadectwem jest cytat z ułożonych przez Stefana Wyszyńskiego *Jasnogórskich Ślubów Narodu Polskiego*:

> Składamy u stóp Twoich siebie samych i wszystko, co mamy: rodziny nasze, świątynie i domostwa, zagony polne i warsztaty pracy, **pługi, młoty i pióra**, wszystkie wysiłki myśli naszej, drgnienia serc i porywy woli (Wyszyński 1956).

Funkcję symbolizowania stanów społecznych miały także sierp i młot w ikonografii i propagandzie Związku Radzieckiego.

[6] W świadomości Polaków szczególnie zapadło hasło z marca 1968 r. *Studenci do nauki, literaci do pióra, syjoniści do Syjonu*. Cytowane przykłady mogą być mniej lub bardziej świadomym nawiązaniem do tego hasła.

8. NARZĘDZIE za POSTAWĘ ŻYCIOWĄ

Relacja NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ znalazła swoistą realizację w zwrocie o biblijnej proweniencji: *przekuć miecze na lemiesze*. Jak pisze Stanisław Koziara, zwrot ten został poświadczony w przepowiedniach proroków Izajasza i Michaesza[7], „w których mowa jest o triumfującym na Syjonie u końcu czasu Jahwe i nastaniu trwałego pokoju między zwaśnionymi narodami" (Koziara 2001: 183). Z analizy przeprowadzonej przez Koziarę wynika, że człon werbalny omawianego zwrotu w przekładach biblijnych miał kilka wariantów (*rozkuć, skuć, połamać, potłuc*), natomiast człony nominalne wykazywały dużą stabilność leksykalną (tylko w jednym tłumaczeniu zamiast *lemiesze* mamy *pługi*). W tym biblijnym zwrocie, ukazującym narzędzia jako symboliczny znak pojednania (Koziara 2001: 183), występuje kilka relacji semantycznych: metonimia partytywna: CZĘŚĆ za CAŁOŚĆ (lemiesz za pług), metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ, ZAJĘCIE (miecz – zajęcia wojenne, lemiesz – prace rolnicze), oraz metaforyzacja pozwalająca odczytać nazwy narzędzi jako symbole różnych sposobów rozwiązywania konfliktów: MIECZ 'dążenie do konfrontacji, wojny, konfliktów zbrojnych', LEMIESZ 'dążenie do pokoju, spokojnej pracy'.

Frazeologizm ten współcześnie jest wykorzystywany często w tekstach publicystycznych (Koziara 2001: 185). Potwierdza to zgromadzony materiał, w którym spotykamy przykłady nawiązań do utrwalonego połączenia wyrazowego w tytułach artykułu, np. na temat dawnych bitew *Nagie* ***miecze na lemiesze*** (NKJP) lub w nazwie jakiegoś przedsięwzięcia, np. konkurs ***Przekuj miecze na lemiesze*** (*Stronghold* 2005).

Zdarzają się także użycia z nawiązaniem do znaczenia podstawowego i próbą szerszej metaforyzacji:

> Trzy lata temu ksiądz biskup wzywał: **niech nie zardzewieje lemiesz** Solidarności. Wydaje się jednak, że rdzewieje. Czy jest jakaś metoda, żeby tak się nie działo? – Rdzę zawsze można usunąć. Są odpowiednie środki. Przede wszystkim Solidarność rdzewieje wtedy, kiedy powstaje erozja postaw i następują podziały. I niestety tak się dzieje (*Polityka* 2000).

W cytowanym fragmencie jednak *lemiesz* ma jeszcze inne znaczenie – symbolizuje działalność organizacji (związku zawodowego) wpływającej na postawy etyczne ludzi. Taki kontekst jest dość nietypowy, niepotwierdzony w innych przykładach ani w danych systemowych, jest zatem przykładem metaforycznego rozszerzenia.

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[7] Dokładne miejsca biblijne to: ST: Iz 2, 4; Mi 4, 3 (Koziara 2001: 183).

9. Wnioski

Zgromadzone przykłady pokazały sfery pojęciowe szczególnie chętnie obrazowane przez użytkowników języka za pomocą relacji metonimicznych, w których nazwy narzędzi zastępują na zasadzie styczności pewne sfery rzeczywistości niedostępne ludzkim zmysłom.

Dostrzeganie związku między czynnością a przedmiotem umożliwiającym jej wykonanie jest szerszą regularnością, którą możemy dostrzec, patrząc na procesy słowotwórcze jako zjawiska odzwierciedlające procesy poznawcze (Grzegorczykowa 1993), nazwy narzędzi są tworzone bowiem prawie wyłącznie od czasowników nazywających czynności przez nie wykonywane: *czerpak* (< *czerpać*), *nosidło* (< *nosić*), *obrabiarka* (< *obrabiać*), *szydło* (< *szyć*), *imadło* (< *imać* 'chwytać') lub jako złożenia rzeczownikowo-czasownikowe obrazowo nazywające zależność między czynnością a narzędziem: *śrubokręt*, *korkociąg*, *wodomierz*.

Widoczna w gramatycznych strukturach relacja NARZĘDZIE < > CZYNNOŚĆ jest realizowana w wielu utrwalonych i swobodnych połączeniach wyrazowych mających u swych podstaw relację styczności. Metonimia NARZĘDZIE za CZYNNOŚĆ rozwijana jest w nich w bardziej złożone schematy wyobrażeniowe, które możemy ująć jako pewien ciąg metonimicznych relacji: NARZĘDZIE > CZYNNOŚĆ > PRACA > ZAWÓD > CZŁOWIEK WYKONUJĄCY ZAWÓD > MIEJSCE W SPOŁECZEŃSTWIE > STAN SPOŁECZNY > POSTAWA SPOŁECZNA.

Przedstawione przykłady są świadectwem tego, jak bardzo bliska człowiekowi jest sfera doświadczeń związanych z używaniem narzędzi, przedmiotów konkretnych i namacalnych, których nazwy służą wyrażaniu złożonych i abstrakcyjnych aspektów rzeczywistości. Jest to zatem kolejna sfera obrazowania charakterystyczna dla przysłów, ponieważ, jak to ujął Szpila: „w większości przypadków paremie opisują sytuacje namacalne, rzeczywiste lub przypominające rzeczywiste, posługują się w swoim obrazowaniu przedmiotami realnymi lub konkretnymi" (Szpila 2005: 134).

Konceptualizacja niektórych abstrakcyjnych sfer rzeczywistości za pomocą obrazu używanych przez człowieka narzędzi jest obecna jednak nie tylko w przysłowiach będących świadectwem ludowego postrzegania świata, odnoszących się często do archaicznych realiów, ale także w zróżnicowanych stylistycznie oraz tematycznie tekstach ilustrujących współczesne realia i mechanizmy językowego ich ujmowania.

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The Names of Tools as a Basis of Metonymic Imagery in Proverbs and Free Word Combinations

Summary

This paper deals with semantic relations observed in various linguistic uses of nouns denoting tools. They are the basis of metonymic representation, in which they replace certain areas of human experiences on the basis of contact. The metonymic representation TOOL for ACTIVITY, which is deeply rooted in the language, is developed in more complex image schemas, in which a tool replaces work, occupation, or even social status. These relations are documented in proverbs, as well as in loose word combinations used in stylistically and topically varied texts in Contemporary Polish.

Irina Naumova
Beketov National University of Urban Economy
Kharkiv, Ukraine

English Influence on Russian Phraseology (in the late eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries)

Abstract. The paper examines issues of phraseological convergence between English and Russian. The focus is on direct and translated phraseological borrowings of English origin that reach Russian by the end of the eighteenth century. The aim is to trace the English influence on Russian phraseology within the interlingual dialogue of British and Russian cultures. The illustrative material extracted from Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller* demonstrates the penetration of phraseological anglicisms and their calques into the Russian literary language during this period. It presents a wide range of linguistic data (quotations, proverbs, sayings, terminological expressions, compound nominations, etc.), reflecting the author's adoption of N.M. Shansky's theory of phraseology in a broad sense. Memorable phrases of British writers acquire popularity in the Russian language both in the original form and in translation. The Russian-English language contacts contribute to the phraseology of both languages interlingual internationalisms, phraseological similarities, thereby paving the ground for mutual comprehension between the two cultures (British and Russian).

Key words: *phraseology, English influence, direct phraseological borrowings, phraseological calques, Letters of a Russian Traveller by Karamzin*

1. Introduction

Language contacts between British and Russian cultures introduced into the languages of the two countries new phraseological units that convey the wealth of the interacting languages. In the first place, translations of English-language classics provoked the interest of the Russian reader in the original works by Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Thomson, Sterne, Swift, Pope, etc. In the second place, travelling diaries and letters of famous Russian writers, describing their impressions while visiting England, introduced a lot of new words and phraseological units of English origin. This tradition began with

the publication of Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller* around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It is generally known that French was the most influential language in terms of its impact on Russian. The following lines depict Karamzin's (1957: 278) attitude toward this fact:

How different it is here (in England – *I.N.*) from Russia, where even a person, who can say only, "Comment vous portez-vous?" tortures the French language, for no reason whatever except not to speak Russian with a Russian. Why in our so-called "best society", you are deaf and dumb without French. Is not it disgraceful? Not to have national disrespect? Why be parrots and apes? Surely our language is not less suitable for conversation than any other. All that is required is that our clever society people, especially the young belles, tried to find, in Russian, ways of expressing their thoughts.

By the end of the eighteenth century phraseological borrowings from English into Russian are fewer than the equivalent units of French origin. Karamzin's (1957: 238) remark concerning his usage of a translated loan of Gallicism *tuer le temps* (*убивать/убить время*) proves this statement. Cf.:

(1) *Не знаю, продаются ли в Цирихе карты; по крайней мере в них здесь никогда не играют и не знают сего прекрасного средства* ***убивать время*** *(простите мне этот галлицизм), средства, которое в других землях сделалось почти необходимым.* (Russian)

(1) *I do not know whether cards are on sale in Zurich but I do know that the people here never play cards and seem unaware of this wonderful way of* ***killing time*** *(****forgive me this Gallicism****), which has become almost indispensable in other countries.* (English)

The corresponding phraseological unit in English *kill time* has been registered in English lexicography since 1728 (OED). Cf. the use of this expression in 1748 in *Castle of Indolence* (canto I, 72) by James Thomson.

> Their only labour was **to kill the time**; And labour dire it is, and weary woe, They sit, they loll, turn o'er some idle rhyme, Then, rising sudden, to the glass they go, Or saunter forth, with tottering steps and slow.

The idea of '*killing time*' dates back to the Greeks who thought of time as a deity. There is no reference to the fact of borrowing the phrase from French into the English language.

At this time the Russian language borrowed the European language heritage from French. Despite the fact, that since 1779 Catherine the Great's favourite designer had been the London-born architect Charles Cameron, and English culture begins to penetrate into the life of Russian society, there are no real signs of Anglomania in Russia.

> The interest in England, in English opinion, fashions and even English games which appeared about 1750 in some European countries, first in France, and then spread to the rest of Europe (...) was called 'Anglomania'. (Graf: 1911)

R. Filipovic (1996: 38) in his article *English as a word donor to other languages of Europe* highlights that "The generosity of English as a donor language began much later and some authors (Haugen 1988 – *I.N.*) state that prior to 1900 the influence of English on other languages was modest". The influence of English on Russian that is observed at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was therefore only the herald of a more intensive English impact that began in the nineteenth century.

It is in this period that there occur the first regular incursions into the Russian language system of phraseological units of English origin. The aim of the paper is to demonstrate their penetration into the Russian literary language of the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries using the material of Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, which were published for the first time in abridged form in 1791–1792. The full version of the book appeared in 6 parts in 1801 (it was reprinted in 1803, 1814 and 1820, all during the author's lifetime).

1.1. Theoretical introduction

In any attempt to trace the origin and evolution of insights into the linguistic nature of 'phraseology', Russian studies (from the late 1940's to the 1960's) (Cowie 1998: 4) are of particular concern. V.V. Vinogradov's taxonomy, embodying *phraseological fusions*, *phraseological unities* and *phraseological combinations*, gives the first theoretical treatment of the different types of phraseological units. His pupil and follower, N.M. Shansky greatly enriched the theoretical and practical phraseological legacy of his teacher. Shansky added *phraseological expressions* to Vinogradov's three types of phraseological units. His theory is recognized as understanding phraseology in a *broad sense*. The distinctive feature of this taxonomy is the *reproducibility* of these units, their prefabricated nature, the manner in which they are stored in our memory. In 1955 he published his paper on *Leksiceskie i frazeologiceskie kal'ki v russkom jazyke* (*Lexical and phraseological calques in Russian*) and in 1957 presented his conception of phraseology in his book *Leksikologija i frazeologija russkogo jazyka* (*Lexicology and phraseology of the Russian language*). The first edition of his monograph (the first monograph on Phraseology) *Frazeologija sovremennogo russkogo jazyka* (*Phraseology of the Modern Russian Language*) appeared in 1963. According to L.I. Rojzenzon (1964: 113), this

book was the first attempt to define the fundamentals of general and Russian phraseology.

In accordance with Shansky's phraseological theory, the concept of a *phraseological unit* is regarded in this paper as including "both idioms and reproduced (ready-made, prefabricated) stable (fixed) combinations of words of no idiomatic character (involving proverbs, sayings, quotations, 'wing words' (apophthegms), terminological word combinations, compound nominations...) (Shansky 1968: 43). Thus, this paper and other papers by the present writer (Naumova 1980, 2008a, b, 2012a, b, c) treat phraseology in a broad sense.

The processes of univerbation, resulting in emergence of compound words derived from phraseological units in either the source-language or the recipient language, are also examined in this paper.

It is worth mentioning that at the end of the eighteenth century anglicisms or translated loan words could be considered as *exotisms* in Russian, Their appearance in *Letters of Russian traveler* for the most part marks the moment of their first incorporation into a new language system, the Russian language. This explains the incorrect transliteration or the use of misspelled direct phraseological borrowings.

2. *Letters of a Russian Traveller* by N.M. Karamzin

The translator of the works of Shakespeare, Thomson and many other English writers, a famous Russian historian, historiographer, poet, Honorary Member of Russian Academy of Sciences, Karamzin had dreamt of visiting England since his childhood.

> There was a time, when, knowing scarcely any Englishmen, I yet admired the English people and pictured England as the country most pleasing to my heart (...) To me, it seemed, to be brave was – to be an Englishman; generous – the same; sensitive – the same; a real man – the same. (Karamzin 1957: 327–328)

Having landed in Dover in 1789, he said: "We are in Dover. And I am in England – in the land, which I loved with such passion in my childhood and which is certain to be one of the first states of Europe due to the character of its inhabitants and the degree of public enlightenment" (ibid).

In the *Letters* he also highlights that England is a country of beauty. Cf.: "(...) and I say to every painter, "If you have not been in (sic!), England, then your brush has never portrayed perfect beauty." (ibid)

Hy also comments attitude of the English language to enriching itself by borrowings from other languages.

> On the whole the English language is a coarse and unpleasant to the ear, but it is rich and well-developed for writing of all kinds. It is rich in "stolen goods" or (not to offend English pride) in "borrowings" from other languages. All the scientific words and most of abstract ones have been taken from French or Latin, the root verbs from German. (ibid: 318).

In 1795, in *Moskovskie novosti* Karamzin admits, that "The real wealth of a language consists neither in a quantity of sounds, nor in a quantity of words, but in a quantity of thoughts which it expresses".

2.1. Shakespearisms in *Letters of a Russian Traveller*

According to Karamzin, it is the greatest English writer Shakespeare who "finds an image for each thought, an expression for each feeling and the best phrase for each movement of the soul" (1957: 316). Further he highlights:

> The greatness, the truth of Shakespeare's characters, the interesting unfolding of events, the revelation of the human heart, and the lofty ideas scattered throughout the dramas of the British genius will always have a magic attraction for people with sensibility.
>
> Shakespeare was the favorite son of the goddess Fantasy, who bestowed upon him her magic wand. And wandering through the wild gardens of imagination, he created wonders at every step!

In *Letters of a Russian Traveller* Karamzin quotes Shakespeare's lines from:

1. *Othello*. Act 3, Scene 3, page 8.

   Good name in man and woman, dear my lord, Is the immediate jewel of the souls > Доброе имя есть первая драгоценность души нашей

First he addresses Shakespeare, writing the allusion to the phrase given in Russian:

> How dear to a man is a good name–and how carelessly we steal this treasure from one another! 0 Shakespeare, Shakespeare! Who understood the human heart so well as you? Who presented all the madness of malicious gossip more convincingly than you?

Then he quotes the phrase in its original context – *A good name.* Cf.

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord, Is the immediate jewel of the souls: Who steals my purse steals trash; Twas mine, 'tis his and has been slave to thousands; But he that fiches from me my good name Robs me of that which not enriches him, And makes me poor indeed. (English) *See footnote, p. 27* (Trans.)

The footnote clarifies the meaning of the quotation:

({**То есть "**Доброе имя есть первая драгоценность души нашей**. Кто крадет у меня кошелек – крадет безделку; он был мой, теперь стал его и прежде служил тысяче других людей. Но кто похищает у меня **доброе имя**, тот сам не обогащается, а меня делает беднейшим человеком в свете*".} Russian)

2. *King Lear*. Act III, Scene II.

Blow winds and crack your cheeks! Rage, blow!

Karamzin presents his paraphrase of the famous quotation, giving a shortened version. Cf.:

(2) *Размышляя о протекших часах, посвященных им благу французов, он внутренно укоряет сей народ неблагодарностию и взывает с царем Леаром: «**Blow, winds, rage, blow! I tax not you, you elements, with unkindness; I called not you my children; I never gave you kingdom!**»* («*Шумите, свирепые ветры, шумите! Я не жалуюсь на свирепость вашу, раздраженные стихии! Вы не дети мои; вам не отдавал я царства*».) (Russian)

(2) *Reflecting on past hours dedicated to the welfare of the French, Necker inwardly reproached his people for their ingratitude, and cried with King Lear, "Blow, winds... rage, blow!... I tax not you, you elements, with unkindness: I never gave my kingdom, call'd (sic!) you children".* (English)

Further he reproduces the same English quotation, again in a shortened form ***Blow winds and crack your cheeks! Rage, blow*** into ***Blow, winds... rage, blow!*** Correspondingly, he omits the part ***and crack your cheeks!*** in the loan translation of this phrase: «*Шумите, ветры, свирепствуй, буря!*».

3. *Julius Caesar*. Act 4, Scene 3, page 5.

In the beginning of his book, expressing his emotions on departing from his native land, Karamzin employs a loan translation of the phrase ***to weep one's heart out / to cry one's heart out*** which he attributes to William Shakespeare.

Cf. как говорит Шекспир, *выплакать сердце свое – "to have wept my heart out"*, as Shakespeare says.

(3) *Во всю дорогу не приходило мне в голову ни одной радостной мысли; а на последней станции к Твери грусть моя так усилилась, что я в деревенском трактире, стоя перед карикатарами королевы французской и римского императора, хотел бы, **как говорит Шекспир, выплакать** сердце свое.* (Russian)

(3) *At the last station before Tver my melancholy had become so great, that while standing in a country tavern in front of caricatures of the Queen of France and the Roman Emperor, I should have liked* ***"to have wept my heart out", as Shakespeare says***. (English)

According to Ammer (1997: 102), *cry one's heart out* is synonymous expression of the phrase *cry one's eyes out*. But no trace has been found of this phrase in any of Shakespeare's works. Cf. *cry one's eyes out* Also, *cry one's heart out*.) [Late 1700s].

One can find the overtones of this phrase *to weep one's soul out of oneself* in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. Cf. the words of Cassius: *Oh, I could* ***weep my soul right out of myself!*** (Julius Caesar: Act 4, Scene 3, Page 5).

The word *heart* has been substituted by the word *soul*. This source of the phrase has been also given by G. Makagonenko and P. Berkov (1964) in their *Commentaries* to Karamzin's book. It has been also mentioned that in the first journal edition of the book the attribution of the phrase to Shakespeare was absent (1791–1792). It appeared in the publication of the book in 1797.

Karamzin is known to be the first Russian translator of *Julius Caesar* from the original (1787). This may explain how Karamzin came to associate the phrase 'weep one's heart out' with the version that appears in *Julius Caesar* and to attribute the former to Shakespeare.

4. *Hamlet*. Act 5, Scene 1.

He was the first that ever bore arms.

Cf. Second Clown *Was he a gentleman*? First Clown ***He was the first that ever bore arms.***

(4) *Угадайте, какая сцена живее всех действовала на публику? та, где копают могилу для Офелии, и где работники, играя словами, говорят, что первый дворянин был Адам,* ***the first that ever bore arms***,* *и тому подобное.* (Russian)

(4) *Guess which scene made the deepest impression on an audience? The one in whish the gravediggers pun while digging Ophelia's grave, saying that* ***Adam was a first gentleman,*** *"****the first that ever bore arms****", and so on.* (English)

2.1.2. Quotations from Sterne in *Letters of a Russian Traveller*

References to the works and the characters of Laurence Sterne occupy the second place in this book. It is obvious that his *Sentimental journey through France and Italy* (London, 1768) inspired Karamzin to write his letters. The genre of letters of a traveller gave him opportunity to speak simply and touch everybody's heart as Sterne did. Cf.:

> You may say that it is necessary to speak to the people in this way, but Laurence Sterne spoke to the people, spoke simply, and he touched both your heart and mine. Lavater's manner, however, I found pleasing. (Karamzin 1957: 132)

He mentions in the book that *Sentimental Journey* had been translated and published in Russia. Of special concern is a commentary given to this passage:

> "The room in which Laurence Sterne lived," I replied. "Where he ate French soup for the first time?" asked the officer. "And fricasseed chicken," I replied. "Where he praised the blood of the Bourbons?" "Where the fire of brotherly love suffused his cheek with a tender glow?" "Where the heaviest of metals seemed to him lighter than a feather?"[45]
>
> [45] **All this is remembered by anyone who has read Sterne's Journey if only once. But can one possibly read it only once**? (Karamzin 1957: 255)

Karamzin often reminds the readers in his *Letters* of quotations from L. Sterne.

1. *A coward may be a good man but every bad man must be a coward > Робкий человек может быть добрым: но всякий дурной человек непременно должен быть трусом*. Cf.:

(5) *Война бедственна, но храбрость есть великое свойство души.* ***«Робкий человек может быть добрым: но всякий дурной человек непременно должен быть трусом»****, – говорит* ***Стернов капрал Трим***. (Russian)

(5) *War is calamitous, but heroism is a great attribute of the soul.* ***"A coward may be a good man but every bad man must be a coward"****, says* ***Sterne's Corporal Trim***. (English)

S. Austin Allibone (1888) in *Prose Quotations from Socrates to Macaulay* gives the following variant of Sterne's quotation:

> *Nothing can be so sad as confinement for life, nor so sweet, an please your honour, as liberty.*

Karamzin employs the quotation, shortening the full text of its original, – *Nothing can be so sweet as liberty* (*Tristram Shandy*, vol. VI, chap. XXIV). Cf.:

(6) *"Поедем далее!" – и тростью своею провел на песке длинную змейку, подобную той, которую в "Тристраме Шанди" начертил капрал Трим (vol. VI., chap. XXIV), говоря о* ***приятностях свободы****. Чувства наши были, конечно, сходны. "Так, добрйдушный Трим!* ***Nothing can be so sweet as liberty*** *{То есть ничего не может быть приятнее свободы.}, – думал я, возвращаясь скорыми шагами в город...*

2.1.3. Quotations by Pope, Swift, Thomson

1. Alexander Pope. *An Essay on Criticism*

   *"A little learning is a dangerous thing. **Drink deep, or taste not** the Pierian Spring; There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain, and drinking largely sobers us again."*

(7) *Гибельные следствия полуфилософии! «**Drink deep or taste not**» – «**Пей много или не пей ни капли**», – сказал англичанин Поп.* (Russian)

2. Alexander Pope. *Windsor-Forest*.

   Thy forests, Windsor, and thy green retreats, At once the Monarch's and the Muse's seats > Твои леса, Виндзор, и твои зеленые убежища – обиталища одновременно и короля и муз.

2.1.4. J. Swift. *Gulliver's Travels*

Gulliver's Travels > Гулливерово путешествие

(8) *Вы читали забавное **"Гулливерово путешествие"**...* (Russian)

(8) *You have read the amusing **Gulliver's Travels.*** (English)

2.1.5. J. Thomson. *The Seasons*

This Scottish author can be considered the one whom Karamzin appreciated the most. He writes, "Till now there has been nothing to compare to Thompson's *The Seasons*, This poem one might call a mirror of nature".

He cites the English text from his favourite poems and simultaneously gives its Russian translation.

(9) *As in the hollow breast of Appenine, Beneath the shelter of encircling hills, A myrtle rises, far from human eye, And breathes its balmy fragrance o'er the wild: So flourish'd blooming, and unseen by all, The sweet Lavinia...* (English)

(9) {* *Подобно как в лоне гор Апеннинских, под кровом холмов, восходит март, удаленный от глаз человеческих, и бальзамическое свое благоухание разливает в пустыне, так цвела в уединении любезная Лавиния.*} (Russian)

3. Direct Borrowings in "Letters of a Russian Traveller"

Karamzin's memories of travelling in England embody many anglicisms (lexical and phraseological), often providing a translation loan-words

(phrases) to explain their meaning to the Russian reader. Taking into account that they represent the first language new-comers from English, they serve mostly for introducing names of venues of interest, historical and geographical places (toponyms) and are used as:

3.1. Phraseological direct borrowings, derived from the place name

Toponimical phrases can be considered phraseological units in a broad sense as they are extracted from our memory as ready-made (prefabricated) forms. They are not reproduced in the act of speech as free word combinations.

a) untransliterated toponyms:

(10) *Подле самого* ***Cavendish Square*** *встретился мне старый, слепой нищий, которого вела... собачка, привязанная на снурке.* (Russian)

(10) *Near the very* ***Cavendish Square*** *I met old, blind beggar, who was led* (...) *by a little dog on a string bound with a lace.* (English) (trans. – *I.N.*)

(11) *С помощью моих любезных земляков нашел я в Оксфордской улице, близ* ***Cavendish Square****, прекрасные три комнаты за полгинею в неделю...* (Russian)

(11) *With the aid of my kind countrymen, I have found three fine rooms in Oxford Street, near* ***Cavendish Square****, for half a guinea a week.* (English)

(12) *Дворец Вильгельма Завоевателя еще цел и называется белою башнею,* ***White tower...*** (Russian)

(12) *The palace of William the Conqueror is still intact and is called the "****White Tower****".* (English)

b) assimilated transliterated toponyms:

(13) *Из* ***Вестминстерского аббатства*** *прошел я в славный* ***Сент-Джемский парк*** *– несколько изрядных липовых аллей, обширный луг, где ходят коровы, и более ничего!* (Russian)

(13) *From* ***Westminster Abbey*** *I walked to the famous* ***St. James's Park*** *– some avenues of ordinary lime trees, a broad meadow, where cows are grazing, and nothing more!* (English)

3.1.1. Borrowed phraseological units are sometimes merged into a compound word or are used with a hyphen

1. Merging two words into a compound word in Russian. Cf. incorrect translation and spelling of the *Buckingham Palace* > *Buckinghamhouse* (sic!).

(15) *Тут король обыкновенно показывается чужестранным министрам и публике, а живет в королевином дворце,* ***Buckinghamhouse*** *(sic!)* (Russian)

(15) *Here the king usually appears before foreign ministers and the public. But he lives in the royal palace,* ***Buckingham Palace...*** (English)

2. A compound word in Russian that corresponds to its prototype in English, itself derived from a phraseological unit. Cf.: *Невгат < Newgate < New Gate*

(16) *Из городского судилища сделан подземельный ход в* ***Невгат****, ту славную темницу, которой имя прежде всего узнал я из английских, романов.* (Russian)

(16) *From the city law courts there is a subterranean passageway to* ***Newgate****, that notorious prison whose name I first came to know from English novels.* (English)

3. A compound word in English which is reproduced as a **hyphenated** Russian form that can be either transliterated or left untransliterated in Karamzin's text. Cf.: *Уайт-гал (White-Hall) < Whitehall < White hall*

(17) ***Уайт-гал (White-Hall)*** *был прежде дворцом английских королей – сгорел, и теперь существуют только его остатки...* (Russian)

(17) ***Whitehall*** *used to be the Palace of English kings but it was burned down and now only its ruins remain.* (English)

4. A phrase in English which is reproduced as a **hyphenated** Russian form that can be either transliterated or left untransliterated in Karamzin's text.

(18) *Палаты* ***лорда-мэра*** *и банк стоят примечательного взгляда; самый огромный дом в Лондоне есть так называемый* ***Соммерсет-гаус*** *на Темзе, который еще не достроен и похож на целый город.* (Russian)

(18) *The residence of the* ***lord mayor*** *and the Bank of England are both worth a visit. The largest building in London is the so-called "****Somerset House****". Though not yet completed, it already looks like entire city...* (English)

(19) *Я хотел видеть прежде лондонское судилище,* ***Justice-Hall****, где каждые 6 недель сбираются так называемые присяжные, Йуры, и судьи для решения уголовных дел.* (Russian)

(19) *First, I wanted to see the London* ***Justice Hall****, where judges and* ***what they call*** *"the jury" assemble every six weeks to decide criminal cases.* (English)

Assimilated borrowed nouns begin to decline, conforming to the rules of the Russian language.

(20) *Вчерашний день пригласил меня обедать богатый англичанин Бакстер, консул, в загородный дом свой, близ* ***Гайд-парка.*** (Russian)

(20) *Yesterday a wealthy Englishman, Mr. Baxter, a consul, invited me to his suburban house, near* ***Hyde Park****, for dinner.* (English)

(21) *Сказать вам правду, я не нашел сходства в оригинале* ***Кингс-Бенча*** *с портретом живописца Архенгольца.* (Russian)

(21) *In truth I have found no resemblance between the original* ***King's Bench*** *and the portrait by the painter Archenholtz.* (English)

3.1.2. Direct borrowings – transliterated phraseological anglicisms

Cf. *God damn* > *Год дем*

(22) *Я пришел в свою комнату, бросился на постелю и заснул, но через несколько минут разбудил меня шум веселых англичан, которые в другой горнице кричали, топали, стучали и проч. и проч. С полчаса я терпел, наконец кликнул слугу и послал его напомнить британцам, что они не одни в трактире и что соседи их, может быть, хотят тишины и спокойствия. Сказав несколько раз «****Год дем****», они замолчали.* (Russian)

(22) *I went to my room, flung myself on the bed and fell asleep. But a few minutes later I was awakened by the noise of the gay Englishmen who were shouting, stamping their feet, banging their fists on the table, and so on, in the next room. Having endured this for half an hour, I called a servant and bade him remind the Britons that they were not the only one in the inn and that perhaps their neighbors would like some piece and quiet. Several "****God damns****" were heard, and then silence.* (English)

3.2. Phraseological calques of English origin in *Letters of a Russian Traveller*

1. The saying *"I want to be happy at home, and only now and then have witnesses to my happiness"*.

(23) *Англичанин говорит: "****Я хочу быть счастливым дома и только изредка иметь свидетелей моему счастию****".* (Russian)

(23) *An Englishman says, "****I want to be happy at home, and only now and then have witnesses to my happiness****".* (English)

2. Toponyms.

Мыс Доброй Надежды < *the Cape of Good Hope*; *Новый Йорк* < *New York*;

(24) *(...) когда схватятся руками, то дело решено, и кораблю плыть в* ***Новый Йорк*** *или за* ***мыс Доброй Надежды.*** (Russian)

(24) *When they shake hands, the matter is decided, and a ship will sail for* ***New York*** *or around* ***the Cape of Good Hope****.* (English)

(25) *Капитан ввел меня в каюту (...) указал мне постелю, сделанную, как гроб, и в утешение объявил, что одна прекрасная девица, которая плыла с ним из* ***Нового Йорка****, умерла на ней горячкою.* (Russian)

(25) *The captain led me to a tiny cabin. He pointed out my bed, which is made like a coffin, and as a consolation, explained that a beautiful young girl who had sailed with him from* ***New York****, had died in it of fever.* (English)

Собор/церковь святого Павла < St. Paul's Cathedral;

(26) *Здешняя* ***церковь св. Павла*** *почти столько же славна, как римская св. Петра...* (Russian)

(26) ***St. Paul's Cathedral*** *here is almost as famous as St. Peter's in Rome.* (English)

3. Nominations of realia of English life:

Королевское общество < the Royal Society;

(27) *Нынешний же день был я в* ***Королевском обществе****.* (Russian)

(27) *Today I visited* ***the Royal Society****.* (English)

Мирный судья > мировой судья < justice of the peace;

(28) *Так называемый* ***мирный судья*** *есть в Англии первый разбиратель всех доносов; он призывает к себе обвиняемого, дает очную ставку и возвращает ему свободу, если донос оказывается неосновательным; в противном же случае обязывает его явиться в суд или, когда преступление важно, отсылает в темницу.* (Russian)

(28) *The so called "****justice of the peace****" is the first one to look into all charges. He summons the accused, presents him with the evidence, and sets him free if the accusation proves to be unfounded. In the opposite case, he orders him to present himself in court or, when the case is serious, sends him to jail...* (English)

Английский сад < an English garden;

(29) *(...) есть меланхолия, которая изливается более из сердца, нежели из воображения, есть какая-то странная, но приятная мечтательность, которая, подобно* ***английскому саду****, представляет вам тысячу неожидаемых вещей.* (Russian)

(29) *There is a melancholy, which flows more from the heart than from the imagination, and a kind of strange but pleasing dreaminess which, like* ***an English garden****, offers you a thousand unexpected things.* (English)

3.2.1. Phraseological semi-calques in *Letters*

There are phrases in which one part is translated and the other is directly borrowed from the source-language: *Вестминстерская зала* (< *Westminster Hall*), *Сент-Джемский дворец* (< *Saint James Palace*), *Кьюский сад* (< *Kew Gardens*), *Оксфордская улица* (< *Oxford Street*), *etc.*

1. Toponyms:

(30) *Славная* ***Вестминстерская зала*** *(Westminster-hall) построена еще в XI веке, как некоторые историки утверждают.* (Russian)

(30) *Certain historians maintain that the famous* ***Westminster Hall*** *was built back in the eleventh century.* (English)

(31) ***Сент-Джемский дворец*** *есть, может быть, самый беднейший в Европе.* (Russian)

(31) ***St. James's Palace*** *is probably the least imposing in Europe.* (English) 295

(32) *С помощью моих любезных земляков нашел я в* ***Оксфордской улице****, близ Cavendish Square, прекрасные три комнаты за полгинею в неделю...* (Russian)

(32) *With the aid of my kind countrymen, I have found three fine rooms in* ***Oxford Street****, near Cavendish Square, for half a guinea a week.* (English)

2. Historical heroes:

(33) *Дворец* ***Вильгельма Завоевателя*** *еще цел и называется белою башнею, White tower, – здание безобразное и варварское!* (Russian)

(33) *The palace of* ***William the Conqueror*** *is still intact and is called the "White Tower".* (English)

3. Nominations of new realia of English origin:

(34) *Почти на каждой станции надлежало мне ночевать (я ехал на* ***ординарной почте****) – или по крайней мере стоять по нескольку часов.* (Russian)

(34) *I had to spend a night at nearly every station (I came by* ***ordinary post****) or at least to wait several hours.* (English)

4. Phraseological calques (semi-calques) in Russian reflecting a compound word in the source language

4.1. Phraseological calques (semi-calques) in Russian derived from words in English, which themselves originate from phraseological prototypes

There are many phraseological expressions in Russian, which correspond to English compound words. These lexical nominations can in turn be traced back to phraseological units which surrendered to the law of language economy and were amalgamated into a word. Currently they sometimes revert to their original form as a phraseologism.

The expression *coffee house* may serve as an example. Cf.:

1. *кофейные домы* < *coffeehouses* < *coffee houses*;

The New Cambridge Modern History in vol. 6: *The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688–1715/25* (1970: 76–77) describes *coffee houses* as new intellectual stimulus, as:

> (..) a focal point of literary, and increasingly intellectual discussion in France, and emergence in France and England of a new amenity, the coffee house, which provided facilities for the exchange of ideas of more informal and socially less restricted kind.

OED[1] gives the following data, concerning this amalgamated phrase in a word. Cf.:

> To a **Coffee-house**, to drink jocolatte, very good [Pepys, "Diary", Nov. 24, 1664].

The text of *Letters* refers to the year of 1669, depicting the origin of *coffee houses* (*coffeehouses*):

(35) *Солиман Ага, турецкий посланник при дворе Лудовика XIV в 1669 году, первый ввел в употребление* ***кофе****. Некто Паскаль, армянин, вздумал завести* ***кофейный дом****; новость полюбилась, и Паскаль собрал довольно денег. Он умер, и мода на кофе прошла, так что к его наследникам никто уже не ходил в гости. Через несколько лет Прокоп Сицилианец открыл новый кофейный дом близ Французского театра, украсил его со вкусом и нашел способ заманивать к себе лучших людей в Париже, особливо авторов..* (Russian)

(35) *Suleiman Aga, the Turkish Ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV, first introduced* ***coffee*** *into France in the year of 1669. A certain Armenian named Pascal conceived the idea of opening* ***coffeehouse****. The novelty gained favor and Pascal accumulated a fair amount of money. After his death, the fashion of coffee drinking began to pass. Finally Pascal's heirs no longer had any customers. Some years later a Sicilian named Procope opened a new* ***coffeehouse*** *near the Théâtre Français (sic!) decorated it tastefully, and found a way of attracting the best people of Paris, especially writers*. (English)

(36) *Ныне более шестисот* ***кофейных домов*** *в Париже (каждый имеет своего корифея, умника, говоруна), но знаменитых считается десять...* (Russian)

(36) *Now there are more than six hundred* ***coffeehouses*** *in Paris (each with its own coryphaeus, wits and windbags) but ten only are considered famous.* (English)

(37) *Я входил в разные* ***кофейные домы****: двадцать, тридцать человек сидят в глубоком молчании, читают газеты, пьют красное португальское вино, и хорошо, если в десять минут услышите два слова – какие же? "Your health, gentleman!" – "Ваше здоровье!"* (Russian)

[1] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=house&searchmode=none&p=4&allowed_in_frame=0 (OED)

(37) *I have dropped into a number of* ***coffeehouses*** *only to find twenty or thirty men sitting around in deep silence, reading newspapers and drinking port.* (English)

(38) *Подле биржи множество* ***кофейных домов****, где купцы завтракают и пишут.* (Russian)

(38) *Near the Exchange, there are a great number of* ***coffeehouses*** *where merchants breakfast and write.* (English)

(39) *Тут славный Лойдов* ***кофейный дом****, где собираются лондонские страховщики и куда стекаются новости из всех земель и частей света...* (Russian)

(39) *Here, too, is the famous Lloyd's* ***coffeehouse****, where the London insurance agents gather, and where news pours in from every country and every corner of the globe* (English)

2. *Почтовый дом < posthouse < post house*;

(40) ***Почтовые домы*** *везде одинакие – низенькие, деревянные, разделенные на две половины: одна для проезжих, а в другой живет сам комиссар, у которого можно найти все нужное для утоления голода и жажды.* (Russian)

(40) *The* ***posthouses*** *are everywhere the same—low, wooden buildings divided into two parts, one for the travelers, the other for the postmaster, from whom you can obtain everything needed to satisfy hunger and thirst.* (English)

(41) *Наша карета остановилась в* ***почтовом доме.*** (Russian)

(41) *Our carriage halted at the* ***posthouse***. (English)

3. *Почтовый двор < postyard < post yard*;

(42) *You go to* ***postyard*** *where there are always many carriages*. (English) 327

(42) *Вы идете на* ***почтовый двор****, где всегда много карет.* (Russian)

4.1.2. Russian compound word < English compound word < Phraseological unit

Вокзал < воксал < Vauxhall < Vauxhall Gardens (1661)
Vauxhall < *Faukeshale* (Hall of Falkes). Cf.:

"**Vauxhall** popular pleasure garden on south bank of Thames in London, c. 1661–1859; the name is Middle English *Faukeshale* (late 13c.), "Hall or manor of a man called Falkes," an Old French personal name." (OED)[2].

(43) ***Воксал*** *в двух милях от Лондона и летом бывает отворен всякий вечер...* (Russian)

(43) ***Vauxhall*** *is two miles from London, and in summer is open every evening.* (English)

[2] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=Vauxhall&searchmode=none (OED)

(44) *Если вы догадливы, то узнали, что я описываю вам славный английский* ***Воксал****, которому напрасно хотят подражать в других землях. Вот прекрасное вечернее гульбище, достойное умного и богатого народа.* (Russian)

(44) *If you have guessed, then you know that I have been describing the famous English* ***Vauxhall****, which other countries have tried in vain to imitate. This is a beautiful evening resort, worthy of an intelligent and wealthy people!* (English)

(45) *Лондонский* ***Воксал*** *соединяет все состояния: тут бывают и знатные люди и лакеи, и лучшие дамы и публисные женщины.* (Russian)

(45) *London* ***Vauxhall*** *brings together people of every social standing—lords and lackeys, fine ladies and harlots.* (English)

4.1.3. Compound word in Russian < phraseologism in English

1. Ростбиф > roast beef

According to OED, "*Roast beef* first recorded 1630s (French *rosbif* is from English)"[3]. ***Beefsteak (n.)*** also *beef-steak*, 1711, from ***beef*** (n.) + ***steak***[4].

(46) *(...) англичане не любят никакой зелени.* ***Ростбиф, бифстекс*** *есть их обыкновенная пища.* (Russian)

(46) *The English do not like any vegetables whatever.* ***Roast beef*** *and* ***beefsteak*** *are their usual fare.* (English)

(47) *Обычно я обедаю в кофейном доме, и здесь тоже я плачу около двух рублей за* ***ростбиф****, пудинг и сыр.* (Russian)

(47) *Occasionally I dine at a coffeehouse, and here, too, I pay about two rubles for* ***roast beef****, pudding, and cheese.* (English)

The English translation of *Letters of a Russian Traveller* by Florence Jonas presents alongside the phraseologism *roast beef* the compound word *roast-beef*. Cf.:

Cf. *compound word in Russian > compound word in English (ростбиф – roastbeef, бифстекс – beefsteak)*

(48) *Я спросил салату, но мне подали вялую траву, облитую уксусом: англичане не любят никакой зелени.* ***Ростбиф, бифстекс*** *есть их обыкновенная пища.* (Russian)

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[3] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=roast+beaf&searchmode=none) (OED)

[4] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=beefsteak&searchmode=none) (OED)

(48) *I ordered salad, but they brought me some limp grass saturated with vinegar. The English do not like any vegetables (sic!-greens) whatever.* ***Roastbeef*** *and* ***beefsteak*** *are their usual fare.* (English)

(49) *(...) к обеду – совершенно английскому, кроме французского супа.* ***Ростбиф****, потаты, пудинги и рюмка за рюмкой кларету, мадеры!* (Russian)

(49) *It (dinner – I.N.) was completely English (except – French soup) –* ***roastbeef****, potatoes, pudding, and glass after glass of claret and Madeira!* (English)

Translations are used in the *Letters* together with Anglicisms, clarifying their meaning:

1. *на пехоту и конницу (footpad, highwayman), на домовых и карманных (house-breaker, pickpocket).*

Пехота < footpad < foot pad. Cf. "footpad (n.) "highway robber," 1680s, from *foot* (n.) + *pad* "pathway"..." (OED)[5].

Конница (человек с большой дороги < разбойник с большой дороги) < highwayman < high way man. Cf. «highwayman (n.) "one who travels the highways with intent to rob people" (often on horseback and thus contrasted to a *footpad*), 1640s, from ***highway*** + ***man***» (OED)[6].

Домовой < housebreaker < house breaker. CF. "To house break 1820, "to break into a house criminally;" *house* (n.) + *break* (v.). Perhaps a back-formation from *housebreaker*, attested from mid-14c. *housebreaker*, attested from mid-14c." (OED)[7]

Карманник < pickpocket < to pick from pocket. Cf. "pickpocket (n.) also *pick-pocket*, 1590s, from *pick* (v.) + *pocket* (n.). Earlier was *pick-purse* (late 14c.)." (OED)[8].

(50) *Нигде так явно не терпимы воры, как в Лондоне; здесь имеют они свои клубы, свои таверны и разделяются на разные классы:* ***на пехоту и конницу (footpad, highwayman), на домовых и карманных (housebreaker, pickpocket)****.* (Russian)

(50) *Nowhere are thieves tolerated so openly as in London. Here they have their own clubs, their own taverns, and are even separated into different classes, such as* ***footpads, highwaymen, housebreakers, and pickpockets****.* (English)

[5] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=footpad&searchmode=none (OED)

[6] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=highwayman&allowed_in_frame=0 (OED)

[7] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=housebreaker&searchmode=none (OED)

[8] Online Etymology Dictionary http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=pickpocket&searchmode=none (OED)

2. *French dog (французская собака)*;

(51) *Вы слыхали о грубости здешнего народа в рассуждении иностранцев: с некоторого времени она посмягчилась, и учтивое имя* ***french dog (французская собака)****, которым лондонская чернь жаловала всех неангличан, уже вышло из моды.* (Russian)

(51) *You have heard about the English people's rudeness toward foreigners. This has toned down somewhat of late, and the polite name "****French dog****," which with the London rabble used to favor all non-Englishmen, has already gone out of fashion.* (English)

4. *Your health! – Ваше здоровье!*

(53) *(...) и хорошо, если в десять минут услышите два слова – какие же? "****Your health, gentleman!" – "Ваше здоровье!"*** (Russian)

(53) *You are lucky, if in the course of ten minutes, you will hear three words. And what are they?* ***Your health, gentlemen****!"* (English)

5. Conclusion

Karamzin's work *Letters of a Russian traveller* was written at the end of the 18th century (1791–1792) and preserves historical evidence of the convergence of Russian with English as a result of literary, historical and personal contacts. One can witness the adaptation of phraseology of English origin in Russian, the usage of archaic forms, sometimes misspelled on introduction into a new language system alongside assimilated earlier phraseological units of English origin in the form of both translations and direct loans. All these findings confirm English influence on the Russian language and display English/Russian cross-cultural contacts, the roots of which can be traced back to the 16th century.

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Angielskie wpływy na rosyjską frazeologię (w późnym wieku osiemnastym i początkach dziewiętnastego wieku)

Streszczenie

W artykule podjęto zagadnienie oddziaływaniu języka angielskiego na rosyjski w sferze frazeologii. Szczególną uwagę poświęcono bezpośrednim zapożyczeniom i kalkom pochodzącym z angielszczyzny, które zostały przejęte do języka rosyjskiego pod koniec osiemnastego wieku. Celem badawczym jest prześledzenie angielskich wpływów na frazeologię rosyjską w perspektywie międzyjęzykowego dialogu kultury brytyjskiej i rosyjskiej. Zanalizowany materiał pochodzi z dzieła *Listy podróżnika rosyjskiego* N. M. Karamzina. W badanej książce występują frazeologiczne anglicyzmy i ich kalki, przejęte do literackiego języka podczas omawianego okresu. Analiza utworu pozwala na opracowanie zróżnicowanych konstrukcji językowych (cytaty, przysłowia, powiedzenia, terminy frazeologiczne, złożenia i inne), co wynika z przyjęcia przez autorkę artykułu koncepcji N. M. Szanskiego, które zakłada szerokie rozumienie frazeologii. Zasługujące na uwagę wyrażenia pochodzące z twórczości brytyjskich pisarzy zyskały popularność w języku rosyjskim zarówno w oryginalnej postaci, jak i w formie tłumaczenia.

Magdalena Olejarnik
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
Poland

Does phraseology exist in mixed languages? – A comparative study of verbal idioms in Standard Swahili and Sheng (a Swahili-English intertwined language)

Abstract. The scope of this article is determined by the question posed in the title. The research that has been done so far on mixed/intertwined languages focused mainly on their grammatical features, and not so much on phraseological units like idioms, proverbs, and etc. The research described in this article concentrates mainly on contrasting verbal idioms with complex predicates in Standard Swahili, making an attempt to disambiguate the enigmatic status of Sheng, and seeing how the lexicon of this Swahili-English intertwined language deals with idiomatic expressions and complex predicates. Speakers of Swahili use a discourse which is very well known for abundance of idioms. They are used in daily conversations, either conducted orally or via modern media, and also in different aspects of popular culture, where language serves as the medium of expression and communication, e.g., articles, novels, song lyrics, poems. The same applies to complex predicates; therefore a strong need exists to distinguish between these two categories.

Key words: *Swahili, Sheng, complex predicates, verbal idioms, intertwined languages*

1. Introduction

Swahili (or *Kiswahili*) is a Bantu language with the largest number of speakers, if compared to other languages belonging to this vast language family (for e.g. Gikuyu; Luganda; Sotho; Zulu; Lingala). As a first or native language it is spoken by around 5–10 million people, and as a second language or *lingua franca* it is used by circa 50–80 million speakers (Amidu 1995: 120; Nurse 1997: 272; Marten 2006). The area where Swahili is spoken reaches from southern Somalia to northern Mozambique (including Mayotte), and it encompasses countries such as Tanzania and Kenya (official language) on the East African coast, and Democratic Republic of

Congo (DRC), Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and also Zambia and Malawi, in the hinterland. Dialects of Swahili are spoken on northern Madagascar and the Comoro Islands. Swahili, which belongs to the Sabaki subgroup of Northeastern Coastal Bantu languages (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993), in Guthrie's classification bears the G.40 designation (Guthrie 1948). The *Kiunguja* (G.42d) dialect of Zanzibar Town has been adopted as the Standard Swahili and as such is taught at various universities around the world. Some other well known dialects of Swahili are the following: *Kiamu* (G.42a) used on the island of Lamu; *Kimvita* (G.42b) spoken in Mombasa, Kenya; *Kimrima* (G.42c) used around Dar es Salaam, Rufiji and Mafia Island; and *Kipemba* (G.43a), which is a local dialect of Pemba Island. Swahili is closely related to languages such as *Kingwana* (also called Copperbelt Swahili; spoken in eastern and southern DRC and sometimes considered a dialect of Swahili); *Chimwiini* (originally spoken around the Somali town of Barawa) and *Kimwani* (which is spoken in the Kerimba Islands and northern coastal Mozambique). Swahili is also akin to the Bantu languages of the Kenyan coastal hinterland (for e.g., Ilwana, Pokomo, Mijikenda, Digo, Giryama, Duruma) and to Comorian languages of the Comoro Islands (for e.g., Ngazija, Nzuani, Mwali, Maore).

Swahili, which evolved during the trade expeditions of Indian Ocean peoples to the East African coast, shows a large amount of borrowings from Arabic and Persian, and a smaller loan set comes from various Indian languages (for e.g., Hindi). The name *Kiswahili* itself originates from the Arabic word *sawahil* meaning 'coasts' or 'boundaries', and with the addition of the Bantu prefix *ki-* denoting 'language', means 'coastal language'. The presence of the Portuguese, and the German and British colonizers in Eastern Africa also left marks on the Swahili vocabulary, and the English language keeps on strongly influencing Swahili up to the present day (Amidu 1995; Nurse 1997; McGrath and Marten 2003: 4–6; Gordon 2005; Marten 2006; Bantu; CIA; Omniglot; SLC; UCLA; Wikipedia).

Sheng has been given different definitions over the years: acronym for Swahili-English slang (Mazrui 1995: 171), urban contact vernacular (Sebba 1997: 31–33), social dialect of Swahili (Githiora 2002: 172), hybrid linguistic code (Githinji 2006: 444), Nairobi's urban language (Dean 2013). It is believed that Sheng has its origin in the poor eastern suburbs of Nairobi. It began its life in 1930s as an underworld professional code among pickpockets and gangs, and evolved from 1960s to 1990s as a peer youth code when a massive migration of people moved from the countryside to the city due to the mass appropriation of agricultural land by British settlers (Mazrui 1995: 173). Many young people were living in crowded areas with their families, shar-

ing a single or two-room housing, so they needed a language code which would allow them to conceal their secrets from parents (Ogechi 2005: 334, Dean 2013). These immigrants, who moved to Nairobi from various parts of Kenya, probably knew very little English and only basic Swahili, and so did their children due to the fact that they were not yet classroom-educated. They were conversing in their ethnic language with their parents at home, and had to find a way to successfully communicate with their peer neighbours whose first language was most probably different. So they "coined a new code from linguistic resources available to them in the new multilingual urban context. Its spread away from eastlands to become a street language was through the informal sector, e.g. shoeshine boys, curio sellers, hawkers and parking boys" (Githiora 2002: 159–160).

2. Linguistic status of Sheng

It is not easy to clearly establish the linguistic status of Sheng even for linguists dealing with this language. They differ in their opinions concerning the category that should be assigned to Sheng, since it shows features typical for jargon, slang, code, pidgin and creole. Today Sheng has become the "characteristic linguistic phenomenon of Nairobi and other multiethnic urban areas in Kenya" (Githinji 2006: 445) and "lingua franca of Nairobi's youth, who make up 60 percent of the Kenyan population" (Dean 2013).

It might be reasonable to assign Sheng the status of an **intertwined language** "in which the morpho-syntax of one language is matched with the vocabulary of another language. They are not creoles or pidgins in the strict sense, but they may shed light on the genesis of these languages as well" (Bakker & Muysken 1994: 41). These languages are also called mixed languages, and they tend to evolve in different parts of the world. Bakker & Muysken (1994) recognize the following languages as the outcome of the intertwining process: Media Lengua (combines Quechua grammar with Spanish lexicon); Angloromani (English grammar, Gypsy/Romani lexicon); Michif (Cree grammar, French lexicon); Ma'a (Bantu grammar, Cushitic lexicon); Krõjo/Javindo (Low Javanese grammar, Dutch lexicon). Only a few intertwined languages have been acknowledged and studied so far, therefore people may remain unaware that these languages differ from pidgins and creoles, and that they appear quite frequently globally. There are some uniform sociohistorical factors which characterize the formation of intertwined languages and they also seem to perfectly apply to the development of Sheng.

The process of language intertwining does not appear in monolingual societies, like for instance Poland and its people. Therefore, group's bilingualism is the main factor that contributes to launching this phenomenon. The language that serves as the lexicon-provider has to be known at least to a reasonable degree to a wide range of people (Bakker & Muysken 1994: 51). The vibrant and complex sociolinguistic situation that takes place in Nairobi (but also in few other major Sub-Saharan African metropolises, like for instance Lagos and Johannesburg) is responsible for the fact that an average Nairobi child since birth is exposed to at least three languages (English, Swahili, and one local language). Depending on who the child's interlocutor is, he/she selects the language of use: and so the child communicates in English in formal classroom setting, in Swahili while shopping, in a local language to talk to his/her parents, and in Sheng to interact with his/her peers.

The result of the language intertwining process in most cases is an in-group language whose main asset is surprisingly not the value of intercommunication in environments where speakers of different languages coexist. Swahili is the main contact language in Kenya. It is the lingua franca of East Africa, whereas Sheng functions as a peer youth code (Mazrui 1995: 173). It is a kind of an urban contact vernacular (Sebba 1997: 31–33) used for building a communication gap between youths and elders, employees and employers, so that conversations conducted in Sheng remain undisclosed for the latter (Bakker & Muysken 1994: 51).

Social background can serve as an indicator in terms of predicting from which language will the intertwined language derive its grammar and from which its vocabulary. Usually, the grammatical structure, namely syntax, morphology, and phonology, resembles the system of the language with similar pronunciation that was known best by inventors of the intertwined language (Bakker & Muysken 1994: 50). Sheng sounds like Swahili and has its structure, while its distinct and unstable vocabulary can be attributed to various languages: mainly English and Swahili, but other Kenyan languages (Dholuo, Kamba, Gikuyu, Masai, Luhya, Giriama and Taita) are also prominent lexifiers (Githiora 2002: 159–160, Ogechi 2005: 334–335, Githinji 2006: 445).

In case the intertwined language is going to serve secret purposes, there is a rather stable tendency concerning the choice of the grammatical system, namely it will be the familiar grammar, the one from the nearest environment. There is some quite wise logic behind such choice: people will not be able to easily recognize that someone instead of the standard version is using a secret language (Bakker & Muysken 1994: 50–51). Swahili and English are the two main languages alternating in modern Sheng, and we can observe

many instances of code-mixing (alternation of a word or phrase in a single sentence) and code-switching (alternation between one or several sentences of the two languages). These numerous items show a clear direction of this sociolinguistic process, namely in Sheng we observe English stems bearing agglutinative Swahili morphology, either inflectional or derivational, and not the other way round, as Mazrui (1995: 176) argues,

> There are numerous instances of English items (verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc.) taking Swahili affixes, but not a single example of the reverse tendency, of a Swahili lexical item being subjected to the rules of English morphology. So, the English verbs 'relax', 'come', 'elapse', and many others, can all take the Swahili subject, tense, aspect (and even object) markers to form words like *alirelax*, *ana-come*, *ime-elapse*; but no Swahili verb can take the English tense-aspect markers. For example: **pumzika-ed*, **kuja-ing* and **pita-ed* are all ill formed switches. There are cases where English items will maintain their English morphological structure; there are also cases in which English and Swahili affixes may "compete" for the same English item (as in *mabits* and *maspots*, with both the Swahili /*ma-*/ and the English /-s/ serving as markers of plurality). But Swahili items invariably remain within the Swahili morphological sphere of influence (Mazrui 1995: 176).

Sheng's unique feature is its dynamism and secretiveness. Pop artists, like DJs, musicians and entertainers try to expand the lexicon of Sheng by making their own original contributions, which are often driven by necessity. Octopizzo – a well-known Kenyan hip hop artist from Kibera, the largest slum in Africa – is fluent in Sheng and he invents new vocabulary that can evade radio censors, like for instance *octombeedo*, a Sheng word meaning marijuana. The need of being unintelligible to outsiders and remaining undisclosed is actually one of the factors responsible for the genesis of an intertwined language (Bakker & Muysken 1994: 51), and in Sheng this quality is also achieved by the use of idiomatic expressions (cf. section 4).

3. Verbal idioms vs complex predicates: the case of Standard Swahili

Idioms play a major role in everyday Swahili conversations. Idiomatic expressions are also very useful in the process of teaching Swahili as a foreign language: they allow students to dwell not only on linguistic properties, but also help to understand cultural meanings which are often unfamiliar to learners of Swahili (Samsom 2000: 285). Swahili lexicon is abundant in multiword verbal expressions, therefore in order to be able to identify phraseological units, it is crucial to correctly estimate the degree of idiomaticity of a given phrase.

This can be achieved by drawing upon the most credible and most well known criterion, namely the *noncompositionality* feature. It encompasses "the fact that the meaning of an idiom cannot be deduced from a sum of the meanings of its parts" (Brinton and Akimoto 1999: 7), as in *kick the bucket*, which means 'to die'. Thus, if we compare two Swahili phrases containing the verb *–piga* 'to beat; hit; strike', namely *–piga moyo konde* (hit + heart + fist) 'to have the courage; to be determined to do sth at any cost' and *–piga marufuku* (hit + prohibition) 'to prohibit sth', it becomes quite obvious that the former is an idiom, and the latter is a complex predicate. This fact is readily apparent just on the basis of the English translations of the two phrases. In case of the idiom *–piga moyo konde* 'to have the courage; to be determined to do sth at any cost', the constituents *piga* 'to hit' + *moyo* 'heart' + *konde* 'fist' when analyzed independently, they do not provide any hint on the final semantics of the whole compound, whereas with the complex predicate *–piga marufuku* 'to prohibit', we are able to deduce the overall meaning from the nominal complement *marufuku* 'prohibition'. Such nominal predictability is a common feature of all Swahili complex predicates, and the light verb has the capacity to influence the aspectual reading of the entire formation.

Since complex predicates in Swahili are often misjudged as verbal idioms (Farsi 1973; Chuwa 1995, 1997), a clear need for some criteria for classification emerges. This can be achieved mainly on the basis of semantics, as presented above. The syntactic aspect is also important, however it is not as reliable as the semantic criterion, due to the complex nature of idioms. This fact is emphasized by Fernando and Flavell (1981: 19), who argue that it is not possible to define idiomaticity with the use of just one factor, and therefore it is crucial to apply multiple criteria, where each feature of an idiom is represented by a separate criterion, in order to receive credible analysis of the degree of its idiomaticity. Similarly, Brinton and Akimoto (1999) assume that "many idioms are not entirely unanalyzable or opaque semantically, (...) they are not completely inflexible or invariant syntactically and morphologically, and (...) they sometimes allow lexical variants and are semantically productive" (Brinton and Akimoto 1999: 8). The conclusion which emerges is based on Akimoto (1983), namely that the feature of idiomaticity can be ranked higer or lower, depending on the extent to which an idiom allows certain syntactical and lexical changes and also on how much meaning can be deduced from its particular components. This concept is quite popular, especially among linguists dealing with English idioms, and can be illustrated by various scales of idiomaticity, as presented in (1–3).

(1) **Semantical cline**: TRANSPARENT (*cut wood*; *break eggs*) > SEMITRANSPARENT (*skate on thin ice*; *kill two birds with one stone*) > SEMIOPAQUE (*burn one's boats*; *jump down someone's throat*) > OPAQUE (*pull someone's leg*; *pass the buck*) (Fernando & Flavell 1981: 28)

(2) a. **Syntactical continuum**: FLEXIBLE (*break someone's heart*) > IRREGULAR (*to go one better*)
b. **Semantical continuum**: TRANSPARENT (*long time*; *no see*) > OPAQUE (*right on*; *kick the bucket*)
c. **Fixedness continuum**: UNRESTRICTED (*have a look*) > RESTRICTED (*dead drunk*) (Brinton and Akimoto 1999: 8; originally from Carter 1987: 58, 63–64)

(3) **Classification of idioms**:
ANALYZABLE-OPAQUE (*kick the bucket*) – no lexical substitution and little syntactic flexibility allowed
ANALYZABLE-TRANSPARENT (*break the ice*) – both types of variation allowed "[...] if the semantics of each element, the relationship among elements, and the overall meaning are respected"
QUASIMETAPHORICAL (*give up the ship*) – both types of variation allowed provided that the metaphorical aspect is retained
NONANALYZABLE (*by and large*) – no variation allowed
(Brinton and Akimoto 1999: 8; originally from Cacciari and Glucksberg 1991: 228ff.)

Moreover, Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994: 4) propose a distinction between *idiomatic phrases*, whose idiomatic meaning is not distributed over the constituents, as in for e.g., *saw logs* 'to snore', which thus appears as a complete phrase in the lexicon, and *idiomatic combinations*, where portions of the idiomatic meaning can be identified in particular parts of the phrase, as in for e.g., *spill the beans* 'to divulge the information'. This identification can be achieved by means of a convention, which associates parts of the idiomatic combination with particular meanings, but only in case of their joint appearance (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow 1994: 497). The approach presented by Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994), does also account for the different attitudes of various idioms towards syntactic flexibility. Operations such as passivization (**The bucket was kicked by Sam*), internal modification (**Hold your restless horses*), and topicalization (**The bucket Sam kicked*), are not permitted for idiomatic phrases, since the idiomatic interpretation is then lost (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 7). Idiomatic combinations, on the other hand,

> do not have the transformational deficiencies usually associated with idioms; they can be modified (*leave no legal stone unturned*), quantified (*touch a couple*

of nerves), negated (*spill no beans*), pluralized (*drop a hint/drop hints*), passivized (*the decks were cleared*), topicalized (*his closets*, *you might find skeletons in*), nominalized (*running (of) the gauntlet*), elliptical (*my goose is cooked but yours isn't*), changed in order (*put a good face on/put on a good face*), and referred to anaphorically (*we thought tabs were being kept on us, but they weren't*) (Brinton and Akimoto 1999: 9).

In Swahili, we can also observe a non-homogeneous behaviour of idioms as far as syntactical issues are concerned. There is a rather strong reluctance towards the passivization of sentences containing monovalent idioms, as in (4a, b), where the idiom *–piga moyo konde* has an intransitive meaning of 'to have the courage; to be determined to do sth at any cost', even though apart from the verb *–piga* 'to beat; hit; strike', it is made up of two nominal constituents *moyo* 'heart' and *konde* 'fist'.

(4) a. [...] *wananchi* *hao* ***wa-li-pig-a*** ***moyo*** ***konde***
C2.citizens C2.DEM **C2.SM-PST-hit-FV** **C3.heart** **C5.fist**
na *kw-end-a* *kwenye* *uchaguzi.*
and INF-go-FV to C11.election
'[...] these citizens **had the courage** and attended the elections.
(HCS_alasiri)

b. ***moyo** ***u-li-pig-w-a*** ***konde*** *na* *wananchi* *hao* [...].
C3.heart **C3.SM-PST-hit-PASS-FV** **C5.fist** by C2.citizens C2.DEM
'Lit. **the heart was hit with the fist** by these citizens [...].' (constructed example)

On the other hand, one can come across idioms like *–acha mkono* (leave + hand) 'to die; to abandon' (cf. (5a)), which can be used transitively and is likely to be accompanied by an object. The object of the action denoted by this idiom may be promoted to the subject position due to passivization of its verbal constituent, as in (5b). However, a passive clause where the nominal constituent *mkono* 'hand' would be promoted to the subject position, would be regarded as ungrammatical, as in (5c).

(5) a. *Baba* ***a-me-wa-ach-a*** ***mkono*** *watoto* *w-ake.*
C9.father **C1.SM-PRF-C2.OM-leave-FV** **C3.hand** C2.children C2-POSS
'Father **is dead**. (Lit. Father **has abandoned the hand** [to] his children.)'

b. *Watoto* ***wa-me-ach-w-a*** ***mkono*** *na* *baba* *y-ao.*
C2.children **C2.SM-PRF-leave-PASS-FV** C3.hand by C9.father C9-POSS
'The children **lost** their father.'

b. ***Mkono** ***u-me-ach-w-a*** *na* *baba* *y-ao.*
C3.hand **C3.SM-PRF-leave-PASS-FV** by C9.father C9-POSS
'Lit. **The hand was left** by their father.'

(Kiango 2003b: 65, 68; constructed example)

Even though some types of morpholexical operations on idioms are acceptable and grammatical (cf. 5a, b), nevertheless they are not applied on a large scale in Swahili, due to the fact that modifications of idioms are not as productive in terms of enriching the verbal lexicon as the variations of complex predicates are, as shown in (6a-c).

(6) a. *–pig-a* *simu* 'to telephone'
hit-FV C9.phone

b. *–pig-**i**-a* *simu* 'to telephone someone; call sb up'
hit-**APPL**-FV C9.phone

c. *–pig-**i-w**-a* *simu* 'to be called up'
hit-**APPL-PASS**-FV C9.phone
(Kamusi; HCS)

Some further discrepancies among Swahili idioms may be observed in the domain of internal modifications. The possibility of adjusting the meaning with an adjectival modifier is dependent on the idiom's semantics, as in (7). Here, the noncompositionality of the idiomatic phrase *–piga moyo konde* 'to have the courage; to be determined to do sth at any cost' does not allow for the addition of the adjective *-zito* 'heavy' in order to achieve the concept of 'having great courage', thereby the opacity of meaning excludes its enhancement.

(7) *[...] *wananchi* *hao* ***wa-li-pig-a*** ***moyo*** ***konde***
C2.citizens C2.DEM **C2.SM-PST-hit-FV** C3.heart C5.fist
zito *na* *kw-end-a* *kwenye* *uchaguzi.*
C5.heavy and INF-go-FV to C11.election

'Lit. [...] these citizens **hit the heart with** heavy **fist** and attended the elections.' (constructed example)

In case when an idiomatic combination has a more transparent meaning, as for e.g., *–piga* [*mtu*] *kijembe* (hit + [sb] + little hoe/pocketknife) 'to mock at sb; to allude to sb/sth', then the addition of an emphasizing modifier *–zito* 'heavy' is possible, as shown in (8).

(8) *Wafanyakazi* *wazawa* *wa* *kiwanda* *cha* *soda* *cha*
C2.workers C2.native C2.of C7.factory C7.of C9.soda C7.of
Pepsi, ***wa-me-m-pig-a*** ***kijembe*** *ki-zito* *Waziri*
Pepsi **C2.SM-PRF-C1.OM-hit-FV** **C7.pocketknife** C7-heavy C5.minister
Mkuu *wa* *amani* [...].
C1.prime C1.of C9.peace

'Native workers of the Pepsi soft drink factory **have made a** heavy **mockery** of the Prime Minister of peace [...].' (HCS_alasiri)

The noun *kijembe* 'little hoe; pocketknife', which has an idiomatic interpretation of 'innuendo; sarcasm', when accompanied by the adjective *kizito* 'heavy' (cf. (8)), it gains the meaning of 'biting/heavy sarcasm'. Moreover, in order to intensify the semantics of the idiom *–piga kijembe* and emphasize the fact that the allusion which is made may concern more than one recipient, the noun can also be used in plural (*vijembe*), as illustrated in (9).

(9) *Taarifa* *ha-i-ku-taj-a* *nchi* *z-enye*
C9.report NEG-C9.SM-NEG.PST-mention-FV C10.countries C10-having
majeshi *Congo,* *lakini* *ni* *dhahiri* *i-li-kuw-a*
C6.troops C9.Congo but COP obvious C9.SM-PST-be-FV
i-ki-zi-pig-a ***vijembe*** *Uganda*
C9.SM-DUR-C10.OM-hit-FV **C8.pocketknives** C9.Uganda
na *Rwanda* [...].
and C9.Rwanda

'The report did not mention countries having their troops in Congo, but it is obvious that it was **making allusions** to Uganda and Rwanda [...].' (HCS_alasiri)

In terms of *lexical integrity*, idioms, or rather idiomatic combinations, are not as inviolate as it might be expected. For the purpose of achieving "surprising and unusual effects (...) an element of the idiom may be changed, without its original import being changed at the same time, by substitution, inversion, or deletion" (Fernando and Flavell 1981: 38–39), as the English examples in (10a, b) illustrate.

(10) a. SUBSTITUTION

Cry over spilt milk:
"Well it's no use ***crying over spilt uranium****," lisped Dr. Hippo, regarding the ruins of the Senior Common Room*. (M. O'Connor *Half an Hour After*)

b. DELETION OF PART OF THE IDIOM

A bird in the hand is worth two in a bush:
This fellow thought that the Professor would drop him like a hot potato so he preferred ***a bird in the hand*** [...] (B.T., in the context of employment possibilities, October 1975).

(Fernando and Flavell 1981: 38–39)

In Swahili, there are a few cases, where a noun has a specific idiomatic interpretation (for e.g., *maji* 'water' = idiomatic: 'alcohol'; *kijembe* 'little hoe; pocketknife' = idiomatic: 'innuendo; sarcasm'; *chai* 'tea' = idiomatic: 'bribe'), and as a result of "novelty and innovation on the part of language users" (Chuwa 1997: 36), it can be fixed with various verbs to convey either synonymous (cf. (11a, b)), or antonymous idiomatic meanings (cf. (12)).

(11) **SYNONYMS**:

a.

–piga maji	(hit + water)	'to drink alcohol'
–chapa maji	(strike + water)	'to drink alcohol'
–kata maji	(cut + water)	'to drink alcohol excessively'

(Chuwa 1997: 35)

b.

–piga [***mtu***] ***kijembe***	(hit + [sb] + pocketknife)	'to mock at sb; to allude to sb/sth'
–toa kijembe	(give + pocketknife)	'to allude to sth'
–rusha kijembe	(throw + pocketknife)	'to allude to sth'

(HCS)

(12) **ANTONYMS**:

–toa chai	(give + tea)	'to offer a bribe'
–pata chai	(get + tea)	'to receive a bribe'

(Chuwa 1997: 35)

The idiomatic treatment of those particular nouns, as well as the idiomatic understanding of their combinations with verbs, is specific to Swahili only. Expressions such as those listed in (11a, b) and (12) above, are not crosslinguistically universal. Moreover, only a native or near-native knowledge of Swahili enables the correct comprehension and the proper usage of idioms. Otherwise they have to be learnt in the course of second language acquisition, since "idioms are conventionalized: their meaning or use can't be predicted, or at least entirely predicted, on the basis of a knowledge of the independent conventions that determine the use of their constituents when they appear in isolation from one another" (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow 1994: 492). As already mentioned above, complex predicates are far more predictable with respect to semantics due to the transparency of the nominal complement and the lightness of the verb. Therefore, they are easier to handle for non-native users of Swahili, and they are also much more productive in terms of enriching the lexicon of the language with new verbal concepts. Thus, complex predicates presented in (13a), although they may differ in the degree of semantic transparency (some are 100% unambiguous, while others appear to be more semantically opaque), nonetheless, they should not be analyzed on a par with verbal expressions like those listed in (13b), whose meanings are without doubt noncompositional.

(13) a. **COMPLEX PREDICATES** (SEMANTIC PREDICTABILITY)

–piga pasi	(hit + flatiron)	'to iron'
–piga/-tia moto [*gari*]	(hit/put in + fire)	'to start [a car]'

–piga/–funga breki	(hit/close + brake)	'to apply the brakes'
–piga/–enda chafya	(hit/go + sneezing)	'to sneeze'
–piga/–enda miayo	(hit/go + yawns)	'to yawn'
–piga deki	(hit + mopping the floor)	'to mop; wash the floor'
–piga kalenda [*kesi*]	(hit + calendar)	'to postpone [a case]'
–tia aibu	(put in + disgrace)	'to disgrace; embarrass'

(HCS; Kamusi; TUKI 2001)

b. **IDIOMS** (SEMANTIC NONCOMPOSITIONALITY)

–acha mkono	(leave + hand)	'to die; to abandon'
–piga moyo konde	(hit + heart + fist)	'to have the courage; to be determined to do sth at any cost'
–fua dafu	(husk + unripe coconut)	'to succeed; to compete with (usually used in the negative)'
–tia utambi	(put in + wick)	'to cause antagonism amongst people'
–fa moyo	(die + heart)	'to lose heart; to despair'
–pata jiko	(get + hearth/kitchen)	'to marry (of a man only); to get a wife'
–poa moto	(cool + fire)	'to calm down; to relax'
–vaa miwani	(wear + spectacles)	'to be drunk'

(Chuwa 1995; Farsi 1973; Kiango 2003a, b)

Another semantic aspect of complex predicates, which can help to distinguish them from idioms, is the fact that they convey information relating to everyday activities such as for e.g., ironing, starting the engine of a car, applying brakes to the car, sneezing, yawning, washing the floor, and etc. And idioms, on the other hand,

> are typically used to imply a certain evaluation or affective stance toward the things they denote. A language doesn't ordinarily use idioms to describe situations that are regarded neutrally – buying tickets, reading a book – though of course one could imagine a community in which such activities were sufficiently charged with social meaning to be worthy of idiomatic reference (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow 1994: 493)

This statement seems to be highly reasonable, if we consider examples presented in (13a, b) above.

Moreover, the comparison of idioms and complex predicates in terms of their susceptibility to word order intrusions also gives discrepant results. The insertion of the object NP *watoto wake* 'his children' between the component parts of the idiom *–acha mkono* 'to die; to abandon' renders the clause ungrammatical, since it "dismantles the idiomatic meaning" (Kiango 2003b: 69),

as shown in (14a), whereas the continuity of the complex predicate –*piga risasi* 'to shoot; fire bullets' may be interrupted by placing the object *mkewe* 'his wife' between its constituents, with no disturbance in meaning, as (14b) illustrates.

(14) a. **Baba* ***a-me-wa-ach-a*** *watoto* *w-ake* ***mkono.***
C9.father **C1.SM-PRF-C2.OM-leave-FV** C2.children C2-POSS **C3.hand**

'Father **is dead**. (Lit. Father **has abandoned** his children **the hand**.)'
(Kiango 2003b: 68; constructed example)

b. [...] *Isack* *kwa* *ku-tumi-a* *bastola* *y-ake*
C1.Isack with INF-use-FV C9.pistol C9-POSS

a-li-m-pig-a *mke-we* ***risasi*** *kifua-ni* [...].
C1.SM-PST-C1.OM-hit-FV wife-POSS **C9.bullet** C7/16.chest-LOC

'[...] Isack using his pistol **shot** his wife in the chest [...].' (HCS_rai)

An interesting fact about complex predicates is that they are likely to appear sequentially in a clause, as exemplified in (15), while there is no tendency in Swahili to use more than one idiom in a single sentence, since it would probably worsen its comprehensibility (nonetheless, this issue still requires some further reasearch).

(15) [...] *Baraza* la Usalama la Umoja wa Mataifa
C5.council C5.of C11.security C5.of C11.union C11.of C6.nations

li-li-pig-a ***kura*** ***ku-pig-a*** ***marufuku*** *biashara*
C5.SM-PST-hit-FV **C9.vote** **INF-hit-FV** **C6.prohibition** C9.trade

na *usafiri* *dhidi* *ya* *Liberia* [...].
and C11.transport C9.against C9.of C9.Liberia

'[...] The Security Council of United Nations **voted on putting an embargo** on trade and transport towards Liberia [...]' (HCS_dwelle)

It emerges that the border line between idioms and complex predicates of the type V + N may be drawn mainly on the basis of semantics and the predictability of meaning of their constituents, whereas syntactical behaviour of both, idioms and complex predicates, does not always speak in favour of one category or the other, and not in every case does it serve as a credible criterion (cf. passivization facts). Syntax plays a role as far as the distinction between light verbs and their nominal complements on one hand, and full verbs and their arguments on the other, is concerned. Here, the correct ways of forming interrogatives are of significance.

4. Verbal idioms in Sheng

An array of idioms constructed around a verb may be found in Sheng. A few examples are given in (16a-c).

(16) a. *–**ingiza baridi*** 'to fear' (insert + cold)
Idiom usage: *Ule dere vile ana drive anaweza **kuingiza baridi**.*
'The way that driver is driving can make you to be afraid.'

b. *–**piga leather*** 'to walk' (hit + leather jacket)
Idiom usage: *Leo itanibidi **kupiga leather** hadi tao.*
'I will have to walk to town.'

c. *–**tingua keja*** 'to vibe a chick' (open + house)
Idiom usage: ***Tingua keja** ile yapale base yaku sosi.*
'Vibe that chick the one at the food court.'

(Sheng Kamusi)

Some concepts are very likely to be expressed in an idiomatic way in Sheng, and we may even find a few synonyms, as shown in (17) and in (18), where the idea of getting angry is conveyed by four different idioms, namely *-la ndimu*, *–jam*, *–wa na nare*, and *–shika mbulu*.

(17) P.G: ***ku-la ndimu** ni ku-fanya nini?*
inf-eat lemon cop inf–do what?
'What do you mean by '**kula ndimu**'?'

Tash: *Ni **ku-jam**, ku-kasirika yaani*
cop inf-angry, inf-get angry, that is
'It means to **get angry**.'
(Githinji 2006: 459–460)

(18) Kui: ***A-ko na nare** tu mbaya sana, **a-me-shika mbulu...***
1sm-poss with fire only bad very, 1sm-perf-catch mbulu'
'**He is in** a very bad **rage**, **he was very angry**...'
(Githinji 2006: 460)

In example (17) the group term *–la ndimu*, literally 'to eat lemons' is paraphrased with *–jam*, which is a common Sheng expression, and *–kasirika*, which is the Standard Swahili non-idiomatic equivalent. The idiom *–la ndimu* is an in-group term, which is unintelligible to outsiders, whereas *–jam* and *–wa na nare* are now outdated expressions that are easily understood by the majority of Sheng speakers irrespective of their group affiliation. Githinji (2006) emphasizes the fact that "the switch from the popular idiom (*ako na nare* 'he has fire' (he was angry)) to the group specific idiom (*ameshika mbulu*) is a deliberate undertaking intended to define the boundary between (...) members (of a group) on one hand, and (non-members) on the other" (Githinji 2006: 460).

Sheng displays an interesting feature in relation to one of Swahili complex predicates, namely *–piga pasi* (hit + flatiron) 'to iron (clothes)'. In Sheng this compound is used idiomatically to express the concept of flattening of one's pockets in pick-pocketing, as presented in (19). In Standard Swahili the verb *–ibia* 'to steal from' is used in non-idiomatic contexts, as shown in (20).

(19) *Ma-babi lazima* ***tu-wa-pige pasi****. Kwani wa-na-fikiri sisi ha-tu-demi?*
The-rich have-to we-them-press iron. Why they-tense-think us neg-we-demolish?
'**we have to steal from** the rich. Do they think we do not eat?'
(Bosire 2006: 191)

(20) *ma-tajiri lazima* ***tu-wa-ib-i-e****. Kwani wa-na-fikiri sisi ha-tu-li?*
'**we have to steal from** the rich. Do they think we do not eat?'
(Bosire 2006: 191)

Moreover, in Sheng this idiom can be used in a passive construction to convey the meaning that someone has been robbed, as in (21). Whereas in Standard Swahili the only attested passive form of this complex predicate is when the noun *nguo* meaning clothes becomes the subject of a passive clause, as in (22). Otherwise the literal meaning that someone has been ironed would sound semantically odd.

(21) ***a-me-pig-w-a*** ***pasi***
s/he-TAM-hit-pass-FV iron
'**s/he has been picked**'
(Bosire 2009: 78)

(22) *Nguo* ***zi-li-pig-w-a*** ***pasi*** (*na* *Juma*).
c10.clothes **c10.SM-PST-hit-PASS-FV** **c9.iron** by c1.Juma
'The clothes **were ironed** (by Juma).'
(constructed example)

5. Conclusions

Based on the language data that we have analyzed so far, the answer to the question posed in the title of this article, namely 'Does phraseology exist in mixed languages?' has to be positive. Verbal idioms are quite numerous in Sheng, and they seem to follow the Swahili structural pattern, although the linguistic material is somewhat diverse. Quite many versions of Sheng exist, so it might be interesting to compare phraseological units between a few of those versions, for instance within Nairobi metropolis, in order to see how universal and Pan–Sheng are idioms such as *–ingiza baridi* 'to fear',

–piga leather 'to walk' or *–la ndimu* 'to get angry' (cf. (16), (17)). This is just an introductory description of this linguistic phenomenon and it definitely requires further research. However nowadays, due to the rapid development of Sheng, the most reasonable and reliable research is the one done on the spot, which I have not been able to conduct so far. So a more exhaustive and insightful deliberation of this issue is yet to come. The main aim of this article was distinguishing between two multiword verbal categories in Swahili, namely verbal idioms and complex predicates, and checking on Sheng in order to see how the lexicon of this Swahili-English intertwined language deals with such items.

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Dean 2013: Nairobi's Street Talk by Laura Dean
http://roadsandkingdoms.com/2013/nairobis-street-talk/

HCS: Helsinki Corpus of Swahili
http://www.csc.fi/kielipankki/aineistot/hcs/
http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/cameel/corpus/rmecorp.pdf
HCS_alasiri: *Alasiri* – a daily newspaper from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, covering general news
HCS_dwelle: Radio Deutsche Welle – Swahili News Broadcasts
HCS_rai: *Rai – Gazeti la kila wiki*; a weekly newspaper from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Kamusi: The Kamusi Project
http://kamusiproject.org/

Omniglot: Omniglot – writing systems & languages of the world
http://www.omniglot.com/writing/swahili.htm

Sheng Kamusi: Sheng Kamusi. Search or translate for sheng words – Sheng.co.ke
http://www.sheng.co.ke/kamusi/

SLC: Swahili Language & Culture
http://www.glcom.com/hassan/swahili_history.html

UCLA: UCLA Language Materials Project – Teaching Resources for Less Commonly

Taught Languages
http://www.lmp.ucla.edu/Profile.aspx?menu=004&LangID=17

Wikipedia: Swahili language – Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swahili_language

[1] The denotations in brackets are used in the paper as a reference to the respective internet website and/or source of Swahili language data.

Czy frazeologia istnieje w językach mieszanych? – Analiza porównawcza idiomów czasownikowych w standardowej odmianie języka suahili i w języku sheng

Streszczenie

Dotychczasowe analizy języków mieszanych skupione były głównie na ich cechach gramatycznych. Znacznie mniej uwagi poświęcano natomiast stałym połączeniom wyrazowym, takim jak idiomy i przysłowia. Artykuł poświęcony jest porównaniu idiomów czasownikowych z predykatami złożonymi w standardowej odmianie języka suahili. Podjęto również próbę określenia językowego statusu odmiany sheng i ustalenia jak w tym suahilijsko-angielskim języku mieszanym funkcjonują stałe połączenia wyrazów. W procesie komunikacji użytkownicy języka suahili posługują się licznymi idiomami. Są one wykorzystywane w codziennych rozmowach prowadzonych w kontakcie bezpośrednim lub za pomocą nowoczesnych mediów oraz w innych formach kultury popularnej, w których język jest środkiem wyrazu i komunikacji, na przykład w artykułach, powieściach, tekstach piosenek, wierszach. Dotyczy to również predykatów złożonych, dlatego istnieje konieczność badania ich i zróżnicowania tych dwóch kategorii.

Makoto Sumiyoshi
Setsunan University
Japan

Phrases, non-compositionality, and functions in use: An analysis of *'Don't "yes, sir" me!'*[*]

Abstract. The sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*' (e.g. *Don't 'yes, sir' me!*) is discussed in this paper on the basis of corpus data. The discussion clarifies the 'phrase-ness' of this sequence in terms of grammatical and semantic non-compositionality, and its functions in use. In this sequence, quotations stand in the verb position and are disguised as verbs. However, they are not verbs in the true sense of the word, because they lack verbal properties. I will also point out the similarities between this phrase and another phrase 'X + *me* + *no* + Xs' (e.g. *But me no buts*). Although some linguists explain these phenomena with the term delocutive verbs, they have not taken into consideration the importance of word sequences fixed as phrases in these interesting uses. Much more attention should be paid to the phrasal nature of language in the explanation of linguistic phenomena.

Key words: *phrases, non-compositionality, delocutive verbs, 'Don't + X + me!', 'X + me + no + Xs'*

1. Introduction

It is perplexing to encounter examples that differ from the rules in conventional English grammar. Given below are such examples, in which '*on + account + of*' and '*how + about*' are followed by clauses consisting of subject + verb, and '*have + in + common*' is followed by a *that*-clause:

(1) His mother's there, *on account of she couldn't get a babysitter* (...).[1]

(2) I'll tell you what. *How about I tell a story of my own?* Just as a guest. (Corpus of Contemporary American English, henceforth COCA)

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[1] S. King, *Different Seasons* (1983), p. 377. New York: Signet, cited by Sumiyoshi (2014b).

(3) You know, we *have in common that* we were both deprived because he was poor and I was black. (COCA)

These examples come as a surprise because the phrases '*how* + *about*' and '*on* + *account* + *of*' end with prepositions but is followed by a clause (subject + verb). Prepositions are usually followed by noun phrases or *-ing* clauses. If followed by a clause, they should be regarded as conjunctions in traditional terms. The sequence '*have* + *in* + *common* + *that*-clause' looks strange because usually neither the verb *have* nor the phrase *in common* is construed with such clauses in default cases (i.e. **have* + *that*-clause and **in common* + *that*-clause).

It is sometimes taken for granted that sentences are grammatically compositional; that is, sentences are constructed according to stringent grammatical rules. However, facets of the English language often contradict this, and this may suggest that word sequences are chosen as whole units regardless of their internal grammatical structures. This is called the idiom principle, advocated by Sinclair (1991). Sinclair argues that 'a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments' (p. 110). Such phrases may behave differently from the words that constitute those phrases. Much research conducted in the field of phraseology has convinced us that languages have such a phraseological nature (Wray 2002; Siepmann 2008).

If scrutinized in depth on the basis of authentic data, the English language provides us with many more phrases that are grammatically aberrant. One of these is exemplified by Examples (4) and (5), which show the target structure of this article:

(4) "You don't know. I really, really hate you."
"Yeah. Shhhhh."
"*Don't shhhhh me*."
"Shhhhh."
"I hate you."[2]

(5) "It should work."
"I'm sure it will, sir."
"*Don't 'yes, sir' me*, Kramer," Rosenthal said, walking back to his desk.[3]

What is strange about the third lines in these examples is that the sentences seem to lack a verb. In Example (5), *sir* follows the negated imperative auxiliary *Don't*. Some dictionaries give an entry for *sir* as a verb with the meaning

[2] Mary Guterson, *Gone to the Dogs* (2009), p. 249. St. Marrin's Press.

[3] Robert J. Randisi, *The Ham Reporter* (2012), Kindle edition. Prologue Books.

of 'to call someone with *sir*' (cf. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* 6th edition, s.v. *sir*), and so some may say that the *sir* used here is also a verb. However, it does not stand to reason that the two words of the sequence '*yes, sir*' are eligible for membership as a verb. It is also extremely difficult to say that the *shhhhh* in Example (4) is a verb.

By analysing this word sequence (schematized as '*Don't* + X + *me!*' in the following), my aim in this paper is to clarify, by revealing the characteristic behaviour of the sequence, that it is a phrase with semantic and grammatical non-compositionality, and that it is a phrasal device that alters whatever comes in the X position into a fake verb element.

2. Data

Although I cite a few examples of the target structure that I encountered while reading, it is time-consuming or impossible to manually collect as many examples of this kind as my discussion will satisfactorily require. I therefore decided to depend on two large online corpora, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the Corpus of American Soap Operas (SOAP), the latter of which, in particular, offers many examples of the target structure. This indicates that the phenomenon dealt with here is usually used in an oral context. At the time of writing (25/08/2014), the SOAP consisted of 100 million words in more than 22,000 transcripts from 10 American soap operas over a period of approximately 11 years (from 2001 to 2012). Both corpora were created by Mark Davies (Brigham Young University). Details about the data sources are available at http://corpus.byu.edu/.

3. Phrases

Phraseology focuses on researching recurrent word sequences in a syntagmatic relation (Sinclair 2008). A wide variety of terms have been used to describe such recurrent combinations of words (Wray 2002: 8f.), but I follow Lindquist (2009: 91) in using the word 'phrase' in a non-technical sense as a catch-all term to refer to word sequences. Some word sequences identified as phrases have gaps or slots in the sequences into which variants are inserted to make the sequences meaningful. For example, the word string '*Have you heard about* X*?*' can be regarded as a phrase, and in which the X part is filled by various constituents, depending on the situation (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992). A phrase, with or without slots, can be defined as a sequence of

words, if it 'is or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar' (Wray and Perkins 2000: 1).

Granger and Paquot (2008) neatly delineate the realm of phraseology and clarify what word sequences should be dealt with as phrases in this purview. In their tables, they include a plethora of recurrent sequences, after categorisation based on functions (p. 43f.). These sequences range from lexical/grammatical collocations (e.g. *heavy rain*, *afraid of*) to linking adverbs (e.g. *last but not least*) to slogans (e.g. *Make love, not war*). In addition, recent phraseological research has revealed that word sequences that were excluded from the scope of phraseology have been treated as phrases in the literature (Cowie 1998: 20; Granger and Paquot 2008: 28; Lindquist 2009: 91). This means that phraseology has been expanding its territory to include a larger number of fixed, semi-fixed, or discontinuous word combinations than expected so far. Those word combinations are significantly different in their behaviour in text, but they make an essential contribution to sentence- or text-formation with the naturalness of a given language.

Even though it is true that more and more word sequences have been entering the realm of phraseology, it is judicious to establish some criteria in order to judge whether a particular phrase serves as such in a language without proliferating 'phrases' that actually are not (e.g. the word sequence *is a*). Moon (1998) proposes three principal factors, institutionalization, lexicogrammatical fixedness, and non-compositionality, although phrases can also be characterized with some other parameters (Gries 2008). Non-compositionality is important for the analysis of the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*' as a phrase.

There are two types of non-compositionality, semantic and grammatical (Moon 1998: 8). The meaning of a phrase may not be the composition of the meanings of words used in that phrase (semantic non-compositionality). A phrase may contain a grammatically ill-formed part, or a part that deviates from canonical grammatical rules (grammatical non-compositionality). For example, the phrase *by and large* is both semantically and grammatically non-compositional, because (i) the meaning cannot be obtained by combining the meanings of *by*, *and*, and *large*, and (ii) the conjunction *and*, which should link words of the same parts of speech, coordinates two words of different parts of speech[4]. In the discussion that follows, these two types of non-

[4] The phrase *by and large* originally had a nautical use. *By* as an adverb meant 'to the wind' and *large* as an adverb meant 'off the wind' (*The Oxford Dictionary of English* 2nd edition, s.v. *by*). Hence, the phrase is not 'grammatically non-compositional' in the true sense of the words.

compositionality will entitle the word sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*' to phrasal status.

Phrases can be characterized by identifying the socio-interactional functions closely associated with each of them (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992: 60; Wray 2000). Wray (2000) argues that with those functions, speakers convey their intentions about how they want others to treat or view what they are saying (p. 475). A particular phrase is characteristically used to convey commands, requests and so on to others. In the course of discussion below, it will be argued that '*Don't* + X + *me!*' is used to give orders with a tone of irritation or discontent in a very limited circumstance.

Some researchers use frequency of occurrence as a criterion when they identify word sequences as phrases (cf. Gries 2008: 6). They argue that frequently occurring word sequences should be regarded as phrases. However, low frequency word sequences are certainly phrases (e.g. *Long live the King*) and frequently occurring word sequences are not always phrases (e.g. *is a*). '[F]requency counts may not be a reliable means of differentiating them' [formulaic and non-formulaic language] (Wray 2000: 466)[5]. Although the target structure '*Don't* + X + *me!*' does not occur so frequently in the corpora, it reveals other characteristics in support of its 'phrase-ness'.

4. *Don't + X + me!*[6, 7]

In the British comedy film *About a Boy* (2002), Will, the confirmed bachelor, has a furious quarrel with Fiona, the single mother, who is challenging him to explain his relationship with her son:

I follow Moon (1998: 4 and 81), and Wray and Perkins (2000: 1) in the argument that it is an odd phrase and grammatically ill-formed (grammatically non-compositional) in order to avoid making the discussion complicated. This line of argument can be justified because in present-day English, probably, the original formation of the phrase is opaque to many English native speakers (see also Wray and Perkins 2000: 5). Many of the phrases in Moon's list (1998: 81) can be explained etymologically, but their etymology is certainly blurred to English native speakers and they are justifiably regarded as phrases in present-day English.

[5] In addition, grammatical or semantic non-compositionality may not be a determining factor for the identification of word strings as phrases, either. 'Semantically transparent and grammatically regular strings can be formulaic' (Wray 2000: 467). Currently, there are no reliable criteria applicable to all cases when we try to sift phrases out from other types of word string.

[6] Two types of variants can be attested in the SOAP. One of them is the sequence with *me* truncated:

(i) Lucas: I just caught you!
Sami: Caught me what?
Lucas: *Don't "caught me what."* You were checking me out. (SOAP)

(6) Fiona: Well, what do you have to say for yourself? Well?
Will: *Don't "well" me about this!*

As briefly mentioned in the Introduction, this interesting sequence of words means 'Don't say the word "well" to me'. Let me start the analysis of this sequence by looking at the data garnered from the corpora.

4.1. Contextual Environment

First, mention should be made of the fact that this sequence always occurs in a very distinctive circumstance. As can easily be seen from Examples (6), (7), and (8), this word string is always preceded by the exact same expression as the one occurring in the X position, which is uttered by the other interlocutor in the conversation. In Example (6), Fiona is provoking Will to answer her question by saying, 'Well?' to him, and then Will quotes it in the word string by inserting the same word in the X position. The same kind of interaction can be observed in Examples (7) and (8):

(7) Marlena: Oh, honey, I'm sorry.
Sami: *Don't "Oh, honey" me.* You did this. You told me everything. (SOAP)

(8) Bo: Whoa, listen, slow down.
Starr: No, *don't "whoa" me*, okay? (SOAP)

In these examples, the utterances by Marlena and Bo, respectively provide an impetus for '*Don't* + X + *me!*', serving as a kind of forerunner. In all the examples of this word sequence found in the corpora, the existence of such a forerunner is the necessary condition for the occurrence of this sequence, and the wording(s) as an introducer will be quoted in the target structure. This means that it is used in a patterned circumstance. What stands in the X position is a quotation from what the interlocutor has just said in the conversation. This characteristic of the sequence makes it impossible to use it at the start of a conversation without the introducer.

(ii) George: Mom, please.
Felicia: No, *don't "Mom, please."* I'm proud of you. (SOAP)

The other type of variant is the sequence in which *me* is not used, but another kind of noun phrase occurs instead:

(iii) Todd: And at this point, Nikki, you'll be asked to take Paul as your lawfully wedded husband, and you'll be asked to take Nikki, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.
Paul: Hey, *don't "Blah, blah, blah" my wife-to-be*.

Only one example of the second type can be found in the corpus. These two types of sequence, although interesting and worth further scrutiny, are excluded here from investigation.

[7] Part of the discussion in this chapter was reproduced in my oral presentation in Europhras 2014 and its proceedings (forthcoming).

On the other hand, the rule-produced sequence '*Don't say* X (*to* Y)' does not presuppose any conditions in its use, as illustrated by the following examples from the SOAP:

(9) Edmund: Or maybe it's — maybe it's a wake-up call. Or somebody tip-toeing (sic.) over my grave. Brooke, whatever it is, I'll feel a hell of a lot better, I'll sleep better knowing that that's in the hands of somebody that I can trust to do the right thing.
Brooke: Oh, please. *Don't say "when the time comes."*

(10) Oh, my God. Egg salad on pumpernickel with mustard and pickles? This guy may share your face, but your taste is so much better. Wow, that's not bad. Okay, well, it's time you speak up, and *don't say "about what?"*, because we both know. Edmund. Your brother.

The sequence '*Don't say* X (*to* Y)' can be used without an introducer consisting of the same wordings as the ones in X, as in Example (9). This means that the speaker does not need someone else who utters the introducer and hence, the sequence can be used in a non-interactive conversation, as in Example (10). The target structure '*Don't* + X + *me!*' never occurs there. It would be remarkably eccentric for someone to tell him-/herself not to use the wordings to him-/herself, although they have been uttered by him-/herself.

4.2. Grammatical Non-compositionality

All the following examples from the SOAP are given to show what comes in the X position. The target structure in all the examples follows the introducer (underlined here); that is, they show what is quoted in the X position in the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*'. The examples can be categorized on the basis of the quoted wording(s). Note that in many of the examples, statements consisting of more than one word are quoted in the X position[8]:

[8] One of the anonymous reviewers doubts that the sequence "*Don't* + X + *me!*" is established as a phrase and suggests that it is a variant type of echo question.

We sometimes see the *wh*-word *what* standing in the verb position in echo questions:

(i) A: I'll pay for it. / B: You'll *WHAT*? (Quirk et al. 1985: 835)

(ii) A: She sat there and ratiocinated./ B: She sat there and *WHATted*? (Quirk et al. 1985: 836)

Although Quirk et al. point out that "there is a declining acceptability the further one gets away from the normal functions of ... *what*", note that the *wh*-pronoun *what* is used in the verb position in these echo questions. This type of echo question is similar to "*Don't* + X + *me!*" in that something other than verbs stands in the verb position of the sentences.

Since echo utterances repeat part or all of the utterance that has been said by another speaker (e.g. A: *Have you been to Paris?* / B: *Been to Paris!* I'll say I have! (Quirk et al. 1985: 837)),

(11) Names, terms of address or vocatives

a. Stefano: Alexandria. / Lexie: No, no, no. No, no. *Don't "Alexandria" me*... okay?
b. Bo: Ma. / Caroline: *Don't "Ma" me.*
c. Adam: Sweetheart, I'm sorry. / Colby: *Don't "sweetheart" me.*
d. Eugenia: Nice to see you, too, Kate, old partner, old pal. / Kate: Oh *don't "old partner, old pal" me*.

(12) Discourse markers, interjections or swearing words

a. Melanie: Yeah, right. / Philip: I am. What do you mean "yeah, right"? *Don't "yeah, right" me.* Of course I am.
b. Angelo: Ohh, no. No. No. No. No, no, no, no, no! / Angelina: *Don't "No, no, no" me.* It's what I got ta do.
c. Gus: Oh, my g— / Harley: *Don't "Oh, my gosh" me.*

(13) Lexical words, phrases or sentences

a. Lily: Nothing. / Neil: No, no. *Don't "nothing" me.* I can tell that look a mile away.
b. Roy: So Merry Christmas. / Melissa: You know something? Do me a favor, okay? *Don't "Merry Christmas" me.*
c. Meg: I'm sorry, Mama. / Emma: *Don't "sorry" me.* Just, please, tell the truth.
d. Dorian: Oh. Come on, Blair. Lighten up. / Blair: *Don't "lighten up" me.* You stole the diamond.
e. Tad: Terrific. The other sister. What? / Liza: Oh, *don't "what" me* with that look on your face.
f. Sami: Again? / Lucas: *Don't "again" me.* You love that movie.
g. David: That hurts, gorgeous. / Dorian: *Don't "gorgeous" me.*
h. Ticket-agent: ...that means there are no more seats, hence — / Alex: *Don't "hence" me.*
i. Brittany: Yeah, but what if — / Bobby: No, no, don't "what if" me, okay? I can't live another day...
j. Bo: You're not coming with me. That's final. / Hope: Oh, no, *don't "that's final" me.*
k. Phyllis: ...Did you or did you not say that? / Nick: In courtroom testimony. And *don't "Did you or did you not" me*.

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it is true that the sequence "*Don't* + X + *me!*" is a type of echo utterance. However, what is important is that differently from other types of echo utterance, the sequence "*Don't* + X + *me!*" is fixed and used in the context with those functions discussed in this paper. Since it is fixed, it can be regarded as a phrasal variant of echo utterance.

l. Natalia: Come on, Dad. / Jesse: Oh, *don't "Come on, Dad" me.*
m. Kay: But, Tabitha, I know how to control it! / Tabitha: *Don't "but Tabitha" me*.
n. Greg: Look Shaun — / Shaun: *Don't "look Shaun" me*.

It is surprising to see a wide variety of elements being used in the X position. What comes in the X position is, as discussed above, a quotation of the wording(s) that the other interlocutor has uttered in the conversation. This type of quotation has traditionally been called a "quotation substantive" (Jespersen 1914: 215), which can be illustrated by, for example, the following sentences:

(14) a. They use the editiorial 'we'. There is great value in that *'we'*.

b. If I hadn't had a stick that day, it would have been *Heaven help the pair of us*.

(Jespersen 1914: 215f.)

In these sentences, the italicized parts are quoted wordings and they are, as it were, encapsulated in quotation marks, whether the marks are covertly or overtly expressed. They are used as substantives, that is, nouns after the preposition *in* and the copular verb *been*. In the same vein, in the examples given in (13), too, the quoted wordings occurring in the X position can be called quotation substantives.

If quotation substantives are nouns, it is tantamount to saying that all the sentences given in (13) do not have verbs in their structure. As stated in the Introduction, some dictionaries give an entry for *sir* as a verb, and those who are in support of rule-governed grammar and grammatical compositionality may be inclined to argue that *sir* is also a verb in the sequence '*Don't sir me!*'. If such a position is taken in the analysis of this word sequence, it has to be claimed that all that come in the X position are verbs. However, no linguist agrees that quotation substantives such as '*what if*', '*that's final*', '*again*', '*hence*', '*But, Tabitha*' etc., in the examples above, are verbs in the true sense of the word. No lexicographer gives an entry for *probably* as a verb, even when they find the following example in their database:

(15) ... and she said, "On second thought, let's not. It's too-well, it's probably too spicy."
Derek looked at her glittering green eyes as she spoke, and she glanced away. "*Don't "probably" me,"* he said. (COCA)

However, it may be possible to argue that those occurring in the X position are delocutive verbs, which can be defined as 'verbs derived from

a base X which mean 'by saying or uttering 'X" (to someone) to perform an act which is culturally associated with the meaning or force of "X"' (Plank 2005). For example, the verb *my-lorded* in the sentence *In vain he* my-lorded *his poor father in the sternest manner* is derived from the term of address *My Lord* (Plank 2005: 460). The fact that *my-lord* is a verb is shown by the inflectional suffix *-ed*. In German, the delocutive verb *siezen* with the meaning 'to say "thou or you" to someone else' is derived from the pronoun *Sie*.

Plank (2005: 468) mentions that in the sentence *Don't you ever "How-are-we-feeling-today, sir?" me again, nurse!*, the part '*How-are-we-feeling-today, sir*' is a delocutive verb. He continues to argue that 'sentences which are formed on the fly should not normally occur as bases of delocutive verbs'. He means here that in order for word sequences to be delocutive verbs, they have to be customarily used as formulaic expressions to perform a particular cultural act. It is true that in most of the examples of the target structures given so far, the word and wordings in the X position are expressions for carrying out social acts such as greeting, swearing, getting someone's attention, etc. Hence, it may be possible to argue that all of those given above are delocutive verbs.

However, I am not in agreement with Plank in arguing that each of them itself is a delocutive verb. The first reason for this is that most of the expressions occurring in the X position are not marked for a person or a tense (e.g. **what-ifed*, or **agains*), differently from the German delocutive verb *siezen*. They are devoid of distinctive characteristics that verbs should have. As a natural corollary of this, they do not occur as delocutive verbs in other types of sentence (e.g. **I agained him* with the meaning that I said 'again' to him), differently from *my-lorded* mentioned above. It is extremely difficult to use '*but Tabitha-ed*', '*but Tabitha-s*' or '*but Tabitha-ing*' in other sentences. They are not verbs in the true sense of the word. They serve as fake verbs only in the syntagmatic configuration '*Don't* + X + *me!*'. Although Plank argues that delocutive verbs are customarily used as formulaic expressions, the word and wordings, whether customarily fixed or not, jump on the spot into the X position in the sequence. For the second reason that I do not assume them themselves to be delocutive verbs, it can be argued that it is difficult to decide what aspect of English culture is tied to *again*, *probably* or the sentence *that's final*, for example.

In order for such strange words or word sequences in the X position to serve as fake verbs ostensibly occupying the position, what matters is the existence of the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*'. Any quotation, uttered by the other interlocutor in the conversation, temporarily fills the verb position in the sequence. The sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*' here serves as a phrasal

device that changes quotation substantives into something that is disguised as a verb.

In the sense that there is no genuine verb in the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*', they are grammatically non-compositional. It can be argued that the idiom principle plays an important role in the formation of the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*'. The speaker chooses the whole sequence of words as a phrase without regard to its internal structure to express his or her ideas correctly. It follows that *me* in this sequence cannot be regarded as the object of X, or I should rather say that grammatically diagnosing this sequence is of no use. The word sequence '*Don't* + X + *me*!' is ostensibly the same as, for example, *Don't stop me!*, which is produced with a grammatical rule saying that a verb should be put first and then a noun phrase as object. However, the former is radically different from the grammatically normal construction. All discussed here point to the fact that the word string '*Don't* + X + *me*!' is syntactically irregular and it is a grammatically non-compositional phrase.

In the discussion of formulaic expressions, it is sometimes controversial, and hence inherently important, to determine to what abstract level we should go in dealing with phrases. For example, Gries (2008: 8f) sets out five linguistic levels of representation of phrases with the example *eke out a living*:

(16) a. to [VP *eke out a living*];

b. to [VP *eke out* DO];

c. to [VP V *out* DO];

d. to [VP V Particle DO]

e. to [VP V Particle DONP]

At the most concrete level of representation, i.e. (16a), every word in the phrase is specified. At the level of representation (16c), a partially-filled scheme is given, which shows that variants occur in the V and DO positions. A large number of sequences will be dealt with as phrases at the levels from (16a) to (16c). At the highly abstract level of representation (16d), a lexically unspecified scheme is available, and possibly not all researchers are agreed that such an extremely abstractly represented scheme is a phrase. If researchers add information about parts of speech to the scheme, it can be modified as in (16e). Although Gries is right in annexing a note to the last one, saying that 'even the DO does not have to be an NP', which implies grammatical non-compositionality of phrases, it is better not to go so far as to include information about parts of speech or even the grammatical functions of the constituents (like DO) in the scheme when discussing what

phrases are. As clarified by the discussion of '*Don't* + X + *me!*' here, phrases can be characterized by grammatical non-compositionality, and if you argue that an element with a particular part of speech only can go into the slot X, it will deprive phrases of 'phrase-ness. Part-of-speech rules do not contribute to the perspicuity of this interesting word sequence, or it can be said that the sequence as a phrase has been emancipated from slavery to part-of-speech rules.

4.3. Semantic Non-compositionality

In the following exchange of words, Amber orders Massimo not to use the expression '*young lady*' to her:

(17) Massimo: I have no time to give you one, young lady. I am very busy.
Amber: *Don't "young lady" me*. You know who I am. (SOAP)

As discussed in the previous section, '*young lady*' here is converted into a fake verb by the whole sequence. It is easily understandable that the meaning of the whole sequence is not the simple sum of the meaning of each part of the sequence, that is, the meaning of the whole sequence is semantically non-compositional. This is because, as discussed in the previous section, '*young lady*' itself is not a verb, and the *say*-meaning is supplemented for the very reason that it occurred in the X position of this sequence.

As discussed in Section 4.1, the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me*!' occurs in an extremely distinctive circumstance where the exact same wordings as the ones appearing in the X position precede the sequence in the conversation between the interlocutors. That is to say, the sequence can be used only on condition that the X part has been uttered by a different conversation participant immediately before the speaker uses the sequence. In the use of the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*', it is so closely associated with such a context that the sequence itself is semantically interpreted by the hearer as meaning 'Don't say X to me', although the *say*-meaning is not overtly expressed in the sequence. This is probably a similar procedure of interpretation of the formulaic sequence *But me no buts*, in which the pattern 'X + *me* + *no* + Xs' itself is understood to mean 'Don't say the word X to me' (see section 4.5). *Say* is not syntactically expressed in the sequence but at the level of interpretation, the *say*-meaning is supplemented, because the hearer surely knows that the X part has just been uttered by him- or herself and quoted by the speaker. That is, a word or a word group standing in the X position is not a delocutive verb, but the pattern '*Don't* + X + *me!*' gives the meaning of *say* to what comes in the X position. Hence, the sequence is completely acceptably

utterable and interpretable, whatever resides in the X position. Some of the examples given above are repeated here for exposition as Examples (18)–(20):

(18) Brittany: Yeah, but what if — / Bobby: No, no, don't "what if" me, okay? I can't live another day...

(19) Bo: You're not coming with me. That's final. / Hope: Oh, no, *don't "that's final" me.*

(20) Phyllis: ...Did you or did you not say that? / Nick: In courtroom testimony. And *don't "Did you or did you not" me*.

These 'seemingly weird' sentences cannot be accounted for with normal English grammar rules. They are not constructed on the basis of such rules, and accordingly they are extremely difficult to interpret in the context of traditional English grammar. However complicated the X part is, it can be used without any complication. This is because the quotation in the X part is the same utterance that comes immediately before the sentence, and hence the sequence is conventionally uttered and interpreted with the *say*-meaning. *Don't "what if"/"that's final"/"Did you or did you not" me!* means *Don't say "what if"/"that's final"/"Did you or did you not" to me*. In terms of semantics, too, the sequence of words "*Don't* + X + *me!*" is non-compositional.

4.4. Functions in Use

Phrases serve a particular function in the context where they are used. Different phrases have different functions (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992). For example, the phrase *as a result* (*of* X) serves as a logical connector, and *Would you like* X*?* has the socio-interactive function of offering. Providing that the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*' is a phrase, it should perform a particular function in dialogue, which differentiates it from the normal sequence '*Don't say* X (*to me*)'.

The following examples evince the typical function when this sequence is used:

(21) Man: Sorry, ma'am. / Greenlee: *Don't "ma'am" me*. Just take it back. (SOAP)

(22) Liza: Hi. / Tad: *Don't "hi" me!* We have a full-fledged crisis on our hands. (SOAP)

(23) Tracy: Hello, Daddy. / Edward: *Don't "hello, daddy" me.* You're late. (SOAP)

The fact that the sequence starts with the negated auxiliary *don't* shows that the imperative is used to give an order; that is, it has the socio-interactive function of ordering, the same function as "*Don't say* X (*to me*)". However, the target structure is different in that it always carries a tone of irritation or discontent with the wording(s) used by the interlocutor, as is clear in the examples above. What comes after the sequence shows that the speakers are irritated or discontented with the utterances. The rule-governed sequence "*Don't say, 'Good-bye' to me*" has the socio-interactive function of ordering, too, but does not usually imply such irritation.

4.5. Affinities to 'X + *me* + *no* + Xs'

Let me conclude the discussion by mentioning the affinities between '*Don't* + X + *me!*' and 'X + *me* + *no* + X*s*' as phrases. They both have in common the characteristic of changing what are not verbs into fake verb elements. The following examples are cited in the website Wikiquote (http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/X_me_no_Xs) to illustrate 'X + *me* + *no* + X*s*':

(27) a. *But me no buts*. (Henry Fielding, *Rape upon Rape* (1730), act ii, scene 2. Also in Aaron Hill, Snake in the Grass, sc. 1.)

b. *Clerk me no clerks*. (Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (1819), chapter xx.)

c. *Diamond me no diamonds! prize me no prizes!* (Alfred Tennyson, *Idylls of the King* (c. 1842–1885)).

d. *Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle*. (William Shakespeare, Richard II. (1595), act ii, scene 3.)

e. *Madam me no madam*. (John Dryden, *The Wild Gallant* (1663), act ii, scene 2.)

f. *O me no O's.* (Ben Jonson, *The Case Is Altered* (c. 1609), act v, scene 1.)

g. *Play me no plays*. (Samuel Foote, *The Knights* (1748), act ii.)

h. *Poem me no poems*. (Rose Macaulay, quoted in Poetry Review (Autumn 1963)).

i. *Thank me no thanks, nor proud me no prouds.* (William Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet (1597), act iii, scene 5.)

j. *Tennessee me no Tennessees*. (Jack Kerouac, *Visions of Cody* (1972), Part Three, p. 427.)

It can be seen that a wide variety of words, uttered by the other conversation participant, can stand in the X and X*s* positions in this phrase with the

meaning 'Do not say the word X any longer to me'. Some researchers may argue that *but*, *O*, *Tenessee* and others here are delocutive verbs, meaning 'to say *but*', for example (as briefly touched upon by Traugott (1982: note 2 in 268)). However, what are called 'verbs' here do not show any verbal behaviour except for standing in the verb position, and they do not usually have inflected forms (such as *O-ed* and *Tenessee-ing*). The meanings intended can be expressed only when they are used in this phrase. The phrase 'X + *me* + *no* + X*s*' is grammatically non-compositional or irregular in the sense that what is not a verb comes in the position X, and the phrase is semantically non-compositional in the sense that the *say*-meaning is loaded by the whole sequence. This phrase shares all of those characteristics with the phrase '*Don't* + X + *me!*'.

The only difference is that, as quite clear from the examples given so far, in the phrase 'X + *me* + *no* + X*s*', what stands in the X position is strictly limited to the quotation of a word, whereas wordings of varying length can be quoted flexibly in the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*'.

5. Concluding remarks

In this article, I have conducted an empirical investigation into the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*', based on data from the corpora. All the facts about this sequence point to its phraseological nature (grammatical and semantic non-compositionality) and, therefore, it deserved to be considered a phrase in the realm of phraseology. Simply put, the sequence '*Don't* + X + *me!*' is a phrase that expresses the speaker's irritation with the meaning '*Don't say* X *to me*', which, whatever comes in the X position, alters the wordings quoted there into a fake verb.

This flexible use of the phrase, emancipated from part-of-speech rules, indicates one aspect of creativity that human beings have when using a language. Language users employ phrases with totally different functions "without" fine-tuning parts of them to grammatical rules. Within phrases, constituents also are emancipated from part-of-speech rules.

Many grammatical concepts or ideas have been suggested with a wide variety of terms (such as delocutive verbs) to explain a wide variety of phenomena in the field of linguistic research, but so far, the phraseological nature of language has not been seriously taken into account in the exposition of those phenomena. This has led to an unnatural profligacy of linguistic items called by such terms (for example, X as a delocutive verb, Y as a delocutive verb, Z as a delocutive verb and so on). In terms of phraseology, however,

a motley collection of individual phenomena can simply be dealt with as the same and exact phenomenon used in the same phrase or same type of phrase. This would contribute greatly to a simpler and more refined way of explanation of linguistic phenomena.

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Stałe połączenia wyrazowe, niekompozycjonalność i zastosowanie: Analiza jednostki *Don't „yes, sir" me!*

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest schematowi *Don't* + X + *me!*, którego przykładową realizacją jest zdanie *Don't 'yes, sir' me!*. Autor tekstu omawia go na materiale danych korpusowych. Analiza pozwala na wskazanie sfrazeologizowania badanej kombinacji wyrazowej w aspekcie gramatycznej i semantycznej niekompozycjonalności oraz jej użycia. W omawianym schemacie elementy przytaczane zajmują pozycje czasownika, jednak nie są czasownikami, ponieważ nie mają one cech czasownika. Autor przedstawia również podobieństwa badanej konstrukcji oraz schematu X + *me* + *no* + X*s*' (np. *But me no buts*). Chociaż niektórzy językoznawcy piszą o analizowanym zjawisku, używając termonu *czasowniki delokucyjne*, nie uwzględniają oni roli stałości tych połączeń. Artykuł ma na celu zwrócenie uwagi na ich frazeologiczny charakter.

PART IV

ETHNOLINGUISTICS, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, PRAGMATICS & PHRASEOLOGY

Saša Babič
Institute of Ethnology, SRC SASA
Slovenia

Traffic Metaphors in the Slovenian Language

Abstract. This article aims to shed light on a part of the 'world traffic map' as revealed in the Slovenian language through articles on cars and traffic as well as in everyday language. The particular focus will be placed on phrases and proverbs in current use (i.e. folklore) as well as those arising from the specialist traffic language. The overlooked meanings of the traffic world in our culture and lives are presented through an analysis of the reflections of driving in language.
Key words: *conceptual metaphor, phraseology, paremiology, transport*

1. Introduction

Traffic and vehicles are a part of our everyday life, and as such strongly reflected in our language. We can track the traces of traffic in language in two directions: we can observe what kind of metaphors are used in language when we talk about traffic or we can study which vehicle and traffic expressions have passed into the metaphorical language: "Tale se mi je pripopal na rit ["That driver's stuck to my arse"], "Zamujamo – daj v višjo prestavo" ["We're running late – kick it into a higher gear!"] and "Citröen naslavlja različne občutke" ["Citroën addresses different feelings"] are just three of the many metaphorical expressions that have appeared in Slovenian newspapers and everyday language.[1] The main task of this article is to pinpoint these metaphorical expressions in Slovenian language and analyse them from the perspective of conceptual linguistics, phraseology and paremology.[2]

[1] All examples are literal translations of Slovenian expressions.

[2] This study was carried out within the national research project DriveGreen: Development of an Ecodriving Application for a Transition to a Low-carbon Society. The project is co-financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (project No. L7-6858).

2. Theoretical framework

Language use can only be understood when it is integrated within the patterns of everyday actions (Forrester 1996: 45): "Meaning is located in the function that words have 'signals' passed back and forth between people in the course of purposeful and shared activity" (Wittgenstein 1953, 180). Words only obtain their meaning in the context of thought and life: "Context and use determine the meaning, and the meaning of an expression is a function of its use in a particular context" (Forrester 1996: 45). Language meaning and language use are irretrievably bound within the theory of indirect meaning. In the theory of meaning as a conceptual structure, the orientation moves from use to conceptual structure: the position is that all human minds are the same and that the semantic properties that underlie the meaning of sentences are conceptual (Forrester 1996: 47). This concept was used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their research of the metaphor, i.e. when establishing the so-called conceptual metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) introduced a way of researching culture through concepts that are expressed through metaphors. Our concepts provide the structure for "what we perceive, how we get around the world, and how we relate to other people" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3). One could thus say that our everyday realities are defined within our conceptual system.

In everyday life metaphors are pervasive – both in thought and action, and consequently in language. Our conventional conceptual system, in terms of which we think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical. Linguistic meaning precedes and enters the use context as speakers bring this meaning with them into the context of communication. The context and use are thus relevant to the meaning only because speakers have a prior conceptual structure (Frawley 1992: 54).

These metaphorical concepts that "govern our everyday functioning to the most mundane details" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3) therefore tell us a lot about the perceptions, way of life and culture we live in. Metaphors are linked to the understanding and experiencing of one kind of phenomenon in the sense of another kind (Lakoff, Johnson 1988: 27), at which we usually talk about (mirror) transformation between different areas, where X lies in the domain of the target and Y lies in the domain of the source (Taylor in Wiertlewski 2009: 50).

Another approach for researching this topic is the 'meaning as culture' approach: linguistic meaning is determined by the cultural context in which the language occurs; one cannot separate one from the other (Forrester 1996: 48). This approach is the foundation framework of a 'world view'.

As Frawley (1992: 46) stated: "Language, culture and thought are all mirrors of each other ... so it is possible to read through off language and language of culture, because linguistic distinctions reflect cultural distinctions, which in turn generate distinctions in thought" – the most famous example of this perspective on language remains the roughly 50 words for snow that the Greenlandic Eskimos have (Fortesque 1984) (in Slovenian language we have less than ten).

In order to obtain an insight into the language perception of the traffic world, we can also use ethnolinguistic approaches, especially those implemented by the Lublin ethnolinguists and their leading researcher Jerzy Bartmiński (2004 & 2005). Their methods can be used to explain how the collective consciousness and history are reflected in language, and how the concept of reality is manifested in cultural texts. Ethnolinguistics introduces a world map with concepts and stereotypes that are created around various objects and which have an important role in the modern worldview; in our case we are dealing with concepts and stereotypes (as an image and obtained opinion) on roads, crossroads, cars, bicycles, buses, pedestrians, etc., which cannot be separated from language and the word (Bartmiński 2005: 159–161).

In his article, Stefan Wiertlewski (2009), one of the few to take a closer look at one type of transport, in his case cycling, used both methods – looking for conceptual metaphors as well as ethnolinguistics. For example, Wiertlewski looks at the conceptual metaphors of 'cyclist as a pilot', 'bike as a plane' and 'cycling as eating'.

The research presented in this article focuses on the language part of the Slovenian world traffic map: it studies how the actors in traffic (pedestrians, cyclists, cars and other vehicles) are perceived through language and how roads are understood. In order to explain how people feel about their vehicles and express their emotions on the road through words conceptual metaphors were researched.

3. Methodology

I conducted an overview of media presentations of traffic and vehicles in Slovenian newspapers. I included publications such as the weekly supplement *Svet vozil* (*World of Vehicles*), published by the national daily newspaper *Dnevnik* (May 2013 and May to September 2014), and specialised magazines (2014, summer issues) on cars and other vehicles (*Autofokus*, *Avto magazin*, *Avto*, *Auto Bild* and *Evo*) – all of them in printed version, because the printed version is fixed and not updated hourly/daily, which allows for better con-

trol of the analysed texts. I analysed the articles, columns and professional opinions on traffic as well as the descriptions of road conflicts and traffic accidents in the newspapers' news sections. I tried to estimate the subconscious position of the traffic world in national and local perceptions and concepts by analysing the metaphors and other rhetorical figures. The analysis helped me shed light on the conceptual map of the cultural surroundings in which traffic operates.

I also used semi-structured interviews, which were held in order to obtain information on driving habits, on how people think about cars and how they express anger in traffic. I carried out 15 interviews with drivers, both female and male, from different parts of Slovenia (aged between 20 and 65, from urban as well as rural areas). In the interviews the interviewees were free to talk as freely about cars and traffic as they desired. The interview started with general personal data questions (age, place of residency, type of owned car, etc.), followed by questions linked to their attitude towards their car, their driving habits, their perception of road rage, driver stereotypes, etc. This represented the only way to obtain their own metaphors on traffic elements and language use.

Since we are aware of the importance of privacy protection, privacy was ensured throughout our research. All information on the drivers and their behaviour on the road was made anonymous and no personal information was disclosed without their knowledge and consent. As the material in the media had been previously published and was therefore public, privacy protection was not an issue with the media texts.

4. Slovenian traffic language and its metaphorical function

The most obvious traffic elements to be noticed were the road as an area in which traffic 'lives': vehicles and drivers, bicycles and cyclists, pedestrians – all are a part of the living road. All of these elements are intertwined, however, the most metaphorical language can be found in the language of motorised vehicles. What seems interesting is that there are no (new) true proverbs that would use the language from the modern world or traffic, even though this is deeply rooted in our everyday. All I could find were proverbial instructions: one involving a motorised vehicle, i.e. a bus – *Za avtobusi in fanti se ne teče (ker čez 10 minut vedno pride nov)*. [*A girl should never run to catch a bus or a boyfriend (another one is always round the corner).*], and one involving a bicycle – *Na kolo za zdravo telo.* [*On the bike for a healthy body.*] (this proverbial instruction is commonly used in articles on cycling).

I have detected more phrases than proverbs that have crossed over to the metaphorical language of everyday functioning, e.g.:

Pritisni na plin/gas! [*Step on the gas!*] = 'Hurry up!';

Daj v višjo prestavo! [*Kick it into a higher gear!*] = 'Hurry up!';

Zmanjkalo mi je bencina. [*I ran out of gas.*] = 'I didn't have the energy to finish sth.';

Spelji se! [*Drive off!*] = 'Go away!/Get a life!';

Odpeljal je zadnji vlak. [*The last train has departed.*] = 'That was your last chance'.

On the other hand, the road/street is commonly used in metaphorical language:

biti na cesti [*to be on the street*] = 'to be out of work or homeless';

vreči koga na cesto [*to throw somebody out onto the street*] = 'to send somebody packing';

zmeraj je na cesti [*sb. is always on the street*] = 'sb. is always out, i.e. is never at home'.[3]

There are also many proverbs in which the road assumes a metaphorical meaning[4]:

Cesta ni dom [*The road is not a home*];

Cilj je eden – cest tisočero [*There is one goal, but a thousand roads*];

Dobra mera in vaga na cesto pomaga. [*Good measure and scales lead to the road*] = 'if one is too wasteful, one might quickly find oneself without possessions'.

In most proverbs, the 'road' implies poverty or homelessness:

V vsako vas pelje cesta [*There is a road to every village*].

The world of vehicles created two specific phrases: (1) *pritisni do konca!* [*push it to the end!*] and (2) *imeti težko nogo* [*to have a heavy foot*], which both originally pertain to stepping on the accelerator. The first phrase is metaphorical also in everyday life, when it is used to express that 'sb. has persisted

[3] These examples are taken from the *Dictionary of the Slovenian language*: http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa&expression=ge%3Dcesta&hs=1.

[4] Proverbs are taken from the archives at the Institute of Slovenian Ethnography, SRC SASA, Ljubljana.

with his will for as long as it took to get what he/she wanted to get', while the second phrase is used only in the meaning 'to enjoy driving too fast'.

5. Conceptualisations of specialist traffic language

Words pertaining to traffic, such as road, car and bicycle, are described in various ways which can demonstrate the perception and conceptualisation of the traffic phenomenon. In the continuation I will describe some of the conceptual metaphors that present the conceptual map of the world of traffic.

5.1. Roads

Roads are often conceptualised as organisms with their own digestion system:

> *Avtoceste pa tega velikokrat ne morejo več "prebaviti"* [*Motorways can often no longer "digest" it all*] (Zupančič 2014: 15), i.e. there might be so many vehicles on the motorway during rush hour that the traffic literally stops.

The road also has its own driving force, which can collapse: the roads can experience a *prometni infarkt* [*traffic coronary*] i.e. the collapse of the traffic system.

Roads are often described as a *past* [*trap*] for passengers, as they can get caught in traffic, thus having their mobility restricted. This metaphor is used when the traffic system collapses and long lines of cars come to a halt on the motorway (usually during summer months).

5.2. Vehicles/cars

The car is the most common vehicle to appear in traffic discussions, as it is also the most common motorised vehicle found on the road.

Cars have a great impact on our lives: from the financial aspect as well as the energy-spent and practical travel point of view. Cars are encountered almost on every step and they appear to be one of the most normal and common objects in our surroundings, thus examples of motorised vehicles can be found in this article: most of them are cars, however their meanings in conceptual metaphors can often be expanded to vans and trucks. The great impact cars have on our lives is reflected in the following statement: "Even though life with this car can be a bit more complicated than it should be, it is also more exciting and unpredictable" (Stamač 2014: 35).

Cars are so intertwined with our everyday lives that they are given metaphorical names: *jekleni konjički* [*little steel horses*], *štirikolesnik* [*four-wheeler*] and *pločevina* [*sheet metal*], while a motorcycle can also be called a *dvokolesnik* [*a two-wheeler*]. Not all of these expressions are affectionate: while the first two expressions for the car and the expression for the motorcycle carry a positive or neutral connotation, the third expression for the car carries a negative connotation.

The car can be presented through different conceptual metaphors: car can be thought of as a home, a person or an animal.

5.2.1. Car as a home

When describing vehicles, writers as well as interviewees talk about the car as a space in which they spend a certain amount of time, similar as they would talk about an apartment. Therefore it needs to be comfortable, likable, have a pleasant design and colours, be practical and come with all accessories:

> *V kabini, ki lahko sprejme pet ali sedem potnikov, je prav tako nekaj barvnih kombinacij oblazinjenja, malenkost prijetnejša pa je tudi plastika na armaturni plošči* [*There are a number of colour combinations for the cabin, which can sit five or seven passengers, and the plastic used on the dashboard has also been slightly improved*] (Stamač 2014b: 53);
>
> *zato lahko zadaj dobro sedi tudi odrasel* [*thus an adult can sit comfortably also in the back*] (Marušić 2014: 57);
>
> *avtomobil, ki ponuja vrhunsko udobje* [*this car offers utmost comfort*] (Fakin 2014a: 66).

Writers emphasise different characteristics of the cabin, depending on the car: when writing about family saloons they will emphasise the spaciousness, colours and accessories; when writing about a sports car, they will emphasise the leather seats, discuss the shape of steering wheel, etc.

Some drivers arrange and 'decorate' their car's interior and thus make it more comfortable and better suited to their taste: a 27-year-old driver from Ljubljana, who claimed that her car was merely a "means of transport", decorated it with a pendant, a small plastic dog, that hanged from the rear-view mirror and a soft toy, also a dog, on the back shelf. This obviously reflects the broader meaning of the car in one's personal life: not only is it decorated as a place in which one spends time, it is decorated in a personal way that does not necessarily follow the current fashions. Pendants might also have a symbolic protective function.

5.2.2. Vehicle as a person

When people talk about their cars, they commonly address them as "my car", where 'my' does not merely reflect the material belonging, but also indicates pride and emotional attachment. The relationship with the car can also be noticed in the perceptions that emphasise the autonomy of vehicles, which is something the drivers also like to express. A 55-year-old male from a rural environment responded to our question as to whether he feels safe on the road with the following words: *"I trust the car and the car trusts me."* This statement clearly indicates that the vehicle is perceived as a 'person' with whom one is in a relationship. Therefore it can be expected to find numerous personifications in written or spoken texts about cars and other vehicles.

Personifications can often be found in titles of automobile articles. They use this stylistic language to attract the reader's attention, but also to indicate the type of article, i.e. which car characteristics will be discussed in the article. The titles often present vehicles as humans with human characteristics, abilities and achievements, for example *Ima diplomo iz elegance* [*He has a degree in elegance*], *Ko si Clio obuje škornje* [*When Clio puts on its boots*] (Autofokus 5/2014); *Uptown girl* (Autofokus 6/2014); *Arogantni nastopač* [*Arrogant show-off*], *Električni pametnjakovič* [*Electric smart aleck*], *Okrogloličnі atlet* [*Round-cheeked athlete*] (Autofokus 8/9 2014), etc.

These titles suggest what kind of appearance one would have with a certain car. Expensive sports cars are usually *show-offs*, while family cars are characterised as *guardian angels* or *robust with a soft soul*. In these texts cars obtain the autonomy of individual objects with their own characteristics.

In some texts cars even obtain a character: *še najraje peljali po avtocesti, a tudi na terenu se dobro znajde* [*it is best suited for the motorway, but it also manages to find its way on the terrain*] (AutoBild, No. 98: 22)[5]; *Težava je v tem, da takrat postane požrešen* [*The problem is that in this situation* [the car] *becomes greedy*] (Fakin 2014: 60).

The car often appears as 'a speaking person': *Citroën addresses different feelings* and *steel horses say a lot about their owner* (Vrabec 2014: 18; my emphasis). M. Štakul (2014: 16) wrote a road report on two new cars in the form of a dialogue that took place between the journalist and the car, in which the cars "replied to" the questions:

[5] If the author of the article is not explicitly stated, the citation is quoted with the number of the magazine and page reference.

"It's pouring outside. Would you dare go on the wet road?" we asked [the cars]. *Opel replied: "I have four-wheel drive, high-quality tyres and ESP stability system." Citroën added: "Even when the road is slippery, driving is comfortable and safe due to my hydroactive suspension – if necessary, the chassis can be lifted by 15 centimetres.*

We often hear that '*the car tells everything about the owner*', in the sense that '*by looking at the car one can immediately see what kind of person the owner is*'.

The car is often described as an organism with its own digestive system and "body dynamics": ... *in močno posegli v drobovje* [... *and deeply encroach into the intestines*] (Marušić 2014: 55); *Mini se je zredil za deset do 15 kilogramov* [*The Mini has put on 10 to 15 kg*] (Marušić 2014: 56); *A s turkizno obarvanimi seksi oblinami ravno prav predrzen* [*It is just presumptuous enough with its turquoise sexy luxuriant curves*] (Stamač 2014c: 62).

5.2.3. Vehicle as a pet or an animal

Making your car look good and keeping it clean is linked to effort and attention which could be described as 'care'. Taking 'care of' cars places these objects into the role of living beings, comparable to pets: they have to be washed and 'vetted' on a regular basis; we have to be careful that they do not experience any harm and it's best for the vehicle if it has its own 'spot' in the garage.

Some people consider their vehicles as pets: they give them names (e.g. Polde for a Polo Volkswagen, while one interviewee named his bike as a child: Lumpi [Rascal]), they talk to them (a 26-year-old woman talks to her car whenever there's something wrong with it, e.g. when it fails to start), and so on.

Metaphors with animals applied to cars or their parts are constructed on a rough resemblance: thus the Smart is called the *mestna bolha* [*city flea*] (Auto-Bild, No. 98: 40) because of its small size, while a sports car with a powerful engine *kradljivec pogledov in vročekrvna zverina hkrati* [*a gaze stealer and a hot-blooded beast*] (AutoBild, No. 98: 61).

The rear of a car is described as its *zadek* [*derriere*], which is the word used for the rear ends of insects: *majhni in veliki, 4-vatni avti z značilnim zadkom, tj. prtljažnik s pokrovom* [*big and small, 4-watt cars with a typical derriere, i.e. trunk with a cover*] (Terzič 2014: 20); *prisekan zadek bolj priročen* [*the truncated derriere is more convenient*] (Stamač 2014a: 38). In everyday language *rit* [*arse*] is also used to describe the rear of a car: *nekdo se mi je zaletel v rit* [*Someone bumped into my arse*]. It seems that *zadek* functions both as shorthand for 'the rear end of a car' and as a euphemism for 'arse'.

5.3. Car make as a family

As a part of personification in traffic, we can detect a wider concept of generations and family among vehicles. This is constructed as a hierarchy: 'car make as a family', with different 'generations of cars': *Heroj relijev v novi generaciji bo navdušil predvsem dinamične voznike* [*The new generation of the rally hero will mainly enthuse the dynamic drivers*] (AutoBild, No. 98: 21). Older generations are referred to as 'grandfathers': *Vojaški willys, dedek tokratnega testnega avtomobila...* [*The Willy's army jeep, the grandfather of this test car...*] (Stamač 2014: 32); younger generations are 'brothers and sisters': *Veliki brat tudi ob vklopljeni varnostni elektroniki dopušča nekaj tovrstne svobode* [*The big brother allows some freedom even when the safety electronics are turned on*] (Jamnik 2014: 36). Smaller cars are considered to be the 'toddlers' of the family: *Novi mestni malček končno tukaj* [*The new city toddler has finally arrived*] (AutoBild, No. 98: 40); *Renaultov malček je v tretji generaciji zopet posebnež* [*The third generation Renault toddler is a character*] (Avtofokus No. 176: 49); *Novi Toyotin malček ohranja kompaktne zunanje mere* [*The New Toyota toddler has preserved its compact outer dimensions*] (Avtofokus No. 176: 50).

The car make is presented as a person with a clear intention of connecting it with success: *Z novin NX želi Lexus veliki povratek na evropski trg* [*With the new NX, Lexus wants to mark its comeback to the European market*] (AutoBild, No. 98: 22).

5.4. The driver – vehicle assemblage

As vehicles have become a common part of our lives, it seems natural that they have assumed an important role in our concepts and that different (conceptual) metaphors have been created.

Concepts which explain how a subject (driver) and object (vehicle) create a new social entity are also expressed through language, especially metaphors. When talking about cars and drivers as participants in traffic, the conceptual 'driver-car' metaphor is created (Dant 2004), and this shows that a vehicle is not simply a mode of transport: it is understood and perceived as a belonging and even as a part of the individual's 'self'.

Interviewees told us that their cars operate as their "shells" or "shields". Drivers often use the expression that *nekdo se mi je pripopal na rit* [*somebody has stuck to my arse*], with which they want to say that a vehicle is driving too close to the back of their car. It is obvious that the phrase does not describe the actual human body part and that it is never used in its literal form; the perception of the human behind is in fact transferred to the car's

rear part. Similar is the case in the common phrase that *nekdo se je zabil vame* [*someone has bumped/crashed into me*]. Of course, this does not describe an actual collision with the human body, but rather implies that someone has crashed into the car. The car might even be considered an extension of one's body, which is why some people feel hurt when their car is scratched or bumped. When the driver steps out of the car, he or she regains his or her normal human dimensions.

The vehicle was conceptually considered an armour in several interviews, for example, a 26-year-old female claimed that even though she felt safest when on foot, this feeling of safety was deceptive: "*One is most vulnerable as a pedestrian, since you don't carry an armour. You are naked.*" A similar point was expressed in an article entitled "*Šibki v primerjavi s pločevino*" [*Weak in Comparison to Steel*] (Terzič 2014: 17), which discusses the exposure of cyclists on the roads – they are not surrounded by armour, as drivers are. Similarly, Goffman mentions that the "individual himself, moving across roads and down streets – the individual as pedestrian – can be considered as a pilot in case of soft and exposing shell, namely his clothes and skin" (quoted in Handler 2014: 50).

6. Conclusion

This article has presented the perception of traffic and vehicles through metaphors in everyday life and media. Additionally, our daily conversations are connected to these themes – similar to the weather – and newspapers and other media regularly follow themes pertaining to traffic. We have identified phrases and proverbs connected with the language of traffic which showed that the language from the motorised world is no common in these word constructions. The road is constantly present in our lives, thus it appears more often; it has two meanings: the first is linked to the connecting function of the road, while the second is linked to poverty and homelessness – the one living on the road is considered to be broke and homeless. Vehicles and vehicle parts have different denominations, and metaphors shape different concepts.

Given the ubiquity of traffic and vehicles, it comes as no surprise that commonly used metaphors for vehicles include personifications of an independent object or that the vehicle is even seen as a constituent part of the driver. When stepping into it – or, in the case of the bicycle, onto it –, the driver not only obtains a real but also a symbolic shell, shield or armour, which protects him or her from the outer reality while enabling faster move-

ment. The metaphorical language also presents the vehicle as a pet that needs to be looked after, petted and given a personal name. When the car's interior is discussed, this is compared to living spaces such as apartments.

In our research we experienced several limitations that could be avoided in further investigations on this topic. As language is a living entity within society it is more important to listen to the expressions that are used in conversations rather than analyse written texts. Relaxed conversations provide a different picture of how a car or bicycle are perceived to articles found in written media: a common feature of the interviews that we carried out was that a vehicle is seen as a valuable object, not only from a financial point of view, but also as a precious object, assistant and friend.

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Metafory motoryzacyjne w języku słoweńskim

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest omówienie „mapy ruchu drogowego", która jest zawarta w języku słoweńskim. Materiałem badawczym są artykuły traktujące o samochodach i szeroko rozumianej motoryzacji oraz obserwacje dotyczące języka potocznego. Autorka niniejszego tekstu szczególną uwagę poświęca frazeologizmom i przysłowiom (tekstom folklorystycznym), które są używane współcześnie, oraz tym jednostkom języka, które przeszły do codziennego użycia) z pododmiany specjalistycznego języka motoryzacji. Poprzez analizę językowego odzwierciedlenia sfery motoryzacji ukazane jest jej znaczenie świata motoryzacji w życiu i kulturze współczesnego człowieka.

Anneli Baran
Estonian Literary Museum
Estonia

Gender in Estonian older phraseology[1]

Abstract. The aim of the article is to explore how women are represented in the Estonian phraseology. On the basis of examples from Estonian folklore archive, the study will highlight the primary characteristics that have been attributed to women in different periods, primarly in the 19th – early 20th century. The database of Estonian phrases consists of material collected for the Estonian folklore archives, but includes also phraseological material from the Estonian dialect archives and early Estonian printed publications, making the database content largely linguistic historical material. The results show that the opinions and attitudes have specific sarcastic-teasing manner – women have above all been criticized for talkativeness, power, argumentativeness, frivolity etc. As can be seen from examples about men, presented in this paper as a contrast, they have been ridiculed for obeying women or being defeated by them. Similarly to other recordings of past, the inconsistent archival material does not give us sufficient information to enable to make fundamental conclusions about peoples worldview, who lived more than hundred years ago. On the other hand, we also can not overlook these texts. Rather, we should to try to analyze why such gender-oriented expressions have endured in language for centuries and why they continue to be used even today.

Key words: *sayings, folklore, gender, woman, proverb*

1. Introduction

The aim of the present article is to offer insight into how women are represented in Estonian phraseology. For some time already, women in proverbs have been a popular object of study. One reason for this is certainly the vital yet at the same time controversial role of women throughout time – which is

[1] Research for this article was supported by the targeted financing project IUT22-5 Narrative and Belief Aspects of Folklore Studies and by the state programm EKKM14-385 Estonian and Cultural Memory.

something that clearly becomes visible in figurative expressions. An overview of such material can be found at http://www.womeninproverbsworldwide.com/ where, under the leadership of Professor Mineke Schipper, a collection of proverbs related to women from different nations is presented; a collection she labels universal wisdom (although this should be given in quotation marks). There are almost 15,000 proverbs that have been translated into English from 300 languages among which one can find texts based on categories such as 'the female body', 'phases of life', 'basics of life' (love, sex, pregnancy, childbirth) but also 'female power' (work, knowledge, etc.) and 'messages of metaphors'.

Next to scholars of folklore and linguists, the representation of women in proverbs has also been of interest to anthropologists and sociologists.[2] However, this is not an area of research equally explored in different nations. Curiously, the image of the woman in proverbs has been of greater interest in connection to specific nations or countries. Thus, numerous fascinating accounts exist primarily on African proverbs, including a comparative treatment involving Finnish data (Matti Kuusi's *The Place of Women in the Proverbs of Finland and Ovamboland*, 1998). Studies on women in proverbs have also been published on the basis of American (Lois Kerschen *American Proverbs about Women*, 1998) and Irish material (Fionnula Williams *Bachelors' Wives and Old Maids' Children: A Look at the Men and Women in Irish Proverbs*, 1984). There is also wonderful work on Asian proverbs, for instance, Hiroko Storm's treatment of the representation of Japanese women in proverbs (1992). Despite a long tradition of international paremiology, no similar analyses have been published in Estonia. The Estonian phraseologist Asta Õim has published a small book *Nalja teha, naine võtta...* (2002) on the basis of the proverbial texts found in *Vanasõnaraamat* (1984), a collection of Estonian proverbs. This is a collection of texts in the introduction to which the author states that it is a small selection of clever folk observations on love and lust, beautiful women and good men, mean women and bad men, marriage, being unfaithful and so on.

The role of women in the society back then is nicely illustrated by Estonian proverbs such as *Metsa läheb meheta naine, soosse ohjata hobune* (lit. A woman without a man goes to the forest, a horse without reins to the swamp) (EV 6774[3]) or *See pole õige naine, kes ei jäksa toita kahte last ja meest* (lit. It is not a proper woman who cannot feed two children and

[2] An overview of such studies can be found in Outi Lauhakangas' monograph (2004).

[3] The abbreviation 'EV' with a number marks the type of the proverbial text in the academic publication of Estonian proverbs.

a man) (EV 7324). A good woman is primarily one who is a hard-working wife. It is apparent that the moral aspects prevalent in the proverbs are indicative of the then society, which is largely considered patriarchal, and the beliefs that people had back then. Nowadays, it is commonly held that these attitudes are considered old-fashioned mainly by young people (as an example, one could look at the section of explaining proverbs found in the women magazine *Naised* in 2010 in which such opinions could be read). At the same time, however, studies of newer proverbs (the so-called anti-proverbs) indicate that stereotypical perception is still part of creating words on a figurative basis (T. Litovkina 2014).

In the tradition of Estonian paremiology, the part of figurative expressions that is closely connected with proverbs is generally labelled *kõnekäänd* or a saying/phrase[4]. This material can be distinct also as the linguistic one; in that case it is subject of phraseological studies. Proverbial phrase as a typological category consists of units of different level: one the one hand phrases that share characteristics with words, and on the other hand sentences with characteristics of a text. It means there exist such units, which can be regarded both proverbial and phraseological; what we see next are mostly borderline cases.

2. Woman in paremical units

Below, I would like to offer an initial overview of the expressions that pertain to women in Estonian older phraseology. With these texts, their age also has to be considering since most of what is there in the database of Estonian sayings and proverbial phrases (and what I am also basing my conclusions on) date from the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, which were the heydays of collecting folklore.[5] Still, these texts that were collected over a long period of time most likely give us an overview of the beliefs and attitudes that were prevalent back then.

Whereas a proverb is a compressed view of the world which is didactic and moralising and also strives towards being a generalisation, sayings

[4] The Estonian term *kõnekäänd* is a word-for-word translation of German *die Redewendung*.

[5] The article includes examples from the database of Estonian phrases (EKFA), which is currently being developed; accessible to everyone at http://www.folklore.ee/justkui/. The database includes phraseological material from The Estonian Folklore Archives, the manuscripts of The Estonian Archives of Cultural History, the dialect archive of The Institute of the Estonian Language and The Mother Tongue Society.

is not a set of generalizable expressions that are meant in earnest (Krikmann 2009: 101ff.; Baran 2013: 156). Instead, they are oriented towards describing concrete instances, usually with the help of humour. Attitude in phraseological units is usually expressed through ridicule or derision. Thus, the well-known proverb from the Bible *Mees on naise pea* (lit. Husband is the head of the wife) (EV 6591)[6] has phraseological variants in which a humorous addition is made to the common statement: *Tol mehel om uma pää, a' naase kaal – kohe naane taht, sinnä käänd* (lit. That man has a head of his own, but the wife has the neck – where the woman wants, there they turn). The proverb *Naine on maja lukk* (lit. The woman is the lock on the house) (EV 7266) has given us a phraseological periphrasis *majalukk* (lit. house lock) which usually refers to a praiseworthy wife but which can also be used to refer to a mean dog (on the basis of the proverb *Kuri koer õue hoiab* (lit. A mean dog will guard the yard) which means that a mean woman is hard-working)). Whereas a proverb says *Ära ole ühe päeva perenaine* (lit. Do not be one day's wife) (EV 14861), older phraseology has a well-known ironic name *ühepäevaperenaine* (lit. one day's wife), which is axiologically marked, referring to a poor non-frugal woman. These are just a few examples of what is characteristic of phraseological units.

The most common phraseological expressions that describe the relationship between a man and a woman in Estonian are *püksid naise jalas* (lit. the woman wears the pants) and *naise tuhvli all* or *tuhvlialune olema* (lit. being under the woman's slipper or to be under a slipper); there are close to a few hundred recordings in the database of Estonian phraseological expressions. These ridicule the man who is not the master of his house[7]. The earliest Estonian saying about women wearing the pants is from 1851 (in the oldest regular Estonian publication titled *Sannumetoja*) which tells us that this is an old expression which has, however, doggedly survived to this day. Most likely, it is the translation equivalent of the German phraseological units *die Hose(n) anhaben, unter dem Pantoffel stehen.* According to the prevalent view, borrowed phraseological units become established in a language if they are culturally close and relatable. The origin of the slipper expression has been traced to the old wedding tradition common among many nations by which either the bride or the groom had to step on the other's foot at the altar: the one whose foot was on top was to become the dominant one in the marriage (Röhrich 1973: 705). However, the popularity of this expression has been very

[6] Proverbial texts are taken from the database of Estonian Proverbs (EV).

[7] An explanation that accompanies a recording from 1987 states: Who wears the pants is the man of the house. It is a bad thing to give the pants to the woman to wear.

different among different people at different times; it has acquired specific characteristics in the German culture, for instance. Its presence in Estonian is also noteworthy because the word *tuhvel* (lit. slipper) has not been part of everyday vocabulary for a long time but this has not stopped the expression from being used often in today's spoken language.

Another saying still popular today is *Pikad juuksed, lühike aru* (lit. Long hair, short sense). It is interesting, however, that whereas the proverb in its entirety clearly states that *Naesterahval on pitkad juuksed, lühikesed mõtted* (lit. A woman has long hair but short thoughts) (EV 7348), the reference to a woman is not there in phraseological units; instead, they simply state that *Enesel pikad juuksed peas, aga aru lühike* (lit. Though with long hair, the sense is short). There are even a few records in which the reference is to a man: *Pikk mees, aga lühike aru* (lit. Tall man but with short sense); *Pikk habe, lühike aru* (lit. Long beard but short sense). Should these be considered a deviation since the more common reference would have been to a woman? With phraseological language data, it is common that due to conciseness and concreteness it is possible to match expressions to specific situations. Thus, the context of the expression may be missing (or it may be insufficient) in instances where something used in spoken language has been written down which means that the scholars' conclusions regarding the real actualisation of the expression tend to be hypothetical only. In case of gender-based phraseological units, it might seem an easy task to determine who are more likely to use a specific expression. It might be assumed that the representatives of one gender use these expressions to talk about the other on the basis of their belonging to either gender, that is, that men would be likely to find something to critique in women and vice versa. Unfortunately, the recordings of folklore short forms mostly lack commentary on whom and in which situation provided a certain expression.[8] The fact that there is a written recording is no indicator of the fact that the person to record a saying was also the one to use it. Therefore, we cannot always rely on existing records due to the nature of collecting language or folklore material since, and I would like to cite the Estonian folklore scholar Arvo Krikmann (2004: 113) here: the archive is not folklore, let alone life.

Based on conclusions drawn on the basis of the phraseology of other languages, we can however make some claims. At the same time, we need

[8] Short forms are different from the recordings of songs and stories namely because the latter, as a rule, include a reference to the informant, that is, to the person who was the source for the material; see Järv 2001.

to be sensitive to cultural differences.[9] It is easier to map parallels between languages that are close in terms of history and culture. For instance, in Estonian phraseology one needs to consider that its older parts have greatly been affected by German which means that it would be useful to study Estonian phraseology on the basis of research into German phraseology.

Compared to proverbs, studying phraseology from the gender perspective has not been popular, and it was not until the 1990s that research in this area really started to appear. Elisabeth Piirainen, a German scholar, has thus far been the only phraseologist to explore gender in German phraseology, and her conclusion has been that expressions that are marked for gender are quite common in German (Piirainen 2001, Piirainen 2002, Dobrovol'skij, Piirainen 2009). Keeping in mind that Estonian older phraseology has been taken from German, possible similarities between Piirainen's research and Estonian data might be found. Especially considering that Piirainen has stressed the need to look for parallels with other languages so as not to over-generalise culture-specific findings.

Categorising phraseological units on the basis of their gender-specific lexico-semantic figurativeness leads us to the following classification:

– marking on the basis of anatomy and biology, e.g., *habemesse pomisema* (lit. to mumble into one's beard), *vuntsi kargama* (lit. to jump into someone's moustache), *piimahabe* (lit. milk beard), *vahva vunts* (lit. jolly moustache),
– marking on the basis of socio-cultural aspects (i.e., clothing, profession), e.g., *tanu alla saama* (lit. to start to wear a bonnet), *otsib piipu, piip enesel suus* (lit. looking for the pipe while it is in one's mouth); *sõimab nagu voorimees* (lit. swears like a coachman); *torujüri* (lit. pipe-Jack), *köögikata* (lit. kitchen-Kate),
– marking on the basis of (metaphorical) figures (i.e., reference to an animal), e.g., *kanapea* (lit. chicken head), *täkku täis* (lit. full of bravado like a stallion), *rumal hani* (lit. silly goose).

Whereas the first and third groups are easily understood, the second one is largely dependent on the contemporary setting; being able to understand these expressions often requires socio-cultural and historical knowledge. In the Russian tradition of studying phraseology, this type of material is called ethno phraseology and the expressions are called ethno phrasemes accordingly (Koval 2005: 82ff).

[9] I would like to point to an excellent example on the Japanese language and culture which refers to the asymmetric approach to gender that still persists in language and phraseology – Takaaki Kanzaki (2011).

Piirainen points to a separate group of phraseological units that she calls gender specific doublets – these are expressions which are lexical variants or which apply equally to men and women, that is, they lack a gender specific marking (Piirainen 2001: 302). Thus, the Estonian expressions listed above could also be used to refer to people despite their gender. Or we might prefer a synonymous expression which is neutral, e.g., *nina alla pomisema* (lit. to mumble under one's nose), *näkku kargama* (lit. to jump into someone's face).

In analysing phraseological expressions, we need to always keep in mind their dual nature that is expressed in the different relationship between the so-called external and internal forms. In these terms, we can talk about two types of expressions: one group is marked for gender through a figurative expression; the other through meaning. Estonian phraseological units include numerous expressions and names that are traditionally only used to refer to women without this being evident on the lexical level. For instance, there are euphemistic expressions related to pregnancy and childbirth: *tagumised rattad läksid ette* (lit. back wheels went first) ('when the girl was already pregnant when she got married'), *õnnistatud seisukorras* (lit. in a blessed state) ('expecting'); describing appearance: *eest muuseum, tagant gümnaasium* (lit. a museum from the front, high school from the back), *eest sile nagu pesulaud, täies sõjamaalingus* (lit. as flat as a washing board in the front, in full war paint); idiomatic verb phrases {kedagi} *kätel kandma* (lit. to carry {someone} in one's arms), kellegi *kätt paluma* (lit. to ask {someone's} hand in marriage). The same has been found in other languages as well, for instance, lexicologist Leonid Rojzenson (1973) has noted this in Russian.

But then there are also quite a number of expressions in which genders are clearly marked and which ascribe gender-specific characteristics to people. I have counted among this group also expressions which are themselves neutral but which are primarily linked with women through the sentence-level context within which they appear in the database, e.g., to have a big mouth: *ta on üks suure suuga naisterahvas*, *vannub musta kurja täie suuga* (lit. she's a woman with a big mouth, swears the black devil with a full mouth) or if someone has their heart on their tongue: *Maril on ka süda keele peal, muud kui lätrab kõigile ää, kuda ta vanamehega riidleb* (lit. Mari also has her heart on her tongue; she keeps telling everyone how she argues with the old man).

If we only focus on expressions that include the words marking a gender, we discover that the database of Estonian older phraseology includes almost 700 expressions that have the lexical component *naine* 'woman' and 2600 that have *mees* 'man' in them; cf. the publication of Estonian proverbs,

Eesti vanasõnad, points to a similar tendency: the word 'man' is there in 759 texts, 'woman' in 313. This is to be expected on the backdrop of the research exploring Estonian vocabulary through the perspective of gender. Both Cornelius Hasselblatt (1998) and Kerli Olt (2004) have pointed to a disproportionate presence of these words on the basis of analysing different Estonian language dictionaries[10].

It should nevertheless be kept in mind that with expressions marked for gender one is dealing with very common stereotypical ideas that are not limited to a single language or culture. On the basis of Piirainen's work on German phraseological units, I will try to prove (or disprove) the universal nature of such classifications by presenting the first attempt at studying gender in Estonian phraseological units.

3. Characteristics of woman in Estonian phraseology: lexico-semantic approach

Below, I would like to discuss certain characteristics ascribed to women on the basis of examples taken from the database of Estonian phraseology. The groups have been compiled on the basis of texts found among the 180,000 texts in the database – the search was conducted with the lexical component 'woman' or its synonyms. Following analyse was founding upon 700 phraseological expressions that contain the lexical component 'woman'. In creating the groups, I took into consideration both the number and the diversity of the expressions, meaning that the groups listed first are more representative (some explanations of the meanings of the same records are given in the brackets). Quite a few of the groups overlap since the characteristics are closely related.

3.1. Chatty

This group includes expressions that claim women to be verbose, chatty, curious. Even if the expression does not clearly indicate that it is mainly about women, the accompanying commentary helps (these are given in brackets after the expressions). This is the largest and most diverse group and not just in Estonian. One reason for this could be the more active and communicative behaviour ascribed to women compared to men (Bierbach 2003). This stereo-

[10] Hasselblatt even points to sexist attitudes in the Estonian lexicographic tradition (1998: 154).

typical understanding is seen in folk names such as *pläräläänuleenu* (lit. tittle-tattler Leenu) and *ladrakai* (lit. blabblemouth Kai) that are well known today as well and that include the women's proper names of the time (Leenu, Kai). Names such as *latatara*, *lobamokk* and so on that also refer to blabbers were likewise mainly used to refer to women.

Many sayings doubt the credibility of the stories told by women: *Ah, mis sa usud kõiksugu vanade naiste juttusi, kui sa ise nägemas ei old, ära siis räegi ka* (lit. Oh, don't you believe all the tales that old women tell; if you were not there to see it, don't talk about it). The saying *Naised saunas rääkisid* (lit. Women were talking in the sauna) ('a story without a truthful basis, hearsay') is still well-known and used. Knowing this means that we are unsurprised when we meet the phrase *naiste jutt* (lit. women's tale) which is used to refer to talk of suspicious worth: *Loll, kes naiste juttu usub ja selle järele oma asju ajama hakkab* (lit. It is a fool who believes women's tales and starts to act on their basis). A large portion of the expressions are comparable: *plärab nagu turueit/lobiseb nagu turunaine* (lit. tittle-tattles like a market hag/chatters like a market woman), *nagu külanaised vorstipaja juures* (lit. like the village women around a pot of sausage) ('when men argue with one another and each insists that he is right'). One of the more common objects of comparison is namely an old woman:

(1) *Räägib asja eest teist taga nagu vana naine* (lit. Talks of trivial matters like an old woman)

(2) *Mis mies sie ka on, sie on hullemb kui vana naine – armastab plätrada ja tämaga ei saa sõnakestki mieste juttu räekida* (lit. That is no man, he is worse than an old woman – loves to blabber and you can't have a word of men's talk with him)

Several expressions clearly show that being verbose was indeed a characteristic associated only with women:

(3) *Naistel alati teised hammaste vahel, näd ep saa muidu läbigid* (lit. Women always have others caught in their teeth, can't even get along otherwise) ('Women always gossip')

(4) *Naised ajavad mokaloba* (lit. Women are having a gabfest) ('When women get together, there is much talk')

The recommendation *Pane naisele rauad suhu, et ta nii palju ei latraks* (lit. Put a bit in the wife's mouth so she won't chatter so much) ('This was said before and is said now to those men whose wives spread empty tales in the village') and the constative *Kui ühe sõna suust lahti lased, nemad panevad*

kümme sõna juurde (lit. If you let one word escape your lips, they will add ten) ('People who make small talk are called bawlers in our neck of the woods. It is said of such women') are obvious references to women being overly chatty. The comparison *Ütessä miist vai üts naane, kärrä om üte pallö* (lit. Nine men or one woman, the noise is the same) which strives to be a generalisation also stresses the common perception of the different verbal abilities of men and women. Women's expertise in this area is also expressed in *Isi ta kusi ja kudus sukka, üle aea aeas naabriga juttu* (lit. She was peeing and knitting a sock while chatting with the neighbour over the fence) ('It was said of another woman, mockingly I think').

3.2. Despotic

We already mentioned the expressions where women were said to wear the pants ('When the woman has the upper hand in a marriage – either the man is incapable or the wife is very quarrelsome and controlling') and *naise tuhvlialune* (lit. under the wife's slipper) (also, *põllealune* lit. under the apron) but, in addition to these, there are very many different expressions that are used to refer to a despotic wife:

(5) *naisõ valitsuse all olõma* (lit. to be under the woman's rule);

(6) *Ohjad on naise käes* (lit. the woman holds the reins);

(7) *Sie on nosu mies, naise pilli järel tantsib, mina ninda tantsida ei taha* (lit. it is a timid man who dances after the woman's tunes, I don't want to dance like that).

The metaphorical compound *kodupolitsei* (lit. home police) – later also in the form of *kodune miilitsa valitsus* (lit. home militia rule), in accordance to the changing social setting – also refers to a despotic woman.

A woman's position as the head of the family was already mapped in relation to the wedding custom mentioned above: *Peigmees või pruut, kes sel ajal saab oma jalaga teise jala peale astuda, kui õpetaja laulatamise sõnu loeb, on eluaja teise pea* (lit. The groom or bride who can step on the other's foot with theirs while the minister conducts the ceremony will be on top of the other for their whole lives).

Being hungry for power has traditionally been associated with men. Thus, a more active woman was generally judged. However, this was mostly said to ridicule the man, not so much to put the woman in her place. There are also some regional differences. In South-East of Estonia, they used to refer to a clever woman with the somewhat acknowledging phrase *ta naane om*

munnõga (lit. a woman with balls). This phrase also shows that manly qualities also included cleverness and resourcefulness and that ascribing these to a woman did not demean her but instead showed an appreciation.

3.3. Mean/Quarrelsome

Most of the expressions in this group refer to *noorik*, a newly married young woman. The word *tulehark* (lit. fire fork), still very well-known today, was mainly used to refer to a hot-tempered woman: *naine kui tulehark* (lit. a wife like a fire fork or *naane om majan ku ahohark* (lit. A wife is like a fire fork in the house). The database of Estonian sayings also shows that the adjective *türk*, meaning (lit. heartless, unfeeling)[11], was usually used in connection to females:

See sai endale ühe igavese türgi naiseks (lit. He got a real heartless one as his wife) ('Women were the more heartless ones; this was not said of men')

There are also records of dialogues which, for instance, discussed the origin of women's poor character and end with a declaration on how women are evil by nature:

(8) *Mis maal kuulda? Kuidas uus kubjas on? – Kitsi, vana oli lahtise käega. – Kuda ta noorik? – Päält kaunis, sisu segane. – Ta oli ju tüdrukuna lahke, tasane. – Nojah, kurjad naised tulevad headest tüdrukutest*. (lit. What's new in the countryside? How's the new overseer? – Stingy. The old one was more generous. – How is his young wife? – Pretty on the surface, mad inside. – But she was such a kind and quiet girl. – Well, yes, mean women come from good girls.) (cf. EV 12603 All girls are good, I wonder where the mean women come from.)

A number of expressions seem to adhere to the same axiomatic statement that this is the so-called primal nature of women and that men can do little more than to accept the passive role of the victim:

(10) *Ennem saab hundist mehe naine kui sinust hüva inimene* (lit. A wolf will become a wife to a man before you become a good person)

(11) *Mees on mees küll, aga mis sa ära teed, kui naist ei ole* (lit. The man is man enough but what can you do if there is no woman) ('said of a bad wife')

[11] This explanation is from F. J. Wiedemann's *Estonian-German dictionary* (1973 [1869]) where it is linked to the heart (*türgi süda*, lit. a Turkish heart, an unfeeling heart).

(12) *Väärt mees läks naise nahka* (lit. A good man was ruined by the wife) ('This is said when a bad woman leads a good man to damnation')

Folk expressions primarily see a young wife as a mean person. Most of the aforementioned sayings have explanations which associate someone being quarrelsome with having a new lady of the house. Even the saying *Eks sel ole veel minia hambad suus* (lit. I guess this one still has the daughter-in-law's teeth) ('She is quarrelsome, wants things her way in the house') links the status of being a daughter-in-law with having an abrupt nature. It is clear that it is difficult to be the new member of a household and, thus, women had to establish themselves in some way. As the joking saying *Oleks naine hea olnud, kassid oleksid ta ära söönud* (lit. Had the woman been good, the cats would have eaten her) a note, a woman's meanness is something that is part and parcel of her.

3.4. Lack of intelligence

In this group, the more well-known elements are likely to be based on metaphorical comparisons with animals (mostly a lamb/a ram and a calf), meaning that a certain lack of intelligence ascribed to animals is projected back to people: *loll kui lammas* 'lit. as stupid as a lamb', *rumal kui köstri lehma vasikas* (lit. as silly as the calf of the sexton's cow). Some of such similes are related with female animals or has been used only as comments to females: *rumal nigu ilma päätä kana* (lit. as silly as a headless hen), *rumal nagu hani* (lit. as silly as a goose) ('It is said of a girl who lets boys make a fool of her'). The database has only a few records of expressions directly related to women's intelligence, which, however, are quite condescending in that respect:

(13) *Lühike nagu naise mõistus* (lit. Short as a woman's mind)

(14) *Äga meite Miia pole rumal mette, aga taal emase inimese mõistus* (lit. Our Miia is not a stupid person at all, but she has a female person's brain) ('A man said this to excuse his wife')

3.5. Inferior

This group includes all expressions that ridicule women on the basis of their gender, age, appearance or social status. Widows, spinsters and single mothers have been similarly scorned in different cultures (T. Litovkina 2014).

3.5.1. Gender

(15) *Kuus naisterahvast, inemist pole ühtki* (lit. Six women but no human beings) or *Üks naine ja seegi naisterahvas, ei jõua nüüd ära toita* (lit. One woman and a female at that, how come she can't be fed)

(16) *Naise võib veel teise kätte anda, aga püssi ei tohi* (lit. You can give your woman to another but not your gun) (cf. EV 12363 *Üks täitsamees ei anna teisele tarvitada oma nuga, hobust ja naist* (lit. A real man will not let another use his knife, horse or wife))

(17) *See pole naiste asi* (lit. This is not women's business) ('this is said when some are talking amongst themselves and another who happens to come by asks what they are talking about')

3.5.2. Old women, widows, spinsters, single mothers

There is a whole list of derogatory terms for those who are no longer considered women (old women, widows, spinsters) or who are not women yet (girls); but the object of these derogatory expressions can also be single mothers: *vana naise paaba* (lit. old baba), *vanatüdrukunui* (lit. spinster rod), *kesanoorik* (lit. summer wife) ('more than a girl and less than a woman, a girl with a child'), *kassinoorik* (lit. kitten wife ('very young mother')).

(18) *Soovin, et sa vanaks tüdrukuks pead jäema!* (lit. I wish you would end up a spinster!') ('said when there was a quarrel')

(19) *Taal juba vanatüdruku hais juures* (lit. She already has the smell of a spinster about her) ('an older girl, 26 years old')

(20) *See vist on mõne vanatüdruku hingetuisk* (lit. This must be some spinster's soul storm) ('we have a saying: a bachelor or a spinster will most likely die today, the weather is so bad, mostly in the winter')

(21) *Ära sa vanatüdrukuks küll jää, siis sind viiakse ka Türgimaale kukkesid laulma õpetama* (lit. Don't end up a spinster or you will also be taken to Turkey to teach roosters how to crow)

(22) *Võtad naise, kel on regi taga* (lit. You take a woman with a sled behind her) ('takes a girl with a child or a widow')

3.5.3. Appearance

This group includes expressions that ridicule women on the basis of their appearance. As a rule, the reason for the ridicule can be both in shapeliness:

jäme naine nagu õlekubu (lit. a thick woman like a bundle of thatch), *jäme naine kui aam* (lit. a thick woman like a cask), *sada kilo naise ilu* (lit. a hundred kilos is a woman's beauty) as well as in thinness *nii kõhn nagu laudade vahelt läbi tõmmat, mis naene see on* (lit. so thin it seems like she has been pulled through boards, that's no woman), *kõhn nagu aiateivas* (lit. as slender as a fence post). Tall women could also be negatively compared to men: *suur kohmakas naine nigu mies, üks kirvetüö ikke ole* (lit. a big clumsy woman like a man, it is quite a hack job).

3.6. Spender

There is one proverb related to women which has been recorded heavily (almost 100 occurrences) and which criticises their spending habits: *Naine jõuab põllega rohkem välja kanda kui mees koormaga sisse vedada* (lit. A woman can carry out more with an apron than a man can carry in with cartloads) (EV 7260). Phraseological modifications of this proverb are very similar: *Peremees ei jõund külimituga sisse kanda niipaelu kui perenaene põllega välla kand* (lit. The husband could not carry in with a bushel as much as the wife carried out with her apron); *Mees weitsi korjas, naine huisko pillas* (lit. A man bit by bit collected, woman unwisely spent). Even today, the aforementioned metonymic name *ühepäevaperenaine* is well-known as a reference to a woman who is not frugal.

3.7. Lazy

Laziness is obviously a characteristic that has always been frowned upon in a society focused on working hard. This was especially considered a flaw in a wife. But others could also be criticised, for instance, girls: *Ninda laisk tütruk, et süöma iest hiad ei tie* (lit. Such a lazy girl that she will not do any good just for food). A not so hard-working woman would have been referred to with the periphrasis *kodukaru* (lit. home bear) which was also a label for female genitalia[12]: *See on küll päris kodukaru, kodus istubki ainult* (lit. This is quite the home bear, only sits at home). In giving a negative assessment, a lazy woman was also compared to the mother-in-law and an old woman: *Istüb nurgas nindägü Harju ämm* (lit. Sits in the corner like a mother-in-law from Harju county), *Oh sina vana laisk naine – vedeled nagu va viisrajak* (lit. You old lazy woman – lying about like the old bast shoe).

[12] See Saareste's dictionary, EKMS (1962): 17:906 (genitalia).

3.8. Changeable

There are only a two expressions in the database that relate to the changeable nature of women; there are just a couple of comparisons, for instance, *Naiste miil nigu kana hand tuule käeh* (lit. a women's mind is like hen's tail in the wind), *tujukas kui aprillikuu ilm* (lit. as moody as April weather). The later expression lacks a commentary on its usage in the database, but I am of the opinion that it would have been used to describe women. This claim is supported by the sample sentence next to the expression found in Dictionary of Estonian Phraseology (FS): *Kuidas sa oma naisega hakkama saad, ta sul ju nagu aprillikuu ilm, iga hetk uued soovid ja tahtmised* (lit. How can you manage your wife, she's like April weather, every moment with new wishes and desires).

3.9. Loose morals

This group of expressions is not gender-specific, i.e. such kind of behaviour has been used both with reference to a males and females. Nevertheless according to our database there exist expressions restrict the usage to women.

(23) *Noh, sii on sii naisteinimese kaup* (lit. Well, that is the females' goods) ('If she goes out with a strange man then it is said that she has given her goods to this or that one')

(24) *Ema pani kelgo laka otsa, tütar võtis sealt ja sõitis edasi* (lit. The mother put the sled in the hayloft, the daughter took it from there and rode it on) ('A daughter adopts her mother's bad habits')

(25) *Pealt oli näha neiuke/neitsikene, alt oli ammu naisuke* (lit. By the looks, she is just a girl/a virgin, below she was long a woman)

4. Gender identity and animal metaphors

I have created a separate subgroup for expressions that use animal metaphors to denote women. Some of these were already mentioned. In figurative language, drawing parallels between people and animals is one of the more commonly used devices, known as anthropomorphism and personification.[13] In the oldest expressions in this group, of which there is a great variety,

[13] The so-called animal identity in proverbs from Estonia and other cultures has been thoroughly explored by Krikmann (2009).

women are likened to hens. Fewer sayings are linked to cows and sows[14], and even fewer with other creatures.

HEN: pime kana lõid ka vahest tera (lit. a blind hen sometimes also hit upon a grain); *nagu peata kana* (lit. like a headless hen); *nagu kana takus* (lit. like a hen stuck in tow); *kaagutasid nagu kanad munavalus* (lit. clucking like hen with the pain of laying eggs); *kanavarbad silmis* (lit. hen's toes around the eyes); *kanapea otsas* (lit. has a hen head on the shoulders); *kanapime* (lit. as blind as a hen); *kodukana* (lit. home hen);
COW: Suur tüdruk, aga laisk kui lehm (lit. Big girl but as lazy as a cow); *Oh sa igavene lehm* (you old cow); *Mees kui pull, naine kui lehm* (lit. Man like a bull, woman like a cow) ('this is a mocking expression because comparing a man to a bull honours him, but a comparison to a cow humiliates the woman. In spoken language, the man would be plump and red, the woman lazy and disorderly');
SOW: kuradi emis (lit. damn sow); *laisk nagu vana emis / magab kui vana emis / sööb nagu vana emis* (lit. as lazy as an old sow / sleeps like an old sow / eats like an old sow); *just naagu va pahur emis* (lit. just like a grumpy sow); *elu kui emisel, põli kui põrsal* (lit. life like a sow's, living like a piglet) ('a person was envied who was fed well and without much effort');
MARE: nagu va mära (lit. like a mare) ('talkative') (cf. *Missa hirnud kui mõni vana mära* (cf. Why do you laugh like an old mare)); *rügemendi mära* (lit. regiment's mare) ('a woman of easy virtue'); *naised nagu tõllamärad* (lit. women like carriage mares) ('of a plump big person')

When it comes to comparing women to snakes (something that can be taken back to the Bible), the database of Estonian phraseological units does not give us any reason to claim that this would namely be connected to women. There are just a few expressions that are accompanied by explanations that refer to women: *kahekeelne kui madu* (lit. two-tongued like a snake) ('Speaking of a woman, in disapproval') and *Naised kõik on ussisugu, sina, kallis, oled aga madu!* (lit. All women are worms but you, darling, are a snake!)

The present paper has not taken into consideration pejorative names, of which there are many in Estonian data, including those based on animal terms, since these would require a separate analysis.

[14] On the use of popular animal names in Estonian phraseology, see Baran (2010).

5. Female as an object of positive valuation

As the above examples illustrate, we are mainly dealing with negative properties that are considered characteristic of women. The same has been found in other languages, for instance, in German and Russian phraseology. In evaluating the axiological nature of these expressions, it could be said that the positive properties that are mainly valued in women were austerity, obedience, being hard-working, humble and level-headed. Appearance has been much less relevant, having been found in just some expressions that pertain to women's beauty (in comparison to something): *ilus kui noorik*; *ilus nagu roosilill* (lit. beautiful like a young wife, beautiful like a rose flower); *ilus tüdruk nagu ladvaõun* (lit. a beautiful girl like an apple from the treetop); *tütrik om ilus õkva ku maasikmari* (lit. the girl is beautiful like a strawberry); *ilus kui pilt*; *ilus nagu ingel* (lit. pretty as a picture, pretty as an angel) (the latter comes with the following comment: 'This was said of women, for men are no angels. Blond and blue-eyed women were considered beautiful angels'). The presence of such comparisons in today's language is already debatable but the name *naisenatuke* (lit. wife little) is still used. As is written in the explanatory dictionary of Estonian (EKSS), keyword *naisenatuke* '(endearingly) wifey'): *Ikka teine asi, kui sul naisenatuke alati omast käest võtta* (lit. It is a wholly different thing if you always have a little wife of your own). Less known is the most likely synonymous folk term of endearment *naisenarmas* (lit. wife lovely) ('a term of endearment for a smaller, slender girl, woman'). The expressions related to women's appearance (also see the subsection „Inferior" above) seem to suggest that it is mostly shorter women who have been considered beautiful: *Ilus viks ja veike triks, kena kõht ja kõrged rinnad* (lit. Pretty neat and nicely slick, nice belly and high breasts) ('small, beautiful girl'). However, good looks came with its downsides, as is shown in the following expressions:

(26) *Kellel tüdrukul on ilus nägu, sellel on inetu tegu* (lit. Which of the girls has a beautiful face, is made ugly) (cf. EV 2064 *Ilus naine on silma paradiis, hinge põrgu, rahakoti puhastustuli* 'A beautiful woman is a paradise for the eyes, a hell for the soul, a purgatory for the wallet'; cf. EV 7317 *Võta naine kõrvadega, ära võta silmadega* (lit. Take a woman with ears, do not take her with your eyes)

(27) *Ilus tüdruk, kena nägu, kes teab, kelle poisi jägu* (lit. A beautiful girl, with a pretty face, who knows which boy's she is)

(28) *Ega ma naist kappi panemise jauks võta* (lit. I didn't take a wife to put her in a closet); cf. also *Pane laeskappi, ise vaada eemalt* (lit. Place in a high cupboard, only look from afar).

To reiterate, compared to proverbs, phraseology places quite a bit of emphasis on humorous expressions. With expressions that function as lines linked to specific situations, the goal is to describe a situation in a figurative and effective manner and also to pass judgement on it. Estonian older phraseology, however, has many joking words the functions of which are difficult to pinpoint. Most of these texts seem to employ rhyme and this seems to overshadow the content. Such sayings that mostly work on the basis of end rhyme mainly come from folk songs. Another set are related to folk jokes, meaning that the independent phrase comes from the text of the joke. A noteworthy portion of these pertains to women. These are mostly single sayings, that is, the typical phraseological unit is limited to a few recordings, yet the total number of different texts is considerable. One of the oldest texts in this group dates from 1894 and quite clearly illustrates this type of expression: *Oled naine, et nalja ei mõista?* (lit. Are you a woman that you don't understand a joke?) Most of the texts presented here date from the late 19th century. I would like to present some examples which do not aspire to represent a deeper truth but simply serve as suitable illustration for the topic at hand. In these texts, a woman emerges as someone who is different (not to say strange) but without whom men might find it difficult to manage their everyday lives.

(29) *Mul pole naist, kes leiba tiib, ega last, kes ärä süüs leivä* (lit. I do not have a wife to make the bread nor a child to eat the bread) or *Ei ole naist, kes nalja teeb, ega last, kes laksu lööb* (lit. I do not have a wife who makes jokes nor a child who would high five me)

(30) *Võtsin naise nalja pärast, alumise asja pärast* (lit. I took a wife for kicks, for the nether thing) ('a silly joke') or *Naise mina võtan nalja pärast, lapsed aga lausa lõbu pärast* (lit. I will take a wife for kicks but children I will have for fun)

(31) *Ei ole vaesel inimesel seda õnne, et naine ära sureb, ikka lõpeb mõni koduloom* (lit. A poor person does not have the luck of his wife dying, it will be a domestic animal first)

(32) *Minu naine meeldiks mulle siis, kui ta oleks teise mehe naine* (lit. I would like my wife is she were another man's wife)

At the same time, there are also expressions that contradict this bravado. In these, manliness or, rather, lack thereof is presented in comparison to women. If there are properties that are considered common in women, these are ascribed to a man in an attempt to demean him: *Mehe nägu, aga naise tegu*

(lit. Looks like a man but is made like a woman); *Sa olet miis küll ku naisi kotun ei ole* (lit. You are man enough when the wife is not home).

6. Conclusion

How serious should these more or less joking expressions be considered? Most likely, it would be an oversimplification to talk about people or, in this instance, women being oppressed in the past society on the basis of these texts. Instead, they should be seen as mainly humorous or ironic lines used by men or even by other women to express envy or a desire to feel superior. Proverbs have been considered the keepers of stereotypical perceptions (an aspect that has also been of interest to social psychologists) and it can be said that the same might be argued about phraseological word formation, especially in its older part, that is, sayings. Whereas a great deal of proverbs would nowadays be considered out-dated simply on the basis of their names, phraseological expressions, the use of which is primarily spontaneous and dependent on the specific situation, are not subject to this interpretation. Further research should try to establish to what extent and why people still use these speech forms that are archaic in so many ways. This article in no way wishes to further support the common perception that one is staring at a truthful representation of the past attitudes in proverbs and other old figurative expressions. Still, this cannot simply be ignored either and, thus, we should strive to examine them critically and, through this, understand why they have been used for hundreds of years.

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Płeć w starszej warstwie estońskiej frazeologii

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest ukazanie obrazu kobiety zawartego w estońskiej frazeologii. Materiał badawczy pochodzi ze archiwalnych zbiorów folklorystycznych. Analiza ma za zadanie pokazuje, że jakie cechy przypisywano kobietom w XIX wieku i wczesnej fazie XX wieku. Baza danych zawierająca estońskie stałe połączenia wyrazowe obejmuje materiał zebrany z archiwów estońskiego folkloru oraz materiał frazeologiczny z estońskich archiwów dialektów i wczesnych estońskich tekstów drukowanych. Jest więc to zbiór materiałów o wartości historycznej. Wyniki przeprowadzonego badania pokazują, że opinie i nastawienia wykazują uprzedzenie i złośliwość w stosunku do kobiet, które krytykowane są za gadulstwo, władzę, kłótliwość, frywolność itp. Jak pokazuje analiza przykładów odnoszących się do mężczyzn, ukazanych w niniejszym artykule dla kontrastu, byli oni wyśmiewani z powodu uległości względem kobiet lub z powodu bycia pokonanymi przez kobiety. Podobnie jak w przypadku innych zapisów dotyczących przeszłości, materiał nie dostarcza wystarczającej ilości materiału, aby wyciągać wnioski na temat światopoglądu ludzi, którzy żyli w minionej epoce. Jednak z drugiej strony, nie można pominąć tych tekstów. Powinno się je próbować poddać analizie, aby ustalić, dlaczego wyrażenia odnoszące się do płci przetrwały w języku przez wiele stuleci i dlaczego nadal się ich używa.

Paola Capponi
Universidad Pablo de Olavide
Spain

Threats are words. Forms of threat in Italian proverbs: variants and invariants

Abstract. Difficult to define precisely and charged with implicit meanings and allusions, threats are clearly a topic of interest for linguists. Based on a semantic analysis of Italian proverbs concerning threats, this study traces the outlines of a widely shared cultural definition of *threat*, collected from the semantic areas in which proverbs most often occur. The defining features that emerged point to ancient origins. In particular, the study reveals the importance that tradition attributes to spoken expression or silence as indexes of the seriousness of a threat and the likelihood that it will be carried out, the extent to which one corresponds to "reality". In the final analysis, what is involved is observing how anticipation of the future created by those who voice a threat or convey one through gestures or silence, is formulated and expressed in proverbs.

Key words: *threat, proverbs, Italian language, silence, fear*

1. Introduction

The illustrious nineteenth-century scholar of rhetoric ("Linné de la Rhetorique"), Pierre Fontanier, includes threat – *commination* – as one of the presumed figures of thought[1]: "La commination est la menace ou l'annonce d'un malheur plus ou moins horrible, par l'image du quel on cherche à porter le trouble et l'effroi dans l'âme de ceux contre qui l'on se sent animé par le haine, la colère, l'indignation ou la vengeance". Fontanier questions what the distinctive features are that define threats ("Serait-cedonc l'objet particulier du langage, ou le sentiment, la passion que le langage exprime, qui ferait

[1] Cf. the introduction by G. Genette to Du Marsais 1984 (1818), in particular Genette's introduction to Fontanier 1968 (1830: 13).

ici la figure?"). He examines what it is that distinguishes threats from other types of expedients and deceptions and whether the threat's specificity may in fact consist in ensuring that it is taken seriously.

An object of study that is equivocal, elusive and difficult to define, in this study the threat is analyzed within the repertory of Italian proverbs. The paper aims to provide a typological semantic study that will contribute to a "cultural definition" of threat. The study has attempted to isolate the principal semantic areas that proverbs concerning threats refer to and thereby arrive at a definition that can be considered shared, broadly based and rooted in folk tradition.

The paper grows out of a previous diachronically-based study that made it possible to reconstruct the etymology and semantic variations of the term *threat* as it has evolved over time. The sources used for that study were mainly lexicographic, while in this paper the starting point is oral folk tradition, a repertory of sayings and proverbs which, although varying in form, conserve themes that have survived over the centuries. Here the proverb is considered as a snapshot of a dialogue, a line from a conversation removed from its context. What is studied is what Valter Boggione described in the preface to *Dizionario dei proverbi*, as "semantic potential", rather than "semantic content". The analysis is thus a typological, semantic one.

2. Methodology and corpus

Starting from the study of recent repertories of sayings that can be found in Italy (Boggione-Massobrio 2007, Guazzotti-Oddera 2006, Lapucci 2006)[2], the article reconstructs the invariants that formulate the definition of threat, or rather of the perception of threat, in folk tradition, as attested to in sayings and proverbs. The definition is an unusual one because the concept is defined not by the perimeter that delimits it, but instead by the center that substantiates it. Based on implicit meanings and suspensive points, a threat could be defined as an utterance that expresses consequences that will be negative for the person it is addressed to, if an order (that may be disguised in various ways) is transgressed[3]. The ways in which a threat can be expressed range

[2] They will subsequently be referred to respectively as BM, L and GO. The translations of the proverbs cited are essentially literal, seeking as far as possible to reflect and convey the structure and wording of the originals.

[3] The present study does not analyze threat from a pragmatic-linguistic point of view. It examines the representation of threat in proverbial sayings, the forms in which it is crystallized in the proverbial chain.

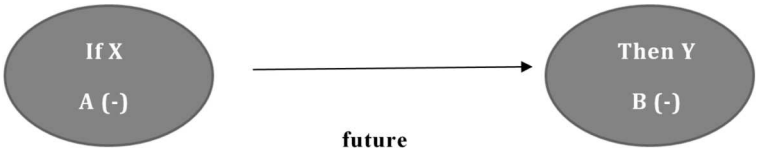
from the totally explicit, verging on verbal violence, through the minimally perceptible (a gesture or hint) to an allusion conveyed via silence.

The study is based on a corpus of proverbs that explicitly mention threat in the body of the utterance or in its gloss[4]. Analysis of these proverbs led to identification of their defining semantic features, the invariants. This made it possible, on a second level of analysis, to identify other formulations that could be traced back to threat and also to investigate them in-depth, through the diachronic study of the topics that were identified as recurring most frequently.

Three different types of proverbs were taken into consideration:

I) Proverbs that define threat, mentioning it directly in the text (as a folk metalinguistic reflection on threat);
II) Proverbs that in themselves constitute a threat (a sort of "performative" proverb);
III) Proverbs that describe a threat without explicitly mentioning it (*exempla* from which the definition of threat can be induced).

The method used in the semantic study involved considering threat in terms of the following structure: "if X, then Y", in which X is negative for A (the person making the threat) and Y is negative for B (the person threatened) and is envisioned in the future, so that "if X (A-), then Y (B-) in the future".



Seen in greater detail, two agents are identified: the person that formulates the threat (A = threatener) and the person that receives the threat (B = threatened). In terms of how it is formulated, a threat is largely based on a conditional sentence of the type "If X, then Y" in which both the protasis and the apodosis can be omitted, implicit and allusive. The premise (if X) as well as the consequence (then Y) can indicate either the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of an action, a change of condition.

The distinctive characteristics of a threat are time, projection into the future and negative aspect. What makes a threat specific and identifiable is namely that the consequence must be projected into the future (it cannot not yet have come to pass) and the fact that the consequences will be

[4] This means the proverbs considered contain the word *threat* or a derivative (to threaten, threatened, tc.).

negative for the interlocutor. The premise is also negative in aspect: it indicates something that the threatener wishes to censure and stop from happening. Threats, based on negativity being attributed to premise and consequence, can therefore be seen as a litmus paper of cultural, historic and social variants.

3. Vices and virtues: categories of threats

In examining the semantic structure in which proverbs about threats are comprised, in the repertories consulted it was observed that alongside the principal stream, there exists a wide range of categories with which proverbs concerning threat can be associated. BM includes proverbs about threats in his section on "Virtues and vices, good qualities and defects" (IX), moving on to "Wrath, rage and threats" (IX.13), before arriving at a specific listing under the heading "Threats" (IX.13.7). Some proverbs in this section have references to the following other categories of meaning:

- caution and the ability to decipher what is implicit: VI.5.4, "Discourses and individual character; the need to understand the meaning of a discourse; discourses and intelligence; astuteness in discussion", e.g. "A word to the wise is sufficient" (*A buon intenditore, poche parole*); and VI.5.1, "The advisability of speaking little, measuring one's words and listening to others", e.g. "The body of one who barks too much becomes filled with wind" (*Chi troppo abbaia si riempie il corpo di vento*);
- dissimulation: IX.25.3.1, "Simulation and dissimulation. General maxims", e.g. "Sometimes a pursuer has made no threat" (*A volte caccia chi non minaccia*);
- deceitfulness: IX.15.6.2, "Unkept promises and oaths, false promises and oaths", e.g. "Take no pleasure in promises, have no fear of threats" (*Di promesse non godere, di minacce non temere*);
- fear and cowardice: IX.8.7, "Negative consequences of excessive meekness, of cowardice and of fearfulness" in XI.8, "Courage, heroism, magnanimity vs. fear, cowardice, submissiveness", e.g. "Threats made by one who flees are not likely to be believed" (*Chi fugge mal minaccia*) or also in IX.8.6, "Demonstrating fear and cowardice: consequences of fear, fear as a source of caution", e.g. "A threat like that comes from one who lives in fear" (*Tal minaccia che vive con paura*);
- punishment of a wrongdoer: IX.I.10.1",How to behave with the wicked; wickedness punished", e.g. "For a barking dog, bread or a stick" (*A can che abbaia, pane o bastone*).

In GO the majority of the proverbs about threat are included in the category "Attitudes and behaviors", and under this in "Advice, warnings and admonitions". Other instances are distributed through a fairly wide range of categories that includes "Weather and atmospheric phenomena", "Intelligence, ingenuity and cunning", "Animals", "Speech and Silence", "Means and ends, causes and effects". There follow "Society and social mobility", "Emotions and sentiments", "Vices and virtues", "Water, air, earth and fire", "Justice and injustice", and "Misfortunes, troubles, unhappiness".

4. Threats are words

The examination and analysis of the examples found indicate that there are five semantic areas of reference, five features on which proverbs seem to insist when dealing with threat. In many cases emphasis is on the fact that threat relies on words, or on a future that is only described in words and is therefore imaginary as it cannot yet be verified nor demonstrated by events. There emerges a sort of disparagement of spoken threats, in line with the commonplace which sees words as empty and deeds as full and having value, on the basis of a contrasting pair (word/deed) in which the connotation of the first element is negative and that of the second one positive.

Thus we find: "Threats are words" (*Le minacce son parole*) (L: M1516); "Threats break no bones" (*Le minacce non rompono le ossa*) (L: M1517); "A threat never killed anyone" (*Di minacce nessuno muore*) (L: M1518); "Have no fear of threats, take no pleasure in promises" (*Di minacce non temere, di promessa non godere*) (L: M1520), with variants: "Take no pleasure in promises, have no fear of threats" (*Di promesse non godere, di minacce non temere*) (BM and GO, who associates this saying with "One is not afraid of being bitten every time one sees teeth bared" (*Non tutte le volte che si veggono i denti, s'ha paura de' morsi*).

Within the context of descriptive proverbs, we then find the well-known "The barking dog does not bite", *Can che abbaia non morde*) (BM and GO) with a large number of variants: "The barking dog seldom bites" (*Can che abbaia poco morde*) and "The dog by the haystack barks then keeps its distance" (*Can da pagliaio abbaia, e sta discosto*); "The body of one who barks too much becomes filled with wind" (*Chi troppo abbaia si riempie il corpo di vento*)[5] (BM and GO); then, on the inoffensiveness and unreliability of

[5] With the variant spelling *s'empie* for *si riempie*.

those who raise their voices, we find "The barking dog does not give chase" (*Can che abbaia non fa caccia*) (BM, GO); "The barking dog does not catch its prey" (*Can che abbaia non piglia cacciagione*); "No barking dog has ever caught its prey" (*Can che abbaia prese mai caccia*). Another proverb that is pertinent in this context is "Much thunder, little rain" (*Tanti tuoni, poca pioggia*) (BM).

Far more severe is the admonition concerning deeds: *"By punishing one person, one can threaten one hundred"* (*Chi un ne castiga, cento ne minaccia*) (GO); and the variant "One is punished, one hundred are threatened" (*Uno se ne castiga, cento se ne minaccia*).

4.1. Threats are weapons for the person threatened

A threat serves as a warning and as such it allows the person against whom it is directed to protect themselves, to take measures and even to reply by attacking the person who has revealed their intentions. We thus find proverbs such as "Threats are weapons for the person threatened" (*Le minacce sono armi del minacciato*) (L: M1521 and BM) and a number of variants: "Threats are weapons for the threatened"; "A threat is a shield for the threatened". In other words, "a threat is dangerous for the one who has made it, because if something happens to the person threatened, the threat can be used as evidence against the threatener; in addition the harm done can be feigned" (L: M1521). We also find "Threats made in public, shields for one's enemy" (*Minacce pubbliche, scudi al nemico*) and "Even with a thousand threats one can live to be a hundred" (*Con mille minacce si campa cent'anni*) (L: M1519). The following proverb can also be included in this category: "One can seek safety from a dog that barks" (*Da cane che abbaia ognuno si sa guardare*) (BM) as well as "More people are threatened than beaten" (*Sono più i minacciati che i battuti*); "The threatened slap was never given" (*Stiaffo minacciato non fu mai dato*); "The wise person disdains no threat, fools turn up their snouts to really big ones" (*Il saggio non ha a schifo le minacce, il folle leva il grifo alle ben grande*), i.e. "the wise never ignore a threat but the stupid will ignore even the most serious ones" (BM).

4.1.1. It is unlikely that one who makes a threat will seek revenge

This area of meaning comprises a series of proverbs that emphasize the relationship between threat and revenge. "One who makes a threat is unlikely to seek revenge" (*Chi minaccia fa difficile la vendetta*), i.e. "Once someone who seeks revenge has made a threat, their revenge will not remain

anonymous nor go unpunished. Once a threat has been made, the person threatened has been averted and can take countermeasures" (L). "One who threatens revenge, need not seek it" (*Chi minaccia vendetta caccia*) i.e. once revenge is threatened it is no longer necessary to carry through with one's threat (BM).

4.2 The most fearful make the most threats

In some proverbs we find a profile of threateners, who are described as people who are filled with fear and betray their weakness: "The most fearful make the most threats" (*Chi più teme, più minaccia*) (L: T621); "Those who fear most, make threats" (*Chi più teme, minaccia*) (GO); "Someone who threatens is someone who is afraid" (*Chi minaccia ha paura*) (L: M1522); "A threat like that comes from one who lives in fear" (*Tal minaccia che vive con paura*) (BM, GO). Their credibility is examined, essentially to evaluate the threat's chances of being carried out: "Threats made by one who flees are not likely to be believed" (*Chi fugge mal minaccia*) (BM; GO). Other pertinent references are found in sayings such as "Those who are not able to bite should not bare their teeth" (*Chi non può mordere, non mostri i denti*); "The dog that growls and has no strength should fear for its hide" (*Can ringhioso e non forzoso, guai alla sua pelle*) (BM; GO); "Hearing that voice without seeing the soldier, would one not say 'Here is a giant?'" (*Sentir la voce e non veder il fante. Non si direbbe: "Questo è un gigante?"*) ("from those who make threats they are not able to put into action", BM).

Sometimes emphasis is placed on the intentions of the person making a threat, to show they are harmless (if they threaten, they will not cause trouble): "One who threatens does not wish to come to blows" (*Chi minaccia non vuol dare*) (L: M1523, BM; GO, who relates this saying to "The barking dog does not bite", *Can che abbaia non morde*); and also "One who threatens will not strike" (*Chi minacia non percuote*) (L: M1524).

4.3. Sometimes a pursuer has made no threat

While words are disparaged and seen as an indication of vacuity, unreliability and emptiness, the complimentary notion is the weight that should be attributed to silence. Proverbs point to silence, what is not said, as a serious indication of real danger. When one is unaware of impending danger, an enemy can take revenge as there was no sign that there was a need to defend oneself. Thus we find proverbs such as "Sometimes a pursuer has made no threat" (*A volte caccia chi non minaccia*) (BM; GO); "Someone who

wishes to act, is usually a person of few words" (*Chi far di fatti vuole, suol far poche parole*); and also "One who speaks little, bites much" (*Chi parla poco morde assai*) and "Beware the man who does not speak" (*Guardati da uomo che non parla*) (GO).

The widely known "A word to the wise is sufficient" (*A buon intenditore, poche parole*) can itself be used as a threat, warning or reprimand (BM). There are similar formulations such as "Whoever has ears to understand, let them understand" (*Chi ha orecchie per intendere, intenda*) (GO); "Whoever has ears to hear, let them heed" (*Chi ha orecchi per udire, oda*) (GO); "Whoever has ears, let them understand" (*Chi ha orecchie, intenda*) (GO).

The following proverb emphasizes the danger inherent in silence: "A dog that bites does not bark" (*Can che morde non abbaia*), with the variants "A dog that bites does not bark in vain" (*Can che morde, non abbbaia in vano*); "A dog that wishes to bite does not bark" (*Can che vuol mordere, non abaia*); "The dog that wishes to bite, seldom barks or growls" (*Il can che morder vuole, rare volte abbaia o ringhia*); "A dog, when it wishes to bite, does not bark" (*Il can, quando vuol morder, non abbaia*). The most explicit variants include "Beware a dog that does not bark" (*Guardati da cane che non abbaia*); and "Better a dog that barks than one that is silent" (*E' meglio un cane che abbaia che uno che tace*); "Beware the dog that lays quietly" (*Guardati dal can che giace*); "Never trust a sleeping dog" (*Mai fidarti del can che dorme*). A proverb concerning the weather is also pertinent in this context: "Calm threatens a storm" (*A bonaccia, burrasca minaccia*) (GO, who relates this to "One who wants take action does not say so" (*Chi le vuol fare, non le dice*).

4.4. After the smoke comes the flame

Finally there is a series of proverbs that place considerable emphasis on relationships of causal-temporal succession, on the imminence of effect: "After the smoke, comes the flame" (*Dietro il fumo vien la fiamma*) (GO: "warnings and threats are followed by the dreaded deeds or events"); "After the lightning comes the thunder" (*Dopo il lampo viene il tuono*) (GO: "explicit admonition to consider the foreseeable consequences of an action after one has had a clear warning": "After the thunder comes the storm; after the lightning flash, the thunder; after the lightning, comes the thunder" (*Dietro il tuono vien la tempesta, Dopo il baleno viene il tuono, Dopo il lampo, viene il tuono*). And there is also "From here to a little is not far" (*Di qui a poco non è molto*), i.e. a threat is imminent and impending.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of these proverbs brought to light a folk image of threat that emphasizes the importance of the truth and credibility that is recognized in words or in silence, as a sign or gauge of what will happen in the future. Words, seen almost as commotion, din, noise, seem to transform a threat into a tool given to the person being threatened enabling them to discover their interlocutor's weak points. Thus words seem to undermine threats, transforming one into a sign of weakness in the person making the threat, who is forced to put into words what s/he is unable to translate into action. In this sense, threats, which are nevertheless based on a negative sign, are transformed into warnings, salutary alerts, useful forewarnings, admonitions (e.g. parents threatening children, the Bible). Silence is instead a sign of real, imminent, likely danger. It is apparently in the absence of words that real danger lies; empty words give way to the empty space of silence that accommodates deeds and encompasses reality. Silence thus becomes a more serious form of threat, a more reliable indication of danger, therefore generating the dread essential for obtaining the reaction desired. The interlocutor is obliged to envision the future scenario, to complete the picture.

In addition, threats are a gauge of the strength of contending parties. They objectively indicate the hierarchy of power and serve as the basis of assessing their credibility.

Finally, as we often find in folk tradition, there are recurrent references to animal behavior and to the weather, particularly to indicate a causal-temporal relationship for which the cyclical return of atmospheric conditions furnishes a wide range of images.

A patchwork of implicit meaning and ambiguous formulations, threats therefore appear to constitute an area of intersection between topics that are at the heart of folk tradition, particularly the following three: the future (prediction of the future, guaranteeing survival); fear and the relationship between deeds, words and silence, and in turn their relationship with truth and falsehood.

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Groźby są słowami: Formy gróźb we włoskich przysłowiach: warianty i inwarianty

Streszczenie

Groźba, trudna do zdefiniowania i mająca wiele znaczeń, stanowi interesujący materiał badawczy dla językoznawców. Niniejszy artykuł zawiera semantyczną analizę włoskich przysłów dotyczących gróźb. Na podstawie ustalenie, do których obszarów semantycznych najczęściej odnoszą się przysłowia, podjęto próbę opracowania definicji kulturowej pojęcia *groźba*. Przeprowadzone badania wykazały, że jej główne elementy są głęboko zakorzenione w kulturze. Analiza prowadzi do wniosku, że szczególnie duże znaczenie ma fakt, że według tradycji wypowiedziane wyrażenie lub cisza mogą być wykładnikami powagi groźby i prawdopodobieństwa jej wykonania, których zakres odpowiada stanowi faktycznemu. W końcowej części analizy poddano badaniu, jak w przysłowiach formułowane i wyrażane jest projektowanie przyszłych zdarzeń przez wypowiadających groźby, którzy werbalizują lub wyrażają je za pomocą gestów lub ciszy.

Elena V. Carter
The University of Vermont
USA

"With an Open Heart": Somatic Idioms In Nikita Khrushchev's Political Discourse

Abstract. Nikita Khrushchev's two visits to America (1959–1960) were truly historic. It was the first time when a head of the Soviet Government and the Party came to the United States. The whole world was focused on the leader of the Soviet state and the distinctive features of his personality. The Americans liked his directness, energy, industry, rough humor, simplicity, and his predilection for proverbial rhetoric. The use of pithy folk sayings gave the Russian politician the opportunity to communicate complicated matters in vivid and easily recognizable imagery. The aim of this article is to examine Nikita Khrushchev's arsenal of somatic proverbial phrases employed in his public speeches in America.

Key words: *Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Nations, proverb, proverbial expression, proverbial speech, rhetoric, somatic idioms, body metaphor*

There is no doubt that Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) was one of the most visible and, at the same time, controversial leaders of the Soviet period. He gained considerable fame all over the world due to the launch of the unprecedented social, cultural, and political transformations in the Soviet Union after the denouncement of Joseph Stalin and his Personality Cult in 1956, as well as his efforts to thaw the icy tension between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Nikita Khrushchev tried to reintroduce Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence that believed that countries with different political systems and ideologies could coexist together without a war. He tried to prove peaceful coexistence by attending international peace conferences and by travelling internationally. His twelve-day tour to America, September 15–27, 1959, was a historical event because it was the first time when a Soviet leader of the socialist country visited the capitalist United States. As a result, the "ice of the cold war" began to "melt," and

the tensions between the USA and USSR were able to warm. Sadly, "any hopes generated by Khrushchev's American trip didn't last long" (Taubman 2003: 447). The situation drastically changed in 1960, when the spirit of cooperation was severely damaged by the U-2 spy plane incident. In the same year (September 19 – October 13), Nikita Khrushchev made his second and final visit to America. This time, he had no invitation of the President of the United States, but appointed himself as the Head of the USSR's United Nations delegation.

During his first visit to the USA, the Russian politician travelled a lot and made 28 speeches in formal settings as well as in a variety of unofficial environments. In contrast, the majority of his public speeches (11 out of 19) made during his second visit were official ones delivered at the UN General Assembly. Nikita Khrushchev's fondness for the simple peasant phrase was one of his most striking features that was frequently demonstrated in different settings. The Soviet leader particularly delighted in citing a variety of proverbial expressions comprising a name of a body part in their structure. However, these somatic phraseologisms have not become the topic for any research yet[1]. Thus, the objective of the present paper is to scrutinize the store of body metaphors that was vividly exposed in the Russian politician's speeches in the United States.

Nikita Khrushchev showed his inclination for somatic idioms (i.e., "idioms [phrasemes], or idiomatic [phraseological] combinations of various functions containing at least one obvious [physical] body-part name" [Čermák 1998: 112]) which refer to such body parts as eyes, nose, lips, teeth, tongue, head, arms, hands, fingers, heart, guts, spine (backbone), knee, and feet.

It is certainly noticeable that the proverbial expressions with the "arm/hand" constituent were used with high frequency in Khrushchev's speeches, and the phrase "with a long arm" (TTEM: 307)[2] / "с длинной рукой" (the English standard form is "long in the arm" with the meaning of "thieving") in particular. While meeting with the journalists at the National Press Club in Washington on September 16, 1959, as well as in his speech at the meeting with a group of representatives of the U.S. Business and

[1] There is some scholarship on the use of somatic phrases in the political rhetoric of a number of public figures. For example, for the employment of body metaphors in speeches and correspondence of such politicians and statesmen as Winston S. Churchill, Adolf Hitler, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Barack Obama, see Mieder & Bryan (1995) and Mieder (1997; 2000; 2001; 2005; 2009).

[2] See P. R. Wilkinson. *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors*. London: George Routledge, 1993. (= TTEM)

Commercial World organization on September 24, 1959, the Russian leader applied this metaphor to argue against the wide-spread opinion that he came to America to ask for any financial help:

> I want to tell you that I did not come to the United States with a long arm to dig my hand into your banks. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 28)
>
> Хочу сказать, что я не приехал в США с длинной рукой, чтобы запустить свою руку в ваши банки. (Khrushchev 1960: 99)
>
> I did not take along anyone from the Ministry of Foreign Trade quite deliberately, so that none would think that I had come with a long arm to rich Uncle Sam. (*Khrushchev in America*, 1960: 28)
>
> Я сознательно не взял с собой никого из Министерства внешней торговли, чтобы не думали, что я приехал с длинной рукой к богатому дядюшке Сэму. (Khrushchev 1960: 100)
>
> The important thing is that you should understand that we have not come to stretch a long hand into your pocket. We keep our hands in our own pockets. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 181)
>
> Важно только, чтобы вы поняли, что мы не приехали с длинной рукой залезать к вам в карман. Мы руки держим в своих собственных карманах. (Khrushchev 1960: 261)

In a speech delivered at the session of the UN General Assembly on September 18, 1959, Premier Nikita Khrushchev introduced a list of proposals for the solution of disarmament issues (e.g., lack of possession of any means of waging war and the establishment of international control) made by the Soviet Government. While fiercely arguing for the necessity of taking active steps in this direction, he utilized the somatic idiom "to sit with folded arms" (TTEM: 282) / "сидеть сложа руки" (the English standard form is "to stand by with folded arms") as an ardent appeal of not being inactive when needed:

> This solution of disarmament questions would ensure the complete security of all states. It would create favorable conditions for the peaceful coexistence of states. All international issues would then be resolved not by force of arms but by peaceful means.
> We are realists in politics and understand that working out such a broad disarmament program will take some time. While such a program is being elaborated, while matters are being agreed, we must not sit with folded arms and wait. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 81–82)
>
> Такое решение вопросов разоружения обеспечит полную безопасность всех государств. Оно создаст благоприятные условия для мирного сосуществования государств. Все международные проблемы будут тогда решаться не силой оружия, а мирными средствами.

> Мы – реальные политики и понимаем, что для разработки такой широкой программы по разоружению потребуется какое-то время. Пока такая программа будет разрабатываться, пока вопросы будут согласовываться, нельзя сидеть сложа руки и ждать. (Khrushchev 1961: 159–160)

In order to underscore the significance of mutual efforts for solving any problems between the countries, the Soviet leader used a variety of body phrases describing joint actions. "Shoulder to shoulder" / "плечом к плечу" (GDRPE: 505)[3], "hand in hand" (TTEM: 272) / "рука об руку," and "in step with you" / "в ногу" (GDRPE: 443) are just a few of them. It is noteworthy that the context of the first two passages below is World War II when the USSR and the USA were allies in their struggle against Nazi Germany. Nikita Khrushchev referred to this period to make a point that this successful past experience could be a good example of the possibility of having friendly relations between these two states in the future:

> Our people fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy in the grim days of the Second World War. And since our people were together in the most crucial periods of history, what surer indication can there be that fundamental and lasting interests draw the two countries to cooperation and friendship? (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 118)

> В грозные дни второй мировой войны наши народы плечом к плечу сражались против общих врагов. А коль скоро в наиболее напряженные периоды истории наши народы были вместе, то может ли быть более верный показатель того, что коренные и длительные интересы влекут обе страны к сотрудничеству и дружбе. (Khrushchev 1960: 201)

> In the Second World War the Soviet Union and the United States fought together, hand in hand, against the common enemy who threatened all mankind. And this speeded up victory and brought the peace whose benefits the nations enjoy. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 159)

> В годы второй мировой войны Советский Союз и Соединенные Штаты выступали вместе, рука об руку против общего врага, угрожавшего всему человечеству. И это ускорило победу и принесло мир, благами которого пользуются народы. (Khrushchev 1960: 242)

> In the interests of peace we must march in step with you, in step with all nations. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 173)

> В интересах сохранения мира нашим странам нужно идти в ногу вместе со всеми народами. (Khrushchev 1960: 254)

[3] See V. M. Mokienko & T. G. Nikitina. *Bol'shoy slovar' russkikh pogovorok* [Great Dictionary of Russian Proverbial Expressions]. Moskva: OLMA Media Grupp, 2008. (= GDRPE)

According to Aleksei Adzhubei, Khrushchev's son-in-law, who was a member of the Soviet delegation during this historical visit, "the result of trying to control both temper and his curiosity was that Khrushchev was always on guard" (Taubman 2003: 426). However, it did not work well in some of the situations. On September 20, 1959, in San Francisco, the Soviet Premier spent three hours "in rather heated discussion with leaders of American trade unions headed by Walter Reuther, vice-president of the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations]" (Medvedev 1983: 149). When Walter Reuther posed himself "as a defender of Soviet workers" (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 132) and made an attempt to sharpen the discussion by asking why the Soviet trade unions did not come out against the Party, Nikita Khrushchev responded very emotionally. He cited one of the well-known body idioms "to stick one's nose in" (MPPS: 452)[4] / "совать свой нос в чужие дела," thus, making it clear that it was not Walter Reuther's business to interfere in this:

> "Why do you stick your nose into other people's plans?" N.S. Khrushchev asked. "The Soviet workers settle their problems by themselves, and get along without outside interference. There will be no real talk as long as you keep trying to lecture others." (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 132)
>
> «Что Вы суете нос в чужие планы, – спрашивает Н.С. Хрущев, – советские рабочие сами решают свои дела, и они обходятся без вмешательства извне. Пока Вы будете пытаться поучать других, никакого разговора не получится». (Khrushchev 1960: 215)

Later, at the same meeting, in order to convince the audience that the Soviet Union was independent and capable of doing well without anybody's support, Nikita Khrushchev employed a slightly varied form of the proverbial expression "to stand on your own feet" (TTEM: 227) / "стоять на ногах" (GDRPE: 439). As it appeared, it was one of the most sensitive topics that made him agitated, along with the so-called "German question"[5]:

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[4] See B. J. Whiting. *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989. (= MPPS)

[5] After its unconditional surrender, Germany was divided into four zones of Allied military occupation: American, British, French, and Soviet. In 1949, the French, British, and American zones merged and formed the Federal Republic of Germany, with its capital city Bonn. In the same year of 1949, the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic with the Soviet sector of Berlin as the capital. During the Cold War, the division of Germany drove a wedge between both the USA and the USSR relations and West German and East German relations.

> Where did you see that dream? Calm yourself, you have the shivers. Who empowered you to speak on behalf of the German people? Why do you keep trying to speak for other peoples? You are pampered by the fact that many countries depend on the United States and are compelled to seek your aid. But the socialist countries stand firm on their own feet. We don't take off our hats to you. The Soviet ruble has never bowed, is not bowing now and will never bow to the dollar. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 128–129)
>
> Где это Вам приснилось? Успокойтесь, Вас трясет лихорадка. Кто дал Вам мандат выступать от имени германского народа? Почему Вы пытаетесь все время говорить за другие народы? Вы избалованы тем, что многие страны зависят от Соединенных Штатов и вынуждены просить у вас помощь. Но социалистические страны крепко стоят на своих ногах. Мы шляпы перед вами не снимаем. Советский рубль не кланялся, не кланяется доллару и не будет кланяться. (Khrushchev 1960: 210)

In his speech at the dinner given at the Economic Club of New York on September 17, 1959, another proverbial expression with the "feet" constituent ("to get on their feet" / "встать на ноги") was used by the Soviet Premier. It is highly likely that he did it to emphasize the importance of providing support to the countries of the so-called "third world" in order to facilitate their economic development:

> Your and our economic successes will be hailed by the whole world, which expects our two Great Powers to help the peoples who are centuries behind in their economic development to get on their feet more quickly. I shall say nothing now about whose fault that is – you know it perfectly well. Let us better decide on a just and humane way of helping these countries out of the plight in which they find themselves. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 60)
>
> Наши и ваши экономические успехи будет приветствовать весь мир, который ждет, что наши две великие державы помогут быстрее встать на ноги тем народам, которые отстали на столетия в своем экономическом развитии. Не буду говорить сейчас, по чьей вине это произошло, – вы сами все хорошо знаете. Давайте лучше справедливо и гуманно решим, как помочь этим странам выйти из того положения, в котором они оказались. (Khrushchev 1960: 136)

Nikita Khrushchev also made frequent use of somatic phrases to emotionalize his public speeches. At the meeting with journalists at the National Press Club in Washington on September 16, 1959, the Russian leader cited the proverbial phrase "with an open heart" / "с чистым сердцем" (GDRPE: 608). The politician used it twice to add emotional intensity to his speech as well as to strengthen the point that he arrived in America on a friendly mission of trying to do his best to improve the relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union:

> First of all, I wish to stress that we have come to you with the best intentions and with an open heart. We have come with the sentiments of friendship for the American people and a sincere desire to achieve better relations between our two countries and promote peace all over the world. That is the main object of our visit. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 19)
>
> Прежде всего хочу подчеркнуть, что мы приехали к вам с самыми лучшими намерениями и чистым сердцем. Мы привезли чувства дружбы к американскому народу и искреннее желание добиться улучшения взаимоотношений между нашими странами, укрепления мира во всем мире. Это главная цель нашего визита. (Khrushchev 1960: 89)
>
> I can add that I will not ask any counter-questions of this kind, because I have come to the United States with other aims, because I've come with good intentions and an open heart. I have come here, not to dig up various questions so as to aggravate relations between our two countries, between our governments, but to improve existing relations, to remove, if I may say so, the road blocks that hinder a rapprochement of our countries. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 28–29)
>
> Могу сказать еще, что встречных вопросов такого рода я вам задавать не буду, так как приехал в США с другими целями, приехал с добрыми намерениями и чистым сердцем. Приехал не для того, чтобы выискивать разные вопросы для обострения отношений между нашими странами, между нашими правительствами, а для того, чтобы улучшить существующие отношения, убрать, если можно так выразиться, камешки с пути, которые мешают сближению наших стран. (Khrushchev 1960: 100)

The next example is a telling one and centers on the somatic idiom "a thorn in a heart" / "нож в сердце" (GDRPE: 444) with the meaning of "causing someone constant and heartfelt pain" (TTEM: 318). Communicating with a group of representatives of the U.S. Business and Commercial World organization in Washington on September 24, 1959, the Soviet Premier chose this particular proverbial metaphor to express his concern about the lasting existence of discrimination:

> If you do not want to trade with us, you don't have to, but end discrimination. So long as there is discrimination, we shall have a thorn in our hearts. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 187)
>
> Не хотите торговать с нами – не надо, но снимите дискриминацию. До тех пор, пока останется дискриминация, останется и заноза в нашем сердце. (Khrushchev 1960: 267)

On a number of occasions, the Soviet leader alluded to somatic phraseologisms in a playful manner that added much humor to his statements. The following instance (October 11, 1960) is one of them:

> Among the speakers here were Mr. Greene, for Canada, and the United States representative – since his name is hard to pronounce I shan't do it in order not to get my tongue twisted. I think everyone will guess whom I mean without any mistake. They said that Khrushchev, you see, was also planning to leave. Yes, I am planning to leave for Moscow on Thursday, October 13, at midnight. But if you really want disarmament I will not only put off my departure for Moscow, but will confer here until a disarmament agreement is reached. (*Khrushchev in New York* 1960: 195)

> Здесь выступали господин Грин, представляющий Канаду, и представитель Соединенных Штатов – его фамилию произносить очень трудно, поэтому я не буду ее выговаривать, чтобы язык не сломать. Думаю, что никто не ошибется и догадается, о ком я говорю. Так вот, они говорили, что Хрущев, дескать, тоже собирается уезжать. Да, я собираюсь уехать в Москву в четверг, в 12 часов ночи, 13 октября. Но если вы действительно хотите разоружения, то я не только отложу свой отъезд в Москву, но буду заседать здесь до тех пор, пока не будет достигнуто соглашение о разоружении. (Khrushchev 1961: 472)

The proverbial phrase "to get your tongue round it" (TTEM: 127) / "язык сломаешь" (GDRPE: 770) with but its small change: "to get my tongue twisted" was employed by Khrushchev to ironically explain why he could not articulate the name of the U.S. Representative to the United Nations James J. Wadsworth. Even though the English sounds [w] and [θ] could be quite a challenge for a Russian speaker to pronounce, it is plausible to consider the possibility that the Soviet Premier did not enounce the last name deliberately in order to prompt the listeners' attention to his speech by dealing with it in such an original way.

The following citation deserves closer scrutiny since it relates to one of the most controversial decisions that was made in the period of his leadership:

> The so-called Hungarian question, you see, has stuck like a dead rat in the throat of some people – they are disgusted with it and yet cannot spit it out. If you want to give our talk that particular twist, I can produce quite a few dead cats. They will be fresher than the question of the Hungarian events. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 28)

> Видите ли, так называемый венгерский вопрос у некоторых завяз в зубах, как дохлая крыса: им это и неприятно и выплюнуть не могут. Если вы хотите нашу беседу направить в этом направлении, то я вам не одну дохлую кошку могу подбросить. Она будет свежее, чем вопрос известных событий в Венгрии. (Khrushchev 1960: 100)

This passage represents Nikita Khrushchev's respond to the question concerning the interference of the Soviet troops in Hungary[6]. The Russian politician was obviously not in a mood to discuss this problem with the journalists at the National Press Club in Washington on September 16, 1959. He used the metaphorical proverbial comparison "stuck like a dead rat in the throat" / "завяз в зубах, как дохлая крыса" to show that he did not like the question and was not going to answer it.

There are a number of instances when the Soviet leader utilized somatic phrases to characterize different personalities:

> My respect for Mr. Eisenhower has grown still more since this step. His decision to invite Khrushchev to America was not an easy one. Few Americans would have dared to take such a step. To do so one had to be a big man and, what is more, to understand big politics. I am informed that some of the American political leaders are opposed to this decision by the President. The President's wisdom lay precisely in the fact that despite this, he went through with what he had decided. It showed that he was more far-sighted than those who, as we say in Russia, cannot see farther than their own noses. A statesman must not only know what is taking place today, but must show concern for the future and work for its sake. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 47)
>
> Мое уважение к господину Д. Эйзенхауэру возросло еще больше после этого шага. Его решение пригласить Хрущева было не простым делом. Не каждый американец решился бы пойти на такой шаг. Для этого надо быть большим человеком, а главное – понимать большую политику. Мне известно, что часть американских политических деятелей не согласна с этим решением президента. Мудрость президента проявилась именно в том, что он, несмотря на это, совершил то, что задумал. Это показало, что он видит дальше тех, кто, как говорят у нас в России, не видит дальше собственного носа. Государственный деятель обязан разбираться не только в том, что происходит сегодня, он должен заботиться о будущем, должен работать во имя его. (Khrushchev 1960: 121–122)

This extract is part of Nikita Khrushchev's speech at the luncheon given by Robert Wagner, mayor of New York, on September 17, 1959. The speaker paid a compliment to President Eisenhower's bravery and wisdom for inviting the Russian leader to the USA. He compared the President with some

[6] The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was suppressed by a massive invasion of Soviet tanks and Red Army troops in Budapest. The street fighting against the invading Red Army caused thousands of casualties among Hungarian civilians and militia, as well as hundreds of the Soviet military personnel killed. The attack of the Soviet Red Army also caused massive emigration from Hungary: hundreds of thousands of Hungarians had fled as refugees.

American public officials who would not welcome the Soviet Premier because of being completely without foresight or, as he pointed out proverbially because they "cannot see farther than their own noses" / "не видит дальше собственного носа."

The following excerpt represents Khrushchev's comment on Jules Moch, a French delegate at the UN Disarmament Commission, made at the UN General Assembly meeting on October 11, 1960. Although the Soviet leader described Jules Moch as an experienced politician, using the body metaphor "the skin off your teeth" (TTEM: 419) / "съесть зуб" (GDRPE: 258), he implicitly criticized him for his inability to work effectively at the sessions of the Committee dealing with the disarmament question:

> I can see Mr. Jules Moch here. He is considered to be a Socialist and a man who has talked the skin off his teeth at sessions in the Ten Nation Committee. But to what end? None. (*Khrushchev in New York* 1960: 194)
>
> Вот, я вижу, здесь сидит господин Жюль Мок, он числится социалистом, зубы съел на заседаниях в Комитете десяти, а толк какой? Никакого. (Khrushchev 1961: 471)

Another good example of the Soviet Premier's use of somatic idioms appeared in his speech made at the dinner given at the Economic Club of New York on September 17, 1959. Nikita Khrushchev spoke proudly about the Soviet economic achievements. He praised the socialist system in every way possible, claiming proverbially that those who doubt the feasibility of the Soviet seven-year plan of economic development look like an ostrich that "hides its head in the sand" (the English standard form is "to bury your head in the sand" (TTEM: 394) / "зарывает голову в песок" (ERPD: 522)[7]. According to the speaker, such people are not interested in seeing the real state of affairs, and this is the reason why they "close their eyes" / "закрывают глаза":

> But that is ostrich policy; when an ostrich sees that its rival is overtaking it, it is said to hide its head in the sand. Our development will not cease if you close your eyes to reality. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 55–56)[8]

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[7] See A. V. Kunin. *Anglo-russkiy frazeologicheskiy slovar'* [English-Russian Phraseological Dictionary]. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoye izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i natsional'nykh slovarey, 1956. (= ERPD)

[8] The proverbial expression "ostrich policy" applies to governments or people who refuse to recognize a real problem or the fact that danger exists. For more information on the use of this metaphor, see Wolfgang Mieder's celebrated book *Proverbs are the Best Policy. Folk Wisdom and American Politics.* Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2005.

> Но это страусовая политика; когда страус видит, что противник его догоняет, он, как говорят, зарывает голову в песок. Если вы закроете глаза на действительность – наше развитие от этого не прекратится. (Khrushchev 1960: 130–131)

At the press conference in Washington on September 27, 1959, answering the question whether there was any planned attempt to hinder his reception in the USA and who might have planned it, Nikita Khrushchev declared that although not everyone liked the idea of his visit, he would prefer not to name these politicians. The Russian leader chose the somatic phrase "to point a finger" (TTEM: 308) / "показывать пальцем" (GDRPE: 477) to express his position:

> I agree with you, Mr. Schorr, with what you had in mind, when you were planning this question. But it would be discourteous for a guest to point a finger at the people, who, so to say, forced themselves to accept, or by force of a certain necessity accepted, my visit. I, naturally, do not imply high-placed persons, but speak of certain people who play quite an important role in the general state machine of the United States of America. True, not everybody favored my visit. But the persons who counted on preventing a good reception for me in the USA have failed. (*Khrushchev in America* 1960: 193)
>
> Я согласен с Вами, господин Шор, с Вашими думами, когда Вы писали записку. Но гостю неприлично указывать пальцем на тех людей, которые, так сказать, через силу или в силу известной необходимости принимают мой визит. Конечно, я не имею в виду высокопоставленных лиц, а говорю о некоторых людях, играющих довольно значительную роль в общем государственном механизме Соединенных Штатов Америки. Верно, что не все были за. Но лицам, которые рассчитывали помешать хорошему приему меня в Америке, не удалось этого сделать. (Khrushchev 1960: 272–273)

The Table below shows the number of somatic phraseologisms employed by Nikita Khrushchev in his forty-seven speeches delivered at different places during his two visits to America:

Table 1.

Part of a Body	Number of Somatic Idioms Used in 1959	Number of Somatic Idioms Used in 1960	Total Number of Somatic Idioms
1. Hand/arm (рука)	13	12	25
2. Heart (сердце)	10	1	11
3. Eye (глаз)	3	7	10

1. Hand/arm (рука)	13	12	25
2. Heart (сердце)	10	1	11
3. Eye (глаз)	3	7	10
4. Tongue (язык)	6	3	9
5. Feet (нога)	6	2	8
6. Head (голова)	2	4	6
7. Tooth (зуб)	1	4	5
8. Nose (нос)	3	1	4
9. Lip (губа/уста)	2	0	2
10. Shoulder (плечо)	1	1	2
11. Back (спина)	1	0	1
12. Brain (мозг)	0	1	1
13. Ear (ухо)	0	1	1
14. Eyebrow (бровь)	0	1	1
15. Face (лицо)	0	1	1
16. Finger (палец)	1	0	1
17. Forehead (лоб)	1	0	1
18. Gut (кишка)	0	1	1
19. Hip/thigh (бедро)	0	1	1
20. Knee (колено)	1	0	1
21. Skin (кожа)	0	1	1
22. Spine/backbone (позвоночник/хребет)	1	0	1
Total Number	52	42	94

Thus, Nikita Khrushchev's public speeches made in America abound with body metaphors. As can be seen in the Table, the Russian leader incorporated 94 somatic idioms containing 22 parts of the body in his oral messages when he was in the USA in 1959 and 1960. The Soviet Premier was more "proverbially prolific" on his first trip, probably, because he had more opportunities to communicate with people in various informal milieus, and

he was so excited about it. It appears as if Nikita Khrushchev always knew the right place and moment where to employ a colorful somatic idiom in order to add folkloric spice to his messages. Definitely, he used proverbial language in a controlled fashion. After all, he had a lot to say and he could do it skillfully integrating folk-speech metaphors in his political rhetoric.

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„With an Open Heart" (Z otwartym sercem): Idiomy somatyczne w politycznym dyskursie Nikity Chruszczowa w Ameryce

Streszczenie

Dwie wizyty Nikity Chruszczowa (1959–1960) miały doniosłe historyczne znaczenie: osoba zajmująca najwyższą pozycję w Związku Radzieckim i partii politycznej po

raz pierwszy przybyła do USA. Uwaga całego świata była skupiona na przywódcy ZSRR i jego cechach osobowości. Amerykanom podobała się jego bezpośredniość, energia, przedsiębiorczość, szorstkie poczucie humoru, prostota i upodobanie do wykorzystywania w przemówieniach przysłów. Ich stosowanie umożliwiło rosyjskiemu politykowi mówienie o sprawach skomplikowanych w prosty, obrazowy sposób. Celem artykułu jest zbadanie zasobu somatycznych przysłów, które wystąpiły w przemówieniach Nikity Chruszczowa, wygłoszonych podczas jego pobytu w Ameryce.

Renata Dźwigoł
Pedagogical University of Krakow
Poland

Types of laughter – based on the analysis of Polish phraseological units and proverbs

Abstract. Particular types of laughter are usually distinguished according to the criterion: which emotional states and reactions are expressed by means of laughter. The article presents a different classification of types of laughter – it is based on the criterion: what is the origin of laughter. Natural, spontaneous laughter is evaluated positively, while unnatural, artificial laughter is assessed negatively. The third type of laughter, whose cause is unknown to an external observer, the so-called internal laughter, which is in fact a smile, is the least investigated one in Polish phraseology and paremiology, as opposed to the two previously mentioned types. Such an approach to laughter is characteristic of the commonsensical model of rationality, typical for the conviction about a cause-effect structure of the world.

Key words: *laughter, a cause-effect structure of the world, types of laughter, Polish phraseology and paremiology*

1. Introduction

Laughter is a diverse and multiaspectual notion (cf. the title of a collective volume *Słowiańskie barwy śmiechu* 2010). When analysing this notion, it becomes clear that laughter encompasses not only human behaviour, and specific sounds made by people, but also, metonymically – emotional reactions, which can be expressed by means of those sounds, in other words: it is both an external symptom and underlying emotions (Maćkiewicz 2005: 102). Laughter is a reaction (positive or negative) of people to different stimuli and situations, it conveys emotions (positive or negative), it might be a sign of a certain attitude to someone or something (Pintarić, Spagińska-Pruszak 2010: 41, Pstyga 2010: 53). Smile is a soundless laugh, the first stage in laughter development (Pintarić, Spagińska-Pruszak 2010: 43). According to Maria Peisert:

> Z fizjologicznego punktu widzenia można potraktować śmiech i uśmiech jako jeden komunikat różniący się stopniem natężenia, natomiast z kulturowego punktu widzenia są to dwa komunikaty. [...] Śmiech od uśmiechu różni się większym napięciem mięśni mimicznych, a przede wszystkim charakterystycznym rodzajem wokalizacji. Z kulturowego punktu widzenia śmiech ma wartościowanie mniej pozytywne niż uśmiech."[1] (Peisert 2006: 234, 238).

Information about the image of laughter, which emerges after the analysis of Polish phraseological units and proverbs, might be found in the works of Jolanta Maćkiewicz (2005) and Krystyna Wojtczuk (2006). The Polish-Russian comparative study is the work of Alicja Pstyga (2010), while the Polish-Croatian comparative study was presented by Neda Pintarić and Agnieszka Spagińska-Pruszak (2010).

The subject of my analysis will be phraseological units, i.e. idioms and proverbs, containing the items *śmiać się* and *śmiech*, which were excerpted (i.e. written out) from lexicographic sources. I have been investigating exclusively those phraseological units which concern human laughter, disregarding those which metaphorically denote:

- good luck in life, happiness, success, dreams which come true (I also quote here by-forms of PUs, with the following components: *uśmiechać się*, *uśmiechnąć się*, *uśmiech*) – *fortuna/los/życie się komu/do kogo śmieje* (Skor II: 305); *fortuna/los/życie się do kogoś śmieje* (Zgółk 42: 88); *los się do kogoś uśmiecha/uśmiechnął*; *szczęście uśmiechnęło się do kogoś* (SFWP: 887–888); *fortuna się do niego uśmiechnęła* [*szczęście ci się uśmiecha*] (NKPP I: 572); *los się uśmiechnął* (NKPP III: 315); *uśmiech losu* 'a lucky event which is, as if, the evidence of good fortune' (SJP PWN III: 586); *Czyć los sroży się, czy śmieje, zawsze w Bogu miej nadzieję* (NKPP II: 572). The following PUs are close in meaning to those mentioned before: *Gdzie się zielona łąka śmieje, wszystko się tam śmieje* (NKPP II: 339); *Młodemu świat się śmieje, staremu płacze* (NKPP II: 505); *Na śmiertelnej pościeli czyste sumienie: ostatni uśmiech świata* (NKPP III: 352)
- sounds made by some animals (which bear resemblance to human laughter) – *śmiech hieny*, *śmiech puszczyka* (Skor II: 305; Zgółk 42: 90); *hiena się śmieje*, *puszczyk się śmieje* (Skor II: 305); *Żołna*[2] *się śmieje, bydzie padać* (NKPP III: 949) 'a meteorological proverb'.

[1] From a physiological point of view, laughter and smile can be treated as one message differing in intensity, however, from a cultural perspective, they are two different messages. [...] Laughter is different from smile in terms of greater intensity of facial muscles, and above all, the characteristic type of vocalization. From the cultural point of view, laughter has less positive evaluation than smile.

[2] *European bee-eater* – 1. 'oriole, a bird related to a sparrow', 2. 'black woodpecker'

Also those PUs in which laughter is the result of anthropomorphisation have been omitted:

- God – *Sam Bóg śmieje się z nieba, jeśli się człowiek więcej troszczy, niżeli trzeba* [*Pan Bóg śmieje się z nieba, jeżeli się człowiek więcej troszczy, niźli trzeba*] (NKPP I: 183); *Pómbóg sie śmieje, jak złodziyj złodzieja okradnie* [*Kiedy złodziej złodziejowi kradnie, to się Pón Bóg śmieje*] (NKPP III: 888); *Pómbóg sie śmieje, jak złodziyj policajta góni* (NKPP III: 888)
- devil – *Grzech diabłu śmiech* [*Grzech diabła śmiech*] (NKPP I: 757); *Jak sie baba gniwo, to sie dioboł śmieje* (NKPP I: 268[3]); *Na kogo ludzie płaczą, to nad takim diabeł się śmieje* 'about a cruel exploiter' (NKPP II: 960[4]); *Kto obdarza bogatego, śmieje się diabeł z niego* [*Kto daruje bogatego, śmieje się diabeł z niego*] (NKPP I: 128) [cf. footnote 17]
- farm animals – *Kogut pieje, a kura sie śmieje* [*Kohót pieje a kura sie mu śmieje*; *Kura pieje, kogut się śmieje*] (NKPP III: 98); *Konie na pogrzebie się śmieją* 'i.e. they move slowly without being spurred', cf. *Konie na weselu płaczą* 'i.e. they are spurred, overloaded and not well-fed' (NKPP II: 125).

Furthermore, the material does not include agricultural or farm proverbs – such as: *W ciechanowskiej ziemi płacząc się orze, ale śmiejąc się zbiera* 'i.e. the soil is hard but fertile' (NKPP I: 311); *Kto w czas sieje, ten się śmieje, a kto sieje późno, to ma różno / zbiera różno* (NKPP III: 173[5]); *Kto w Wielgi Piątek sieje, ten się w żniwa śmieje* (NKPP III: 173) 'if sowing begins on Good Friday, the harvest will be abundant', as well as calendar proverbs, e.g. *Od Cypriana aż do Jana, gdy pogoda jest zasrana, to od Jana do Jerzego jeszcze nic nowego, a gdy Jerzy się rozśmieje, to za kilka dni znów leje* [św. Cyprian 10 III, św. Jan Kapistran 28 III, św. Jerzy 23 IV] (NKPP I: 347).

(Sł NKPP: 265). In the quoted proverb, which comes from a collection of proverbs from Cieszyn by Józef Ondrusz, most probably *żołna* refers to 'oriole', cf. *Gdy wilga śpiewa, będzie deszcz* (NKPP III: 686). About this name (which refers to various bird species): Nitsch, Kazimierz. 1918. Z geografii wyrazów polskich. *Rocznik Slawistyczny*. 8: 68–73. Strutyński, Janusz. 1972. *Polskie nazwy ptaków krajowych*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo PAN. 15–17, 200. In the dialect dictionary of Cieszyn Silesia, ed. J. Wronicz (Krop, Jan et. al. 1995. *Słownik gwarowy Śląska Cieszyńskiego*. ed. 1. Wisła: Towarzystwo Miłośników Wisły, Ustroń: Towarzystwo Miłośników Ustronia. 357), we can read: "żołna 'black woodpecker'. When a 'bee-eater' flies from one tree to another it screams kli, kli, kli, kli".

[3] Written by means of the following words: *Jak się chłop rozgniéwá, to se diáboł śpiewá, a jak baba z gniewu płacze, to diáboł wiesioły skácze.*

[4] Expressed as: *Na niego ludzie płaczą.*

[5] Expressed as: *Kto swe pola w czas zasiewa, ten i dobre żniwa miewa.*

2. Types of laughter

Particular types of laughter are most commonly distinguished according to the following criterion: which emotions are nonverbally expressed by means of laughter. This issue has been described in the quoted examples, as well as abundantly documented in dictionaries, where numerous adjective phrases are quoted, e.g. *szyderczy śmiech*. Laughter could be an external manifestation of not only cheerfulness, amusement, pleasure, happiness, satisfaction, or admiration, but also other states and reactions – irritation, derision, mockery, disrespect, irony (Maćkiewicz 2005: 102; Pstyga 2010: 53). Thus, as emphasised in one of the proverbs, laughter and pleasure do not always go hand in hand: *Nie ten wesół, co się śmieje* (NKPP III: 641). It must be added that after analysing derivatives of the lexeme *śmiech*, the image of laughter which emerges differs from the one in phraseology and paremiology. The author of this analysis concludes: "The meanings of derivatives show that it is the kind of laughter treated mainly as the sign of happiness, rather than other feelings (e.g. mockery, disrespect, irony)." (Badyda 2010: 20).

I would like to describe types of laughter distinguished according to the criterion: the origins of laughter. The first one is natural, spontaneous laughter, the other one is unnatural, artificial laughter.

Natural laughter is positively evaluated. An example of that is laughter resulting from a funny situation or occurrence, since in accordance with colloquial philosophy, based on common sense, laughter should have a reason. The following PUs refer to this kind of laughter: *homeryczny śmiech* 'uncontrollable and friendly' (NKPP II: 787); *beczka śmiechu* 'a type of roller in a funfair, which is placed horizontally and revolves around its own axis, and one has to walk on it, maintaining balance', colloquially used to refer to 'a thing or situation which is very funny' (Dor VIII: 1278)[6]; *jest z kimś/czymś dużo/mnóstwo/kupa/beczka śmiechu* 'something makes you laugh, it is funny' (MN: 782)[7]; *narobić śmiechu* 'to evoke laughter'; *Z wielkiego pośpiechu narobisz waść śmiechu* [*Zły pośpiech ludziom na śmiech*] (NKPP II: 1032); *Niech się kpy wodzą za łby, dobrze i nam pośmiać się* (NKPP II: 60); *śmieją się jak z dziurawego buta* (NKPP III: 441); *śmieje się, jakby hyrbaty* 'humpbacked' *po schodach sie kuloł* 'to roar with laughter, to guffaw' (NKPP III: 442)[8].

[6] Cf. *beczka śmiechu/gabinet śmiechu* 'having fun in a funfair' (Zgółk 42: 90).

[7] *Beczka śmiechu* means in this context 'lots of laugh, cheerfulness and joy'.

[8] As for the motivation of this phraseological unit, attention must be given not to the image, but rather to the sound connected with the situation in which a hunchbacked man is falling down the stairs (hitting the hunch on the stairs).

Situations in which laughter is not appropriate – but it occurs (natural laughter, which is the reaction to something funny, is out of place) – are referred to by means of the following proverbs: *Co się śmiejesz?!* 'don't laugh, there's no reason to laugh, it's not funny' (MN: 781); *Nie ma się z czego śmiać* (disapproving) 'it's not funny' (MN: 781). At this point a phraseological expression *śmiech pusty* should be mentioned, which is 'a type of laughter not motivated by anything, laughter without any reason, sometimes in a situation which does not, or should not evoke laughter' (Dubisz III: 1580; WSF PWN z przysł: 542)[9]. Unmotivated laughter is used when describing people who act impulsively and unreasonably give in to their emotions: *Kto może się bez przyczyny śmiać, ten może i bez bólu płakać* (NKPP III: 439) 'about people who act impulsively and unreasonably give in to their emotions' (Zgółk 42: 88); *Śmiać się i płakać bez przyczyny umieją wszystkie dziewczyny* (NKPP III: 440).

Laughter is not only a natural reaction to what people regard as funny, but also to things which are considered implausible, unreal, invented, nonsensical, as well as a lie: *Z bajki śmiech, z prawdy gniew* (NKPP I: 52); *duby na śmiech prawi* 'somebody lies, tells tales, talks nonsense, tells fibs' (NKPP I: 497–498; MG I: 55–58, 169–175); *nie niechej sie wyśmioć* 'don't talk nonsense' (NKPP III: 439); *śmiech na sali* 'a reaction to obvious nonsense delivered pompously' (NKPP III: 446).

In several PUs, on the illustrative level of mocking somebody who talks nonsense, absurdity can be caused by animals: *cap* 'an old buck' 'a type of ram with a long thick tail'[10], a goat, a hen, a horse. In this way, mockery is intensified: *Wloz na gruszke, sioł pietruszke, cap sie mu śmioł* 'when somebody lies, tell tales, fibs' (NKPP I: 751–752); *koza by sie tymu śmioła* (NKPP II: 875); *kura by się z tego śmiała* [*kura by sie tymu śmioła*] (NKPP II: 254–255); *koń by się uśmiał* [*koń by sie tymu śmioł*] 'something not serious' (NKPP II: 126) 'ironically about somebody's absurd ideas, nonsensical statements, exaggerated ambitions' (SFWP: 887).

Natural laughter can be aroused by making somebody laugh either unwittingly, or deliberately – just like a jester does[11]: *Po śmiechu poznaje jeden błazen drugiego* (NKPP I: 114); *Śmiej się, pajacu, bo ci za to płacą* 'the echo of R. Leoncavalla's opera entitled Jesters, the beginning of aria' (NKPP III: 441[12]); *Śmiej się, pajacu* 'ts.' (Zgółk 42: 88); *zrobić co na śmiech / dla śmiechu* (Dor VIII: 1278); *robić coś dla śmiechu* (Zgółk 42: 90); *zrobić/powiedzieć coś dla*

[9] Cf. *pusty śmiech* 'lively, carefree laughter' (Dor VIII: 1278).

[10] Sł NKPP 175.

[11] *Błazen* in the quoted PUs means 'fool' [see below].

[12] Expressed as: *Śmiej się, pajacu*.

śmiechu 'to do or say something in order to make others laugh' (WSF PWN z przysł: 542); *doprowadzić kogoś do śmiechu* (MN: 781); *umarłego by rozśmieszył* [*umarły by się uśmiał*] (NKPP III: 443). Children's 'mute/silent' game which consists in making others laugh, is connected with the saying: *Patrzajmy się, nie śmiejmy się, a kto gębą poruszy, tego za łeb, za uszy* (NKPP II: 830). Sometimes making people laugh is ineffective, like in the case of a joke which falls flat, which is illustrated by a folk proverb: *Na taki śpas ni ma śmiechu* (NKPP III, 410)[13].

Natural laughter is a sign of and a condition for good health: *Śmiej się z tego na zdrowie* (NKPP III: 441[14]) 'ignore an unpleasant situation'; *Śmiech to zdrowie* [*Niech sie śmieją bydą zdrowsi*; *Śmiech idzie na zdrowie*; *Dzeciny smiech je nôzdrowszy*] (NKPP III: 446); *Śmiech to zdrowie* 'laughter, happiness and fun bring relaxation and make life easier' (MN: 782) 'happiness helps people live healthily' (Zgółk 42: 90); *Kto się śmieje, temu sadło rośnie* (NKPP III: 439) 'cheerful people enjoy eating and put on weight easily' (Zgółk 42: 88). This type of laughter is also recommended as an educational and didactic tool, as well as life approach which ensures effectiveness of action': *Śmiechem wady obyczajów karci* [*Więcej zrobisz śmiechem, niż wyrąbiesz mieczem*; *Mówi starożytne przysłowie, że śmiejąc się, ma poprawiać*] (NKPP III: 447); *Więcej zrobisz śmiechem, niż wyrąbiesz mieczem* 'cheerful action is more effective than force persuasion' (Zgółk 42: 90).

The second type of laughter is **unnatural laughter**, which is artificial and occurs without any rational reason, and is glued to the lips almost permanently. It has been assessed negatively. It is treated as a sign of deceit (pretended happiness, cheerfulness – hiding bad intentions) or stupidity (understood as intellectual or mental disability). Here are the relevant PUs: *sztuczny śmiech* 'dishonest, forced' (MN: 782); *drewniany śmiech* 'soundless, mute, bland, devoid of lightness and happiness, artificial' (MN: 781); *Nie wierz niebu jasnemu ni człeku śmiejącemu* [*Nie wierz niebu jesiennemu ni człeku śmiejącemu*; *Nie trza wierzyć niebu jasnemu i chłopu śmiésnemu*] (NKPP III: 680) 'things are not as they seem to be at first sight'; *Chłop, który się bez przyczyny śmieje, który z jednym mówi, a na drugiego mruga – już to niepewni są* (NKPP I: 262); *Mazur niewiele mierzy, śmiejąc się uderzy* (NKPP II: 419)[15]; *Gdy śmiech w zwyczaj przechodzi, fałszu lub głupoty dowodzi* (NKPP III: 445); *Poznać głupiego po śmiechu jego* [*Po czym poznać głupiego? Po śmiechu jego*; *Głupi się*

[13] Cf. *Śmiech z dowcipu zręczne pochlebstwo* (NKPP II: 973).

[14] Expressed as: *Śmiej się, pan, z tego*.

[15] According to J. Krzyżanowski this proverb is supposed to illustrate impulsiveness of people from the Mazury (MG I: 399).

śmieje, choć się nic nie dzieje; *Ze śmiechu wielkiego/zbytniego poznać głupiego*; *Ni ma jak głupimu, uśmieje sie, nie wiy, czymu*] (NKPP I: 681[16]) 'people's behaviour demonstrates their personality traits' (Zgółk 42: 90); *Kontent głupi, że oszalał i śmieje się z tego* (NKPP I: 682[17]); *Na wszystko się uśmiecha, cudze zdanie śmiecie, nie uwierzy, że głupi, aż go głupstwo zgniecie* (NKPP I: 676[18]); *Jak ten głupi, który się zawsze śmieje, tak i ten nie bardzo godzien naśladowania, który nigdy* [*Jak ten głupi, który się zawżdy śmieje, tak i ten nie bardzo mądry, który nigdy*; *Chto sę wiedno smieje, ten wiele nie rozumieje*] (NKPP III: 439); *Lepiej z mądrym płakać niż z głupim się śmiać* [*Lepsza z móndrym płakać, niż sie z głupim śmioć*] (NKPP I: 678).

Negatively evaluated unnatural laughter is also expressed by means of numerous comparative phrases containing the verb *śmiać się*, which refer to a man who is of unsound mind:

- TO LAUGH LIKE + NOUN COMPONENT *śmieje się jak głupi* [*śmieje się jak głupie cielę*] (NKPP III: 441–442[19]); *śmieje się jak opętany /wariat* (NKPP III: 442)[20]
- TO LAUGH LIKE + VERBAL COMPONENT *śmieje się, jakby go od bonifratrów wypuścili* (NKPP I: 35[21]); *śmieje się, jakby sie syra najod* (NKPP III: 441–442[22])
- TO LAUGH LIKE LIKE + NOUN COMPONENT AT / FOR / TO SOMETHING *śmieje się jak głupi do sera* [*śmieje się jak sroka do sera*; *śmieje się jak głupi do jajecznicy*; *śmieje się jak głupi do wątroby*; *śmieje się jak głupi piwu*; *śmieje się jak głupi placku*] (NKPP III: 441–442[23]); *śmiać się jak głupi do kołacza* 'thoughtlessly' (Skor II: 304); *śmiać się jak głupi do kołacza/do sera* 'thoughtlessly' (Zgółk 42: 88); *śmiać się jak głupi do sera* 'thoughtlessly, without a clear reason' (SFWP: 820; Dubisz I: 1031); *śmieje się jak Filip na jelito* 'i.e. someone stupid, thoughtless' (NKPP I: 566)

[16] Latin. *In risu agnoscitur fatuus*.

[17] Expressed as: *Rad głupi, że oszalał*.

[18] Expressed as: *Głupiemu nic się cudzego nie podoba, a swoje wszystko*.

[19] Expressed as: *Śmieje się jak głupi do sera*.

[20] In the past a mental disorder was treated as a result of being possessed by the devil. The devil himself is a demon, whose laughter plays a significant role in his description, cf. *zaśmiał się jak bies na ludzką szkodę* [*śmieje się jak bies na ludzką szkodę*; *śmieje się by złe na szkodę*] (NKPP III: 443); *jak diabeł na kępie śmieje się/siedzi* [*śmieje się jak diabeł w suchej wierzbie/na kępie/w konopiach*; *chichocze się jak diabeł w rokicinie*; *trzęsie się jak diabeł na kępie*] (NKPP I: 431); *śmieje się jak szatan* (NKPP III: 442); *diaboliczny śmiech* 'bad, malicious, unfriendly, ominous' (MN: 784); *śmiech diabelski/szatański* (Zgółk 42: 90).

[21] Expressed as: *Jakby go od bonifratrów wypuścili*. Bonifratrzy – a Roman Catholic nursing order, which provides health care to the sick, including mentally ill patients.

[22] Expressed as: *Śmieje się jak głupi do sera*.

[23] Also: *Najod sie syra, bo sie fórt śmieje*; *Isto sie najod syra, że sie tela śmieje.*

- TO LAUGH LIKE + NOUN COMPONENT SOMEWHERE *śmieje się jak nagi w pokrzywach* (NKPP II: 575[24]); *uśmiecha się jak złodziej w dybach* (NKPP III:443).

In the abovementioned phraseological patterns there are also names of animals: *śmieje się jak suka do batoga* [*śmieje się jak pies do kija*; *śmieje się jak końska dupa do bata*] (NKPP III: 442); *śmieje się jak wyżeł przy przewozie*[25] (NKPP III: 634–635[26]).

Several PUs of folk origin seem to be the echo of mocking a village fool[27], who, by evoking laughter, had a similar role to that of a jester or a clown: *Śmiej się, durniu, to dam gros, a nie, to figę w nos* (NKPP III: 441); *Śmiej się, śmieszku, dóm ci grejcar w mieszku* [*Śmiéj sie, śmiéj, dostanies centa*; *Śmiej sie, śmieszku, mosz jajuszka w miszku*; *Śmiyj sie, śmiyszku, dóm ci gówno w miyszku* 'when somebody laughs at an inappropriate moment' (NKPP III: 441); *Śmieje się głupi, że go nikt nie kupi* [*Śmiej się, głupi, że cię nikt nie kupi*] 'somebody laughs without a reason' (NKPP III: 441).

The third type of laughter is **laughter whose cause is hard to find out** (whose origin is unknown to people who are observing a laughing person). It is the so called internal laughter, whose external symptom is a smile: *do anioła się śmieje* 'one is thoughtful', 'one laughs without a reason' (NKPP III: 439); *śmiać się w duchu z kogoś* (Dubisz III: 1379); *śmiać się w duszy* 'to laugh internally not showing laughter' (Skor II: 304).

3. Conclusions

Two types of laughter presented in Polish phraseological units and proverbs: natural, spontaneous laughter and unnatural, artificial laughter, stand in contrast not only at the semantic level, but also in terms of evaluation. The former is evaluated positively, while the latter – negatively.

Natural, spontaneous laughter always has a cause, which could be something funny or absurd. If the cause of laughter is something funny, we deal with making somebody laugh or evoking natural laughter, which could be

[24] Expressed as: *Jak nagi w pokrzywach*.

[25] *Przewóz* – stp. 1. 'the place of crossing the river by ferry or boat'; 2. 'a fare for crossing the river' (Sł NKPP 231). A foxhound, which is a hunting dog, is characterised by an inclination to water swimming.

[26] Expressed as: *Wdzięczy się jak pies na przełazie* (*przełaz* 'a place in a fence used for reaching the other side by means of a bench or a stick' Sł NKPP 231).

[27] Cf. *śmiać się z wsiowego głupka* (Zgółk 42: 88).

done in two ways: by accident or deliberately. Evoking laughter purposefully is connected with the character of a clown or a jester. These people arrange particular situations trying to make others laugh, because it is their job. However, evoking laughter in this way is perceived as not very natural, therefore, the lexemes *błazen*, *pajac* 'clown, jester' have come to denote 'a fool', which is negatively evaluated.

Another cause of natural, spontaneous laughter is something absurd. In this case, laughter (which is a reaction to something absurd) might express a negative assessment of reality, or rather a negative assessment of the way in which reality has been presented. It can be interpreted as mocking somebody or something.

Unnatural, artificial laughter is 'glued to the lips'. It has been presented as pretended happiness, cheerfulness, which are signs of dishonesty, falsity, deception, as well as symptoms of stupidity, understood as intellectual and mental impairment. The character of a fool, or a lunatic (a harmless lunatic) has the function of presenting laughter which does not express any emotions and has no rational basis.

The source of many analysed PUs is folk culture. Some of them present laughter in rural context. A significant group is represented by PUs derived from dialects (folk dialects), as implied by their linguistic shaping. In folk mentality, the belief in a cause-effect structure of the world is something basic, incredibly essential and important[28], similarly – for the common conceptualization/perception of the world. Laughter which is not connected by cause-effect reasoning with the situation in which it occurs (laughter out of place), is negatively evaluated.

The third type of laughter, whose cause is difficult to determine, is the so-called internal laughter – which is in fact, a smile. In Polish phraseology and paremiology it is the least investigated.

Translated into English by: Małgorzata Urban-Cieślak

List of abbreviations

cf. – compare (por.)
e.g. – for example (np.)
i.e. – that is (tj.)
PU – phraseological units
stp. – from Old Polish language

[28] As evidenced by etiological folktales (stories and legends), cf. e.g. SSSL I1, 428: *Skiela wzion sie burśtyn?* (amber originated from tears of people punished with the great flood).

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O rodzajach śmiechu – na podstawie analizy polskich frazeologizmów i przysłów

Streszczenie

Śmiech to zjawisko niezwykle różnorodne, wieloaspektowe. To zarówno zachowanie ludzkie, specyficzne dźwięki wydawane przez człowieka, jak i emocjonalne reakcje, które za pomocą tych specyficznych dźwięków można wyrazić. Poszczególne rodzaje śmiechu wyróżniane są najczęściej ze względu na kryterium: jakie emocjonalne stany i reakcje za pomocą śmiechu są wyrażane. W artykule została przedstawiona inna klasyfikacja rodzajów śmiechu – oparta na kryterium: jaka jest geneza śmiechu.

Pozytywnie wartościowany jest śmiech naturalny, spontaniczny, negatywnie – śmiech nienaturalny, sztuczny. Śmiech naturalny, spontaniczny jest reakcją człowieka na coś – jego zdaniem – zabawnego lub niedorzecznego. Śmiech nienaturalny, sztuczny, czyli przyklejony do ust, to objaw udawanej, fałszywej radości, wesołości albo objaw "głupoty", rozumianej jako upośledzenie intelektualne i psychiczne.

Trzecim rodzajem śmiechu jest śmiech, którego przyczyna dla zewnętrznego obserwatora jest nieznana, tzw. śmiech wewnętrzny, czyli w istocie uśmiech. Ten rodzaj śmiechu we frazeologii i paremiologii polskiej jest poświadczony najsłabiej – w przeciwieństwie do dwóch rodzajów śmiechu wcześniej wymienionych.

Takie pojmowanie i kategoryzowanie śmiechu jest charakterystyczne dla racjonalności zdroworozsądkowej, która opiera się na przekonaniu o przyczynowo-skutkowej konstrukcji świata.

Mariarosaria Gianninoto
LIDILEM, Université Grenoble Alpes
France

"When boats sail against the current, not going ahead means going back" (逆水行舟, 不进则退): proverbs, metaphors and slogans in Chinese political discourse

Abstract. Proverbs, maxims and metaphors have a considerable place in Chinese political rhetoric and are largely used in official and political discourse. The use of proverbs and maxims was part of Maoist political rhetoric and different *chéngyǔ* became well-known slogans in the decades following the foundation of the People's Republic of China. *Chéngyǔ* and metaphors were also adopted by Dèng Xiǎopíng, the father of the open door policy, to present his reform process. The last years have witnessed a new emphasis on metaphors and proverb use in political communication, often representing the slogans for the new leadership policies, for instance in Xí Jìnpíng's and Lǐ Kèqiáng's speeches. This paper aims to retrace the role of proverbial and metaphorical expressions in the Chinese political rhetoric of the last decades, outlining the main trends and the specific features of their use in contemporary political discourse.

Key words: *Chinese political slogans, chéngyǔ, idiomatic expressions, metaphors*

1. Introduction

In the last decades, the Chinese political communication has been characterized by a long series of slogans, marking important political steps.

Of course, their usage is not a specific feature of the Chinese society. As Stewart, Smith & Denton (2012: 68) highlight: "slogans have always been a powerful rhetorical device to enhance identification, purpose and actions of movements".

Their usage is not even an innovation of the last decades, as different slogans have marked modern Chinese history, like 'Chinese learning as substance, Western learning as a tool' (*Zhōngxué wèi tǐ xīxué wèi*

yòng 中学为体西学为用), first advanced by Zhāng Zhīdòng 张之洞 (1837–1909) (Jenco 2012: 94) and become the motto for the Westernization movement (*Yángwù yùndòng* 洋务运动) in the 19th century, or 'down with Confucianism, promote democracy and science' (*dǎdǎo Kǒng jiādiàn, tíchàng mínzhǔ yǔ kēxué* 打倒孔家店, 提倡民主与科学), one of the slogans of the 1919 May Fourth Movement (Lu 2004: 52).

Nevertheless, the importance of slogans have significantly increased in contemporary Chinese political discourse, to the extent that Lu (2004: 52) claims that: "Since 1949 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, nearly every political movement has been initiated and facilitated by political slogans".

In several cases, there is an overlap between slogans and different forms of proverbial or idiomatic expressions. On the one hand, idiomatic expressions like the *chéngyǔ* (four character idioms) became slogans, for instance in Máo Zédōng's 毛泽东 (1893–1976) and Dèng Xiǎopíng's 邓小平 (1904–1997) political rhetoric. On the other hand, some slogans have already become or have the potential to become proverbial.

The *chéngyǔ* are a peculiar form of the Chinese phraseology. They have been described by Rohsenow (2001: 151) as:

> fixed (usually four characters) literary expressions, employing the vocabulary and structures of Classical Chinese or Literary Sinitic (*wen-yen*), often taken from or containing allusions (*tien-ku*) to situations in classical written works.

They have been defined by Nguyen (2006: 176) as quadrisyllabic phraseologized expressions (*expressions phraséologisées quadrisyllabiques*), the use of which reminds at the same time that of sayings or proverbs, fixed locutions and Latin quotations (*dont l'usage rappelle à la fois celui des dictons ou proverbes, des expressions figées et des locutions latines*) (Nguyen 2006: 179).

In his *The Politics of Proverbs: From Traditional Wisdom to Proverbial Stereotypes,* Mieder (1997: 4) highlights the importance of proverbs and their ambivalent use in 20th century political communication:

> Proverbs as powerful verbal tool in the hands of politicians become a two-edged sword, employed both as positive and negative device [...] proverbs and to a lesser extent also proverbial expressions have played a significant role in the political life of the twentieth century.

Moreover, the reference to metaphorical concepts in slogans and the interrelation between metaphors and idiomatic expressions are central in political rhetoric. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 52) underline that different "phrasal

lexical items", also called "speech formulas" or "fixed form expressions", are structured by "metaphorical concepts" and metaphors, which play a "central role in the construction of social and political realities" (1980: 160). Metaphors are extremely frequent in political communication: defined as "important – even necessary – tools of political discourse because political events are abstracts and too numerous for public consumption", they are "extolled (...) as effective persuasive devices or (...) demonized as manipulative tools of politicians" (Mio 1997: 130).

The role played by metaphors is particularly important in the Chinese case. Perry Link (2013: 251) underlines that the Chinese "official language includes a number of characteristic metaphors", in reason of the Chinese tendency of avoiding abstract nouns to handle abstract concepts (Link 2013: 244–245).

Thus, the frequent use of metaphors as well as of idiomatic expressions in Chinese slogans is to be considered as an important element of the Chinese political communication, characterized by specific features in the Maoist era, in the open-door reform period and in the last years.

This paper analyzes a corpus of slogans adopted in Chinese political leaders' speeches and writings as well as in official press editorials, trying to retrace their first or most important occurrences, the eventual references to ancient sources, and to place them in the historical and political context of the last decades.

2. Slogans and proverbs in Maoist political rhetoric

Fukunaga & Zhang (2007: 87) claim that:

> The period from 1950s to 1980s has been considered to be the "golden age" of China's political slogans. At that time, each new slogan would be published almost on daily basis, and thousands of political slogans were posted and broadcasted through the means of mass media, billboards, or even as home decorations.

This period goes from the foundation of the People's Republic of China (1949) up to the launching of the open door policy (1978) that was destined to inaugurate a new stage of Chinese political history, and covers important phases and movements as the Two Hundred (*Shuāng bǎi* 双百) campaign, the Great Leap Forward (*Dà yuèjìn* 大跃进), the Cultural Revolution (*Wénhuà dà gémìng* 文化大革命), Mao Zedong's death (1976) and the fall of the Gang of Four (*Sìrén bāng* 四人帮).

The names of some of these political phases are emblematic of the role played by idioms and metaphors in Chinese political communication. A metaphor was used to label the Great Leap Forward, the overambitious plan attempting to rapidly transform China into a highly industrialized country, which resulted into agricultural shortage and famine.

The name Two Hundreds derives from the expression *bǎi huā qífang, bǎi jiā zhēngmíng* 百花齐放, 百家争鸣 'let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend', which combines two four character expressions: *bǎi jiā zhēngmíng* 百家争鸣 'let a hundred schools of thought contend', which refers to the different schools of thought flourished during the Warring State Period (476–221 BCE), mentioned in the Bibliographical Section of the *Book of the Former Han* (*Hànshū* 汉书), and *bǎi huā qífàng* 百花齐放 'let a hundred flowers blossom', attested in the novel *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jìnghuāyuán* 镜花缘) by Lǐ Rǔzhēn 李汝珍 (c.1763–c.1830).

The slogan "Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" was adopted in the speech 'On the correct handling of contradictions among the people' (*Guānyú zhèngquè chǔlǐ rénmín nèibù máodùn de wèntí* 关于正确处理社会主义社会的两类矛盾) delivered by Máo Zédōng at the Eleventh Session of the Supreme State Conference on 27 February 1957 (an enlarged version was published in June 1957 in the pages of the *Rénmín rìbào* 人民日报 'People's Daily'). In this speech Máo claimed:

> 百花齐放、百家争鸣的方针，是促进艺术发展和科学进步的方针，是促进我国的社会主义文化繁荣的方针。艺术上不同的形式和风格可以自由发展，科学上不同的学派可以自由争论。(Máo [1957] 2015)

> Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting progress in the arts and sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land. Different forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely. (Máo [1957] 2009: 216)

This slogan was used to designate a campaign originally aiming to promote pluralism of ideas, criticism and renewal, abruptly interrupted in 1957 by the Anti-Rightist movement (*Fǎn yòu yùndòng* 反右运动).

Proverbs and maxims have represented an important aspect of Maoist political rhetoric, not only since 1949 but also before the foundation of the People's Republic of China. For instance, a *chéngyǔ, Yú gōng yí shān* 愚公移山 ('the foolish old man who removed the mountains'), narrating of a family displacing mountains by digging, was adopted by Máo Zédōng in a famous speech delivered at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on 11 June 1945, to incite to determination and voluntarism despite difficulties (Máo 1967: 200–201).

Shì shì qiú shì 实事求是 'Seek truth from facts' was another *chéngyǔ* adopted in Máo's speeches and writings. This was originally a quotation from the *Book of the Former Han*, where it defined the attitude of Liú Dé 劉德, King Xiàn of Héjiān 河間獻王 (ruled 155–129 BCE), who, in studying Confucian classics, used to base his conclusions on reliable proofs. It was taken up by Máo Zédōng in a report to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party, entitled 'The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War' (*Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng zài mínzú zhànzhēng zhōng de dìwèi* 中国共产党在民族战争中的地位). In this report, released in October 1938, and discussing the role of the PCC in the war of resistance against Japan, Máo affirmed:

> 共产党员应是实事求是的模范，又是具有远见卓识的模范。因为只有实事求是，才能完成确定的任务；只有远见卓识，才能不失前进的方向。(Máo [1938] 2006)

> Communists should set an example in being practical [i.e. *seeking truth from facts*] as well as far-sighted. For only by being practical [i.e. *seeking truth from facts*] can they fulfil the appointed tasks, and only far-sightedness can prevent them from losing their bearings in the march forward. (Máo [1938] 1965: 198)

This expression was destined to become a slogan in Dèng's era (see below).

The expression *Niú guǐ shé shén* 牛鬼蛇神 'monsters' (lit. 'cow ghosts and snake spirits') is also considered as a *chéngyǔ* (Link 2013: 59). This locution, "rooted in Buddhist demonology" (Perry & Li 1993: 7), attested in Táng dynasty (618–907 CE) poems by Lǐ Hè 李贺 and by Dù Mù 杜牧 (Lu 2004: 59), became an invective to attack and demonize opponents during the Cultural Revolution, since it was adopted in the notorious editorial *Sweep away all demons and monsters* (*Héngsǎo yīqiè niú guǐ shé shén* 横扫一切牛鬼蛇神) published in the *People's Daily* (*Rénmín rìbào* 人民日报) on 1 June 1966. This is to be regarded as an example of the "dehumanizing terminology" that "permeated popular and official discourse" in this period (Perry & Li 1993: 7).

Kuiper (2009: 172) also underlines that the use of four-character idioms was part of "the formulae of Public Criticism Meeting speech". Their use as slogans or invectives in wall-mounted posters (*dàzìbào* 大字报 lit. 'big character posters'), editorials and criticism meetings, recalls Mieder's words about proverbs used "in a manipulative or discriminatory fashion", deserving "to be watched carefully as both positive and negative elements of communication" (1997: 8).

Beside these *chéngyǔ*, having a long history and a complex etymology, other four-character political slogans appeared, the four character structure being an extremely productive pattern for slogans. For instance, *zàofǎn yǒulǐ*

造反有理 'to rebel is justified', first used by Máo in Yán'ān 延安 in 1939, then written in a letter by Máo to the Red Gards and taken up in a *People's Daily* editorial in 1966 (Wang 2008: 146), became one of the slogans of the Cultural Revolution. This expression became ritualized (Lu 2004: 57–59) and, for instance, "it was chanted at the beginning of ritual initiation ceremonies for new recruits to Red Guard groups" (Wang 2008: 139).

The four character expression *shàng shān xià xiāng* 上山下乡 'up to the mountains, down to the countryside', appeared in *The Revised Draft of the 1956–1967 National Program for Agricultural Development* (*1956 nián dào 1967 nián quánguó nóngyè fāzhǎn gāngyào* (*xiūzhèng cǎo'àn*) ⟨⟨1967 年全国农业发展纲要(修正草案)⟩⟩), and designated the campaign of transferring young educated people to the countryside to learn from peasants (Masden 1991: 666).

We can also find examples of two parallel four character phrases, such as *gǔ wéi jīn yòng, yáng wéi zhōng yòng* 古为今用, 洋为中用 'use the past to serve the present, make the foreign serve China', used by Máo in his *Talk to Music Workers* (*Tóng yīnyuè gōngzuòzhě de tánhuà* 同音乐工作者的谈话), a speech addressed to the National Association of Music Workers on 24 August 1956. This was destined to become a famous Maoist slogan, echoing late Qing dynasty slogan 'Chinese learning as substance, Western learning as a tool' (Brady 2003: 1).

The four character structure was a frequent but not unique pattern for maxims and slogans in Maoist rhetoric. For instance, we can remember the metaphorical expression *Xīngxīng zhī huǒ kěyǐ liáoyuán* 星星之火可以燎原 'A single spark can start a prairie fire', an old saying taken up by Máo as the title of a letter, written on 5 January 1930, criticizing pessimistic views inside the Party and encouraging to resistance:

> 剩下的一点小小的力量，若仅依据某些现象来看，自然要使同志们（作这样看法的同志们）发生悲观的念头。但若从实质上看，便大大不然。这里用得着中国的一句老话："星星之火，可以燎原。"这就是说，现在虽只有一点小小的力量，但是它的发展会是很快的。(Máo [1930] 1991)

> The remaining forces are very small and those comrades who judge by appearances alone naturally feel pessimistic. But if we judge by essentials, it is quite another story. Here we can apply the old Chinese saying, "A single spark can start a prairie fire." In other words, our forces, although small at present, will grow very rapidly. (Máo [1930] 1965: 119)

Among the features of Chinese political communication, Link (2013: 266) underlines the place reserved to numbers. According to Link (2013: 266), this "special characteristic of Communist Chinese language" achieves effects similar to those of repetitions, and responds to what Cáo (1992) defines

as *gàikuòlì* 概括力 'completeness of coverage' (in Link's translation, 2013: 267).

Numbers are frequent in Maoist slogans as well as in campaign or movement names. Link (2013: 266) quotes for instance the 'Three Antis' (*sān fǎn* 三反, i.e. anti-corruption, anti-waste, anti-bureaucratism) and 'Five Antis' (*wǔ fǎn* 五反, i.e. anti-bribery, anti-theft of State property, anti-tax evasion, anti-leakage of State economic information) campaigns, launched in the 1950's (Leutner 2007: 38).

Another example can be the Cultural Revolution slogan *pò sì jiù lì sì xīn* 破四旧立四新 'destroy the four olds (i.e. the old ideology, old culture, old customs and old habits) and establish the four news (i.e. new ideology, new culture, new customs and new habits)' deriving from the Central Committee's *Decision on the Cultural Revolution* (*Guānyú wénhuà dàgémìng de juédìng* 关于文化大革命的决定) of 8 August 1966, and echoing the above mentioned *People's daily*'s editorial *Sweep away all demons and monsters*, appeared on 1 June 1966 (Mittler 2013).

Hence, this period witnessed a great richness in use of slogans and proverbs in political communication, adopted as persuasive as well as myth-making devices, but also to criticize or attack opponents and specific categories of people (like the *hēi wǔ lèi* 黑五类 'five black categories', i.e. landlords, rich farmers, anti-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists) (Link 1984: 340), thus performing ambivalent functions.

3. Political slogans in Dèng's era

1978 saw the launching of the Dèng Xiǎopíng's open door policy. The four character expression *gǎigé kāifàng* 改革开放 'reform and opening up' designates this reform movement, inaugurated by the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (*Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng dì shíyī jiè zhōngyāng wěiyuánhuì dì sān cì quántǐ huìyì* 中国共产党第十一届中央委员会第三次全体会议, 18–22 December 1978).

Dèng Xiǎopíng presented the necessity of pragmatic policies and the need of reestablishing contacts with foreign (including capitalist) countries using an idiomatic and metaphorical expression: 'It doesn't matter if a cat is white or black, as long as it catches mice, it is a good cat' (*bù guǎn bái māo hēi māo, dǎizhù lǎoshǔ jiù shì hǎo māo* 不管白猫黑猫, 逮住老鼠就是好猫), recovering an expression first used in a speech at the Secretariat of the Central Comittee in June 1962 to support Liú Shǎoqí's 刘少奇 (1898–1969) rural policy (the white cat was a yellow cat in the first quotation of this peasant proverbial expression) (Li 1995: 12).

Moreover, Dèng explained the progressive introduction of reforms with another metaphorical expression 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' (*mōzhe shítou guò hé* 摸着石头过河), taking up a popular saying which had already been adopted by the reformist political leader Chén Yún 陈云 (1905–1995) in his speech *The Economic Situation and Our Experience and Lessons* (*Jīngjì xíngshì yǔ jīngyàn jiàoxùn* 经济形势与经验教训) delivered on 16 December 1980 (He 2001: 287).

Another metaphor was adopted by Dèng to answer criticism about negative foreign influences resulting from the open door policy: the "reform and opening up" policy was compared to opening windows, with fresh air entering the room, but also flies and mosquitos inevitably coming in ("苍蝇、蚊子也会飞进来", quoted by Cuī 1997: 232).

The *chéngyǔ* were also part of Dèng's political rhetoric. An example is the four character expression *shí shì qiú shì* 实事求是 'seek truth from facts' (see above), which was used to advocate for pragmatism and realism in the political practice, instead of the ideological approach prevailing in precedent decades. Dèng adopted this expression in the speech *Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future* (*Jiěfàng sīxiǎng, shí shì qiú shì, tuánjié yīzhì xiàng qián kàn* 解放思想, 实事求是, 团结一致向前看), delivered on 13 December 1978. Dèng claimed:

> 一个党，一个国家，一个民族，如果一切从本本出发，思想僵化，迷信盛行，那它就不能前进，它的生机就停止了，就要亡党亡国。这是毛泽东同志在整风运动中反复讲过的。只有解放思想，坚持实事求是，一切从实际出发，理论联系实际，我们的社会主义现代化建设才能顺利进行，我们党的马列主义、毛泽东思想的理论也才能顺利发展。(Dèng [1978] 2002)

> When everything has to be done by the book, when thinking turns rigid and blind faith is the fashion, it is impossible for a party or a nation to make progress. Its life will cease and that party or nation will perish. Comrade Mao Zedong said this time and again during the rectification movements. Only if we emancipate our minds, seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything and integrate theory with practice, can we carry out our socialist modernization program smoothly and only then can our Party further develop Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. (Quoted by Cheung 2008: 166)

The choice of this formula conciliated Dèng's claim for innovation with the need for continuity with previous decades' rhetoric, as this slogan had already been adopted by Máo. This orientation was also summed up by the slogan *shíjiàn shì jiǎnyàn zhēnlǐ de wéiyī biāozhǔn* 实践是检验真理的唯一标准 'practice is the only criterion for testing the truth', title of an editorial appeared on the *Guāngmíng rìbào* 光明日报 on 11 May 1978, echoing Máo's formula 'Only

social practice can be the criterion of truth' (*Zhēnlǐ de biāozhǔn zhǐ néng shì shèhuì de shíjiàn* 真理的标准只能是社会的实践), used in the 1937 essay *On Practice* (*Shíjiànlùn* 实践论) (Li 1995: 407; Lee-Wong 2009: 224).

Xīn yǒu yú jì 心有余悸 'have a lingering fear' can be quoted among the *chéngyǔ* frequently adopted in the Chinese political communication after the above mentioned Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which inaugurated the reformist policy. This *chéngyǔ* was used in negative sentences, to persuade people of not being afraid of reforms and changes (Link 2013).

Another *chéngyǔ*, *tāo guāng yǎng huì* 韬光养晦, meaning 'hide one's capacities' or 'keep a low profile', was part of the '24 character precepts' (*Èrshísì zì zhēnyán* 二十四字箴言) for Chinese foreign policy, proposed by Dèng Xiǎopíng in the early 1990's (Dellios & Ferguson 2013: 78). This formula was used to define his foreign policy strategy of keeping a low profile during China's rise on the international scene.

As already mentioned, the use of numbers is a characteristic of Chinese political communication. Among the slogans and campaign names of Dèng's era, we can remind the *sì gè xiàndàihuà* 四个现代化 'four modernizations' (i.e. industry, agriculture, science, and military force), the *sì xiàng jīběn yuánzé* 四项基本原则 'four basic principles' (i.e. the socialist path, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong Thought and Marxism-Leninism), the formula *yī gè zhōngxīn liǎng gè jīběn diǎn* 一个中心、两个基本点 'one central concern and two basic points' (the central concern being the economic development, and the two basic points being the four principles and reform and opening up policy) as well as the doctrine of *yī gè guójiā, liǎng zhǒng zhìdù* 一个国家, 两种制度 (abbreviated as *Yī guó liǎng zhì* 一国两制) 'one country two systems', that Dèng proposed for Hong Kong and Taiwan in a series of talks given in June 1984 (Dèng 1984).

4. Metaphors and slogans in contemporary political rhetoric

The post-Dèng era has seen a series of slogans corresponding to the different leaders, from Jiāng Zémín's 江泽民 (1926–) *sān gè dàibiǎo* 三个代表 'Three representations' or 'Three-fold representation' (i.e. the Party represents the direction of advanced labor force, the basic interests of the majority of the Chinese people, and the progressive course of China's advanced culture), to Hú Jǐntāo's 胡锦涛 (1942–) *héxié shèhuì* 和谐社会 'harmonious society', *kēxué fāzhǎn guān* 科学发展观 'scientific development perspective', and *bā róng*

bā chǐ 八荣八耻 'eight honors and eight shames', a list of moral precepts and values.

Zhōngguó mèng 中国梦 'Chinese dream' can be regarded as one of the central slogans of the new president, Xí Jìnpíng 习近平 (1953–). This expression, echoing Obama's "American Dream", was associated in Xí's first speech as head of State, delivered on 17 March 2013, to a series of four character phrases: 'trusting in the theory' (*lǐlùn zìxìn* 理论自信), 'trusting in the path' (*dàolù zìxìn* 道路自信), 'trusting in the system' (*zhìdù zìxìn* 制度自信) (Xí 2013).

Metaphors have a considerable place in the new president's political communication. For instance, we can quote the expression 'Fighting Both Tigers and Flies' (*lǎohǔ, cāngyíng yīqǐ dǎ* 老虎、苍蝇一起打) chosen to label the anticorruption campaign launched by Xí Jìnpíng, aiming to attend high-ranking as well as low-level officials (Shēn 2014).

Moreover, in Xí's political rhetoric we can find several metaphors exhorting to effort and persistence in pursuing reforms despite difficulties. For instance, during an interview delivered in Sochi on 7 February 2014 (whose transcribed text appeared on the *Xinhua News Agency* website on 9 February 2014), Xí affirmed:

> 在中国这样一个拥有 1 3 亿多人口的国家深化改革，绝非易事。中国改革经过 3 0 多年，已进入深水区，可以说，容易的、皆大欢喜的改革已经完成了，好吃的肉都吃掉了，剩下的都是难啃的硬骨头。这就要求我们胆子要大、步子要稳。胆子要大，就是改革再难也要向前推进，敢于担当，敢于啃硬骨头，敢于涉险滩。(Liú 2014)

> It is not an easy matter to deepen reform in a country of more than one billion and three hundred million people. After 30 year of reforms we have already got into deep water. We can say that the simple and pleasant reforms have been completed, the good meat has been eaten, and the bones hard to gnaw are what is left. This requires us to have a great courage and our steps to be steady. We must be courageous, even though the reforms are more difficult, we must go ahead, we must dare to assume, dare to gnaw bones, dare to wade dangerous shoals.

In this passage rich in metaphorical images, we find expressions like *kěn yìng gǔtou* 啃硬骨头 (lit. 'to gnaw bones') and *shè xiǎntān*, 涉险滩 ('to go through dangerous shoals'), frequently used in "reform rhetoric" (Shēn & Yáng 2013).

Furthermore, in the speech entitled *Deepen Reform and Opening up to Build a Better Asia-Pacific* (*Shēnhuà gǎigé kāifàng gòng chuàng měihǎo Yàtài* 深化改革开放共创美好亚太), given at the APEC CEO Summit in Bali on 7 October 2013, the Chinese President chose three metaphorical expressions to encourage optimism and perseverance: *cǎihóng wǎngwǎng chūxiàn zài fēngyǔ zhīhòu* 彩虹往往出现在风雨之后 'rainbow often appears after wind and rain', *méi yǒu bǐ rén gèng gāo de shān* 没有比人更高的山 'there is no mountain higher than

man', *méiyǒu bǐ jiǎo gèng cháng de lù* 没有比脚更长的路 'there is no road longer than feet' (quoted by Péng *et al*. 2013).

The need of continuing reformist policies has also been often underlined by Prime Minister Lǐ Kèqiáng's 李克强 (1955–). For instance, Lǐ adopted the expression *kāi gōng méiyǒu huítóu jiàn* 开弓没有回头箭 'the arrows shot do not come back' in a speech delivered on 14 May 2013 (quoted by Shèng 2013), and the expression *nì shuǐ xíng zhōu, bù jìn zé tuì* 逆水行舟, 不进则退 'when boats sail against the current, not going ahead means going back' in a speech delivered on 28 April 2014 on a boat sailing on the Yangtze River. Lǐ affirmed:

> 我们正溯江而上。俗话说，逆水行舟，不进则退，我们 30 多年的改革开放也正是这样，一路航程要不断涉险滩，过暗礁，闯激流。(quoted by Cáo & Xiào 2014)

> We are sailing the river against the stream. As the idiom says, when a boat sails against the current, not going ahead means going back. Our reform and opening up [policy] these last thirty years is just like this: a journey through dangerous shoals, bypassing hidden reefs, traversing the rapids.

The eight character locution *nì shuǐ xíng zhōu, bù jìn zé tuì* 逆水行舟, 不进则退 'when boats sail against the current, not going ahead means going back' is considered a *xiēhòuyǔ* 歇后语, a specific form of Chinese phraseology, defined as "enigmatic folk similes or truncated witticisms" by Rohsenow (2002: xiii) and "proverbe calembouresque" by Sabban (1979: 7). Rohsenow (2001: 151) describes the *xiēhòuyǔ* as follows:

> a two-part allegorical saying consisting of a descriptive phrase [...] followed by a second phrase that, either directly or indirectly, resolves and explains the relevance of the simile to which the first part of the *hsieh-hou-yü* has been applied metaphorically.

The two part of this *xiēhòuyǔ* are also used as independent four character idiom, and, for instance, *nì shuǐ xíng zhōu* 逆水行舟 'boating against the current' can be found in Lǔ Xùn's 鲁迅 (1881–1936) essay *A Layman's Remarks on Writing* (*Ménwài wén tán* 门外文谈), while *bù jìn zé tuì* 不进则退 'not advancing is going back' was already attested in the *Classified Conversations of Master Zhu* (*Zhūzi yǔ lèi* 朱子语类) by Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130–1200 CE).

In the above mentioned Lǐ Kèqiáng's speech, we also find the metaphorical expressions *shè xiǎntān* 涉险滩 'to go through dangerous shoals', *guò ànjiāo* 过暗礁 'to bypass hidden reefs', *chuǎng jīliú* 闯激流 'to traverse the rapids', used to emphasize the difficulties and the challenges of the reform process.

A similar meaning is conveyed by the expression *pá pō guò kǎn* 爬坡过坎 (lit. 'climbing slopes and crossing ditches'), used, for instance, in a speech on economic growth targets delivered by Lǐ on 5 March 2015 (Lín 2015).

Among the metaphorical and idiomatic expressions chosen by the Prime Minister, we can also quote *hǎn pò sǎngzi bùrú shuǎikāi bǎngzi* 喊破嗓子不如甩开膀子 'better working hard than yelling aloud', adopted during a press conference held on 17 March 2013 to encourage efforts and hard-working (Sūn 2013), as well as *bù néng méimáo húzi yī bǎ zhuā* 不能眉毛胡子一把抓 'one can not grab simultaneously eyebrows and beard', expression adopted in different speeches to highlight the progressiveness of reforms (Shēn & Yáng 2013; Zhào 2015).

According to Zhào (2014), the use of these metaphorical and proverbial expressions, which can be regarded as a key element of contemporary political rhetoric, reflects a tendency to "emotionalize" (感性化) and "humanize" (人性化) Chinese political discourse.

5. Conclusions

Proverbial and metaphorical expressions are extremely frequent among the Chinese political slogans and are important elements of the Chinese political discourse.

On the one hand, Chinese slogans have often been rooted in proverbial expressions, especially in specific forms of Chinese phraseology like the *chéngyǔ* and the *xiēhòuyǔ*; on the other hand, different slogans have progressively become or could become idiomatic. Extremely frequent in Maoist and Dengist rhetoric, proverbial expressions are also used by contemporary Chinese leaders. Metaphors have also been a central element of the Chinese political rhetoric, and have become particularly relevant in contemporary political discourse.

Proverbial and metaphorical expressions have been used to label and accompany important political steps, marking rupture and continuity in the Chinese political discourse of the last decades.

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„Kiedy łodzie płynął pod prąd, nieposuwanie się do przodu oznacza cofanie się" (逆水行舟，不进则退). Przysłowia, metafory i slogany w chińskim dyskursie politycznym

Streszczenie

Przysłowia, maksymy i metafory odgrywają ważną rolę w chińskiej retoryce politycznej. Z tego powodu są często stosowane w oficjalnym i politycznym dyskursie. Używanie przysłów i maksym było częścią maoistycznej retoryki politycznej i rozmaite *chéngyǔ* stały się dobrze znanymi sloganami po uchwaleniu Chińskiej Republiki Ludowej. *Chéngyǔ* i metafory były również przyjęte przez Dèngа xiǎopínga, ojca polityki otwartych drzwi, w celu wykorzystania ich do przedstawienia swojego procesu reformatorskiego. W ostatnich latach zaobserwowano nasilenie wykorzystania metafor i przysłów w komunikacji politycznej, często w postaci sloganów propagujących polityczne zapatrywania nowych przywódców, na przykład są one obecne w mowach Xíjìnpínga i Lǐ Kèqiánga. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie roli przysłowiowych I metaforycznych wyrażeń w chińskim dyskursie politycznym ostatnich dekad, wskazanie trendów i cech wykorzystania wybranej grupy jednostek we współczesnym dyskursie politycznym.

Karolina Makowska
Uniwersytet w Białymstoku
Polska

Analiza modyfikacji stałych połączeń wyrazowych w wypowiedziach Violetty Kubasińskiej z serialu *BrzydUla*

Abstrakt. Świadome modyfikacje związków frazeologicznych są dość częstym zjawiskiem, świadczącym o kreatywności użytkownika języka, natomiast nieświadome mogą być przejawem niewiedzy na temat struktury frazeologizmu, jego właściwości składniowych i innych cech. Niniejsza praca zawiera analizę innowacji stałych połączeń wyrazowych, których dokonuje Violetta Kubasińska – bohaterka serialu *BrzydUla*. Zostały one podzielone na 6 grup: upodobnienia frazeologiczne (najczęstsze), dodanie/opuszczenie elementu frazeologizmu, defrazeologizacja, kontaminacja, zmiana kolejności składników frazeologizmu, innowacje złożone. Wśród analizowanego materiału pojawiają się nieliczne odniesienia do tekstów kultury, podobnie bardzo rzadko występują nazwy własne (najczęstszymi składnikami przekształceń są nazwy apelatywne). Modyfikacje mają różne funkcje: w serialu przede wszystkim mają przyciągać uwagę widza i wprowadzać elementy komizmu, a także nadać cechę charakterystyczną bohaterce (idiolekt), dzięki której będzie kojarzona wśród odbiorców. Innowacje w badanym idiolekcie są niezamierzone i należy je uznać za błędy językowe. Stają się one elementami gry słów dopiero z punktu widzenia odbiorcy komunikatu i konstruowane są w takim celu przez scenarzystów.

Słowa kluczowe: *modyfikacje, frazeologizmy, BrzydUla, Violetta Kubasińska, innowacje frazeologiczne*

1. Wprowadzenie: modyfikacje związków frazeologicznych

Często spotykanym zjawiskiem językowym związanym z frazeologizmami są różnego typu modyfikacje, które zauważyć można między innymi we współczesnych środkach przekazu: w telewizji, w radiu czy w Internecie. Mają one na celu przyciągnąć uwagę odbiorcy komunikatu poprzez zaskakującą formę, niezgodną z utrwalonymi połączeniami wyrazowymi. Pomysłowością dotyczącą kreacji językowej coraz częściej zaskakują nas scenarzyści seriali, którzy konstruują postaci pod tym względem bardzo wyraziste. Cie-

kawym idiolektem twórcy *BrzydUli* obdarzyli jedną z bohaterek – Violettę Kubasińską, której wypowiedzi zapadły w pamięć widzów, mimo że nie jest ona postacią pierwszoplanową. Jej teksty są w jakiś sposób odzwierciedleniem cech współczesnego języka polskiego, który jest bardzo dynamiczny, szybko poddaje się zmianom i aktualizacjom.

1.1. Stan badań

Modyfikacje związków frazeologicznych były dotąd analizowane przez różnych badaczy języka polskiego. Stanisław Bąba zajmował się innowacjami frazeologicznymi, dokonując ich podziału (Bąba 1989). Wypracowaną przez niego metodologię przejęła Jolanta Ignatowicz-Skowrońska, rozwijając ją i dopełniając w swojej pracy poświęconej użyciu związków frazeologicznych we współczesnej prozie (Ignatowicz-Skowrońska 2008). Ponadto autorka dokonała omówienia form, typów modyfikacji i funkcjonalności związków frazeologicznych (zwrotów, wyrażeń i fraz) występujących we współczesnych komunikatach reklamowych (Ignatowicz-Skowrońska 1994). Z kolei wykorzystanie frazeologii w utworach poetyckich opisała Anna Pajdzińska. Badaczka omówiła szczegółowo techniki, jakie stosują poeci, posługując się frazeologizmami. W swojej pracy przedstawiła nie tylko kanoniczne użycia stałych połączeń wyrazowych, ale także ich kontekstowe przetworzenia: modyfikacje, kontaminacje, aluzje (Pajdzińska 2005). Związki frazeologiczne w *Utopii* Wisławy Szymborskiej analizowała Agata Brajerska-Mazur (Brajerska Mazur 2012), natomiast o frazeologii w poezji księdza Jana Twardowskiego pisała Joanna Szerszunowicz, która w swoim artykule omówiła stylotwórczą funkcję związków frazeologicznych w twórczości poety, ich funkcje w utworach oraz przekład na język angielski (Szerszunowicz 2014).

Na temat modyfikacji związków frazeologicznych w wypowiedziach Violetty Kubasińskiej pisała Jolanta Piwowar. Autorka wypowiedzi bohaterki opisała jako współczesny akt komunikowania się, który nawiązuje do aktualnych wydarzeń z życia społecznego lub politycznego i ma charakter komiczny, satyryczny bądź parodystyczny. Badaczka najpierw dzieli zmodyfikowane frazeologizmy, których używa Violetta, w zależności od dziedziny do której nawiązują (np. języki obce, literatura, psychologia, sport, matematyka i inne) a następnie w zależności od rodzaju innowacji (wymieniające, kontaminujące, uzupełniające, skracające, rozwijające). Piwowarska wymienia także inne zabiegi, którym zostały poddane związki frazeologiczne, takie jak: neologizmy, paronimy, wymiana rzeczowników, intensiwia, zamiana czasowników (Piwowar 2009).

1.2. Cele badawcze

Celem niniejszej pracy jest analiza wypowiedzi jednej z bohaterek serialu *BrzydUla* – Violetty Kubasińskiej. Zawierają one różnego typu modyfikacje stałych połączeń wyrazowych. Badania mają na celu sprawdzenie, jakiego typu zmian we frazeologizmach Viola dokonuje, które rodzaje przekształceń są najczęstsze, jak można je opisać i na jakiej zasadzie powstają. Ponadto zostaną one sklasyfikowane według wybranych kryteriów, pozwalających na wyróżnienie różnych kategorii i podkategorii.

1.3. Materiał badawczy

Materiałem badawczym niniejszej pracy jest język Violetty Kubasińskiej, jej idiolekt, gdyż posiada on bardzo indywidualne cechy i stanowi jej element rozpoznawczy, wyróżniający ją spośród innych bohaterów. Podstawę badań stanowi materiał znaleziony w Internecie, którego źródłem są wypowiedzi Violi pochodzące z dwóch sezonów serialu[1]. Do analizy wybrano 167 wypowiedzi Violi, które zawierają elementy modyfikacji stałych połączeń wyrazowych.

1.4. Prezentacja serialu

BrzydUla to polski serial komediowy, emitowany w telewizji TVN od 6 października 2008 roku do 22 grudnia 2009, wzorowany na kolumbijskiej telenoweli *Brzydula* (*Yo soy Betty, la fea*). Serial liczy 235 odcinków podzielonych na dwa sezony (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brzydula). *BrzydUla* to wzruszająco-zabawna historia Uli Cieplak, mało urodziwej i niezamożnej dziewczyny pochodzącej z Rysiowa pod Warszawą, która rozpoczyna pracę w Domu Mody Febo & Dobrzański (http://www.tvn.pl/showbiz/brzydula,75514,0,0.html). Jej losy są głównym wątkiem serialu. Ula zakochuje się w swoim szefie, Marku Dobrzańskim, prezesie firmy, ten jednak ma narzeczoną, którą jest współwłaścicielka firmy – Paulina Febo. Ula, jako osoba dość naiwna, nie zdaje sobie sprawy, że Marek udaje uczucie do niej i chce ją jedynie wykorzystać do ratowania swoich interesów finansowych.

[1] Znaleźć je można pod adresem: http://chomikuj.pl/goldinucha/e-booki/A+oto+najlepsze+teksty+Violetty+Kubasi*c5*84skiej+cz+1+do+5,282581801.docx oraz: http://pl.wikiquote.org/wiki/Violetta_Kubasi%C5%84ska a także: http://chomikuj.pl/kingamonika/Dla+fan*c3*b3w+BrzydUli+OT/Powiedzenia+Violi/Obiecanki+sasanki*2c+czyli+powiedzenia+Violi+z+Brzydu li+cz*c4*99*c5*9b*c4*87+6,160401724.doc [dostęp: 20.08.2014 r.]

Bohaterka nie pasuje do świata pięknych i bogatych ludzi, często jest obiektem żartów. Okazuje się jednak, że Ula jest świetnym pracownikiem i tym stopniowo zjednuje sobie coraz większą przychylność szefa. W nowej pracy znajduje również liczne grono przyjaciół (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/BrzydUla).

1.5. Idiolekt Violetty Kubasińskiej

Jedną z najbardziej charakterystycznych postaci z *BrzydUli* jest Violetta Kubasińska, którą zagrała Małgorzata Socha. Serialowa Viola to sekretarka Marka Dobrzańskiego, która pracuje w jednym biurze z Ulą Cieplak. Violetta pracę w firmie zdobyła nie dzięki wykształceniu, lecz dzięki przyjaźni z narzeczoną prezesa firmy – Pauliną oraz dzięki swojemu urokowi.

Jednym z elementów języka Violetty jest tworzenie neologizmów słowotwórczych. Warto dodać, że to jeden ze sposobów wprowadzania komizmu do wypowiedzi bohaterów. Definicja zamieszczona w *Podręcznym słowniku terminów literackich* podaje, że „neologizm to nowy wyraz utworzony zgodnie z obowiązującymi normami słowotwórczymi na podstawie słów znajdujących się już w danym języku – dla nazwania nieznanych wcześniej przedmiotów lub sytuacji" (PSTL: 152). Teksty Violetty zawierają wiele żartobliwych neologizmów, tworzonych specjalnie na potrzeby konkretnej sceny.

Neologizm powstały na potrzeby wypowiedzi postaci często narusza normę językową, ale czasami pozostaje jej wierny. Jego najważniejszą cechą jest autonomiczność – w oderwaniu od kontekstu nie traci swojej komicznej siły. Jego żartobliwy charakter najczęściej wynika z nietypowości wyrazu lub wyrażenia. Przykładami neologizmów używanych przez Violettę Kubasińską są: *tajniakować, wystrachnąłeś/wystrachałeś, przeanalityzowałam, Violettów, mrówków, rozpączkuję, szatanistka, wykoleżankowała, tragedyzuj, odpostanów, radotwórczyni, paplaczka, zaharowywuję, nadwiązką, szkieletor*.

Szczególnym obszarem językowym, na którym toczy się gra słów, jest frazeologia. Pod nazwą frazeologizmu rozumie się „ustabilizowane w danym języku połączenie dwu- lub kilkuwyrazowe, którego znaczenia nie da się wyprowadzić ze znaczenia poszczególnych składników" (PSJP: 143). Związki frazeologiczne nie tylko uatrakcyjniają wypowiedź i wzbogacają język, ale najczęściej są też silne nacechowanie emocjonalne. Użycie ich stanowi niezwykle skuteczny zabieg lingwistyczny, ponieważ są to połączenia wyrazowe typowe dla polszczyzny potocznej, rozpoznawane przez większość użytkowników języka. Twórcy serialu posłużyli się wyrażeniami powszechnie znanymi, które widz może bez trudu odtworzyć.

Drugą charakterystyczną cechą języka osobniczego Violetty Kubasińskiej jest właśnie przekształcanie stałych połączeń wyrazowych. Kreatywne użycia spetryfikowanych związków wyrazowych sprawiają, że wypowiedzi bohaterki pozostają na długo w pamięci odbiorców serialu. Innymi słowy, kreatywne użycia jednostek wielowyrazowych, głównie frazeologizmów, to element idiolektu, czyli „ogółu jednostkowych właściwości znamionujących mowę" (SJP) bohaterki. Składniki wypowiedzi Violi, które będą analizowane w niniejszej pracy, można zaliczyć do dużej grupy reproduktów, czyli jednostek, które nie są budowane przez użytkowników języka, a jedynie odtwarzane. Oprócz wymienionych już wcześniej frazeologizmów do zbioru tego należą idiomy, frazemy, powiedzenia, aforyzmy, terminy złożone, formuły etykietalne, tytuły, napisy miejskie, skrzydlate słowa itp. (Chlebda 2010: 14)

Jak już wspomniano, w swoich wypowiedziach Violetta Kubasińska wykorzystuje grę słów. Bardzo często są to modyfikacje stałych połączeń wyrazowych, związane z kontekstem sytuacyjnym. Należy podkreślić, że z normatywnego punktu widzenia modyfikacje tworzone przez bohaterkę serialu to błędy językowe, do których zalicza się na przykład kontaminacje dwóch związków. Błędy językowe według Andrzeja Markowskiego to:

> nieświadome odstępstwa od obowiązującej w danym momencie normy językowej, czyli takie innowacje, które nie znajdują uzasadnienia funkcjonalnego: nie usprawniają porozumiewania się, nie wyrażają nowych treści, nie przekazują na nowo, w inny sposób emocji nadawcy. (Markowski 2006: 55)

Ich obecność w jej idiolekcie ma kilka funkcji, między innymi jest ważnym elementem konstrukcji języka bohaterki, a przez to jej postaci – wypowiedzi Violetty stają się ciekawsze i łatwiejsze do zapamiętania, po wtóre, uatrakcyjnia odbiór serialu – za pomocą zabawy słowem wprowadzane są elementy humoru. Błędy językowe na poziomie wypowiedzi Violi nie są wprowadzane świadomie, elementami gry słów stają się jedynie z punktu widzenia odbiorcy komunikatu i konstruowane są w takim celu przez scenarzystów. Bohaterka nie jest świadoma popełnianych odstępstw od normy, jej intencją jest jedynie komunikacja. Choć używany przez nią język wprowadza elementy komizmu, to odczytywane są one dopiero przy interpretacji jej wypowiedzi.

Twórcy serialu, konstruując postać Violetty, starali się zaskakiwać nietypowo użytymi połączeniami wyrazowymi, które wpletli do języka tej postaci. Umyślne zakłócenie trwałej postaci związku frazeologicznego, z którego uczynili cechy idiolektu bohaterki, jest sposobem na pozyskanie uwagi odbiorcy.

2. Analiza zaberanego materiału

Poniżej znajduje się dokładny opis przekształceń stałych połączeń wyrazowych, których Violetta Kubasińska dokonuje w swoich wypowiedziach i które zostały uporządkowane w grupy. Bardzo trudno jednoznacznie sklasyfikować niektóre modyfikacje, gdyż można zaliczyć je do kilku grup lub podgrup.

Innowacja frazeologiczna według definicji Stanisława Bąby to „świadome lub nieświadome odchylenie od normy frazeologicznej, którą jest zbiór zaaprobowanych przez polską społeczność językową, frazeologizmów oraz reguł określających sposób realizacji ich tożsamości" (Bąba 1991). Na poziomie wypowiedzi Violi możemy mówić o niezamierzonych innowacjach frazeologicznych, których przyczyną mogą być: niedostateczna lub tylko powierzchowna znajomość struktury frazeologizmu, jego znaczenia i zakresu łączliwości leksykalnej albo presja sytuacji na wypowiadającego się w danej chwili: pośpiech, rozregulowana pamięć frazeologiczna, trudności w kojarzeniu faktów (Bąba 1991).

Jak pisze Dorota Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak:

> innowacje frazeologiczne to zamierzone[2] odstępstwa od norm językowych, polegające na wymianie, dodaniu lub zmianie formy jakiegoś elementu, skrzyżowaniu dwóch frazeologizmów (często o zbliżonym znaczeniu) lub udosłownianiu idiomu (defrazeologizacji). (Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak 2008: 45)

Co najważniejsze, związek frazeologiczny po przekształceniu zachowuje podobieństwo do pierwowzoru. Na potrzeby poniższej analizy modyfikacje zostaną podzielone na grupy główne według podziału D. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak, poszerzonego o dwie dodatkowe kategorie: permutacje, czyli zmiany kolejności składników frazeologizmu oraz innowacje złożone, do których zalicza się modyfikacje powstałe w wyniku dwóch różnych zabiegów językowych (np. udosłownienie i wymiana elementu związku frazeologicznego). W każdej grupie szczegółowo zostanie omówiony jeden przykład, ponieważ pozwala to przedstawić mechanizm tworzenia danej innowacji, który posłużył do utworzenia szeregu analogicznych transformacji. Poniżej przedstawiono ich szczegółową klasyfikację i analizę.

1) upodobnienie frazeologiczne – polega na zachowaniu schematu podstawowego związku, modyfikacji podlega niewielki składnik (np. wyraz zastępowany jest podobnym), tego typu modyfikacja służy igraszkom słownym.

[2] W tym przypadku zamierzone są przez scenarzystów, na poziomie wypowiedzi bohaterki stanowią one błędy językowe.

a) modyfikacje, które różnią się jedną lub dwiema głoskami, zachowującymi podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu

Modyfikacje w tej grupie różnią się bardzo niewielkim elementem od wersji oryginalnej, przez co zachowują bardzo podobne brzmienie. Czasami przez taką zamianę uzyskujemy przeciwstawne znaczenie albo elementy ironii, co pokazuje, że twórca (w tym przypadku scenarzysta) jest bardzo kreatywną językowo osobą. Zdarza się też, że oba wyrazy pozostają w tym samym kręgu tematycznym albo ich wymowa jest zbliżona (*owczej-łowczej*).

Przykładowo w wypowiedzi *przyjdzie taka do biura, zrobi się na ubóstwo i myśli, że wszyscy jej* zamiast postaci kanonicznej zwrotu frazeologicznego *robić się na bóstwo* 'robić się na piękność' (SFJP2, I: 35) występuje jego wersja zmodyfikowana, zawierająca tylko o jedną głoskę więcej na początku wyrazu. Dodanie jej sprawia, że znaczenie całego frazeologizmu ulega zmianie. Można powiedzieć, że omawiane wyrazy kojarzą się z całkiem innymi sferami (ubóstwo – bieda, brzydota, szarość; bóstwo – bogactwo, sława, blask). Zamiana słowa bóstwo na ubóstwo wprowadza ponadto elementy komizmu.

W badanym materiale wystąpiły liczne przykłady modyfikacji powstałych w wyniku tego rodzaju przekształceń:

- *leć, przygotuj się, żeby ci się noga nie <u>podwinęła</u>* zamiast *noga powinęła*,
- *obiecanki <u>sasanki</u>* zamiast *obiecanki cacanki*,
- *gapić się jak sroka w <u>granat</u>* zamiast *patrzeć się, gapić się w co jak sroka w gnat*,
- *wyszło <u>mydło</u> z worka* zamiast *wyszło szydło z worka*,
- *siedzieć jak <u>miś</u> pod miotłą* zamiast *siedzieć jak mysz pod miotłą*[3].

Elementy substytuowane w modyfikacjach należących do tej grupy różnią się tylko jedną lub dwiema głoskami w danej pozycji w wyrazie. Przykłady pokazują, że niewielka różnica w składzie wyrażeń zmienia sens całej wypowiedzi lub powoduje, że nie niesie ona w ogóle znaczenia. Nierzadko wprowadza to efekt komizmu.

Zamiana najmniejszego słyszalnego elementu może także sprawić, że modyfikacja nie zostanie zauważona przez mniej wprawnych użytkowników języka polskiego, zwłaszcza tych, których wiedza na temat związków frazeologicznych jest niewielka. Modyfikacje należące do tej grupy mogą też nie być wychwytywane przez odbiorców, którzy mają zaburzenia słuchu fonematycznego, zwłaszcza przy szybkim tempie mówienia nadawcy komunikatu.

Ponadto autorka wybiera czasami ten wyraz, który jest powszechniej używany. Niekiedy też innowacje uzyskują bardzo dosłowne znaczenie, czyli

[3] W tekście podanych jest jedynie 5 przykładów z każdej kategorii, pozostałe znajdują się w Załączniku 1.

są tak skonstruowane, że przedstawiona w nich sytuacja jest realna i prawdopodobna (frazeologizm traci swój przenośny sens).

b) modyfikacje, które różnią się jednym wyrazem, zachowującym podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu

Wyrazy występujące w modyfikacjach tej grupy brzmią bardzo podobnie do tych z oryginalnych wersji frazeologizmu, bardzo często także się rymują. Ich zamiana może świadczyć o odsłuchowej, dość powierzchownej wiedzy o stałych połączeniach wyrazowych, które są kojarzone, jednak nie na tyle dokładnie aby zostały dobrze odtworzone albo o chęci dosłownego wyrażenia pewnych treści, z pominięciem przenośnego sensu związku wyrazowego. Często zdarza się, że oba wyrazy niosą podobne treści, dzięki czemu znaczenie wyrażenia nie ulega zmianie.

W ten sposób utworzono modyfikację *nawet syn zmarnowany dostał drugą szansę*. Połączenie wyrazowe *syn zmarnowany* zostało użyte zamiast wyrażenia *syn marnotrawny* 'człowiek, który zawinił, opamiętał się' (SFJP2, II: 252). Wyraz *zmarnowany* występujący w modyfikacji jedynie brzmieniowo przypomina przymiotnik *marnotrawny*, znaczenia ich są całkowicie inne. Modyfikacja być może miała podkreślać stan, w którym znajduje się osoba, jednak w takim przypadku wyrażenie całkowicie traci sens.

Inne modyfikacje występujące w wypowiedziach V. Kubasińskiej, w których dochodzi do wymiany wyrazów o podobnym brzmieniu, to między innymi następujące transformacje:

- *węzeł <u>góralski</u>* zamiast *węzeł gordyjski*,
- *byłam <u>przypięta</u> do muru* zamiast *być przypartym do muru*,
- *<u>zmiotę</u> ją z błotem* zamiast *zmieszać kogoś z błotem*,
- *kogo ty chcesz zrobić w <u>bambusa</u>?* zamiast *zrobić w bambuko*,
- *handel <u>ożywionym</u> towarem* zamiast *handel żywym towarem*.

Powyższe przykłady pokazują kreatywność użytkownika języka polskiego, a z drugiej strony jego niewiedzę – nie znając kanonicznej formy frazeologizmu Violetta zmieniła ją, używając składnika, który brzmi podobnie. Może to powodować wzbudzenie zainteresowania odbiorcy nową formą, a także poszukiwania jej znaczenia.

c) modyfikacje, które różnią się jednym wyrazem, pozostającym w tym samym kręgu tematycznym

W tych modyfikacjach wyrazy pochodzą z tego samego kręgu tematycznego, w związku z tym można mniemać, że innowacje powstały na zasadzie skojarzenia i minimalnej wiedzy o związkach frazeologicznych (autorka wie, z jakiego obszaru pochodzi składnik frazeologizmu, jednak nie potrafi przywołać jego oryginalnej wersji).

Przykładem tego typu przekształcenia jest modyfikacja *kamień spadł mi z nerki* zamiast *kamień spadł komu z serca* 'ktoś pozbył się troski, zmartwienia, odczuł wewnętrzną ulgę' (SFJP2, I: 316). Zarówno w postaci kanonicznej związku, jak i w innowacji, występują wyrazy z jednego pola semantycznego: jednostki leksykalne *nerka* i *serce* nazywają narządy wewnętrzne. Użycie komponentu *nerki* w modyfikacji można motywować skojarzeniem tego wyrazu z nazwą dolegliwości, jaką są kamienie w nerkach, powstające przy kamicy nerkowej.

Kolejne modyfikacje, w których substytuowane składniki pochodzą z tego samego pola semantycznego co ich odpowiedniki w podstawowej postaci związku, to na przykład:

- *jeden utopiłby drugiego w wiadrze wody* zamiast *chcieć utopić kogo w łyżce wody*,
- *leciałam jak na złamanie nóg i oto jestem* zamiast *leć na złamanie karku*,
- *czasami trzeba wybiec przed operę. Działać prewencyjnie* zamiast *wyskoczyć przed orkiestrę*,
- *żyć pod abażurem* zamiast *żyć pod kloszem*,
- *na pewno coś wymyślił, a ja znowu martwię się na kredyt* zamiast *martwić się na zapas*.

W analizowanej podgrupie użycie wyrazu z tego samego kręgu tematycznego sprawia, że całe wypowiedzenie traci swój sens, przez co może wprowadzać odbiorcę w błąd. Słuchacz na próżno doszukuje się znaczenia wypowiedzi, która nie niesie żadnego sensu. Łatwo zauważyć mechanizm tworzenia tych innowacji, jednakże trudno umotywować wybór takiego a nie innego słowa.

d) modyfikacje, w których dochodzi do zmiany postaci fleksyjnej jednego ze składników

W tej grupie modyfikacje zawierają wyrazy, których postać fleksyjna jest inna w porównaniu do wersji oryginalnej. Najczęściej jest to po prostu zmieniona forma przypadka jednego z rzeczowników występujących w wyrażeniu.

W wypowiedzeniu *Dlaczego zachowujesz się tak jakby Cię z krzyżem zdjęli?* forma dopełniacza wyrazu *krzyż* została w modyfikacji zamieniona na formę narzędnika (zamiast *jak z krzyża zdjęty*, czyli 'wyglądający bardzo źle, wymizerowany'; (SFJP2, I: 362)). Zabieg ten spowodował zmianę sensu i dodał komiczności wyrażeniu, ale także podkreślił w jakiś sposób cierpienie, gdyż skoro ktoś został zdjęty z krzyżem musi ten krzyż cały czas nosić, nie czuje ulgi.

Do omawianej podgrupy transformacji zaliczyć możemy jeszcze dwie wypowiedzi:

- *cała moja robota jak psem o budę* zamiast *jak psu na budę*,
- *wszyscy na mnie patrzą jak jacyś wilcy* zamiast *patrzeć wilkiem, jak wilk*.

Zmienić formę fleksyjną jednego z wyrazów występujących we frazeologizmie, tak aby wyrażenie zachowało albo uzyskało nowy sens, jest bardzo trudno. Dlatego też w tej podkategorii wyróżnić można tylko trzy innowacje, których dokonała bohaterka serialu.

e) modyfikacje słowotwórcze, w których składniki pochodzą z tej samej rodziny wyrazów

Rodzina wyrazów to grupa wyrazów mających wspólne pochodzenie, czyli wywodzących się od jednego wyrazu podstawowego (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rodzina_wyraz%C3%B3w). Na takiej zasadzie powstała modyfikacja *Myślałaś, że będę sypać jak z rękawiczki?*, której kanoniczna forma brzmi *sypać jak z rękawa* 'kupą, chmarą, licznie, w wielkiej obfitości' (SFJP2, II: 32). *Rękawiczka* jest derywowana od *rękawa*, a jej użycie może być motywowane dosłownym rozumieniem frazeologizmu, gdyż z rękawiczki łatwiej czegoś nasypać. Nawet jeśli daną wypowiedź uznaje się za błąd językowy, to bardzo trudno jest stworzyć taką innowację, której składnik będzie pochodził z rodziny wyrazów oryginalnej formy frazeologizmu.

Kolejne przykłady modyfikacji utworzonych w ten sposób znajdujemy w przytoczonych poniżej fragmentach wypowiedzi bohaterki serialu:

- *a co ja miałam tam zapuścić korzonki?* zamiast *zapuścić korzenie*,
- *nie jestem osobiście gotowa, by ktoś mi wchodził z buciorami w życiorys* zamiast *wchodzić z butami w (czyjeś) życie*,
- *ja jako celebrytka postanowiłam nieść kaganiec oświaty pod strzechy* zamiast *nieść kaganek oświaty pod strzechy*,
- *ani parki z ust* zamiast *nie puścić pary z ust*.

Celem zastąpienia części frazeologizmu wyrazem, który ma z nią wspólny rdzeń, jest podkreślenie danej wypowiedzi i wyodrębnienie pewnej cechy, na którą kładzie się nacisk. Ponadto dzięki takiej wymianie uzyskuje się efekt wieloznaczności i elementy komizmu. Nadawca komunikatu może także wyrazić swój stosunek emocjonalny do sytuacji, o której mówi.

f) varia:

W tej grupie znajdują się modyfikacje, które nie są motywowane w żaden logiczny sposób i których nie można zaliczyć do żadnej z poprzednich grup. Powstają one poprzez upodobnienie. Można jedynie domyślać się, dlaczego w przekształceniu został użyty wyraz taki a nie inny, jednak prawdopodobieństwo prawdziwości każdego tłumaczenia jest takie samo. Mimo niemotywowanych niczym zmian zdarza się, że modyfikacja uzyskuje nowy przenośny sens, zdarza się też, że w ogóle traci jakiekolwiek znaczenie.

Oto przedstawienie możliwego wyjaśnienia jednej z modyfikacji należących do omawianej grupy: *mieć łeb jak durszlak* jest innowacją frazeologizmu *mieć łeb jak sklep* 'być sprytnym, przebiegłym, dawać sobie radę w każdym położeniu' (W). Słowo z innowacji w żaden sposób nie przypomina ani nie kojarzy się ze sklepem. Jedynym wyjaśnieniem może być to, że durszlak ma kształt, który pozwala mu służyć jako okrycie głowy (łba) chroniące przed urazami (gdyż wykonywany jest najczęściej ze stali) oraz właściwości pozwalające mu na odcedzanie pewnych rzeczy od innych (przesiewanie myśli).

Pozostałe wyrażenia, które zostały zaliczone do tej kategorii to:

- *Jeżeli się pojawia jakiś problem to mam takie parcie na pomidora, że nie jestem wstanie się powstrzymać* zamiast *parcie na szkło*,
- *wyskoczyła jak z rakiety* zamiast *wyskoczyć jak z procy*,
- *Ja mu oddałam całą siebie, calusieńką. Tak jak mnie mamusia stworzyła* zamiast *jak go Pan Bóg stworzył*,
- *„Podobno" to chłop szpitalu umarł* zamiast *Na oko to chłop w szpitalu umarł*,
- *Ta dziewucha mnie kiedyś do grobu wciągnie* zamiast *wpędzić kogoś do grobu*.

Jak widać na powyższych przykładach, w upodobnieniach dochodzi do zmian w składzie frazeologizmów, które przede wszystkim są spowodowane dosłownym rozumieniem stałych połączeń wyrazowych (modyfikacje dopasowują wyrazy tak, aby miały one realny sens, nie dbając o ich znaczenie przenośne) i próbą dopasowania ich do kontekstu sytuacyjnego albo podobieństwa brzmieniowego. Niektóre przekształcenia są bardziej radykalne i polegają na wymianie składnika frazeologizmu na inny, niepasujący brzmieniowo ani tematycznie. Dzięki temu wprowadzają one nowe aspekty znaczeniowe albo powodują utracenie sensu stałego połączenia wyrazowego.

2) dodanie/opuszczenie elementu frazeologizmu – obie formy służą odświeżeniu związku frazeologicznego, niejednokrotnie nadając mu nowy sens, dookreślając stałe połączenia wyrazowe poprzez dodanie np. przyimków czy przymiotników czy wzmacniając sens całego wyrażenia. Mogą też ukazywać nieznajomość znaczenia pewnych słów, które w tym wypadku zostają pominięte.

a) dodanie elementu frazeologizmu

Przykładem tej transformacji jest wyrażenie: *Nie odpuszczę! Po moim martwym/bladym trupie*, którego oryginalna forma brzmi: *po moim trupie* – wyrażenie oznaczające stanowczy protest (SFJP2, II: 393). Dodany wyraz *martwy*, a w innym odcinku – *blady*, miał prawdopodobnie wzmocnić wypowiedź, a sprawił, że obie części wyrażenia zawierają tę samą treść (wiadomo, że trup jest martwy i blady; pleonazm).

Do tej kategorii możemy ponadto zaliczyć:

- *nie kiwnie nawet palcem u nogi* zamiast *nie kiwnąć palcem*,
- *włoska mafia urządza na mnie polowanie na czarownice* zamiast *polowanie na czarownice*,
- *w głowie mi się kręci jak w młynku* zamiast *kręci coś w głowie*,
- *harować jak dzika mrówka* zamiast *pracować jak mrówka*,
- *biednemu zawsze wiatr w plecy* zamiast *biednemu wiatr w oczy*.

b) opuszczenie elementu frazeologizmu

Jedyną modyfikacją wśród analizowanego materiału, która stanowi przykład tej kategorii jest: *lepszy wróbel w garści, niż gołąb*, której kanoniczną formą jest: *Lepszy wróbel w garści, niż gołąb na dachu* 'lepszy mały zysk a pewny, niż wielki, a niepewny'. Odrzucając fragment przysłowia autorka nadała mu zupełnie inne znaczenie, gdyż w tym wypadku coś mniejszego i pewnego można uznać za lepsze niż coś większego i także pewnego.

3) defrazeologizacja – w świetle definicji Anny Lusińskiej polega na *dosłownym użyciu składników związków frazeologicznego, które mają w nim znaczenie przenośne, albo na dosłownym użyciu związku frazeologicznego, w którym suma znaczeń wyrazów ma znaczenie przenośne* (Lusińska 2007: 32). Defrazeologizacja jest udosłownieniem frazeologizmu, postrzeganiem go w kontekście bardzo ogólnym. Zabieg ten stosowany jest aby dopasować wyrażenie do kontekstu sytuacyjnego, nadaje stałym połączeniom wyrazowym świeżość i atrakcyjność – utrwalone związki wyrazowe, funkcjonujące na zasadzie metafory, odzyskują na chwilę również swoje pierwotne, literalne znacznie. Ta wieloznaczność wykorzystanego frazeologizmu pozwala nawiązać, często oparte na dowcipie, porozumienie między nadawcą a odbiorcą komunikatu.

Gabriela Dziamska-Lenart wyróżniła trzy poziomy częściowej defrazeologizacji:

1. frazeologizm użyty jest w ten sposób, że jego przenośne znaczenie zostaje osłabione przez pojawiające się w jego otoczeniu wyrazy wchodzące w różnorodne relacje formalne i semantyczne z komponentami tegoż frazeologizmu;
2. frazeologizm użyty jest w ten sposób, że może być odczytywany zarówno metaforycznie, jak i dosłownie, kontekst uzasadnia stan równowagi miedzy tymi dwoma typami znaczeń;
3. frazeologizm użyty jest w ten sposób, że jego człony odzyskują dosłowne znaczenie, ale chociaż na plan pierwszy wysuwa się znaczenie strukturalne, w tle pozostaje znaczenie metaforyczne (Dziamska-Lenart 2006: 36)

Przykładem omawianej innowacji jest wypowiedź: *Poszłam po rozum do głowy czyli na parter*. Przenośne znaczenie frazeologizmu *iść po rozum do głowy* ‘zastanowić się, zreflektować, zmądrzeć’ (SFJP2, II: 61) potraktowane zostało bardzo dosłownie: autorka modyfikacji dokładnie określiła miejsce, skąd tego rozumu może nabrać.

Taki mechanizm przekształcenia został wykorzystany także w modyfikacji:

- *Czarne chmury nade mną zawisły. Nie masz może parasolki?*

4) kontaminacja[4] – źródłem dowcipu jest połączenie dwóch frazeologizmów, odbiorca zostaje wprowadzony w błąd pozorną tradycyjnością frazeologizmu. Często oba związki wyrazowe mają bardzo zbliżone znaczenie, zdarza się też tak, że jeden z nich dookreśla i wzmacnia drugi. Nowe połączenia albo zupełnie tracą sens, albo zyskują nowy, nie wynikający wprost ze znaczenia sumarycznego obu frazeologizmów składowych, którego możemy się jedynie domyślać lub odczytać go z kontekstu sytuacyjnego. Często poprzez zestawienie ze sobą stałych połączeń wyrazowych odbiorca, zwłaszcza taki, który nie zna zbyt dobrze frazeologii języka polskiego, może zostać wprowadzony w błąd i nie zauważyć, że źródłem danego wyrażenia są zupełnie dwie inne frazy.

Modyfikacja *Gdzie diabeł mówi dobranoc tam babę pośle* jest połączeniem związku frazeologicznego *gdzie diabeł mówi dobranoc* (‘o miejscu oddalonym, opuszczonym, położonym na uboczu’ (SFJP2, I: 460)) oraz przysłowia *Gdzie diabeł nie może, tam babę pośle*. Dwa znane stałe połączenia wyrazowe spowodowały komiczny efekt, modyfikację można rozumieć jako chęć wysłania kogoś w miejsce bardzo oddalone.

W badanym materiale wystąpiły liczne przykłady modyfikacji powstałych w wyniku tego rodzaju przekształceń, na przykład:

- *Dobre chęci matką* (*dobrymi chęciami piekło brukowane* i *nadzieja matką głupich*),
- *ja tobie serce na <u>widelcu</u>* (*mieć serce na dłoni* i *mieć coś na widelcu)*,
- *wywalili go na zbity bruk* (*wyrzucić na zbity pysk* i *wyrzucić na bruk*),
- *A mi tu kaktus jedzie / Ta, jasne, a mi tu czołg wyrośnie* (*a mi tu czołg jedzie* i *a mi tu kaktus wyrośnie*),
- *Mam nadzieje, że wszystko <u>jest na szczęśliwej drodze</u> do końcowego finału* (*być na dobrej drodze* i *szczęśliwej drogi!*).

[4] W nawiasie przy przykładach podane są frazeologizmy, które uległy połączeniu tworząc modyfikację.

Omawiana grupa transformacji pokazuje z jednej strony znajomość wielu związków frazeologicznych, które zostały użyte do utworzenia kontaminacji, a z drugiej niewielką wiedzę na temat ich budowy, która doprowadziła do wielu komicznych zestawień.

5) permutacja (zmiana kolejności składników frazeologizmu)

Przykład wykorzystania permutacji znajdujemy w wypowiedzi *Mam tutaj dowód, biało na czarnym*, w której zamiast *czarno na białym* użyto modyfikacji *biało na czarnym*. Została więc zmieniona kolejność elementów składowych omawianego związku frazeologicznego.

Inne przykłady modyfikacji powstałych w rezultacie przestawienia ich elementów w obrębie związku to następujące transformacje:

- *Jak myszy nie ma, to kot harcuje* zamiast *Gdy kota nie ma, myszy harcują*,
- *Jak cyk bum bum* zamiast *jak bum cyk cyk*.

Zamiana kolejności głównych elementów stałych połączeń wyrazowych powoduje, że mimo iż są one nadal rozpoznawalne, to tracą swoje pierwotne znaczenie.

6) Innowacje złożone – to modyfikacje, które powstały w wyniku zastosowania dwóch różnych zabiegów językowych opisywanych wcześniej (np. kontaminacji i defrazeologizacji).

Modyfikacja, która stanowi doskonały przykład tej kategorii, to: *bliższe ciału kalosze*, której kanoniczną formą jest *bliższa ciału koszula, niż sukmana* – ‘człowieka najbardziej obchodzi to, z czym się na co dzień styka, co go bezpośrednio dotyczy’ (W). W omawianej transformacji doszło od opuszczenia części frazeologizmu oraz do zamiany podobnie brzmiących wyrazów. Wyraz *sukmana* być może został opuszczony z powodu nieznajomości jego znaczenia oraz rzadkiej frekwencji występowania we współczesnym języku.

W badanym materiale wystąpiły także inne przykłady innowacji złożonych:

- *grzebać się jak muchy w kompocie* zamiast *wlec się jak mucha w smole*,
- *tnę grzędę, na której siedzę* zamiast *podcinać gałąź, na której się siedzi*,
- *dzwoni nie w tym porcie* zamiast *słyszał, że dzwonią, ale nie wie, w którym kościele*,
- *I Rychu w porę* zamiast *rychło w czas*,
- *co się tak patrzysz, jak cielę w namalowane wrotki* zamiast *patrzeć na co jak wół na malowane wrota*.

3. Wnioski

Jak pokazuje Tabela 1. najczęstszym typem dokonywanych przez Violettę Kubasińską modyfikacji związków frazeologicznych są upodobnienia frazeologiczne, których spośród analizowanych 167 wypowiedzi było 112, co stanowi 67%. W tej grupie największą ilość stanowią modyfikacje, które pochodzą z tego samego kręgu tematycznego. Najczęściej jest to zamienianie nazwy jednego zwierzęcia nazwą innego albo mylenie części ciała występujących we frazeologizmach.

Tabela 1. Dane ilościowe o poszczególnych typach modyfikacji w wypowiedziach Violetty Kubasińskiej

Typ modyfikacji	Podtyp	Ilość
upodobnienie frazeologiczne (112)	modyfikacje, które różnią się jedną lub dwiema głoskami, zachowującymi podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu	32
	modyfikacje, które różnią się jednym wyrazem, zachowującym podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu	21
	modyfikacje, które różnią się jednym wyrazem, pozostającym w tym samym kręgu tematycznym	38
	modyfikacje, w których dochodzi do zmiany postaci fleksyjnej jednego ze składników	3
	modyfikacje słowotwórcze, w których składniki pochodzą z tej samej rodziny wyrazów	5
	varia	13
dodanie/opuszczenie elementu frazeologizmu (7)	dodanie elementu frazeologizmu	6
	opuszczenie elementu frazeologizmu	1
defrazeologizacja		2
kontaminacja		34
zmiana kolejności składników frazeologizmu		3
innowacje złożone		9

Sześć przykładów mniej zawiera grupa innowacji modyfikacje, które różnią się jedną lub dwiema głoskami, zachowującym podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu. Ten fakt można tłumaczyć tym, że bohaterka serialu kojarzy stałe połączenia wyrazowe, jednak zapamiętuje je i odtwarza w sposób niedokładny. Inaczej mówiąc, Viola wie, że gdzieś dzwoni, ale nie wie, w którym kościele (albo w którym porcie, według jej wersji). Po-

kazuje to, że sekretarka Marka Dobrzańskiego posiada tylko powierzchowną wiedzę na temat struktury frazeologizmu albo nie potrafi zapamiętać właściwej formy.

Kolejną grupą innowacji frazeologicznych są kontaminacje w liczbie 34 (20% analizowanych wyrażeń) polegające na zestawieniu ze sobą dwóch związków frazeologicznych. Ich użycie w wypowiedzi daje efekt świeżości, ponieważ dzięki nim mogą zostać odkrywane i nadawane nowe sensy. Przede wszystkim takie połączenia wprowadzają efekt komizmu, zwłaszcza gdy odbiorca jest świadomy błędu popełnianego przez autorkę modyfikacji.

Wśród analizowanego materiału bardzo rzadko pojawiają się odniesienia do tekstów kultury. Występują one tylko dwukrotnie. Violetta korzysta z tytułu musicalu *Skrzypek na dachu* oraz wypowiedzi z filmu *Stawka większa niż życie*. Nie budzą one trudności w skojarzeniu źródła.

Najczęstszymi składnikami modyfikacji są nazwy apelatywne. Nomina propria występują bardzo rzadko i najczęściej związane są albo z kontekstem sytuacyjnym albo ze skojarzeniem z czymś bardzo znanym, co wypiera element związku frazeologicznego. W innowacjach, których dokonuje bohaterka, pojawia się 5 antroponimów (*myśleć o niebieskich Michałach*; *wyjdzie na tym jak Zawadzki na mydle; Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubańczykom; udawać Niemca; I Rychu w porę*), w tym dwa z nich powstały na zasadzie zamiany jednej nazwy własnej na inną; ponadto Viola używa też jednego ideonimu nawiązując do nazwy musicalu (*lepszy wróbel w garści niż skrzypek na dachu*).

Jak pokazuje powyższa analiza zebranego materiału, bohaterka *BrzydUli* – Violetta Kubasińska w swoich wypowiedziach dokonuje wielu modyfikacji związków frazeologicznych, które na poziomie jej wypowiedzi są błędami językowymi, natomiast na poziomie tworzenia scenariusza ukazują kreatywność scenarzystów i ich dużą wiedzę na temat frazeologizmów. Innowacje wprowadzają do serialu elementy komizmu i sprawiają, że postać Violi jest zapamiętywana właśnie dzięki jej idiolektowi. Modyfikacje wprowadzają także grę słów pomiędzy autorami scenariusza a odbiorcami, polegającą na odczytaniu błędnego użycia i skojarzenia go z formą poprawną, co ułatwia użycie w wypowiedziach Violetty znanych związków frazeologicznych, które powinny być kojarzone przez statystycznych użytkowników języka polskiego. Przekształcenia stałych połączeń wyrazowych mają różne funkcje, w serialu przede wszystkim mają przyciągać widza swoją atrakcyjnością i zabawnością.

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Załącznik 1

Przykłady modyfikacji związków frazeologicznych w wypowiedziach Violetty Kubasińskiej

1) upodobnienie frazeologiczne

a) modyfikacje, które różnią się jedną lub dwiema głoskami, zachowującymi podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu

- *jak nie barok to sraczka* zamiast *jak nie urok to sraczka*,
- *odesłać z kwiatkiem* zamiast *odprawić z kwitkiem*,
- *walczyć drzwiami i oknami* zamiast *walić drzwiami i oknami*,
- *robić stymulacje* zamiast *robić symulacje*,
- *pić żelazo, póki gorące* zamiast *kuć żelazo póki gorące*,
- *wilk w łowczej skórze* zamiast *wilk w owczej skórze*,
- *pańskie oko konia tłucze* zamiast *pańskie oko konia tuczy*,
- *flora ze dwora* zamiast *fora ze dwora*,
- *nie zazna dnia ani godziny* zamiast *nie znać dnia ani godziny*,
- *raz kobzie śmierć* zamiast *raz kozie śmierć*,
- *stęk bzdur* zamiast *stek bzdur*,
- *W życiu trzeba działać strategicznie. Panu Bogu świeczkę, a diabłu zegarek* zamiast *Panu Bogu świeczkę i diabłu ogarek*,
- *to jest sprawa życia po śmierci* zamiast *sprawa życia i śmierci*,
- *człowiek się stara, orze jak noże* zamiast *każdy orze, jak może*,
- *człowiek niby się zdrzemnął, a i tak pada na płask* zamiast *padać na pysk*,
- *wiesz, to takie uczucie, jakbym miała mole w brzuchu* zamiast *mieć motyle w brzuchu*,
- *myśleć o niebieskich Michałach* zamiast *myśleć o niebieskich migdałach*,
- *przestańmy wreszcie drzeć te koce* zamiast *drzeć z kimś koty*,
- *wszystko jest jeszcze w groszku* zamiast *coś jest w proszku*,
- *wywiozą ją stąd na taczkach* zamiast *wywieźć kogo na taczkach*,
- *zdemontować plotki* zamiast *zdementować plotki*,
- *trafić jak kurą w płot* zamiast *trafić jak kulą w płot*,
- *gość niezgody* zamiast *kość niezgody*,
- *biega jak koń z pęcherzem* zamiast *biegać jak kot z pęcherzem*,
- *mam ochotę na słonia z kopytami* zamiast *(móc) zjeść konia z kopytami*,
- *bawić się przodnie* zamiast *bawić się przednio*.

b) modyfikacje, które różnią się jednym wyrazem, zachowującym podobieństwo brzmieniowe do pierwotnego składu

- *jak ktoś jest dla mnie miły to ja mu vis a vis* zamiast *vice versa*,
- *jak amen w popiele* zamiast *jak amen w pacierzu*,
- *co ty za andruty pleciesz?* zamiast *pleść androny*,

- *nie kupię kota w mroku* zamiast *kupować kota w worku*,
- *nie ma co języka szarpać* zamiast *strzępić język*,
- *nieszczęścia chodzą stadami* zamiast *nieszczęścia chodzą parami*,
- *ten hotel to takie kokosy rozbija na naszej firmie, że wypadałoby zrobić ukłon w naszą stronę* zamiast *robić kokosy*,
- *zapomniał wół, jak jagnięciem był* zamiast *zapomniał wół jak cielęciem był*,
- *powstałam jak sfinks z popiołów* zamiast *powstać jak Feniks z popiołów*,
- *jeszcze będziesz się śmiała baranim głosem* zamiast *śpiewać baranim głosem*,
- *pokażę gdzie raki nocują* zamiast *pokazać gdzie raki zimują*,
- *każda potwora znajdzie swego sponsora* zamiast *Każda potwora znajdzie swojego amatora*,
- *niedaleko sadzą jabłko od jabłoni* zamiast *niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni*,
- *Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubańczykom* zamiast *Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubie*,
- *wyjdzie na tym jak Zawadzki na mydle* zamiast *wyjść na czym jak Zabłocki na mydle*.

c) modyfikacje, które różnią się jednym wyrazem, pozostającym w tym samym kręgu tematycznym

- *przyszła krowa do woza* zamiast *przyszła koza do woza*,
- *obiecywać jabłka/śliwki na wierzbie* zamiast *obiecywać gruszki na wierzbie*,
- *biednemu zawsze wiatr w plecy* zamiast *biednemu wiatr w oczy*,
- *dobro firmy od zawsze leży mi na wątrobie* zamiast *leży coś komu na sercu*,
- *No i po co się tak spieszysz?* (...) *To i tak herbata po obiedzie* zamiast *musztarda po obiedzie*,
- *jak dwie połówki chleba* zamiast *jak dwie połówki jabłka*,
- *jestem głodna jak lew* zamiast *głodny jak wilk*,
- *praca nie królik, nie ucieknie* zamiast *praca nie zając, nie ucieknie*,
- *tym razem naprawdę złapałam byka za ogon* zamiast *chwycić byka za rogi*,
- *z deszczu pod parapet* zamiast *z deszczu pod rynnę*,
- *umarła w szpilkach* zamiast *umarł w butach*,
- *harować jak dzika mrówka* zamiast *pracować jak mrówka*,
- *cały czas miałam japonki na oczach* zamiast *mieć klapki na oczach*,
- *jak chcesz to rozbiorę się dla ciebie do samej zupy* zamiast *rozebranym do rosołu*,
- *mieć żmiję w kieszeni* zamiast *mieć węża w kieszeni*,
- *nie dla psa kaszanka* zamiast *nie dla psa kiełbasa*,
- *pies sadownika* zamiast *pies ogrodnika*,
- *wszystko było położone na jedną wagę* zamiast *położyć co na szali*,
- *przełykiem do serca* zamiast *przez żołądek do serca*,
- *O, Pauluś! Tu jesteś! Spadłaś mi prosto z chmur* zamiast *spadać z nieba*,
- *nie strugaj ze mnie głupka* zamiast *strugać z kogo wariata/durnia*,

- *nie dzielmy skóry na borsuku* zamiast *dzielić skórę na niedźwiedziu*,
- *dałabym sobie głowę obciąć, że...* zamiast *dać sobie rękę uciąć*,
- *oni są normalnie jak dwie krople deszczu* zamiast *podobni jak dwie krople wody*,
- *słyszeć na własne uszy* zamiast *widzieć na własne oczy*,
- *udawać Niemca* zamiast *udawać greka*,
- *czego oczy nie słyszą, tego sercu nie żal* zamiast *czego oczy nie widzą, tego sercu nie żal*,
- *zamydlić głowę* zamiast *zamydlić komuś oczy*,
- *o suchej twarzy* zamiast *o suchym pysku*,
- *z pocałowaniem palca* zamiast *z pocałowaniem ręki*,
- *aż jej w stopy poszło* zamiast *poszło komu w pięty*,
- *gumowe usta* zamiast *gumowe ucho*.

f) varia:

- *za chwilę się dowiem, czy wrócę wozem czy pod wozem* zamiast *wracać z tarczą lub na tarczy*,
- *złej baletnicy przeszkadza nawet kapusta* zamiast *złej baletnicy przeszkadza rąbek u spódnicy*,
- *niech mu poduszka lekką będzie* zamiast *niech mu ziemia lekką będzie*,
- *rozbój w mroczny dzień* zamiast *rozbój w biały dzień*
- *brakować jak dziury w moście* zamiast *potrzebny jak dziura w moście*,
- *tobie tylko jaja w głowie* zamiast *tobie tylko fiu fiu w głowie*,
- *jestem sama jak jakiś święty turecki* zamiast *goły jak święty turecki*.

4) kontaminacja

- *Przed kamerami czuję się jak ryba w galarecie* (*czuć się jak ryba w wodzie* i *ryba w galarecie*),
- *Ta też mi wygląda na poślubioną mafii. Czarna wdowa sycylijska* (kontaminacja nazwy pająka *czarna wdowa* i frazeologizmu *mafia sycylijska*),
- *wyssane z palcem matki* (*wyssane z palca* i *wyssać z mlekiem matki*),
- *korona z zęba nie spadnie* (*korona komu z głowy nie spadnie* i *korona zęba*),
- *pasować jak kwiatek do karety* (*pasować jak wół do karety* i *pasować jak kwiatek do kożucha*),
- *złota rybka znosząca złote jaja* (*złota rybka* i *kura znosząca złote jaja*),
- *po moim bladym trupie* (*po moim trupie* i *trupio blady*),
- *ja się pilnowałam jak oczko w głowie* (*pilnować kogoś jak oka w głowie* i *oczko w głowie*),
- *nadepnąłeś mi na piętę, a to boli* (*nadeptać komu na odcisk* i *następować komu na pięty*),
- *Chyba nie uważasz mnie za taką pierwszą lepszą i ostatnią?* (*pierwsza lepsza* i *pierwszy i ostatni*),

- *Bałam się, że pomyślisz, że jestem fałszywa* (...), *że gram na dwa ognie, a to nieprawda* (połączenie nazwy podwórkowej gry *dwa ognie* z frazeologizmem *grać na dwa fronty*),
- *Byłam głupia jak but siedmiomilowy* (*głupi jak but* i *siedmiomilowe buty*),
- *Ja jestem dla ludzi za dobra. Dasz im palec, a oni wejdą ci na głowę* (*daj komu palec, a on weźmie całą rękę* i *wejść na głowę*),
- *Jak to zobaczysz, to ci szczęka zbieleje* (*szczęka komuś opadnie* i *oko komuś zbieleje*),
- *Każdy medal ma dwa końce* (*kij ma dwa końce* i *każdy medal ma dwie strony*),
- *Nie umywasz mu się do pięt* (*nie dorastać komuś do pięt* i *nie umywać się do kogoś*),
- *O moje nerwy to nawet pies z powyłamywanymi nogami nie zapyta* (połączenie „łamańca językowego" *stół z powyłamywanymi nogami* i frazeologizmu *pies z kulawą nogą*),
- *Przecież ja bym dla ciebie dała ostatnią nerkę pokroić* (*oddać komuś ostatnią koszulę* i *dać się pokroić za kogoś, za coś*),
- *Spaliłaś o jeden most za daleko* (*spalić mosty za sobą* i *krok za daleko*),
- *co się odwlecze, to się upiecze* (*komuś się upiekło* i *co się odwlecze, to nie uciecze*),
- *to jest moja ostatnia życiowa szansa* (*ostatnia szansa* i *życiowa szansa*),
- *jasne jak drut* (*jasny jak słońce* i *prosty jak drut*),
- *nie dziel skóry przed zachodem słońca* (*dzielić skórę na niedźwiedziu* i *nie chwal dnia przed zachodem słońca*),
- *mam nóż na karku* (*mieć nóż na gardle* i *mieć kogo na karku*),
- *lepszy wróbel w garści niż skrzypek na dachu* (zestawienie przysłowia *Lepszy wróbel w garści niż gołąb na dachu* z tytułem musicalu *Skrzypek na dachu*),
- *wychodzić na sucho* (*coś uchodzi na sucho* i *wychodzić na swoje*),
- *zły jak pies* (*zły jak osa* i *zły pies*).
- *wiesz jak to jest, jak ci coś na oko wpadnie* (*coś komu wpadło w oko* i *na oko*).

6) Innowacje złożone

- *dla potrzebującego nic trudnego* zamiast *dla chcącego nie ma nic trudnego*,
- *oliwa po wierzchu pływa* zamiast *oliwa sprawiedliwa na wierzch wypływa*,

The analysis of modifications of fixed expressions in the idiolect of Violetta Kubasińska from the television series *BrzydUla*

Summary

Intended modifications of fixed expressions are a common phenomenon which is an exponent of the language user's creativity, while unintended ones can result from his lack of knowledge on the structure of a given unit, its properties and other characteristics. The present paper contains an analysis of innovative uses of fixed expressions made by Violetta Kubasińska – a character from the television series titled *BrzydUla*. The research corpus made of her modifications was divided into 6 groups: substitutions, literalisations, contaminations, permutations, complex innovations. Only a few cultural references have been attested and so have proper names, due to the fact that appellatives are the most frequently substituted constituents. The analysed modifications perform various functions: in the series they are supposed to attract viewers' attention and to create a comic effect as well as to make the V. Kubasińska's idiolect characteristic, thus easy to remember for those who watch the episodes. In her idiolect, modifications are not intended, since they result from her mistakes. They become elements of word play in the reception process, which was planned by scriptwriters.

Ядвига Тарса
Опольский университет
Польша

Фразеологизмы в Интернете – смесь традиции и современности

Аннотация. Интернет-общение часто ассоциируется с языковой агрессией, вульгаризацией языка. Однако виртуальный мир это тоже место, где интернет-пользователи показывают свой творческий подход к языку. В языковой игре они часто используют фразеологизмы. Часть из них зафиксирована в словарях, но есть и такие, которые возникли в Интернете. И одни, и другие используются в креолизованных текстах – демотиваторах и интернет-мемах. В свою очередь, некоторые из мемов со временем становятся фразеологизмами. В языковой игре интернет-пользователи используют тоже устойчивые словосочетания жаргона падонков.

Ключевые слова: *фразеология, общение, Интернет, языкова игра*

1. Введение

В настоящее время виртуальный мир стал неотъемлемой частью нашей жизни. Молодым людям иногда трудно представить себе жизнь без Интернета, мейла, общения в социальных сетях. Общение в Сети стало так же естественным, как и в реальном мире. Можно заметить, что в результате большой активности интернет-пользователей в виртуальном мире образовался новый тип культуры – киберкультура. По-моему, киберкультура – это вид массовой культуры, основанный на виртуальной реальности и использующий ее для проявления творческих возможностей индивидов и социальных группировок. Другими словами, киберкультура – это результат креативного использования технических возможностей компьютеров и сети Интернет. Так как общение в Интер-

нете проходит с использованием технических средств, в нем главную роль играют слова, которые должны точно выражать мысли и чувства. В реальном общении около 70% информации человек получает по зрительному (визуальному каналу), невербальные сигналы позволяют понять истинные чувства и мысли собеседника. В виртуальном пространстве у нас таких возможностей нет. У нас есть только слова, которые по данным экспериментов раскрывают лишь 7% смысла и не отдают непосредственно целого богатства интонации, чувств, эмоций, переживаний. В связи с этим «Интернет активизирует внимание пользователей к тем языковым средствам, которыми он пользуется. Кроме того, виртуальные личности становятся творцами новых вербальных и невербальных средств высказывания и общения, творят не только само виртуальное пространство, но и язык, на котором этот социум общается» (Виноградова 2004: 66).

Одним из результатов творческого подхода интернет-пользователей к языку является появление новых фразеологизмов. Второй – это использование закрепленных словарями фразеологизмов в новых жанрах поликодовых текстов – демотиваторах, мемах и т.п. Новыми фразеологизмами можно назвать интернет-мемы, а также устойчивые словосочетания жаргона падонков. Они вошли прочно не только в язык общения в Интернете, но и стали частью разговорного языка. Часть из этих выражений можно назвать крылатыми, так как нам известны имена их авторов или источник происхождения. И одни, и другие используются в языковой игре, в которой отображается ироническое отношение интернет-пользователей к действительности. На карнавальность общения в Интернете обращают внимание многие исследователи, которые одновременно подчеркивают, что высмеиванию в Сети подвергается все[1]. Интернет-мемам и интернетовским фразеологизмам присуща большая эмоциональность, поэтому они чаще всего используются для оценки людей и явлений, а также в комментариях под разного рода сообщениями, постами и фотографиями. Для текстов киберкультуры характерной является креолизованность, т.е. сочетание текстовой информации с иконическими средствами. Интернетовские

[1] Так считает, например, Гасан Гусейнов, который пишет, что «представляется оправданной гипотеза, согласно которой превращения русского языка в Сети обусловлены не столько практическими потребностями упрощения кода, сколько игровыми условиями виртуального пространства, или коммуникации-игры. Иначе говоря, массовому пользователю важно не увеличить проходимость информации, но сделать предельно зримым собственное присутствие в Сети» (Гусейнов 2000).

фразеологизмы часто используются в разного рода демотиваторах (т.е. изображениях состоящих из фотогорафии или рисунка и комментария к ним, чаще всего шутливого или иронического) и фотожабах (т.е. своего рода фотомонтажах или карикатурно измененных изображениях).

Изучение фразеологизмов в Интернете позволяет заметить, что для интернет-пользователей игра словами, нестандартное использование устойчивых словосочетаний вызваны желанием красиво, образно выражаться и, одновременно, быть замеченным, выделиться среди множества пользователей.

2. Фразеологические неологизмы

Как замечает В.М. Мокиенко, «характеризуя лексическую и фразеологическую неологику, исследователи оказывают предпочтение словам и оборотам заимствованного характера, интернационализмам» (Мокиенко 2003, 30). По мнению С. Бомбы и Я. Либерка, фразеологические неологизмы в польском языке появляются путем заимствования, создавания структурных неологизмов, фразеологизации крылатых слов. Они считают, что важную роль в их популяризации играет пресса (Bąba, Liberek 2008: 61). Л. Степанова в статье *Русская фразеология сегодня* пишет, что фразеологическая неологика восходит к речи политиков, чиновников, служащих, спортсменов, пограничников, военных, летчиков, моряков, транспортников, представителей творческой интеллигенции, к области экономики и финансов, техники, промышленности, строительства, медицины и гигиены, массовой культуры. Кроме того, наш язык пополняют обороты иностранного происхождения, профессиональный язык программистов и пользователей Интернета. Она упоминает тоже стихийно возникший в Интернете «язык падонков» (Степанова 2008). И на жаргон падонков стоит обратить особое внимание, так как в нем появилось несколько фразеологических неологизмов.

Хотя всемирной паутине в России всего 25 лет (в 1990 г. был создан первый узел сети ФИДО и этот год считается датой рождения Интернета в России), а ее бурное развитие и почти всеобщую доступность к ней можно заметить в течение последних 10–15 лет, то фразеологизмы появлялись с самого начала существования Сети. К примеру, выражение *ацкая сотона* (как название вымышленной музыкальной группы, которая дала только один концерт и сгорела вместе с домом культуры, в котором выступала и слушателями) появилось в феврале 2002 года и скоро получило популярность в жаргоне падонков, где выражение

это перешло в мужской род (*ацкий сотона*) и означает высокую положительную оценку. Выражение *учи албанский* впервые появилось в 2004 году и тоже очень быстро распространилось в Сети. Так быстрое появление устойчивых словосочетаний в сетеязе показывает, что независимо от условий создания текста, человек мыслит метафорически.

Если считать, что «фразеологические неологизмы – это не зарегистрированные толковыми словарями современных литературных языков устойчивые экспрессивные обороты, которые либо созданы заново, либо актуализированы в новых социальных условиях, либо образованы трансформацией известных прежде паремий, крылатых слов и фразем, а также сочетания, заимствованные из других языков» (Мокиенко 2003, XI), то кажется, что упомянутые выше выражения *ацкий сотона* и *учи албанский*, принадлежащие к жаргону падонков, можно такими считать. Интернетовские фразеологические неологизмы очень экспрессивны и чаще всего выражают положительную или отрицательную оценку автора или его текста. Большинство из них созданы заново, а в части из них, существовавших раньше, подверглась изменениям их графическая форма.

Жаргон падонков (или падонкафф), называемый тоже албанским (олбанским) языком – это своеобразный жаргон, возникший в Сети около 15 лет тому назад. Появление этого жаргона связано с сайтами fuck.ru., fido.net и udaff.com. Пользователи сайта удафф.com говорят о себе, что они являются представителями контркультуры или другой культуры. Каждая контркультура появляется как отрицание устаревших культурных форм, как утверждение новых форм. Представители падонковской контркультуры, в частности, отрицают орфографические правила русского языка. Этот интернет-жаргон характеризуется употреблением *а* вместо безударного *о* и наоборот (напр. *гатичьно*, *сотона*), взаимозаменой безударных *и*, *е* и *я* (напр. песатель), употреблением *ц* или *ц* вместо *тс*, *тьс*, *дс* (напр. *ацкий*), также *жы* и *шы*, *чя* и *щя* вместо *жи* и *ши* (напр. *жывотное*), *ча* и *ща*, *щ* вместо *сч* и наоборот (напр. *весчь*), *йа*, *йо*, *йу* вместо начальных *я*, *ё*, *ю* (напр. *йад*), взаимозаменой глухих и звонких на конце слова или перед глухими (*кросафчег*), причем вместо *ф* в этой позиции может употребляться *фф*. В нем распространено также слияние слов воедино без пробела (*ржунимагу*). Надо сказать, что все правила жаргона падонков условные и каждый пользователь записывает слова согласно его соображениям о фонетическом написании слова.

Хотя этот жаргон относительно молодой, то в нем появились устойчивые словосочетания, в большинстве своем выражающие оценку тек-

стов и их авторов. Положительную оценку выражают такие фразеологизмы как: *Аффтар жжот*, *креатифф зачотный*; *Смеялсо всем офисом*; *Аффтар жжот нипадецки*; *Пеши исчо!*; *Аффтар, пеши исчо!*; *Жжоши сцуко*; *Аццкий Сотона*; *Офигеть, дайте две*; *респект и уважуха*. Отрицательно можно оценить пост или его автора фразеологизмами: *Аффтар выпей йаду*, *В Бабруйск, жывотное!*, *Убей сибя с расбегу*, *Убей сибя с расбегу апстену вымазанную йадом*, *Убей сибя ап стенку*; *Креатифф гавно, аффтар мудак*; *Слив защщитан, Киса ку-ку, ты с каково города*. Некоторые из них, напр.: *аффтар, пеши исчо* или *убей сибя с расбегу* выражают оценку прямо и их значения может догадаться тоже читатель, который не знает олбанского языка. Смысл других можно понять только зная их этимологию. Итак, выражение *Офигеть, дайте две*, выражающее восхищение, одобрение пришло в падонкавский жаргон из следующего анекдота: Приходит наркоман/алкоголик в магазин и говорит: «Дайте мне эту фарфоровую кису!» – «Это не "киса", а Семен Михайлович Буденный.» – «Офигеть! Дайте две!». *Киса ку-ку, ты с каково города* происходит из поста в Живом Журнале и означает намек на недалекость мышления, обычно применяется в ответ на экспрессивные комментарии или на дальнейшую бесполезность логических аргументов в дискуссии. *Слив защщитан* – это шутливо-снисходительная оценка неинтересного поста и/или согласие с оправданиями автора (с намеком, что даже говорить с ним скучно). Некоторые считают, что *слив* – это перевод английского слова *flush* – 'вне контекста', а другие утверждают, что происхождение этого выражения связано со сливом воды в туалете. Конечно, иногда значение данного фразеологизма связано с контекстом, напр.: *аффтар жжот нипадецки* – может выражать или восхищение текстом, или ироническое отношение к нему.

Эти оценочные фразеологизмы характерны не только для сайтов падонков, но используются авторами, не связанными с падонковской контркультурой. Чаще всего они применяются в заглавиях текстов в блогах, как комментарии к этим текстам или ответы на посты участников разного рода форумов, напр.:

– Классная ссылка для аналитического ресурса! ЗЫ. грохнуть бы тебе аккаунт за такие ссылки, но вы же как гидра, одного грохнешь, двон новых объявятся, так что, *аффтар, пиши исчо*![2] – комментарий к посту о трудовой миграции

[2] http://aftershock.su/?q=node/239984

– Путин: *респект и уважуха*. Станислав Белковский предлагает свою интерпретацию логики Путина по отношению к Крыму. И эта логика – пацанская[3]

– «этнические русские грезили обогатиться сразу после так называемого "референдума". Они хотели продать гражданство за увеличенные пенсии.» ааааааа! *аффтар выпей йаду* – я не могу это читать[4] – комментарий к тексту о ситуации в Крыму

– Федя Бондарчук, *убейся апстену*! (...) Режиссеру совутею *убиться апстену* и никогда ничего больше не снимать[5] – в рецензии автора блога на фильм «Обитаемый остров»

– *Аффтар, выпей йаду!* Хочу поделиться с вами своим послевкусием от прочитанного отчета о концерте «Энимал Джаз» [...] Так вот. Послевкусие, если честно, как от пожеванной бумаги[6];

– Windows Mobile 7? *Дайте две!* Как известно, мобильное подразделение Microsoft на данный момент работает на седьмой реинкарнацией своей системы Windows Mobile[7] – заглавие обзора системы Windows для мобильников;

– Настенька Извекова: Хочу такого мужчину, на которого смотришь и хочется сказать: – *Офигеть, дайте два!*[8] – информация на профиле девушки-участника социальной сети «В контакте»;

– Всех френдов с Днем Спасибо! *Пешыте исчо!!!*[9] – записка в блоге Живого Журнала;

– *аффтар.....жжжош, сцуко))))*[10] – комментарий под прикольной картинкой.

– Фильмы же делают цветными, а почему бы пидораса не раскрасить!!!!!!!!!!!! *Респект и уважуха* тем, кто его оцветил, я бы еще и кепку в розовый выкрасил!!!!!!!![11] – комментарий под текстом информации о том, что в поселке Белые Берега кто-то раскрасил памятник Ленину.

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[3] http://www.colta.ru/articles/society/2576

[4] http://www.babyblog.ru/community/post/birthday1/1793667/1#comm_start

[5] http://orsana2.ya.ru/replies.xml?item_no=8

[6] http://acid-dashish.livejournal.com/155012.html

[7] http://www.mobiset.ru/articles/text/?id=1719

[8] http://vkontakte.ru/id32331205

[9] http://vasisualij.livejournal.com/215301.html

[10] http://warriors.ucoz.ru/photo/4-0-30

[11] http://www.mazda-auto.ru/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=27851

– *Аццкий сотона*, я так мыслю, шо без грибов и мескалина не обошлось[12] – комментарий под подборкой рисунков, озаглавленной «Аффтар курит».

О том, можно ли считать данное словосочетание фразеологизмом решает критерий его устойчивости. Интернетовские фразеологизмы еще относительно новые, «свежие» и состав их компонентов меняется. Кроме того, каждый интернет-пользователь записывает слова фонетически по-своему. В связи с тем, трудно пока сказать, какая форма данного выражения станет устойчивой: *Убей сибя с разбегу / Убей сибя с расбегу апстену вымазанную йадом / Убей сибя ап стенку / Убейсибяапстену*, или *Ниасилил патамушта стихи / Ниасилил патамушта многа букоф / Ниасилил патамушта вайнаимир*; *Ржунимагу / Ржуизпацтула*. Можно предполагать, что испытание временем пройдут самые краткие, сжатые выражения. Уже в настоящее время можно заметить, что напр. словосочетание *офигеть / ахуеть, дайте две* все чаще появляется в сокращенной форме *дайте две*. Из очень популярного выражения *превед, медвед* чаще используется только его первый компонент – *превед* (хотя встречается тоже выражение *полный превед*).

Некоторые из них можно называть крылатыми словами, поскольку можно указать их автора или источник. Например, *В Бабруйск, жывотное*! (*ф Бабруйск, жывотнайе*) – «восклицание, призванное донести до того, кому оно адресовано, всю его нравственную, моральную, эстетическую и интеллектуальную несостоятельность происходит от пользователя www.livejournal.com Gleb_Dis. Он создал сообщество, под названием "Гетто №101, Бобруйск", куда ссылались плохие авторы»[13]. Само название города Бобруйск он позаимствовал из книги Владимира Сорокина *Дорожное происшествие*. *Учи албанский* тоже заимствовано падонками, оно старше их «языка». Выражение это связано с пользователем scottishtiger, американцем, который увидев текст на русском языке возмутился, почему на сайте livejournal.com кто-то пишет на непонятном ему языке. В ответ пользователь maxxximus написал ему, что это албанский язык. Потом scottishtiger получил несколько «уроков албанского», а в результате флешмоба «Уроки албанского» на какое-то время приостановил свою активность в Сети.

Даже ГИБДД на своем плакате воспользовалась падонковским жаргоном. Кто-то из читателей сайта газета.ру прислал фотографию, сделанную в Череповцах. Под фотографией краш-теста машины был по-

[12] http://voffka.com/archives/2007/07/19/037124.html

[13] http://community.livejournal.com/padonki_history.

мещен комментарий: «Выпил – убей себя об стену». Газета.ру озаглавила текст об этом «ГИБДД, выпей йаду»[14]. С Интернета можно скачать звонки для телефона, напр.: *Аффтар, не пешы болше, выпей йаду*!; *Прочытал ысымэс, где криатифф*?; *Аффтар – аццкий сотона, криатифф – зачот*.

2.1. Интернет-мемы – источник новых фразеологизмов

Интернет-пользователи используют в языковой игре фразеологизмы, которые возникли в Сети и которые получили название интернет-мемов. Интернет-мем – «в средствах массовой информации и бытовой лексике название информации или фразы, спонтанно приобретшей популярность в интернет-среде посредством распространения в Интернете всеми возможными способами (по электронной почте, в мессенджерах, на форумах, в блогах и т.п.)»[15]. Автором термина «мем» является Ричард Докинз, профессор Оксфордского университета, автор книги *Эгоистичный ген*. В передаче культурного наследия человечества огромную роль играют новые репликанты, единицы культурной информации, которые Докинз назвал мемами. Мемами могут быть идеи, модные словечки и выражения, мелодии и т.п. По Докинзу, их следует рассматривать как живые структуры, которые поселяются в нашем уме как паразиты или вирусы. Наш разум это носитель, в котором происходит размножение этого мема. В Интернете мемами иногда называют демотиваторы, фразы, возникшие в Сети или получившие в ней популярность (например, *в Бобруйск животное*), а также персонажей ставших неотъемлемой частью сетевого фольклора (*Капитан Очевидность*, *улыбчивый кавказец*, *хмурый кот*).

Интернет мемы делятся на три группы: а) медиафайлы, песни, б) изображения и в) слова и фразы. Примером мема-песни может служить *Йожин з бажин* – чешская комедийная песня сатирика Ивана Младека 1978 года. Они стала популярна в начале 2008 г., а в конце мая 2008 года насчитывалось уже 2,4 миллиона просмотров. Одним из мемов-медиафайлов является видеоролик под заглавием *Дверь запилии! (Буйный Слвавик, Интересная личность* – «видеоролик, снятый сотрудниками петербургской милиции в прихожей квартиры в доме на улице Олеко Дундича. Неизвестно, было ли задержание хозяина квартиры запланированным или же милиционеры просто ошиблись дверью. Так или иначе, в начале ролика владелец квартиры (возможно, находящийся

[14] www.gazeta.ru/auto/2006/03/29_a_573651.shtml

[15] ru.wikipedia.org

в состоянии алкогольного или наркотического опьянения) уже явно разозлён тем, что сотрудники милиции взломали его дверь. В течение всего ролика он кричит на них, матерится и требует "запилить дверь". Сотрудники милиции держатся спокойно и с юмором»[16]. Этот мем был так популярен, что возник сайт «поклонников интересной личности» и появились две компьютерные игры. Выражение *Дверь запилии!* стало устойчивым и появляется в демотиваторах.

Популярна тоже серия фотографий под общим названием «погладь кота», на которых представлены коты-манулы с разными подписями (напр.: *Погладь кота, сука*; *Я ласковый котенок. Гладь.*; *Я буду мстить, и мстя моя будет страшна*...). Как и выражение *Дверь запилии!*, устойчивое словосочетание *Погладь кота, сука!* часто появляется в демотиваторах.

Но нас больше всего интересуют мемы-фразы. Их можно разделить на две группы. Первая – это фразы возникшие в Интернете, сначала в нем получившие популярность, а потом перешедшие в разговорный язык. Это выражения произнесенные на сайте каким-то пользователем и подхваченные его собеседниками или читателями. Среди них очень популярны выражения *мопед (мотороллер) не мой, я просто разместил объяву* «мем, возникший на форуме одного из украинских сайтов, посвящённых мотоциклам. Выражение либо употребляется самим человеком, желающим уйти от ответственности в какой-либо ситуации или показать, что он ни при чём, либо иронически обращено к такому человеку»[17] или *меня интересуют только мыши, их стоимость и где приобрести* – «фраза из письма пользователю ЖЖ, модерирующему один из форумов. По инициативе пользователя стала поводом для многочисленных стихотворений. После набора популярности указывалась на странице «интересы» в ЖЖ как пример того, что не стоит писать в этом разделе».

Вторая группа интернет-мемов это выражения, которые прозвучали в СМИ, высказывались политиками, артистами эстрады, известными людьми и т.п., а популярность приобрели именно в Интернете. Интернет-пользователи подхватили самые забавные, абсурдные и стали их повторять в разговорах на чатах и мессенджерах, в комментариях к разным текстам. Примерами таких мемов могут быть следующие выражения:

– *вувузелы гомосексуализма* – «фраза, брошенная певцом шансона Александром Новиковым, объясняющим причины запрета спектакля

[16] http://ru.wikipedia.org

[17] Здесь и в следующих примерах все дефиниции мемов цитирую с сайта http://ru.wikipedia.org (дата обращения: 2.09.2011).

«Голубой щенок». Фраза стала популярной в интернет-сообществах из-за своей парадоксальности».

– *Дотянулся проклятый Сталин* – «популярная среди левой аудитории фраза, используемая для пародийного комментирования событий, к которым Сталин заведомо не мог иметь никакого отношения (например, геноцид индейцев). Впервые употреблена либеральной журналисткой Ириной Ясиной в некрологе, посвящённом гибели польского президента Качиньского. Нелепое и абсурдное обвинение в авиакатастрофе человека, умершего более 50 лет назад, мгновенно стало интернет-мемом и породило множество фотожаб».

Как видно из примеров, эти устойчивые словосочетания в Сети получают вторую жизнь. Они теряют свой первичный смыл (если он у них есть), получают новое значение и утрачивают связь с источником. Фразы эти часто бессмысленны и может быть именно эта абсурдность вызывет их популярность. Можно заметить, что в виртуальном мире получают популярность и становятся устойчивымии выражения, которые привлекают пользователей своей оригинальностью, юмором иногда абсурдностью.

3. Традиционные фразеологизмы в Интернете

В Интернете вторую жизнь получают хорошо известные фразеологизмы и выражения, которые были известны до возникновения компьютерного общения. Толчком к возникновению одного из мемов, построенного на основании известного с советских времен шутливого двустишия *Ушла зима, настало лето, спасибо партии за это* – был день рождения Владимира Путина. 7 ноября 2011 года ему исполнилось 59 лет и интернет-пользователи поздравляли его с эти событием. Первый мем *Спасибо Путину за это* вбросил депутат партии «Единая Россия» Владимир Бурматов. Он надеялся, что записи по хештегу[18] никого не обидят и понравятся Путину. Первый его поздравительный твит звучал: *В Москве тепло и солнце. Лето! Спасибо Путину за это!* Потом он еще добавил другие: *Свободно пишешь в энторнеты? Спасибо Путину за это*, *Обама нервно чешет репу. Спасибо Путину за это!*, *Вот террориста мочат где-то. Спасибо Путину за это!* Ему сразу следовал ответ

[18] Хештег (от англ. hash – символ «решетка»): в Твиттере это слово или начинающееся с символа (#) и служащее для пометки твита принадлежностью к какой-либо теме, обсуждению или событию.

пользователя RuslanUsachev *Хэш-тэг проплачен из бюджета. Спасибо Путину за это!* Пользователи Твиттера подхватили эту фразу и начали активно поздравлять президента. В основном это были иронические, саркастические, критические двустишия, хотя появлялись и положительные. Через несколько дней в Интернете появился сайт spasiboputinu zaeto.com, на котором были собраны все твиты с данным хештегом. Вот несколько примеров поздравительных твитов:

– *Дышать пока запрета нету #СпасибоПутинуЗаЭто*
– *Власть потеряла совесть где-то #СПАСИБОПУТИНУЗАЭТО.*
– *Еще 6 лет пилить бюджеты и делать из людей овец? #спасибопутинузаэто #медведевтожемолодец*
– *согнали всех на путинг где-то #спасибопутинузаэто*
– *У нас воруют лучше всех на свете, Берёт чиновник взятки в кабинете, Свобода слова только в Интернете, #СПАСИБОПУТИНУЗАЭТО!*
– *Позорище на всю планету – #СПАСИБОПУТИНУЗАЭТО*
– *Из взяток, лжи и воровства никто не делает секрета. Спасибо партии родной! #СПАСИБОПУТИНУЗАЭТО*[19].

Это устойчивое словосочетание появляется тоже на других сайтах и в блогах:

– *Спасибо Путину за это* – заглавие поста в блоге Кристины Потупчик о том, что Федор Бондарчук поблагодарил Владимира Путина за финансирование фильма «Сталинград»[20].

– *Спасибо Путину за это* – статья, в которой Алскнис пишет о том, за что должен ответить президент[21].

Следующим примером интернетовского фразеологизма, построенного на основе раньше существующего выражения может быть фраза *Ктулху зохавает всех*. Ктулху – «божество из пантеона Мифов Ктулху, Зверь миров, спящий на дне Тихого океана, но, тем не менее, способный воздействовать на разум человека. Впервые упомянут в рассказе Говарда Лавкрафта "Зов Ктулху". На вид Ктулху разными частями тела подобен осьминогу, дракону и человеку: судя по барельефу Энтони Уилкокса, героя "Зова Ктулху", и таинственному древнему изваянию из рассказа, чудовище имеет голову со щупальцами, гуманоидное тело, покрытое чешуёй, и пару рудиментарных крыльев»[22]. В Рунете популярными стали фразы *Ктулху зохавает всех* и *Ктулху зохавает твой моск*. Они

[19] http://spasiboputinuzaeto.com/
[20] http://www.echo.msk.ru/blog/potupchik/1186574-echo/
[21] http://svpressa.ru/politic/article/65032/
[22] ru.wikipedia.org

кратки, забавны и легко поддаются модификации, так как имя Ктулху можно заменить любым именем реального или мифологического героя:

– «*Путин зохавает Вконтакт?*» – заглавие темы на форуме[23],

– «Воздержимся от брани на ближнего своего. Ведь всё равно *Ктулху всех зохавает*» – на сайте бизнес тренеров[24],

– «там написано снизу вверх слева направо: Вы – умники, которые будуь тырить древнюю историю и перевирать факты – *Один всех зохавает, зохавает, зохавает*» – юмористическая расшифровка рун на камне[25],

– «Женя сообщает: За месяц социальная сеть Гугла привлекла 25 миллионов юзверей. Для примера, Фейсбуку для набора такой аудитории понадобилось три года, а Твиттеру около 30 месяцев. *Гугль зохавает всех?8)))* – на сайте подружки.ру жизнь, любовь и безделушки[26].

Анекдот о суровых сибирских лесорубах стал источником возникновения мема *челябинские мужики настолько суровы*. Это мем, который впервые появился в анекдоте о бензопиле и суровых сибирских мужиках-лесорубах: Купили как-то суровым сибирским лесорубам японскую бензопилу. Собрались в кружок лесорубы, решили ее испытать. Завели ее, подсунули ей деревце. «Вжик» – сказала японская пила. «У, бля...» – сказали лесопыбы. Подсунули ей деревце потолще. «Вж-ж-жик!» – сказала пила. «Ух, бля!» – сказали лесорубы. Подсунули ей толстеннейший кедр. «ВЖ-Ж-Ж-Ж-Ж-Ж-Ж-ЖИК!!!» – сказала пила. «Ух ты, бля!!» – сказали лесорубы. Подсунули ей железный лом. «КРЯК!» – сказала пила. «Ах, бля!!!» – сказали суровые сибирские лесорубы! И пошли рубить лес топором. «В такой форме мем использовался в ситкоме «Наша Russia», после чего и получил более широкую известность. Используется с целью намека на умопотрясающую крутизну и брутальность, а также на дремучую провинциальность какого-либо события»[27]. Мем этот породил целое множество демотиваторов и в Интернете появлялись разнообразные его варианты:

– *Челябинские жители настолько суровые, что у них вместо снега зимой падают метеориты*;

– *Челябинские водители настолько суровы, что гаишники сами дают им взятки*;

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[23] http://forum.3ty.ru/smf2/index.php?topic=592.0

[24] http://bundoora.ru/subektivnaya-ocenka-proizvoditelnosti-tchk.htm

[25] http://nesvetaj.info/forum/index.php?showtopic=965

[26] http://podruzhki.ru/class/daily-theme/71

[27] lurkmore.to

– *Челябинские птицы настолько суровы, что на зиму улетают не на юг, а на север*;

– *Челябинские бабки настолько суровы, что им в автобусе уступает место даже водитель*[28].

Так как и мем *Ктулху зохавает всех* и этот фразеологизм появляется в демотиваторах и блогах, напр.:

– *Мурманские коты «настолько суровы»* – запись в блоге о том, что в Мурманске открыли памятник коту Семёну, который прошел более 2000 км, чтобы вернуться к своим хозяевам[29].

Очень часто традиционные фразеологизмы используются в креолизованных компьютерных текстах, т.е. текстах, «фактура которых состоит из двух негомогенных частей: вербальной (языковой/речевой) и невербальной (принадлежащей к другим знаковым системам, нежели естественный язык)» (Сорокин, Тарасов: 1990, 180–181). Для такого рода текстов в научной литературе предлагаются разные термины. И.В. Бугаева в статье *Демотиваторы как новый жанр в Интернет-коммуникации: жанровые признаки, функции, структура, стилистика* перечисляет такие термины как креолизованные, поликодовые, гибридные, бимедиальные, мультимедиальные, полимедиальные тексты, супер-текст, полимодальный вербально-визуальный текст, семиотически-осложненные тексты (Бугаева 2011).

Популярными в Интернете креолизованными текстами являются демотиваторы. Демотиватор – это изображение состоящее из картинки, расположенной на черном фоне и набранного белым шрифтом или одного слова, или лаконичного комментария. Иногда в демотиваторе верхняя фраза является завязкой, нижняя – неожиданной развязкой. Контраст, возникающий при последовательном прочтении двух фраз, рассчитан на эффект неоправданного ожидания, который обусловливает возникновение комического эффекта.

Анисимова делит креолизованные тексты на тексты с частичной и полной креолизацией. «В текстах с частичной креолизацией вербальная часть относительно автономна, независимо от изображения, между вербальными и изобразительными компонентами складываются автосемантические отношения. Как правило, изобразительный компонент в данном случае сопровождает вербальную часть и является факультативным элементом в организации текста. В текстах с полной креолиза-

[28] http://absurdopedia.wikia.com

[29] http://nnm.me/blogs/igorki/murmanskie-koty-nastolko-surovy

цией вербальная часть не может существовать автономно, независимо от изобразительной части – между обоими компонентами устанавливаются синсемантические отношения. Вербальная часть в данном случае ориентирована на изображение или отсылает к нему, а изображение выступает в качестве облигаторного элемента текста» (Анисимова 2003, 15). И такие именно синсемантичесике отношения характерны для интернетовских креолизованных текстов, в которых в качестве вербального компонента выступают фразеологизмы.

В демотиваторах часто обыгрывается прямое и переносное значение фразеологизмов. Сиуатиция, представленная на картинке актуализирует прямое значение устойчивого выражения и вызывает комический эффект, как, например, в нижеприведенных демотиваторах:

Иногда в Сети появляются контаминации традиционных фразеологизмов и интернет-мемов, как, например, в демотиваторе с надписью *краб божий*, на котором изображен Владимир Путин в церкви со свечой в руках. Мем *Путин краб* появился в 2008 году после выступления Путина на пресс-конференции в Кремле, на которой он сказал: *Мне не стыдно перед гражданами, которые голосовали за меня дважды, избирая на пост президента Российской Федерации. Все эти восемь лет я пахал как раб на галерах, с утра до ночи, и делал это с полной отдачей сил*[30]. Кто-то не расслышал слова *как раб на галерах* и сначала в Сети появилось выражение *краб на галерах*, а потом получившее огромную популярность *Путин краб*.

5. Выводы

Фразеологизмы в Интернете можно разделить на три группы. Первая – это фразеологизмы, закрепленные словарями, которые входят в состав новых сетевых жанров (демотиваторов, мемов). Вторую группу составляют устойчивые выражения жаргона падонков, которые возникли в Интернете и со временем перешли в разговорный язык. Третья группа – это разного рода мемы, источником порождения которых являются или старые, хорошо известные фразы, или новые, меткие (а иногда абсурдные) выражения, которые прозвучали в СМИ, высказывались политиками, артистами эстрады, известными людьми и т.п.,

[30] http://ppt.ru/news/48586

а популярность приобрели именно в Интернете, или выражения произнесенные на сайте каким-то пользователем и подхваченные его собеседниками или читателями. Все эти устойчивые выражения настолько известны интернет-пользователям, что в блогах, постах, комментариях, креолизованных текстах они очень часто появляются в модифицированной форме. Однако «динамичность неологики требует особой осторожности при диагностике фразеологического статуса конкретных единиц, причем решающим критерием становится "устойчивость-неустойчивость" того или иного словосочетания» (Мокиенко 2008: 121). Насколько устойчивы будут интернетовские словосочетания и будут ли они когда-то фиксироваться фразеологическими словарями покажет время.

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Phraseological units on the Internet – combining tradition and modernity

Summary

Internet communication is quite frequently criticised for language brutalization and vulgarization as well as verbal aggression. However, the virtual world is a place where the Internet users prove their ability to employ language in a very creative way. Phraseological units have become for them an element of a great number of language games. There are phraseological units which can be found in dictionaries and those which are created on the Net. Both types are employed in hybrid texts – demotivators and Internet memes. It happens that in the course of time, memes themselves become phraseological units. The Russian Internet constitutes very interesting phraseological material, in which quite frequent phraseological units of so-called padonki jargon are employed in language games.

PART V

CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS, TRANSLATION & PHRASEOLOGY

Edyta Koncewicz-Dziduch
Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie
Polska

Deskryptywno-wartościujący charakter związków frazeologicznych z nazwami roślin w języku polskim, chorwackim, serbskim

Abstrakt. Artykuł dotyczy zagadnienia obrazu językowego roślin we frazeologii języków słowiańskich: języka polskiego, chorwackiego i serbskiego. Problemy poddane analizie to: naturalna i potoczna kategoryzacja roślin, udział nazw roślin w tworzeniu frazeologizmów – największy w przypadku drzew, owoców i warzyw; analiza semantyczno-konotacyjna hiperonimów (*drzewo, kwiat, owoc, zboże, trawa*) oraz związków frazeologicznych z nazwami różnych gatunków roślin. Główne cechy tych związków frazeologicznych to: deskrypcja rzeczywistości, antropocentryzm, negatywne konotacje niektórych nazw roślin, recesywny charakter tych idiomów.

Słowa kluczowe: *frazeologia, roślina, semantyka, języki słowiańskie*

1. Wprowadzenie

Świat przyrody ożywionej jest dla człowieka niezwykle ważnym elementem natury, przede wszystkim człowiek sam będąc jego częścią, czuje z nim nierozerwalny związek. Królestwa roślin i zwierząt, które się na niego składają, już od najdawniejszych czasów inspirowały człowieka, co znalazło swoje artystyczne odbicie w sztuce i literaturze, starano się je też poznać i opisać od strony naukowej. Pierwsze próby naukowej klasyfikacji świata roślin i zwierząt miały miejsce już w antyku i są zasługą Arystotelesa – w dziedzinie systematyki zwierzęcej (około 350–343 pne.) oraz jego ucznia Toefrasta, który dokonał próby systematyki roślin – opisał około 480 gatunków drzew, krzewów, ziół. Podstawą oceny i klasyfikacji danego gatunku był jego zewnętrzny ogląd, właściwości fizyczne, cechy budowy, a jako klucz kategoryzacyjny stosowano zasadę „wyłączonego środka" – tzn. posiadanie danej cechy jest warunkiem koniecznym do zaliczenia do danej kategorii.

Kategoryzacja logiczna stosowana była w nauce do czasów teorii ewolucjonizmu Darwina, z powodzeniem stosowano ją w jeszcze w Oświeceniu, kiedy powstał najsłynniejszy model klasyfikacji naukowej świata przyrody Karola Linneusza obowiązujący jeszcze w pierwszej połowie XX. wieku. Ugruntował on podział na świat roślin i zwierząt, a tym samym na dwie dziedziny nauk: botanikę i zoologię, opisując i nazywając 6 tysięcy gatunków roślin i 4 tysiące gatunków zwierząt.

Dla zwykłego obserwatora, świat przyrody posiada jednak zupełnie inny wymiar. Człowiek ocenia zwierzęta i rośliny pod kątem użyteczności, nie bez znaczenia są takie kryteria, jak stopień zagrożenia, czy aspekt konsumpcyjny. Dopiero w dalszej kolejności zwraca uwagę na walory estetyczne, choć tu świat roślin ma zdecydowaną przewagę nad światem fauny. Nie sposób też pominąć kwestii obecności roślin w języku codziennej komunikacji, literackim i potocznym, także w gwarach środowiskowych. Niejednokrotnie słyszymy, że jakiś polityk *obiecuje gruszki na wierzbie*, a zawodnicy sportowi przyrzekają *gryźć trawę*, aby nie zawieść kibiców. Rośliny istnieją więc w naszym języku, we frazeologii, paremiologii, ustalonych konstrukcjach porównawczych, choć nie w tak dużym stopniu, jak przedstawiciele świata zwierząt Celem rozważań jest ukazanie roli i funkcji roślin w ustalonych połączeniach wyrazowych, jakimi są związki frazeologiczne, na materiale języków słowiańskich: polskiego, chorwackiego i serbskiego.

2. Stan badań nad nazwami roślin w języku. Badania frazeologii roślinnej

Świat roślin stanowi bogate źródło do badań lingwistycznych, które prowadzone są w większości pod kątem nazewnictwa, ze względu na różnorodność terminologii botanicznej. Do dziś stosowane są tradycyjne dwuczłonowe nazwy łacińskie autorstwa K. Linneusza, zawierające podstawowe wyznaczniki terminu: *genus proximum* i *differentia specifica*, na tej bazie powstała polska terminologia botaniczna, którą zawdzięczamy badaczowi flory i fauny – XVIII-wiecznemu jezuicie – Krzysztofowi Klukowi, który w swoim obszernym opracowaniu *Dykcjonarz roślinny* (1786–88) nazwał i opisał 1536 gatunków roślin (Skubalanka 2009: 133). Oprócz terminów naukowych, na określenie poszczególnych gatunków roślin funkcjonują nazwy potoczne, gwarowe, stąd tak duże zainteresowanie tematyką nazewniczą w badaniach florystycznych. Warto podkreślić dokonania takich badaczy jak: W. Budziszewska *Słowiańskie nazewnictwo dotyczące przyrody żywej*, Wrocław 1965, A. Spólnik *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1990, S. Dubisz *Nazwy roślin*

w gwarach ostródzko-warmińsko-mazurskich, Wrocław 1977; z nowszych prac: S. Niebrzegowska *Przestrach od przestrachu. Rośliny w ludowych przekazach ustnych*, Szczecin 2000, H. Chodurska *Ze studiów nad fitonimami rękopiśmiennych zielników wschodniosłowiańskich XVII–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2003, J. Waniakowa *Polskie gwarowe nazwy roślin dziko rosnących zielnych na tle słowiańskim. Zagadnienia ogólne*, Kraków 2012.

Oprócz zagadnień terminologicznych, badaczy interesuje też portret językowo-kulturowy różnych rodzajów roślin: drzew, kwiatów, a także semantyka roślin, ich rola w tekstach literackich, tu należy odwołać się do prac: M. Marczewskiej *Drzewa w języku i kulturze*, Kielce 2002, D. Piekarczyk *Kwiaty we współczesnym językowym obrazie świata*, Lublin 2004, B. Kuryłowicz *Semantyka nazw kwiatów w poezji Młodej Polski*, Białystok 2012. Szeroko rozumianym zagadnieniom fitonimów w języku i kulturze poświęcony był tom 16. studiów „Język a Kultura" – *Świat roślin w języku i kulturze*, A. Dąbrowska. I. Kamińska-Szmaj (red.). Wrocław 2001. Nieocenioną wartość dla terminologicznych badań porównawczych w dziedzinie języków słowiańskich posiada słownik nazw roślin polskich, serbskich i chorwackich: D. Pažďerski *Poljsko-srpskohrvatski rečnik biljaka sa srpskohrvatsko-poljskim i latinsko-poljsko-srpskohrvatskim indeksom* (2002) opracowany w ramach Projektu Rastko.

Widać więc, że badania terminologiczne w dużym stopniu skupiają uwagę językoznawców, nie można tego powiedzieć natomiast o frazeologii roślinnej. W polskim językoznawstwie zajmuje się tymi badaniami głównie A. Nowakowska – autorka wielu prac poświęconych nazwom roślin we frazeologii oraz monografii *Świat roślin w polskiej frazeologii*, Wrocław 2005[1]; rozdział poświęcony porównaniom frazeologicznym ze świata roślin w językach słowiańskich znajdziemy w monografii W. Wysoczańskiego *Językowy obraz świata w porównaniach zleksykalizowanych na materiale wybranych języków*, Wrocław 2006.

[1] Inne prace A. Nowakowskiej na temat frazeologii roślinnej to: *Polszczyzna imbirem pachnąca (związki frazeologiczne z nazwami przypraw korzennych)* „Poradnik Językowy" z. 10 (1994), *Frazeologizmy biblijne z nazwami roślin w słownikach języka polskiego*, „Poradnik Językowy" z. 10 (1996), *Bukiet jarzyn po polsku (prototyp a frazeologia)* [w:] „Język a Kultura" t. 12, *Stereotyp jako przedmiot lingwistyki*. J. Bartmiński (red.) 1998; *Porównanie jako jednostka frazeologiczna (na podstawie związków z nazwami roślin)*, „Rozprawy Komisji Językowej WTN, XXVI (2000); *Nazwy roślin w stałych polskich konstrukcjach komparatywnych*, [w:] A.M. Lewicki (red.) „Problemy Frazeologii Europejskiej" IV Lublin (2001); *Róża w języku i kulturze*, [w:] A. Dąbrowska, I. Kamińska-Szmaj (red.) „Język a Kultura" 16: *Świat roślin w języku i kulturze*, Wrocław (2001); *Signum temporis w nazwach roślin*, [w:] A. Dąbrowska, A. Nowakowska (red.), „Język a Kultura" 19: *Czas – język – kultura*, Wrocław (2006).

W badaniach chorwackich i serbskich językoznawców nie można odnotować większego zainteresowania frazeologią roślinną, w odróżnieniu od animalistycznej; badania dotyczące roślin koncentrują się głównie wokół terminologii gwarowej lub historycznej, są to prace Nady Vajs, autorki monografii *Hrvatska povjesna fitonimija* (2003), aspekt kognitywno-porównawczy pojawia się w artykule A. Hrnjak *Usporedba čovjeka s biljkom u hrvatskoj i ruskoj frazeologiji* (2003).

Niniejsze rozważania opierać się będą na materiale frazeologicznym trzech języków słowiańskich: polskiego, chorwackiego, serbskiego. Zadaniem badawczym będzie analiza związków frazeologicznych obecnych we współczesnym języku, źródłem ekscerpcji materiału są słowniki frazeologiczne i języka ogólnego powstałe w XX i XXI wieku[2]. Ponadto, ponieważ praca dotyczy współczesnego języka, wykorzystano materiał zamieszczony w internetowych korpusach językowych badanych języków: *Narodowy korpus języka polskiego* (http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/) oraz *Hrvatski jezični portal* (http://riznica.ihjj.hr/index.hr.html), a także wyekscerpowany przy pomocy wyszukiwarki internetowej Google. Weryfikacja materiału frazeologicznego za pośrednictwem Internetu daje pewien obraz, jeśli chodzi o stopień używalności i obecności frazeologizmów w języku różnych stylów komunikacji.

W pracy przyjmuje się definicję jednostki frazeologicznej (JF) nawiązującą do przyjętej przez A. Nowakowską, jako ustalone, odtwarzalne połączenie wyrazowe, które cechuje asumaryczność znaczeniowa, obrazowość, ekspresywność, obejmujące frazeologizmy, ustabilizowane konstrukcje porównawcze, jak i przysłowia[3], co pozostaje w zgodzie z nowszymi koncepcjami badawczymi we frazeologii (Nowakowska 2005; Młynarczyk 2010).

3. Analiza semantyczno-konotacyjna frazeologizmów zawierających nazwy roślin w języku polskim, chorwackim, serbskim

Materiał badawczy obejmujący kilkaset jednostek frazeologicznych z każdego języka wymaga jakiejś formy uporządkowania. Nie jest to zadanie łatwe, gdyż model klasyfikacji systematycznej roślin, który ma charakter uniwersalny, jest niezrozumiały dla przeciętnego użytkownika języka, ze

[2] Pełny wykaz słowników wykorzystanych w pracy podano w bibliografii.

[3] Jeśli chodzi o przysłowia z nazwami roślin, to stanowią one bardzo bogate źródło materiału, zwłaszcza w języku polskim, co widać w monografii A. Nowakowskiej. W niniejszej analizie brane są pod uwagę jedynie te przysłowia, które zamieszczają słowniki języka ogólnego lub frazeologiczne, nie słowniki przysłów, gdyż chodzi o przysłowia znane, funkcjonujące w społecznej komunikacji, np. *nie ma róży bez kolców, niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni*.

względu na terminologię naukową: *rośliny nagonasienne*, *okrytonasienne – dwuliścienne*, *jednoliścienne – liliowate*, *amarylkowate*, *trawy*. **Klasyfikacja logiczna**, zwana naukową, będąca postawą tzw. taksonomii, opiera się na zasadach podziału logicznego, według którego dany obiekt ma ściśle określone cechy i może należeć tylko do jednego zbioru, jest to podział rozłączny o ostrych granicach między kategoriami (Habrajska 1996: 231). Niemniej jednak człowiek odwołuje się do niej rzadko w ocenie świata natury, gdyż nie jest ona oparta na bezpośredniej obserwacji. Dlatego częściej stosuje tzw. **kategoryzację naturalną**, która porządkuje rzeczywistość w celu lepszego porozumienia między ludźmi. Opiera się ona na potocznym, nienaukowym widzeniu świata i od czasu pojawienia się koncepcji kognitywnych, stanowi dominującą metodę opisu zjawisk językowych (Ibidem: 232).

Świat roślin nie posiada tak bogatej i wszechstronnej reprezentacji we frazeologii, jak świat zwierząt, niemniej jednak można zauważyć większy udział w tworzeniu frazeologizmów takich kategorii roślin, jak: *drzewa, warzywa, owoce*, zdecydowanie najmniej tych związków tworzą: *kwiaty, chwasty*. Na potrzeby analizy semantyczno-konotacyjnej dokonano ekscerpcji frazeologizmów utworzonych za bazie 62. nazw roślin w języku polskim oraz 55. w chorwackim i serbskim[4]. Brano pod uwagę nazwy gatunkowe, jak również utworzone od nich formy derywatów, głównie przymiotnikowych – *osinowy, figowy*. Ważną rolę w tej analizie odgrywają hiperonimy: *drzewo, krzew, chwast, kwiat*, które charakteryzują się dość dużą produktywnością w tworzeniu związków frazeologicznych. W dalszej części rozważań uwaga zwrócona będzie na semantyczne nacechowanie JF, jako opisujących pewien stan rzeczy, rzeczywistość lub charakteryzujących człowieka. Zostaną także podkreślone ujemne konotacje wnoszone przez niektóre rośliny do utworzonych JF.

3.1 Rola hiperonimu w analizie językowo-kulturowej frazeologizmów

Każda klasyfikacja ma charakter hierarchiczny, zstępujący, to znaczy, że kategoria nadrzędna – hiperonim, zawiera w sobie kategorie niższe, będące w stosunku do niej hiponimami: *zwierzę – ssak – pies*, *roślina – kwiat – róża*.

[4] Różnica w ilości nazw bazowych JF, na korzyść nazw polskich, wynika z rozmiarów materiału ekscerpcji – polskie słowniki frazeologiczne są znacznie obszerniejsze, niż chorwackie czy serbskie, ale też ma na to wpływ brak paralelności nazw roślinnych będących elementem bazowym JF. Związki zawierające pewne nazwy roślin występują tylko w języku polskim, są to: *cykoria, cynamon, lilia, malina, mięta, osika, paprotka, ruta, rydz, rzepa, trawa*, zaś tylko w języku serbskim i języku chorwackim zanotowano przykłady z nazwami: *dren, glog, jagoda, ječam, trešnja*.

W takim kilkustopniowym układzie zależności hiperonimami mogą być nie tylko nazwy poziomu najwyższego – *superordinate level* (Rosch 1978) – *zwierzę, roślina*, ale również przedstawiciele niższych pięter – *kwiat, ssak*, ponieważ stanowią kategorie nadrzędne dla pewnej liczby okazów. Odwoływanie się do wzajemnych inkluzji jest niezwykle istotne w analizie lingwistyczno-kulturowej, jak twierdził J. Bartmiński (2006: 57), zalecając, by w definiowaniu pojęć sięgać do najbliższego poziomu w hierarchii: (A → B → C) *żyto – zboże – roślina*, a nie najbardziej oddalonego, ogólnego: (A → C) *żyto – roślina*.

Hiperonimy w przyjętej w pracy klasyfikacji świata roślin stanowią rodzaj kategorii prototypowych, skupiających leksemy danego typu. Służą w ten sposób hierarchizacji, uporządkowaniu materiału badawczego, tworząc kilka bazowych grup kategoryzacyjnych, w obrębie których można tworzyć dalsze podziały:

ROŚLINY
Drzewa, krzewy[5]
Kwiaty
Owoce
Warzywa
Zioła, przyprawy
Zboża, rośliny przemysłowe, trawy
Chwasty
Grzyby

Kryterium kategoryzacyjnym jest postrzeganie roślin przez człowieka: ich rozmiar, wielkość, ale brano też pod uwagę znaczenie gospodarcze roślin. Warunkowo zaliczono tutaj także grzyby, gdyż są one kojarzone z roślinami[6]. Podobnie kontrowersyjną kategorię tworzą owoce, które nie są samodzielnymi roślinami, a ich częścią, niemniej jednak, jak wykazują badania warszawskich językoznawczyń (Szczekocka-Augustyn et al. 1996) są one przez ankietowanych traktowane na równi z warzywami, czyli jak rośliny.

Warto zwrócić uwagę na nazwy hiperonimiczne we frazeologii roślinnej, gdyż niektóre z nich charakteryzują się bogactwem konotacji biorąc udział w tworzeniu licznych JF (*drzewo, krzak kwiat, owoc, zboże, chwast, grzyb; drvo, grm, cvijet, voće, žito, korov, gljiva*).

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[5] Te dwie kategorie traktowane są tutaj łącznie, ze względu na niewielką ilość nazw krzewów we frazeologii, ale też z powodu nierozróżniania i mieszania tych dwu grup roślin, np. *bez, leszczyna*, które często nie są określane jako rodzaj krzewu, ale drzewa (Wierzbicka 2010: 402).

[6] Z naukowego punktu widzenia, grzyby nie należą do królestwa roślin, a stanowią odrębne królestwo, które zostało z roślin wydzielone stosunkowo niedawno, mianowicie w 1968 roku. Być może, dlatego nadal potocznie są postrzegane jako rośliny, poza tym posiadają ich podstawową cechę – wyrastają z ziemi.

Drzewo, drvo – symbol siły, długiego trwania w przyrodzie, nie ma zbyt pozytywnych konotacji we frazeologii: *nosić drzewo do lasu*, (s)[7] *drva u šumu nositi* 'wykonywać niepotrzebna pracę'; *im dalej w las tym więcej drzew* 'im więcej coś zgłębiamy, tym więcej niejasności; pesymistyczny wydźwięk ma przysłowie: *na pochyłe drzewo wszystkie kozy skaczą*. W języku serbskim i chorwackim widać odniesienia do twardości, dużego ciężaru drzewa: (s) *čovek od drveta* 'nieczuły, egoista', *cijepati (na kome) drva* 'dawać komuś najcięższe prace', *spavati kao drvo* 'spać mocno', *pijan kao drvo* 'pijany jak bela', *bacati (na koga) drvlje i kamenje* 'napadać na kogoś, obrzucać kamieniami'. Są też odniesienia do braku inteligencji w JF z przymiotnikiem: *drven* – (ch) *drvena glava* 'tępy człowiek', *drveni adwokat* 'zły doradca', *drveni filozof* 'głupiec, który uważa się za mądrego', a także z formą collectivum: *ne vid(j)eti šumu od drveća* 'być małostkowym, zwracać uwagę na szczegóły'.

Krzak, grm – o mniejszej wartości użytkowej, niż drzewo, słabszy, bez pnia, symbolizuje brak jawności działania: *iść w krzaki na maślaki* (żart.) 'korzystać z osłony zarośli', *firma-krzak* 'firma fikcyjna', (ch) *nešto je iza grma* 'coś przygotowuje się potajemnie', *u tom grmu leži zec* 'tu jest sedno sprawy'.

Kwiat, cvijet, cvet – w definicjach słownikowych podkreśla się wieloznaczność terminu: może to być część rośliny, o różnych kolorach i kształtach, lub odrębna roślina wyrastająca bezpośrednio z gruntu, lub innego podłoża (kwiat doniczkowy). W omawianych językach występuje znaczenie metaforyczne – najlepsza część czegoś, elita: *kwiat młodzieży, rycerstwa*, (ch) *cvijet društva, naroda*, (arch.) *djevičanski cvijet* 'dziewictwo, niewinność'. Konotacje pozytywne wywołuje podkreślenie piękna kwiatu: *być w kwiecie wieku*, (ch) *u cvijetu mladosti; rozwijać się jak kwiat, tonąć w kwiatach*, (ch) *sve je u cvijetu, pasować jak kwiatek do kożucha*; pewien niepokój wprowadza element nietrwałości kwiatu, płochości: (ch) *život vodenog cvijeta* 'krótkie życie', *skakać z kwiatka na kwiatek*.

Owoc, voće – w definicjach słownikowych zwraca się uwagę na to, że jest to część rośliny zawierająca nasiona, najbardziej wartościowa dla człowieka, stąd polski frazeologizm: *zbierać owoce (czegoś)* o zazwyczaj o pozytywnym wydźwięku. We wszystkich językach występuje biblijny frazeologizm: *zakazany owoc, zabranjeno voće*.

Zboże, žito – grupa roślin uprawianych ze względu na ziarno i słomę; o dużej wartości dla człowieka świadczy JF: *płacić jak za zboże* 'płacić drogo', *drogi jak zboże*, choć pojawia się też mniej rozpowszechnione przeciwstawne

[7] Oznaczenie literowe (s) oznacza, że dany przykład występuje tylko w języku serbskim, (ch) – tylko w chorwackim, jeśli brak odnośnika, oznacza to, że przykład jest odnotowany w słownikach obu języków.

znaczenie: *tani jak zboże*. Wartość pozytywną zboża podkreślają też serbskie i chorwackie JF: (ch) *odvajiti kukolj od žita* 'oddzielić ziarno od plew', *od tog žita nema brašna* 'z tego zboża nie będzie mąki'. Element tajemnicy, niejawności pojawia się w określeniu: *(raditi) ispod žita (nešto)* 'robić coś potajemnie, w ukryciu'.

Chwast, korov – samoistnie pojawiające się rośliny, szkodzące uprawom, nie mające większej wartości dla człowieka[8]. W języku polskim brak JF, znane jest potoczne określenie *wyrwać/wyplenić chwasty* 'pozbyć się osób szkodliwych'; w języku chorwackim podkreśla się pospolitość, mnogość chwastów: *ima kao korova* 'jest czegoś dużo', *niče kao korov* 'pojawia się wszędzie'.

Grzyb, gljiva – w polskich słownikach kategoryzowany jako organizm żywy, wyrastający, podobnie jak rośliny z ziemi, w słownikach chorwackich często określa się grzyby, jako małe rośliny, nie posiadające barwnika zielonego. Zwraca się uwagę na szybkość rośnięcia, pojawiania się: *rosnąć/mnożyć się jak grzyby po deszczu, nicati kao gljive poslije kiše*. W języku polskim pojawiają się konotacje negatywne: starości: *stary grzyb*, także przymiotnik: *zgrzybiały*, bycia niepotrzebnym: *po kiego grzyba, na grzyb (coś, komuś), dwa grzyby w barszcz*; w języku chorwackim – odniesienia do głupoty: *najesti se ludih gljiva* 'zwariować'.

3.2. Deskryptywny charakter JF z nazwami roślin – opis rzeczywistości, stanu rzeczy

Związki frazeologiczne zawierające w swym składzie element świata natury, charakteryzują się dużą obrazowością i sugestywnością przekazu. W przypadku frazeologizmów fitonimicznych można mówić o znacznej przewadze określeń sytuacyjnych, opisujących pewien stan rzeczy, wydarzenie, nad tymi odnoszącymi się bezpośrednio do człowieka, charakteryzującymi go. W poniższym wykazie zostanie przedstawiona skala tego zjawiska na bazie zebranych JF, kryterium kategoryzacyjnym jest rodzaj rośliny:

DRZEWA I KRZEWY:

Glog (głóg) – (ch) *udariti (čemu) glogov kolac* 'unieszkodliwić coś', *mlatiti gloginje* 'wykonywać ciężką, nieprzyjemna pracę'

Grusza/gruszka – wczasy pod gruszą; kruška – kao s kruške odgovoriti – 'niegrzecznie odpowiedzieć, z wyższością'

[8] Należy zauważyć, że nie wszystkie chwasty są roślinami całkowicie bezużytecznymi dla człowieka, np. pokrzywa czy popularny mlecz (mniszek lekarski), mogą być postrzegane jako zioła, rośliny lecznicze, a wtedy ich konotacje językowo-kulturowe zmieniają się z negatywnych na pozytywne.

Javor – (ch) *kada javor rodi jabukama* ‘gdy jawor obrodzi jabłkami, nigdy’
Kaktus – prędzej mi kaktus na dłoni wyrośnie,
Laur – zbierać laury, (nie) spocząć na laurach; lovorika – pobrati lovorike ‘osiągnąć sukces’
Lipa – ale lipa, robić (coś) na lipę, lipny interes,
Malina – wpuszczać (kogoś) w maliny;
Maslina (drzewo oliwkowe) – (ch) *mahati maslinovom granom* ‘oferować pokój’
Palma – palma pierwszeństwa, (ch) *palma pobjednička*
Wierzba – obiecywać gruszki na wierzbie; vrba – kad na vrbi rodi grožđe ‘gdy wierzba obrodzi winogronami, nigdy’, *to je na vrbi svirala* ‘niepewny interes’, (s) *venčati se oko vrbe/pod vrbom* ‘życie bez ślubu, „na kocią łapę”’.
KWIATY
Kwiat/kwiatek – pasuje jak kwiatek do kożucha, (coś) tonie w kwiatach, ładne kwiatki, wąchać kwiatki od spodu (pot.); (ch) *cvijet – sve je u cvijetu* ‘wszystko kwitnie’,
Róża – życie usłane różami, nie ma róży bez kolców, stąpać po różach; ruža – ne cvijetaju/cvatu ruže (komu)’ nie ma łatwego życia’, (s) *ako je ruža, procvetaće* ‘prawda wyjdzie na jaw’, (ch) *put prosut ružama* ‘życie usłane różami’,
OWOCE
Arbuz – dawać (komuś) arbuza (arch.), *dostać/zjadać arbuza* (arch.), *dostać w arbuz* (posp.); *lubenica* – (ch) *obrati lubenice* ‘źle skończyć’,
Banan – prostować banany, bananowa republika; (ch) *banana – kora banana* ‘śliski teren, problem’, *banana drzava/republika* (polit.) ‘niestabilne politycznie kraje Ameryki Południowej i Środkowej’ – *bananizacija*,
Cytryna – wycisnąć (coś, kogoś) jak cytrynę; limun – čekati limun ‘nie móc podjąć decyzji’, (s) *slati (kome) limun* ‘zaprosić kogoś’, (s) *dobiti limun* ‘dostać zaproszenie,
Figa – dostać figę z makiem (z pasternakiem), figa z makiem, pokazać (komuś) figę; figa – dobiti figu/šipak ‘nic nie dostać’, (ch) *držati fige* ‘trzymać kciuki’, (ch) *figa u džepu* ‘figa w kieszeni, nieszczere działania’,
Gruszka – gruszki na wierzbie obiecywać, nie zasypiać gruszek w popiele, ni z gruszki, ni z pietruszki; kruška – čekati kruške na vrbi, (ch) *kupili/hvatati (što) kao kruške* ‘łapać z łatwością’, (s) *o krušku (koga) obesiti* ‘kara niewspółmierna do winy’, *zbrajati kruške i jabuke* ‘łączyć różne rzeczy, nie widzieć różnicy’
Jabłko – jabłko niezgody (mit.), *niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni, zbić (kogoś) na kwaśne jabłko; jabuka* – (s) *baciti jabuku* ‘zerwać zaręczyny’, *dati jabuku za jabuku* ‘odwdzięczyć się’, *zagristi kiselu jabuku* ‘wpaść jak śliwka w kompot’, (s) *jabuka ne pada daleko od stabla, pala mu je zlatna jabuka u krilo* ‘mieć szczęście,

dobrze się ożenić', (s) *ubrati krvave jabuke* 'ponieść klęskę w walce', *zabranjena jabuka* 'zakazany owoc' *zbrajati kruške i jabuke* (v. *kruška*),

Jagoda (truskawka) – *kao grlom u jagode ići* 'bez przygotowania coś robić', *prigode beru jagode* 'każdy ulega słabościom'.

Kasztan[9] – *wyjmować kasztany z ognia cudzymi rękami; kesten – izvaditi kestene iz vatre (za koga)* 'wykonywać ciężką pracę', (ch) *to je vrući kesten* 'palący problem',

Kokos – kokosowy interes, zbijać kokosy (na czymś)

Mak – cisza jak makiem zasiał, siała baba mak, nie wiedziała jak, rozbić się w drobny mak, szukać (czegoś) w korcu maku,

Orzech – twardy/ trudny orzech do zgryzienia; orah – (ch) *kora bez oraha* 'coś bezwartościowego', *tvrd orah*, (ch) *zagristi u tvrd orah* ' mieć trudne zadanie do wykonania', (ch) *sabiti (koga) u orahovu ljusku* 'zastraszyć kogoś',

Śliwka – wpaść jak śliwka w kompot; šljiva – (ch) *vraćati šljive za brašno* 'zapłata nieadekwatna do wartości towaru, usługi', (ch) *šljivarsko koljeno* 'wiejskie pochodzenie',

Trešnja (czereśnia) – (ch) *nije dobro zajedno s kim trešnje jesti/zobati* 'nie należy zbytnio się spoufalać z kimś',

Winogrona – kwaśne winogrona (arch.) 'coś co trudno zdobyć'; *grožđe – grožđe na vrbi tražiti/čekati* 'czekać na gruszki na wierzbie', *biti/naći se u nepravom grožđu* 'znaleźć się w tarapatach', (s) *u suvo/crno grožđe otpraviti* 'zaprzepaścić coś',

WARZYWA

Bób – dać (komuś) bobu, jest (czegoś) jak bobu; bob – bacati (komu) bob 'wróżyć', *bacati bob o zid* 'rzucać grochem o ścianę', (ch) *biti/imati (čega) kao malog boba* 'jest czego bardzo dużo', (s) *dati/prodavati za bob i grašak* 'sprzedawać coś bardzo tanio', *kazali bobu bob, a popu pop* 'nazywać rzeczy po imieniu', (s) *prosto kao bob* 'bardzo prosto',

Cykoria – mieć/kręcić cykorię (posp.)

Chrzan – coś jest do chrzanu; hren – (ch) *natrti hrena pod nos* 'natrzeć komuś uszu', *voljeti (koga) kao oči hrena* 'nie lubić kogoś',

Groch – groch z kapustą, jak groch o ścianę; grah (fasola, groch) – bacati/gledati u grah 'przepowiadać przyszłość', (s) *biće graha* 'będą nieprzyjemności', (s) *skuvati grah (nekome)* 'nawarzyć piwa (komuś)', (s) *kao po grahu (mlatiti/tući)* 'bić mocno', (ch) *grahom o zid* 'jak grochem o ścianę'; *pasulj* (s) – groch, (ch, dial.) – groch – *gledati u prazan pasulj* 'wróżyć z grochu', (ch) *pristajati kao pasulj na*

[9] W języku polskim kasztan kojarzony jest z niejadalnym owocem kasztanowca, na południu Europy występują także kasztany jadalne – *pitomi kesten*, i w takim znaczeniu użyte są w przytoczonych JF.

Božić ‘pasować jak groch na Boże Narodzenie, nie pasować’, (ch) *odrasti na pasulju* ‘wyrosnąć w biedzie’, *prosto kao pasulj* ‘bardzo prosto’,

Kartofel – odcedzić kartofelki (pot., wulg.); *krumpir – vrući krumpir* ‘palący problem’, (ch) *dobiti krumpir* (sport.) ‘nie zdobyć ani jednego punktu’,

Kupus – (ch) *dati jarcu do čuva kupus* ‘dać kozłowi pilnować kapusty, nierozsądne działanie’, (s) *čudna mi kupusa* ‘nic dziwnego’, (ch) *podgrijani kupus* ‘rzecz wszystkim znana’, *tući (koga) kao vola u kupusu* ‘zbić, zbeształ kogoś’,

Luk (cebula) – *luk i voda* ‘coś bezwartościowego’, *udario/naišao tuk na luk* ‘trafiła kosa na kamień’, (s) *tuk na luk* ‘ta sama miara’, (s) *na glavi luk tucati (kome)* ‘ciosać komuś kołki na głowie’,

Marchewka – skrobać (komuś) marchewkę (młodz.) ‘wchodzić komuś na pięty’, *polityka kija i marchewki; mrkva* – (ch) *mrkva i batina,*

Ogórek – sezon ogórkowy; krastavac – (ch) *bostandžiji krastavce prodavati* ‘sprzedawać ogórki ogrodnikowi, czynność bezsensowna’, (ch) *kiseli krastavci* ‘głupstwo, rzecz niepoważna’, (ch) *prodavati (komu) kisele krastavce* ‘oszukiwać’,

Pietruszka – grać o pietruszkę (sport.), *ni z gruszki, ni z pietruszki, sadzić pietruszkę* (arch.) ‘nie być proszoną do tańca’, *peršin* – (ch) *prodavati peršin* ‘nie mieć partnera do tańca’,

Rzepa – każdy sobie rzepkę skrobie,

Tikva (dynia) – *puče tikva* ‘pękła dynia, koniec przyjaźni’, *puhati u istu tikvu* ‘zgadzać się z kimś’, (s) *saditi (s kim) tikve* ‘zaprzyjaźnić się’, (ch) *trpati sve u jednu tikvu* ‘wrzucać wszystko do jednego worka’,

ZIOŁA, PRZYPRAWY

Cynamon – palić w piecu cynamonem (arch.) ‘wzbogacić się’,

Mięta – czuć (do kogoś) miętę (przez rumianek) (pot.),

Pieprz – coś wyschło na pieprz, pokazać (komuś) gdzie pieprz rośnie, uciekać, gdzie pieprz rośnie; biber/papar – (ch) *dati (komu) papra* ‘dać komuś nauczkę’, (ch) *stući (koga) u papar* ‘zbić kogoś na kwaśne jabłko’,

ZBOŻA, TRAWY, ROŚLINY PRZEMYSŁOWE

Bawełna – bez bawełny, (nie) owijać (coś) w bawełnę; pamuk – piti/sisati (komu) krv/dušu na pamuk ‘dręczyć kogoś’, (ch) *ovijati koga pamukom* ‘delikatnie postępować z kimś’,

Ječam (jęczmień) – (ch) *ječam trči a rakija viče* ‘chleb zdrowszy, niż wódka’,

Lan (len) – (ch) *trla baba lan, da joj prođe dan* ‘wykonywać bezsensowną pracę’,

Owies – nawet w Paryżu nie zrobią z owsa ryżu,

Trawa – gryźć trawę (sport), *mowa-trawa, wysłać (kogoś) na zielona trawkę* (pot.),

Zboże – płacić jak za zboże (za coś); žito – (raditi) ispod žita ‘robić coś potajemnie’, *od tog žita nema brašna* ‘z tego żyta nie będzie mąki’, (ch) *odvojiti kukolj od žita* ‘oddzielać kąkol od zboża, ziarno od plew’.

CHWASTY

Kąkol – siać kąkol (bibl.), *potrzebny jak kąkol w zbożu*; *kukolj* – (ch) *iščupati s kukoljem pšenicu/žito* ‘wykorzenić dobro razem ze złem’, (ch) *odvojiti kukolj od pšenice/žita* (v. *žito*),

Piołun – gorzki jak piołun; pelin – (ch) *gorak kao pelin*,

Pokrzywa – czuć się jak nagi w pokrzywach; kopriva – (ch) *neće grom u koprivu* ‘złego licho nie weźmie’,

GRZYBY

Grzyb – coś rośnie jak grzyby po deszczu, dwa grzyby w barszcz, iść na grzybki (pot.); *gljiva – bujati/rasti kao gljive poslije kiše, kao ludih gljiva* ‘bardzo dużo’.

3.3. Frazeologizmy roślinne w funkcji opisu, charakterystyki człowieka

Grupa JF zawierająca konotacje odnoszące się bezpośrednio do człowieka, a więc charakteryzujące jego wygląd zewnętrzny, cechy charakteru, postępowania, nie jest tak liczna i rozbudowana jak grupa poprzednia. Mimo, iż człowiek często szuka dla siebie porównań w świecie roślin, to nie zawsze utrwalają się one w języku, przeważnie pozostają tylko w sferze literatury, poezji. Zgromadzone przykłady mają dość ustalony status w języku, mimo to nie są częstymi składnikami języka codziennej komunikacji, wiele z nich to formy literackie, o raczej marginalnym, a nawet recesywnym charakterze.

DRZEWA

Dąb – chłop jak dąb, rosły, silny jak dąb; hrast – (ch) *hrastova/dubowa/drvena glava* ‘głupiec, tępa głowa’,

Dren (dereń) – *zdrav kao drenovina*[10] ‘bardzo zdrowy człowiek’, (ch) *čovjek drenowe glave* ‘tępy, głupi człowiek’, (ch) *zdrav kao drenowa srž* ‘zdrowy, odporny człowiek’,

Gruszka (drzewo) – *wlazł na gruszkę, rwał pietruszkę* (pot.) ‘o kimś lubiącym fantazjować’; *kruška – nije s kruške pao* ‘nie jest głupi, naiwny’,

Lipa – (s) *obučen kao lipa* ‘o kimś bardzo wystrojonym’, (ch) *stajati kao lipov svetac* ‘stać bez ruchu’,

Maslina (drzewo oliwkowe) – (ch) *imati noge/ruke kao stara maslina* ‘mieć żylaste ręce, nogi’,

[10] Dereń właściwy – to drzewo o bardzo twardym drewnie, jest wytrzymałe na mrozy, suszę i zapewne dlatego zastało uwiecznione we frazeologii chorwackiej jako symbol zdrowia, odporności.

Osika – drżeć/ trząść się jak osika,

Palma – palma komuś odbija (pot.)

KWIATY

Kwiat – kwiat młodzieży/rycerstwa, być w kwiecie wieku, rozwijać się jak kwiat (o dziewczynie); *cvijet* – (ch) *cvijet naroda/društva, u cvijetu mladosti*,

Lilia – biała/niewinna jak lilia,

Paprotka – być paprotką na prezydialnym stole 'o kimś nie odgrywającym ważnej roli'

Róża – czerwony jak róża, dziewczyna jak róża, piękna jak róża, spłonąć różą (arch.); *ruža* – (s) *cvetaju mu ruže na licu/obrazima* 'jest rumiany', (s) *uvele su mu ruže* 'minął jego najlepszy czas',

OWOCE

Banan – bananowa młodzież,

Brzoskwinia – brzoskwiniowa cera; breskva – (ch) *kao breskva* 'brzoskwiniowa cera',

Cytryna – żółty jak cytryna (nie tylko o człowieku); *limun – iscjeđen kao limun* 'wyczerpany ciężką pracą', (ch) *žut kao limun* 'żółty jak cytryna',

Figa – fig się objadła (arch.) 'zajść w ciążę',

Jabłko – amator kwaśnych jabłek, rumiany jak jabłko, być druga połówką jabłka; jabuka – biti rasečena jabuka 'o ludziach bardzo do siebie podobnych', (s) *crven kao jabuka* 'rumiany jak jabłko', (s) *još jabuka nije zrela* 'niedojrzała dziewczyna, nie do wzięcia', (ch) *svježu licu kao jabuka* 'zdrowy na twarzy jak jabłko',

Jagoda (truskawka) – (ch) *kao bula u jagode* 'nieprzygotowany, idący na żywioł',

Mak – pisać drobnym maczkiem, upić/zalać się w drobny mak (pot.)

Malina – dziewczyna jak malina, usta jak maliny,

Orah (orzech) – (s) *da mu čovek orah iz ruke na uzme* 'o kimś brudnym, odrażającym',

šljiva (śliwka) – (ch) *plav kao šljiva* 'siny na twarzy', (ch) *nakićen/udaren šljivovom granom* 'pijany',

WARZYWA

Burak – czerwony jak burak; repa – (ch) *gol kao repa* 'bardzo biedny', *repa bez kor(ij)ena* 'osoba niskiego, nieznaczącego rodu',

Cebula – ubierać się na cebulkę; luk – ni luk jeo ni luk mirisao 'jest niewinny',

Chrzan – zły jak chrzan;

Dynia – głowa/łeb jak dynia, okrągły jak dynia; tikva – (s) *imati soli u tikvi* 'być rozsądnym', (s) *naduvena/napuhana tikva* 'nadęta osoba', (s) *pokondirena tikva* 'nadęta drobnomieszczanka', (ch) *prazna tikva* 'niezdolna osoba',

Groch – czuć się jak groch przy drodze,

Kapusta – kapuściana głowa, głąb kapuściany,

Kartofel– nos jak kartofel, (ktoś) mówi jakby miał kartofle w gębie (pot.),
Ogórek – nos jak ogórek; krastavac – (ch) *nos kao krastavac*,
Rzepa – panna jak rzepa, zdrowy jak rzepa, brudny, że można rzepę siać,
ZIOŁA, PRZYPRAWY
Cynamon – palić w piecu cynamonem (arch.) 'być rozrzutnym',
Mirodžija (przyprawa) – (s) *biti u svakoj čorbi mirodžija* 'o osobie, która chce być najważniejsza w każdym towarzystwie',
Pieprz – suchy jak pieprz; biber – (ch) *biber i sol* 'posiwiały, szpakowaty', (ch) *biti biber po pilavu* 'wieść prym w towarzystwie',
Ruta – siać rutkę (arch) 'być starą panną',
ZBOŻA, TRAWY, ROŚLINY PRZEMYSŁOWE
Len – włosy jak len,
Pamuk (bawełna) – *mekan kao pamuk* 'człowiek łagodny, o miękkim sercu',
Trawa – wie co w trawie piszczy (pot.),
CHWASTY
Kopriva (pokrzywa) – (ch) *pišati na koprive* 'być mściwym',
GRZYBY
Grzyb – stary grzyb; gljiva – (ch) *najesti se ludih gljiva* 'zwariować',
Rydz – zdrów jak rydz.

3.4. Negatywne nacechowanie JF zawierających niektóre nazwy roślin

W zebranych materiale frazeologicznym można zauważyć grupę JF, charakteryzujących się wybitnie negatywnym nacechowaniem znaczeniowym, które ma związek z występującym w nim określeniem roślinnym. To, że pewne rośliny mają konotacje pozytywne, inne zaś negatywne, wielokrotnie było podkreślane przez badaczy kultury i języka. W odniesieniu do drzew uczyniła to M. Marczewska (2002), poddając waloryzacji kilka typowych polskich drzew: dąb, brzozę, osikę i wierzbę. W niniejszych rozważaniach również warto zwrócić uwagę na aspekt wartościowania pewnych roślin przez człowieka, co znajduje wyraz w języku.

Szczególnie uderzające jest negatywne znaczenie związane z następującymi roślinami:

– wśród **drzew** – *wierzba* – znana ze swoich negatywnych konotacji w kulturze, jako drzewo złe, związane z diabłem (motyw powieszenia się na nim Judasza, podobnie jak osika), o słabej wartości użytkowej, rosnące na terenach podmokłych, JF mają też nacechowanie negatywne: *wierzba płacząca, obiecywać gruszki na wierzbie; kad na vrbi rodi grožđe* 'nigdy', *to je na vrbi svirala* 'coś niepewnego', (s) *venčati se oko vrbe* 'żyć na kocią łapę'. Wśród polskich JF widać także negatywną ocenę *lipy – ale lipa, robić coś na lipę, lipny interes*,

co zaskakuje, gdyż drzewo to ma pozytywne konotacje w kulturze (związek z Maryją, drzewo żeńskie, symbol ładu, płodności), być może spowodowane jest to cechą drewna lipowego, które jest miękkie, wykorzystywane głównie w rzeźbiarstwie[11],

– wśród **owoców** negatywne konotacje posiadają JF z nazwą *arbuza – dostać arbuza*, *zjeść arbuz*, jako relikty dawnego zwyczaju podawania arbuza na znak rekuzy; (ch) *obrati lubenice* 'źle skończyć'. Na ocenę tego owocu może mieć wpływ jego ludowe postrzeganie jako mało wartościowego, składającego się w większości z wody. Negatywne konotacje niesie z sobą także *figa – figa z makiem, dostać figę, pokazać figę; dobiti figu, imati figu u džepu* 'nieszczere intencje', co może być wywołane seksualnymi konotacjami związanymi z tym owocem[12] (listek figowy, afrodyzjak, symbol płodności).

– najwięcej negatywnych skojarzeń posiadają **warzywa**: *groch, fasola* – jako symbol postnego jedzenia, lub pokarmu biednych. *Groch z kapustą*, (s.) *biće graha*, (s) *skuvati grah (nekome)* – oznacza chaos, kłopoty; *jak grochem o ścianę, grahom o zid* – bezskuteczne działania, także (arch) *grochowy wieniec* – symbol rekuzy; *odrasti na pasulju* 'wychować się w biedzie', *pristajati kao pasulj na Božić* – nie pasuje groch jako jedzenie świąteczne; *czuć się jak groch przy drodze* – 'być źle traktowanym'. Podobnie znaczenie ma: *bób – dać (komu) bobu*; (s) *bob i grašak, ne valjati ni pišljiva boba* 'coś mało wartościowego'. *Burak, repa* – występuje w j. pol. jako inwektywa pod adresem człowieka nieokrzesanego (niesłuszne odwołania do wiejskiego pochodzenia), (ch) *gol kao repa, repa bez korijena* – o człowieku biednym, niskiego pochodzenia. *Kapusta – kapuściana głowa, kapuściany głąb* – zawiera odniesienia do głupoty, zaś (ch) *podgrijani kupus, čudna mi kupusa* – do czegoś pospolitego, trywialnego, wszystkim znanego. *Chrzan* – posiada negatywne skojarzenia związane z jego ostrym smakiem: *coś jest do chrzanu, zły jak chrzan; voljeti kao oči hrena.* Negatywne konotacje pojawiają się w niektórych serbskich JF z nazwą *tikva* (dynia), zwłaszcza w znaczeniu antropocentrycznym: *naduvena tikva, pokondirena tikva, prazna tikva* – o osobie nadętej, dumnej, pustej,

– tradycyjnie negatywne konotacje posiadają **rośliny trujące, chwasty**, choć w omawianym materiale nie ma ich zbyt wiele: *kąkol – siać kąkol, potrzebny jak kąkol w zbożu*, (ch) *odvojiti kukolj od žita*, jako biblijny symbol zła, czegoś szkodliwego; *piołun – gorzki jak piołun, gorak kao pelin*; grzyby tru-

[11] Jako przeciwieństwo – drewno dereniowe, bardzo twarde, występuje w JF o konotacjach pozytywnych: *zdrav kao drenovina*.

[12] W wielu kulturach, m.in. na południu Europy pokazanie figi ma podtekst obsceniczny, wulgarny.

jące – *najesti se ludih gljiva* ‘zwariować’. Grzyb posiada też znaczenie czegoś mało wartościowego, rosnącego samoistnie: *po kiego grzyba, na grzyb, rosnąć jak grzyby po deszczu*.

4. Zjawisko ekwiwalencji międzyjęzykowej JF zawierających nazwy roślin

Analiza komparatystyczna materiału frazeologicznego pochodzącego z kilku języków powinna poruszać zagadnienia odniesień międzyjęzykowych, w tym kluczowe zjawisko ekwiwalencji, jej rodzaje i zasięg. Już pobieżny ogląd powyższego materiału wskazuje na znaczną ilość ekwiwalentnych JF. Istnieją różne podejścia do zjawiska ekwiwalencji językowej, od dość restrykcyjnego, reprezentowanego przez Danutę Rytel, z chorw. językoznawców – Željkę Fink-Arsovski[13], do bardziej liberalnego modelu ekwiwalencji, tzw. translacyjnego – Wojciecha Chlebdy, który wyróżnia cztery warianty stosunków między JF porównywanych języków: ekwiwalencję pełną – całkowita kongruencja znaczenia, formy leksykalnej i obrazowania; ekwiwalencję funkcjonalną – JF mają to samo znaczenie i rolę komunikacyjną, ale różnią się rodzajem obrazowania, formą gramatyczną i leksykalną; ekwiwalencję zachwianą – jednostki odpowiadają sobie tylko częściowo, są asymetryczne znaczeniowo; ekwiwalencję zerową – brak odpowiednika znaczeniowego (Chlebda 2011: 41). To właśnie podejście znajdzie zastosowanie w analizie przedstawionego materiału.

Ekwiwalencja całkowita – dotyczy znacznej liczby JF (26 par), może ona zachodzić pomiędzy j. pol. a serbskim lub chorwackim, lub rzadziej – w stosunku j. pol. – obydwa języki: (ch) *lico kao breskva – brzoskwiniowa cera*; (ch) *cvijet društva/naroda – kwiat społeczeństwa/narodu*; (ch) *sve je u cvijetu – wszystko jest (tonie) w kwiatach*; (ch) *drvo života – drzewo życia*; (s) *drva u šumu nositi – nosić drzewo do lasu*; *dobiti figu – dostać figę*; (ch) *pokazati (kome) figu/smokvu – pokazać (komuś) figę*; (ch) *grahom o zid – grochem o ścianę*; *bujati/rasti kao gljive poslije kiše – rosnąć jak grzyby po deszczu*; (s) *jabuka ne pada daleko od stabla – niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni*; *jabuka razdora – jabłko niezgody*; *vaditi kestenje iz vatre (za koga) – wyjmować kasztany z ognia (cudzymi rękami)*; (ch) *žut kao limun – żółty jak cytryna*; *isc(ij)editi kao limun (koga) – wycisnąć*

[13] Według Ž. Fink-Arsovski ekwiwalenty całkowite muszą mieć taką samą postać leksykalną, gramatyczną, składniową, sposób obrazowania i należeć do tego samego stylu komunikacji, D. Rytel do powyższych właściwości dodaje jeszcze tożsamość członów wariantywnych frazeologizmów (za: Vidović-Bolt 2011: 140).

(kogoś) jak cytrynę; *pobrati lovorike – zbierać laury*; *spavati/ležati na lovorikama – spocząć na laurach*; (ch) *crven kao mak/pomidor – czerwony jak mak/pomidor*; *tvrd orah – twardy orzech*; (ch) *palma pobijednička – palma zwycięstwa*; (ch) *gorak kao pelin – gorzki jak piołun*; *drhtati/tresti se kao prut/šiba – drżeć/trząść się jak trzcina/osika*; (ch) *put prosut ružama – droga usłana różami*; (ch) *smokvin listić – listek figowy*; *zabranjeno voće – zakazany owoc*.

Ekwiwalencja funkcjonalna – jest także dość rozpowszechniona, występuje ona w przypadku 34. par związków frazeologicznych, należy wyróżnić dwa jej rodzaje:

1. to samo znaczenie wyrażone przy pomocy innych środków leksykalnych i gramatycznych, odmiennego obrazu, ale mieszczącego się w ramach tej samej kategorii pojęciowej (świat roślin),
2. zgodność znaczenia, lecz wyrażona przy pomocy odległego skojarzeniowo obrazowania (spoza świata roślin).

Pierwszy rodzaj ekwiwalencji funkcjonalnej dotyczy 22 par JF:

bacati bobom o zid – rzucać grochem o ścianę; (ch) *u cvijetu mladosti – w kwiecie wieku; zdrav kao drenovina – zdrów jak rydz; pijan kao drvo – pijany jak bela; crven kao paprika – czerwony jak burak; mrkva i batina – polityka kija i marchewki/kij i marchewka*[14]; *dati (kome) papra – dać (komuś) bobu*; (ch) *držati fige – trzymać kciuki*; (ch) *friška figa – figa z makiem*; (s) *grožđe na vrbi tražiti – czekać/szukać gruszek na wierzbie*; (ch) *kad na vrbi rodi grožđe/kada javor rodi jabukama – gdy mi kaktus na ręce wyrośnie/jak wyrosną gruszki na wierzbie*; (ch) *hrastova/dubowa/drvena glava – kapuściana głowa/kapuściany głąb*; (s) *obučen kao lipa – ubrany jak choinka; biti rasečena jabuka – być jak połówki jabłka*; *tući (koga) kao vola u kupusu/stući (koga) u papar – zbić (kogoś) na kwaśne jabłko*; (ch) *trla baba lan da joj prođe dan – siała baba mak, nie wiedziała jak*; (ch) *prodavati peršin* – (arch.) *sadzić pietruszkę*; (ch) *razumijeti se kao koza u peršin – znać się jak kura na pieprzu*; *cvetaju mu ruže – ma życie usłane różami*; (ch) *ovdojiti kukolj od žita – oddzielić ziarno od plew*; *od tog žita nema brašna – z tej mąki chleba nie będzie*; (ch) *najesti se ludih gljiva – najeść się szaleju/ blekotu*.

Drugi typ ekwiwalentów funkcjonalnych, w których odpowiednik znaczeniowy posiada odległy skojarzeniowo obraz, nie stanowi zbyt licznej grupy (12 przykładów). Punktem odniesienia jest fitonimiczna JF chorwacka lub serbska, której odpowiednikiem znaczeniowym w j. pol jest ustalona JF spoza tej sfery obrazowania:

[14] Ten przykład nie różni się rodzajem obrazowania, ani nawet składem leksykalnym, a jedynie kolejnością składników w wyrażeniu, może być traktowany jako rodzaj ekwiwalentu pełnego.

(ch) *ne valjati ni pišljiva boba – (coś) nie jest warte funta kłaków*; (s) *prosto kao bob/pasulj – proste jak drut*; *spavati kao drvo – spać jak suseł*; (s) *skuvati grah (nekome) – nawarzyć (komuś) piwa*; *u tom grmu leži zec – tu jest pies pogrzebany*; (ch) *podgrijani kupus – odgrzewany kotlet*; *ni luk jeo ni luk mirisao – jest Bogu ducha winien*; *naišao tuk na luk – trafiła kosa na kamień*; (s) *na glavi luk tucati (kome) – ciosać (komuś) kołki na głowie*; *tjerati mak na konac – dzielić włos na czworo*; (s) *imati soli u tikvi – mieć olej w głowie*; (s) *venčati se oko vrbe – żyć na kocią łapę*.

Podsumowując te zestawienia JF w trzech językach słowiańskich, należy stwierdzić dość znaczny stopień ekwiwalencji międzyjęzykowej (60 par JF, co stanowi około 25% badanego materiału frazeologicznego), ale o różnym charakterze i stopniu kongruencji obrazowania. Zwraca uwagę dość duża liczba ekwiwalentów pełnych, z tym że częściej występuje ona w odniesieniu: j. pol. – j. chorw. niż z j. serb. Zauważalny jest znaczny udział frazeologizmów pochodzenia biblijnego i mitologicznego (*zakazany owoc, listek figowy, palma zwycięstwa, zbierać laury)* oraz JF będących ustalonymi internacjonalizmami (*wyjmować kasztany z ognia cudzymi rękami, rosnąć jak grzyby po deszczu*). Ekwiwalencja funkcjonalna o zbliżonym stopniu obrazowania, także częściej występuje w przypadku polskich i chorwackich JF; i w tej grupie znaleźć można pewne schematy obrazowania typowe dla wielu innych języków: 'czekać na coś niemożliwego' – *czekać na gruszki na wierzbie, grožđe na vrbi tražiti, kada javor rodi jabukama;* 'nie znać się na czymś' – *znać się jak kura/koza na pieprzu, razumijeti se kao koza u peršin;* 'system kary i zachęty' – *polityka kija i marchewki, mrkva i batina*. Odpowiedniki znaczeniowe charakteryzujące się odległym rodzajem obrazowania, z udziałem istniejącego idiomu o nieroślinnym charakterze, dominują w przypadku języków serbskiego i polskiego.

5. Wnioski

W pracy poddano analizie porównawczej JF zawierające nazwę rośliny w językach: polskim, chorwackim, serbskim. Analiza ta dotyczy języka współczesnego, literackiego, ale też potocznego – źródła internetowe. Celem analizy było ukazanie semantyczno-konotacyjnego obrazu frazeologii roślinnej. Dokonano próby kategoryzacji roślin stanowiących element bazowy JF. W części analitycznej pracy zwrócono uwagę na: rolę hiperonimu w klasyfikacji i analizie JF oraz jego znaczący udział w tworzeniu frazeologizmów. Zebrany materiał frazeologiczny poddano analizie semantyczno-konotacyjnej, wyodrębniając dwie grupy JF: 1. Określające pewną rzeczywistość, stan rze-

czy, także wydarzenie, 2. Służące charakterystyce człowieka, jego wyglądu, cech charakteru. Grupa pierwsza zawiera ponad dwukrotnie więcej przykładów, co świadczy o tym, iż obserwator świata flory – człowiek, częściej odwołuje się do niego w celu deskrypcji, oceny konkretnej sytuacji, niż siebie samego. Zarówno w pierwszej, jak i w drugiej grupie dominują JF zawierające nazwy: *warzyw, owoców, drzew*, najmniej przykładów tworzą: *kwiaty, chwasty, zioła i przyprawy* oraz *grzyby*.

Spośród rozlicznych znaczeń wnoszonych przez nazwę roślinną do frazeologizmów, wybrano jedno, oparte na negatywnym wartościowaniu niektórych roślin. Widać tutaj duży wpływ kultury – tradycji biblijnych, antycznych, ale także rodzimych – słowiańskich, silny związek z tradycją ludową, rolniczą (prawie nie widać odniesień do kultury miejskiej). Charakterystyczne jest to, że człowiek nisko ocenia te dary natury, pól, które od wieków stanowiły podstawę jego wyżywienia: ziemniaki, kapustę, rośliny strączkowe, jako produkt tani, pospolity, a za symbol dostatku, luksusu uważa owoce i przyprawy egzotyczne: *kokosowy interes, zarabiać kokosy, bananowa młodzież*, (arch.) *palić w piecu cynamonem*.

Końcowa część rozważań dotyczy zjawiska ekwiwalencji międzyjęzykowej w oparciu o analizę ilościową i jakościową odpowiedników znaczeniowych. Prowadzi ona do stwierdzenia dość znacznego stopnia ekwiwalencji wśród JF z nazwami roślinnymi, w większym stopniu dotyczy ona języka polskiego i chorwackiego, niż serbskiego. Jednakże, mimo dość znacznego zasięgu tego zjawiska, jak również niezwykłej sugestywności, obrazowości fitonimicznych frazeologizmów, podkreślić należy ich coraz bardziej recesywny charakter, niewielką popularność i udział w badanych językach.

Wykaz skrótów

arch. – archaiczny
bibl. – biblijny
ch – chorwacki
dial. – dialektalny
iron. – ironiczny
j. pol. – język polski
młodz.– młodzieżowy
pot. – potoczny
s. – serbski
sport. – sportowy

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Descriptive and evaluative characteristic of Polish, Croatian and Serbian idioms with plant names

Summary

The article is devoted to study the case of linguistic image of plants in Slavic language phraseology: Polish, Croatian and Serbian. Questions being analyzed are: natural and current categorization of plants, contribution of plant names in creation of idioms – the biggest in case of trees, fruits and vegetables; semantic-connotative analysis of superordinate words (*tree, flower, fruit, cereal, grass*) and idioms with names of different kinds of plants. Main characteristics of this idioms are: description of reality, anthropocentrism, negative connotation of some plant names, recessive character of this idioms.

Laura Pinnavaia
The University of Milan
Italy

"We are what we eat": Analyzing food and drink idioms in English, French, German, and Spanish

Abstract. Conventional ways of wording, which span from routine formulae to proverbs, through binomials, collocations, and idioms have been considered indicators of underlying cultural models as well as triggers for the shaping of cultural models. While many figurative idioms and proverbs designate ideas, facts, and evaluations that are culturally boundless in Western terms, the syntactic structures used to disclose them may range from the completely boundless to the totally bound, depending on the source domain. If the source domain is culturally salient, it is more likely that idioms' literal readings will differ more radically across different languages, despite a shared implicated meaning. One particularly salient source domain regards the lexical field of food and drink. By comparing and contrasting food and drink idioms in English, French, German, and Spanish, the aim of this essay is to gauge the extent of the cultural differences experienced by these linguistic communities. The continued social and literary contacts between the English, French, German, and Spanish people have determined a common core of thinking and acting, which has surprisingly resulted in a series of similar food and drink experiences.

Key words: *idioms, contrastive linguistics, lexicography*

Language is a repository of the history of a people. It is their identity

(Crystal 2003: 20)

1. Introduction

As scholars working in the field of phraseology all over the world have repeatedly pointed out, phrasemes are a mirror of a linguistic community's historical, social, political, and cultural story (particularly interesting works in the field are Bragina 2000, Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005, Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2006, Skandera 2007). Conventional ways of wording, which span

from routine formulae to proverbs, through binomials, collocations, and idioms have been considered indicators of underlying cultural models as well as triggers for the shaping of cultural models. Probably more than any other lexical unit, phrasemes "emerge as a result of experiencing and conceptualizing particular situations (events, things and properties) in ways that are culturally determined" (Schönefeld 2007: 139).

While many of the conceptions of life and the world are similar among Europeans and North Americans owing to a common religious or ethical and scientific core of knowledge (Russell 1946), there is no doubt that the way such philosophy is expressed can differ from one linguistic community to another. This dichotomy between what one says and what one means is perfectly represented by figurative idioms and proverbs. In fact, while many of these expressions designate ideas, facts, and evaluations that are culturally boundless in Western terms, the syntactic structures used to disclose them may range from the completely boundless to the totally bound, depending on the source domain. If the source domain is culturally salient, it is more likely that idioms' literal readings will differ more radically across different languages, despite a shared implicated meaning. One particularly salient source domain regards the lexical field of food and drink.

Consuming food and drink is a profound expression of social belonging. It defines individuals and groups in society providing them with an identity of the social, political, economic, and cultural kind. It has thus much more meaning than "the satisfaction of a biological need" (Grignon 2001: 24). "Food and drink continue to delineate the boundaries of group membership and values, in localities, regions, nations and beyond" (Wilson 2006: 16). Notions of national identity are, in fact, still portrayed by them, such as pasta referred to the Italians, frogs to the French, beef to the English, porter to the Irish, Sauerkraut to the Germans, and cheese to the Swiss. Despite the clichéd value of such associations, especially in the face of the Europeanization of ingestibles, the persistence of this food-peoples bracket underlines the importance of food in the history of nations. As Wilson (2006: 20) points out "the history of our food is a history of ourselves" or, in other much reiterated terms, 'we are what we eat'.

The relationship between food-related idioms and culture has not, however, been treated so extensively over the centuries, despite the obvious importance food and drink has in our life. It is for this reason and for the attention it is drawing at this particular moment of time, with the 2015 Universal Exposition whose principal theme is feeding the planet, that this work will focus on food and drink idioms in English, French, German, and Span-

ish. By comparing and contrasting such expressions, the aim of this essay is to begin to gauge the extent of the cultural differences experienced by these linguistic communities.

2. Methodology

As far as the choice of languages to compare and contrast, English, French, German, and Spanish were chosen because they represent the four most diffused languages in the European and North American speaking world. The Italian language was instead excluded owing to its having been analyzed in a similar manner in prior work (see Pinnavaia 2002). It is thus hoped that the results obtained from this work will help to eventually complete the general picture of the cultural similarities and differences between all five languages, regarding food and drink idioms.

To collect the food and drink idioms, we started from a list of food and drink terms in each language, which were subsequently looked up in two kinds of dictionary, monolingual and bilingual. While the retrieval of the English wordlist was easier because it was based on the findings of Pinnavaia (2010), the wordlists for the other languages implied the consultation of both dictionaries and online glossaries. For French terms we consulted the online glossary a *French-English mini-dictionary of common French food words*; for German terms, the *English-German–Food and Drink Glossary*; and for Spanish ones, *Spanish Food Words*. Once retrieved, the food and drink terms were looked up in the dictionaries to find which terms are idiomatically productive and if and what their equivalents in English might be. For the French language *Le Grand Robert de la Langue Française* (online) and the *Oxford Hachette French Dictionary* (2007) were used; for the German language, *Duden Wörterbuch* (online) and *Oxford German Dictionary* (2005); and for the Spanish language, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* RAE (online) and *Oxford Spanish Dictionary* (2008).

A close attention to the layout and definition of the headwords in both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries was indispensable to avoid collecting unsuitable idioms stemming from homonyms unrelated to the lexical field of food and drink. Once the right headword was selected, it was then necessary to screen the idioms listed under it in order to include only the ones whose syntactic structures represent a food or drink experience. In other words, it meant that from the numerous idioms listed under the headwords Eng. *water*, Fr. *eau*, Germ. *Wasser*, and Sp. *agua*, for example, only the ones referring to drinking water could be included. Similarly, only id-

ioms built around the denomination of dead animals (i.e. their meat) could be included, obliging the exclusion of idioms with literal structures featuring livestock.

As far as the gathering of idioms was concerned, all multi-word units listed under the headwords were taken into consideration, thus both idioms proper[1] and proverbs. Instead, what were not taken into account were the metaphorical uses of single lexemes (e.g. *to be a lemon*). Having collected all the idioms, we set out to answer the following questions for each language, comparing and contrasting the obtained data:

1) What type of food and drink terms are idiomatically productive?
2) Which terms are more productive than others?
3) What cultural values, emblematized by the more productive terms, are common to more than one language?
4) What idiomatically productive terms are culture-bound?
5) What equivalents are generally provided for the food and drink idioms?

It is important to underline that the data obtained are the outcome of a lexicographic analysis only. For a more exhaustive picture, a corpus linguistic analysis will ensue. Notwithstanding this, the results proved interesting.

3. Results

In this section the results will be presented and discussed under three subsections in order to focus upon the food and drink terms first, the idioms they compose second, and lastly their translational equivalents in the other languages. In carrying out this research it ought to be pointed out that the English language will provide the principal base for comparison with the other languages, explaining why data regarding English will often be presented and discussed first.

3.1 The typology of the food and drink terms

There is no doubt that the type of food and drink terms that create idioms are wholly what Cruse (2000: 132) would define the "best examples or prototypes" of their conceptual categories. In English, the idioms composed of the terms belonging to the lexical field of beverages include the terms *ale*,

[1] By idiom we refer to Piirainen's definition: "a term used for members of one subgroup, most of which are also figurative" (2008: 208).

beer, coffee, juice, tea, water, and *wine*, and not *lager, stout, cappuccino, lemonade, herbal tea* or *dessert wine*, for example. Similarly, terms composing idioms that point to dairy produce are *butter, cheese, cream, egg*, and *milk*, and not, for instance, more specific derivatives, such as *margarine, stilton, whipped cream, eggs benedict* or *soya milk*.

The same can be said for French, German, and Spanish too. In French, the terms referring to beverages included in idioms are *bière, café, eau, jus, thé, vin*; in German *Bier, Kaffee, Saft, Schnaps, Tee, Wasser, Wein*; in Spanish *agua, café, jugo,* and *vino*, with no mention of *sangrìa* surprisingly! As to dairy produce, French employs the terms *beurre, fromage, lait, œuf*; German *Butter, Ei, Käse, Milch*; Spanish *crema, leche, mantequilla, nata*, and *queso*. The food and drink terms that are idiomatically productive in English, French, German, and Spanish tend thus to represent the raw material or the more basic dishes from which more refined ingestibles derive. They are the superordinates of their more specialized and sophisticated hyponyms.

Among these terms, it is also possible to see that some are more productive than others. From Pinnavaia (2010) it emerges that the English terms *apple, bean, bone, bread, cake, cheese, cherry, egg, fish, fruit, meat, milk, nut, oats, pie, potato, salt, toast, tea, water,* and *wine* generate at least four idioms each. By taking four idioms as the cut-off mark, here are the more generatively significant terms in French, German, and Spanish too. For French, they are *beurre, carotte, chou, eau, fromage, fruit, gâteau, jus, lait, miel, miette, œuf, oignon, pain, poire, pomme, sauce, sel, soupe, vin*; for German, *Apfel, Brot, Butter, Ei, Fett, Frucht, Milch, Salz, Suppe, Wasser*; and for Spanish, *agua, ajo, caldo, hierba, huevo, jugo, leche, manzana, miel, miga, pan, pera, pimiento, sal, salsa, sopa, tomate, uva*, and *vino*.

The terms that more frequently compose food and drink idioms are therefore not just more generic in nature, but to some extent also equivalent in all four languages. In fact, while there are a number of terms that are more productive in one language only (in English the terms *bean, bone, cherry, fish, meat, nuts, oats, potato, tea, toast*; in French *carotte, chou, oignon*; in German *Fett*; in Spanish *ajo, hierba, pimiento, tomate, uva*), there are also a number of highly productive terms that all languages share: the equivalents of Eng. *butter* and *fruit* are frequent in all three languages except Spanish (i.e. Fr. *beurre*/Germ. *Butter*; Fr. *fruit*/Germ. *Frucht*), the terms referring to soup are frequent in all three languages except English (i.e. Fr. *soupe*/Germ. *Suppe*/Sp. *sopa*), French and Spanish share the more frequent terms that indicate juice (Fr. *jus*/Sp. *jugo*), crumb (Fr. *miette*/Sp. *miga*), pear (Fr. *poire*/Sp. *pera*), English and French share the terms *cheese* and *fromage, cake* and *gâteau*, English and German share *fruit* and *Frucht*, and six are the terms that all four

languages use frequently: Eng. *apple*/Fr. *pomme*/Germ. *Apfel*/Sp. *manzana*; Eng. *bread*/Fr. *pain*/Germ. *Brot*/Sp. *pan*; Eng. *egg*/Fr. *œuf*/Germ. *Ei*/Sp. *huevo*; Eng. *milk*/Fr. *lait*/Germ. *Milch*/Sp. *leche*; Eng. *salt*/Fr. *sel*/Germ. *Salz*/Sp. *sal*; Eng. *water*/Fr. *eau*/Germ. *Wasser*/Sp. *agua*.

Interestingly, these shared terms are the ones that typically represent human sustenance, not only because of their basic nature, but also owing to the role they have played in literature from the Bible onwards, by metaphorically alluding to food and drink in general. In Western society these terms have, however, also represented values that go beyond mere survival. In the English-speaking world, food tends to represent abundance, health, wealth, energy, pleasure, substance, prosperity, importance, and comfort. Judging by the idiomatic creations that stem from these terms, it would appear that such values recur in the French-, German- and Spanish-speaking worlds too.

3.2. The cultural values of the food and drink terms

Assuming that "idioms are relevant to culture in that they potentially evoke and transmit a piece of cultural knowledge" (Sabban 2008: 235), a selection of idioms derived from some of these more idiomatically productive terms will show the extent to which such cultural awareness is shared by all four linguistic communities. The idioms that will be taken into consideration develop from the terms *bread/pain/Brot/pan*; *apple/pomme/Apfel/manzana*; and *egg/œuf/Ei/huevo*.

Bread, and its equivalents in the other three languages, has been the archetypal symbol of food since the beginnings of Western literature, and especially since the translations of the Bible into European languages. In the English, French, German, and Spanish idioms in which it appears it often metaphorically indicates survival:

Eng. *break bread with*; *bread and cheese*; *bread and wine*; *man cannot live on bread alone*;
Fr. *faire passer le goût du pain à qqn*; *long comme un jour sans pain*;
Germ. *das Brot mit jmdm brechen*; *der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein*;
Sp. *no solo de pan vive el hombre*.

It can also represent livelihood:

Eng. *take the bread out of somebody's mouth*; *(earn/make) one's bread and butter*;
Fr. *enlever/ôter/retirer le pain de la bouche à qqn*;
Germ. *Brot und Arbeit finden*; *das ist ein hartes Brot*; *die Brötchen verdienen*;
Sp. *ganarse el pan*; *quitarle el pan de la boca a algn*.

And can point to gain and power too:

Eng. *the hottest/best thing since sliced bread; know which side one's bread is buttered*; *throw/cast one's bread upon the waters*; *half a loaf is better than no bread at all*;

Fr. *ça ne mange pas de pain*;

Germ. *wes Brot ich ess, des Lied ich sing*;

Sp. *con su pan se lo coma, dame pan y dime tonto*.

The term *apple*, along with its equivalents, can stand for goodness:

Eng. *be apples*; *the apple of someone's eye*; *an apple a day keeps the doctor away*;

Fr. *aux pommes*; *elle mérite la pomme*;

Sp. *a diario una manzana es cosa sana*.

It can, however, also be emblematic of difficulty or trouble, owing to the metaphoric image present in the book of Genesis:

Eng. *upset the apple cart*; *apple of discord*; *apple of Sodom*; *dead sea apple*; *rotten/bad apple*;

Fr. *envoyer des pommes cuites à qqn*; *une pomme de discorde*;

Germ. *in den sauren Äpfel beißen*;

Sp. *una manzana podrida echa un ciento a perder*; *la manzana de la discordia*.

Like apple, the terms indicating egg, can have an ambiguous or indefinite nature too:

Eng. *a chicken and egg (situation)*;

Fr. *c'est l'histoire de l'œuf et de la poule*;

Germ. *Huhn-Ei Frage; ungelegte Eier*.

Being a rich source of protein, eggs are conceived as being an important and prestigious foodstuff that metaphorically become a source of goodness and importance:

Eng. *lay an egg*; *as sure as eggs are eggs*; *have/put all one's eggs into one basket*;

Fr. *mettre tous ses œufs dans le même panier; c'est comme l'œuf de (Christophe) Colomb*;

Germ. *das Ei des Kolumbus*; *wie aus dem Ei gepellt sein*; *ein Ei legen*;

Sp. *me costó un huevo*.

And yet, being very fragile, they require care and attention on handling:

Eng. *you can't make an omlet without breaking eggs*;

Fr. *marcher sur des œufs*; *on ne fait pas d'omelette sans casser des œufs*;

Germ. *sie geht wie auf rohen Eiern*;

Sp. *andar, venir, ir pisando huevos*.

This is because if they break, the outcome can become very unpleasant:

Eng. *have egg on one's face*;

Fr. *jeter les œufs sur qqn*;
Germ. *das ist ein (dickes) Ei*;
Sp. *mirar a huevo*.

While the terms referring to bread, apple, and egg tend on the whole to display similar values in all four languages, they do also display more idiosyncratic traits in each language. In French *pain* expresses goodness (*être bon comme du (bon) pain*); in Spanish *pan* expresses both goodness and beauty as well as simplicity and down-to-earthness (*estar más bueno que el pan*; *al pan, pan, y al vino, vino; contigo pan y cebolla*). In German *Apfel* stands for something of little worth (*etwas für einen Apfel und ein Ei (kaufen)*). In German and Spanish *Ei* and *huevo* stand for similarity (*sich gleichen wie ein Ei dem anderen*; *parecerse como un huevo a una castaña*), while in French *œuf* indicates inception and immaturity (*étouffer qqch dans l'œuf*; *faire l'œuf*).

Judging by the metaphoric structures of the food-related idioms created in English, French, German, and Spanish, it may indeed be claimed that the values that the more productive and shared items take advantage of are diffused and recurring in all four languages. This, after all, is not hard to believe when so much of Western thought and expression has been described as being governed by universal conceptual metaphors (see, for instance, Barcelona & Soriano 2004, Kimmel 2004, Kövecses 2004, Lakoff & Johnson 1980). But what of the terms that are specific to one language and culture only, what values do they evoke?

To investigate this, the terms *toast* in English, *boudin* in French, *Kraut* in German, and *tortilla* in Spanish have been considered. These four items represent ingestibles that are typical and often unique to their linguistic community's cuisine. It is their more typical features that have been exploited to form the idioms. For those involving *toast*, they are based upon the warmth and the sense of security this foodstuff represents on the Englishman's breakfast table (see *as warm as toast*; *to have someone on toast*; *be toast*). It is the watery and delicate nature of the French *boudin* that emerges from the two idioms *s'en aller/partir/finir en eau de boudin* and *faire du boudin*. The creation of the German expressions was surely influenced by the *Kraut*'s rough and irregular nature (*dagegen is kein Kraut gewachsen*; *wie Kraut und Rüben*; *er raucht ein ganz elendes Kraut*). As to the Spanish idiom *volverse la tortilla*, its source of inspiration comes from the way *tortillas* are cooked. There is no doubt that even among these more culture-bound terms the more immediate and more obvious characteristics borne by them are utilized to compose idioms whose implicated meanings reach their native hearers with precision and poignancy.

3.3. The equivalents for the food and drink idioms

When an expression has the same effect on the foreign hearer/reader as the original meaning has upon the native hearer/reader, it is said to have "dynamic equivalence" (see Nida 1964). In terms of idioms, it is clear that the most dynamic of equivalents is an idiom or metaphoric expression that can activate in native and foreign speakers' minds similar cognitive processes stimulated by the image component that represents "a specific conceptual structure underlying figurative units and a relevant element of their meaning" (Colson 2008: 196). When the image is the same it usually illustrates the existence of a common cultural heritage. Piirainen (2012) identifies in 74 European and 17 non-European languages over 380 idioms that she defines as widespread owing to their similar structure and core figurative meaning. This lexical/semantic/pragmatic equivalence is established when idioms originate from common European sources such as the Bible and texts from classical antiquity, or from post-classical works of literature, such as proverb collections and anthologies of medieval and early modern times, and of course from fables and tales, as the following three idioms derived from the items *chestnut*, *cream*, and *salt* show: Eng. *to pull chestnuts out of the fire*/Fr. *tirer les marrons du feu*/Germ. *die Kastanien aus dem Feuer holen*/Sp. *sacar las castañas del fuego con mano ajena*; Eng. *the cream of society*/Fr. *la crème de la société*/Germ. *die Creme der Gesellschaft*/Sp. *la crema de la sociedad*; Eng. *salt of the earth*/Fr. *le sel de la terre*/Germ. *das Salz der Erde sein*/Sp. *la sal de la tierra*.

When the image is not in another language, it might mean that it does not originate from a literary tradition, but rather from an oral one, based on more individual socio-cultural customs and practices. Despite the lexical contrasts such idioms display, converging semantic and pragmatic traits exist. Here are three sets of idioms of this type:

1a) Fr. *Mettre du beurre dans les épinards = to put jam on bread*
1b) Fr. *Vouloir le beurre et l'argent du beurre = to want one's cake and eat it*

2a) Germ. *Mit Speck fängt man Mäuse = if the bait is tempting enough, the fish will bite*
2b) Germ. *Mit der Wurst nach der Speckseite/dem Schinken werfen = use a sprat to catch a mackerel*

3a) Sp. *Preferir la salsa a los caracoles = to prefer the trimmings to the turkey*
3b) Sp. *echar/poner toda la carne en el asador = to put all one's eggs in one basket*.

As one can see, the English equivalents of the French, German, and Spanish idioms selected more or less replicate the structure and meaning of their foreign counterparts, except for the key lexical terms. While still belonging to the lexical field of food, the images in English and the foreign languages uncover more typical (if not stereotypical) cooking and eating habits. In the first set of idioms the theme of ease comes across two different metaphoric images in French and English: in French it is related to the basting quality of butter, which makes it a sought-for foodstuff for spinach especially; in English it is associated with the sweetness of flavour that bread and jam, and cake provide. In the second set of idioms, in which the English idioms feature fish, the idea of effort is portrayed in German by a mouse biting onto some speck, and by a sausage being thrown at a piece of ham; whether big or small, the effort made in German is represented by typical meat produce, whereas in English it is conveyed by fishing imagery. In the third set of idioms focusing on the concentration of energy involved in activities, once again it is possible to identify differing culinary inclinations: to express little effort the Spaniards resort to the typical dish of snails, while the Americans to that of turkey; to designate a huge effort, the Spaniards put meat in their baskets, the Americans eggs. In spite of the differing images that highlight the characteristics of a linguistic community, it is noteworthy that two or more languages often resort to similar imagery – in this case food and drink – to express the same concept, even when they are independent creations that have not originated from a common source.

Clearly it is not easy to exclude that equivalents of this kind might be the result of translation, but even if it were so, they would still be examples of note. This is because by being socially and linguistically readapted, they would represent a translating technique which, firstly, from a historical lexicographic point of view distances itself from the norm,[2] and secondly, would nonetheless demonstrate an important attitude of linguistic awareness and sensitivity towards language use that often goes beyond the mere need to fill a linguistic gap that the verbatim translation normally meets. An example that might support this claim involves the expressions Eng. *carrot and stick policy*; Fr. *manier la carotte et le bâton*; Germ. *mit Zuckerbrot und Peitsche*. It is interesting to see that while the French and English idioms are lexically and

[2] The lexicographer Cotgrave (1611) for example introduces a number of idiomatic expressions into the English language by literally translating French idiomatic structures (see Pinnavaia 1998).

syntactically the same, the German idiom is not. The English idiom was in fact coined by Winston Churchill and then translated literally into French and incidentally into Italian too (*la carota e il bastone*). Owing to the fact that the German idiom is not the same as these seems to indicate that it is an altogether independent creation, because either it pre-existed the English, French, and Italian equivalents or was purposely created to differentiate itself from them. Notwithstanding this, by featuring on sugarbread and the whip it interestingly retains the same food-based syntactic structure that the carrot and the stick displays.[3]

However, not all idiomatic equivalents necessarily pertain to the same lexical field. Similar concepts can be idiomatically expressed in an activity or event that does not feature food or drink elements. For instance, the French figuratively express the inability to take a stand with the expression *ménager la chèvre et le chou*, the English alternatively *sit on the fence*: even though both are outdoor activities, the former involves goats and cabbages, the latter makes no mention of foodstuffs at all. Similarly, the German idiom *jmdm die Suppe versalzen*, which refers to trouble and impediment by means of the image of oversalting the soup, is conveyed with the English idioms *to put a spoke in somebody's wheel* and *to put a spanner in somebody's works*, both of which clearly deal with mechanics. Also considering the Spanish idiom *cortar/partir el bacalao*, which features the cutting of codfish in order to indicate who is boss, the English the idiomatic equivalent *to wear the trousers in the house* does not employ food and drink imagery, but rather attire. In spite of these more evident lexical and syntactic differences, the meaning and use of these idiom pairs are apparently the same.[4]

Even though idiomatic equivalents, either lexically pure or not, are undoubtedly the most effective way to match the implicated meaning and use of an idiom in another language, this solution is not always possible when such equivalents are missing. In these situations the explanatory paraphrases provided highlight the existence of both linguistic and cultural gaps. As an illustration of this, we have the following idioms in French, German, and Spanish, whose English counterparts in the bilingual dictionaries consulted are explanatory paraphrases:

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[3] It is incidentally interesting to note that in the dictionaries consulted no Spanish equivalent is provided, but rather that the paraphrase *una política de incentivos y amenazas* explains this concept. However, it would appear that the translational equivalent *el palo y la zanahoría* does exist.

[4] I say *apparently* because in this research no corpus linguistic analysis was carried out to verify the extent of usage of these idioms in the French, German, and Spanish languages. These equivalents of the English idioms are the fruit of a lexicographical analysis only.

Fr. *faire qqch aux petits oignons* = to do sth with great attention to detail

Germ: *mit viel Schmalz* = with plenty of soppy sentimentality

Sp. *tomar las uvas* = to see the New year in.

Despite being food lexemes that appear in English idiomatic expressions too, the images that the terms *onions*, *lard*, and *grapes* create in the idiomatic expressions listed above reflect the more traditional customs and of their respective peoples, for which the English language lacks an idiomatic equivalent. The concept of time and care needed to accomplish anything can neatly be alluded to in French by the precision required in preparing the traditional dish of onion soup. Similarly the German idiom that relates sentimental feelings to the softness of lard makes sense in a linguistic community in which fats have had such legendary importance. The typical Spanish custom of eating grapes to see the New Year in determines the idiom *tomar las uvas*, arising from the bond between grapes and celebration and missing from the English linguistic community's experience. In sum, the lack of idiomatic equivalents in English acts as a foil to highlight the bonds that instead exist between the French, German, and Spanish images and their meanings. The lack of a bond between a key element and the values it represents surely points to a cultural gap in a linguistic community's knowledge and experience and endorses the more culture-bound nature of the existent bonds.

4. Conclusions

In spite of the cultural salience that a domain like food and drink has, the results of this modest research have shown that the culture-bound nature of food and drink idioms in English, French, German, and Spanish is not extensive. Quite unexpectedly, in fact, the cultural gaps determined by explanatory paraphrases are not considerable. Even though a corpus linguistic analysis has still to confirm whether the predominating equivalent idioms in French, German, and Spanish have the same pragmatic force as the idioms in English, it cannot be denied that from a purely lexicographical point of view there exist many shared terms, cultural values, and idioms in the field of food and drink. The continued social and literary contacts between the populations of the four linguistic communities examined have historically determined a common core of thinking and acting, whereby certain ideas and behaviours have linguistically come to be realized as food and drink experiences–albeit characterized by the more typical traits and customs of each community. To understand just how far this deep-rooted intellectual

background expressed in terms of food and drink extends in the Western world and beyond, an ensuing study of food and drink idioms present in other European and non-European languages is required.

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Diccionario de la Lengua Española RAE (online) at http://lema.rae.es/drae/

Duden Wörterbuch at http://www.duden.de/woerterbuch

Online resources

French-English mini-dictionary of common French food words

http://www.di.ens.fr/~cousot/sas01/english/dico.html (last accessed 30th September 2014)

English-German Food and Drink Glossary

http://german.about.com/library/blvoc_foodAB.htm

http://german.about.com/library/blvoc_foodCE.htm

http://german.about.com/library/blvoc_foodFH.htm

http://german.about.com/library/blvoc_foodIL.htm

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http://german.about.com/library/blvoc_foodST.htm

http://german.about.com/library/blvoc_foodUZ.htm

(last accessed 30th September 2014)

Spanish Food Words

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Jesteśmy tym, co jemy: nazwy pokarmów i napojów we frazeologii. Analiza konstrastywna angielskich, francuskich, niemieckich i hiszpańskich idiomów

Streszczenie

Skonwencjonalizowane połączenia wyrazowe obejmują różne rodzaje jednostek, na przykład: formuły, przysłowia, idiomy i kolokacje. Z jednej strony ustabilizowane w języku konstrukcje wielowyrazowe są motywowane przez modele kulturowe, z drugiej wpływają one na postać tych modeli. Wiele związków wyrazowych o charakterze figuratywnym to nośniki znaczeń i ocen niezwiązanych kulturowo w kategoriach zachodniego myślenia. Ich struktura syntaktyczna może być związana lub niezwiązana, zależnie od domeny źródłowej. Jeśli języku, z którego pochodzi idom, domena źródłowa ma duże znaczenie kulturowe, istnieje większe prawdopodobieństwo, że będzie on mieć odpowiedniki o różnych postaciach w poszczególnych językach. Ważnym kulturowo obszarem jest pole leksykalne „jedzenie i napoje". Analiza kontrastywnej angielskich, francuskich, niemieckich i hiszpańskich idiomów powiązanych z tym ma na celu określenie zakresu różnic kulturowych występujących w tych wspólnotach etnicznych. Międzykulturowe kontakty Brytyjczyków, Francuzów, Niemców i Hiszpanów miały wpływ na ukształtowanie się wspólnej perspektywy oglądu rzeczywistości, której odzwierciedlanie znajdujemy w praktykach związanych ze sferą kulinarną.

Sunil Sharma
PhD Scholar, Jawaharlal Nehru University
India

Kontrastive Untersuchung der Phraseologismen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen im Deutschen und Hindi

Abstrakt. Der vorliegende Forschungsbeitrag befasst sich mit der kontrastiven Analyse der phraseologischen Wortverbindungen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen im Deutschen und Hindi. Diese sich auf den somatischen Konzepten basierende Untersuchung folgt dabei einem sprachsystem- und sprachverwendungsorientierten Vorgehen. Das Hauptziel dieser Untersuchung liegt darin, die zwischensprachlichen phraseologischen Äquivalente des Deutschen und Hindi zu vermitteln. Im Hinblick auf die Entwicklung der noch nicht bearbeiteten Theorie der Deutsch-Hindi kontrastiven Phraseologie zielt diese Untersuchung auch auf die Herausarbeitung der den phraseologischen Entsprechungen zugrundeliegenden semantischen und pragmatischen Unterschiede bzw. Besonderheiten.

Schlüsselwörter: *Somatismen, Kinegramme, kontrastive Phraseologie, interlinguale Äquivalenz*

1. Korpussammlung und Methodologie

Der Koprus dieser Untersuchung besteht aus den Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen enthaltenden phraseologischen Einheiten des Deutschen und Hindi, die Burger (2010: 11) zufolge mindestens aus zwei lexikalischen Komponenten bestehen und trotz der syntaktischen und semantischen Regularitäten der Verknüpfung mehr oder weniger kompositionell ableitbare semantische Bedeutung enthalten, d.h teil- oder vollidiomatisch sind. Zur Bestimmung von der zu untersuchenden zwischensprachlichen Äquivalenten gilt die von Dobrovolʹskij und Piirainen (2009: 146) festgelegten Voraussetzung, dass die phraseologischen Einheiten zweier Sprachen einen Gewissen Grad an Ähnlichkeit hinsichtlich der lexikalisierten Bedeutung oder des den Phraseologismen zugrundeliegenden mentalen Bildes teilen sollen. Weiterhin wird zur Vermittlung von zwischensprachlichen Äquivalenten

auf die von Hessky (1987), Földes (1996) und Eismann (1989) vorgeschlagenen Äquivalenzkriterien je nach der Übereinstimmungen bezüglich der Konnotation, Denotation, Geläufigkeit, Bildlichkeit, Struktur und der kontextuellen Verwendung Bezug genommen. Da diese kontrastive Studie im Grunde genommen eine sprachsystem- und sprachverwendungsbezogene Untersuchung ist, basiert sie auf den einsprachigen Wörterbüchern, phraseologischen Lexika, Medienberichten und Blogs. Zu den herangezogenen deutschen Lexika und Wörterbüchern zählen *Duden-Redewendungen* (2008), *Duden-Universalwörterbuch* (Duden 2011), *Deutsche Idiomatik* (Hans Schemann; 2011). Die Hindi-Phraseologismen werden den Lexika *Dictionary of Hindi Proverbs* (Bholanath Tiwari; 2012), *Proverbs and Sayings* (Varun Verma; 2010), *Dictionary of Proverbs and Idioms* (Paramhans und Trivedi; 2007) und *Hindi Proverbs and Idioms* (Kapoor; 2009) entnommen. Das Korpus besteht jeweils aus 235 Phraseologismen des Hindi und 257 Phraseologismen des Deutschen. Das gesamte Korpus beider Sprachen wurde je nach der Übereinstimmung in der Konnotation, Denotation, Struktur und Bildlichkeit wie folgend geteilt: A – Volläquivalenz, B1 – Teiläquivalenz (Unterschied in der wörtlichen Bedeutung), B2 – Teiläquivalenz (Unterschied in der Struktur), B3 – Teiläquivalenz (Unterschied in der wörtlichen Bedeutung und der Konnotation), B4 – Teiläquivalenz (Unterschied in der wörtlichen Bedeutung und der Struktur), B5 – Teiläquivalenz (Unterschied in der syntaktischen Funktion und der Struktur), semantische Äquivalenz (Unterschied in der Denotation, Bildlichkeit und Konnotation) und Nulläquivalenz. Die Faktoren wie phraseologische Synonymie und Polysemie, Falsche Freunde, nichtverbales Verhalten und Bildlichkeit spielen wichtige Rolle bei der Analyse von zwischensprachlichen Entsprechungen. Die Hindi-Phraseologismen werden auf Devanagari Transkription angegeben, der die deutsche literarische Übersetzung folgt.

2. Kontrastive Analyse

Die Kinegramme, d. h. die Versprachlichungsformen des nichtverbalen Verhaltens, machen einen großen Teil der Phraseologismen beider Sprachen aus. Die Kinegramme bilden die Randerscheinung der Idiome bzw. der Metapher, weil zwischen der übertragenen Bedeutung und dem nonverbalen Verhalten eine nachvollziehbare Beziehung besteht. In diesem Zusammenhang gibt es beträchtliche Zahl der deutschen Beispiele, die sich in der denotativen, konnotativen emotional-expressiven und stilistischen Gesamtbedeutung und im Komponentenbestand (vgl. Földes 1996; 117) mit phraseologischen Einheiten des Hindi übereinstimmen.

1. dt. *die Nase rümpfen* 'jmdn., etw. gering schätzen, auf jmdn., etw. verächtlich herabsehen'
2. hi. *nāka sikōṛanā/caṛhānā*, "Nase rümpfen"

Neben den Kinegrammen gibt es echte Metaphern, die keine Anomalie bezüglich der obengegebenen Kriterien aufweisen.

3. dt. *jmdm. Sand in die Augen streuen* 'jemanden täuschen; jemanden in die Irre führen'
4. hi. *kisī kī ãkhõ mẽ̃ dhūla jhōnkanā* "in jmds. Augen Sand streuen"
5. dt. *jmdm. ein Dorn im Auge sein* "für jemanden sehr ärgerlich/unerträglich sein"
6. hi. *kisī kī ãkha kā kãṭā hōnā* "Dorn jmds. Auges sein"

Die Konstruktion 'jmdm. + die Ohren oder jmdm. + Nomen' wird ins Hindi mit der Konstruktion 'jmds. + Ohren oder jmds. + Nomen' wiedergegeben, was ein sprachspezifischer Unterschied ist und nicht als Einschränkung bei der Feststellung von Volläquivalenz gesehen werden soll. Hier ist besonders zu beachten, dass Volläquivalenzen sehr selten vorkommen. Die Abwesenheit einer gemeinsamen Quelle bzw. eines gleichen Ursprungs ist der Grund dahinter.

7. dt. *mit einem lachenden und einem weinenden Auge* 'teils erfreut, teils betrübt'
8. hi. *ēka ãkha sē rōnā, ēka ãkha sē haṁsanā* "mit einem Auge weinen, mit einem Auge lachen"

Der deutsche Phraseologismus ist satzgliedwertig und propositional, während der des Hindi satzwertig und verbal ist. Weiterhin ist der deutsche Phraseologismus eine Lehnübersetzung des englischen Phraseologismus, der aus dem Werk *Hamlet* von Shakespear stammt. Während des britischen Kolonialismus in Indien wurde dieser Phraseologismus vom Englischen ins Hindi übernommen. Aber seine Lexikalisierung in der oben gegebenen Form hat ihn von seiner deutschen Lehnübersetzung sehr unterschiedlich strukturiert.

9. *die Wände haben Ohren* (Subjekt + Verb + Objekt) 'man wird belauscht; der Raum ist sehr hellhörig (dünneWände)'
10. hi. *dīvārõ̃ kē bhī kāna hōtē haĩ* "der Wände auch Ohren sind"

Die Fixierung des Elements *auch* im Beispiel des Hindi ergibt sich aus der Lexikalisierung der Phraseologismen in derselben Form. Weiterhin passt dieser Lehnübersetzung des englischen Idioms *Walls have ears* die Pragmatik des Hindi zu, die das Verb *sein* als *haben* bevorzugt.

11. dt. *zum einen Ohr hinein beim anderen wieder hinaus* "etwas wird nicht richtig zugehört; etwas wird gehört, aber nicht befolgt"
12. hi. *ēka kāna sē sunanā dusarē sē bāhara nikālanā* "mit einem Ohr hören, mit anderem hinauslassen"

Obwohl John Heywood's 1546 Sammlung [Late 1300s] als der Ursprung dieses Idioms gesehen wird, wurde der Hindi -Phraseologismus während des britischen Kolonialismus in Indien von Shakespear's Hamlet und Romio und Juliet ins Hindi übernommen.

Im Vergleich zu diesen Beispielen gibt es auch solche Phraseologismen, die die Anomalien im Bezug auf die obengegebenen Kriterien aufweisen. In dieser Reihe stehen auf der Vorderseite die Kinegramme, die die Polysemie darstellen;

13. dt. *den Mund aufreißen* 'angeben; viel reden; prahlen; großspurig reden'
14. hi. *mũha phāṛanā* "Mund aufreißen"

Obwohl die beiden Kinegramme ein nichtverbales Verhalten bezeichnen und eine nachvollziehbare Beziehung zwischen lexikalischer und figurativer Bedeutung haben, bietet das letzte Beispiel noch eine zusätzliche figuartive Bedeutung; *viel (Geld) verlangen*. Dieses Beispiel findet man oft in der Verhandlungssprache. Man möchte etwas kaufen, aber der Verkäufer sagt unsinnigerweise höhe Preise. So wird der Verkäufer von einem großspurig-redenden zu einem großpreis-redenden und -verlangenden. Was beide Pls gemeinsam haben, ist ihr Gebrauch für solche Personen, die durch unbeachtete, bedenkenslose Aussagen sich und den Anderen Probleme verursachen und die Geltung verlieren.

15. dt. *jmdm. die Augen auskratzen mögen* "jmdm. zurechtweisen"
16. hi. *[kisī kī] ā̃khē nikālanā/nōcanā* "[jmds.] Augen rausnehmen/auskratzen"

Die Idiome (15) und (16) sind die Versprachlichungsformen eines Strafprozesses, in dem die Augen eines Beklagten ausgekratzt wurden, was heute nicht mehr durchgeführt wird. Aber im Vergleich zum deutschen Idiom, der noch heute in den Medien und in den Reden von Politikern gebraucht wird, ist diese Bedeutung des Hindi-Idioms eine aussterbende Bedeutung, der außer den alten literarischen Texten kaum seinen Platz in der heutigen Standardsprache oder in den Medien findet.

> Im Interview mit dem Handelsblatt sagte... "Ich habe ein langes Telefongespräch am Wochenende mit ihr geführt, wie ich das öfter tue. Dabei hatte ich nicht den Eindruck, dass sie *mir* auf Distanz *die Augen auskratzen will*."

Dieser große Unterschied zwischen beiden Idiomen hinsichtlich der Geläufigkeit und Stilschicht behindert die wechselseitige Beziehung in Texten. Aber was das Hindi-Idiom noch von aktueller Interesse macht, ist seine zweite häufig gebrauchte Bedeutung; jmdn. *wütend oder ärgerlich anschauen*, was in der Kultur der Hindisprachigen sehr provokativ gesehen wird.

17. dt. *die Augen wie ein Luchs haben* "alles sehen können, ein gutes Sehvermögen haben"
18. hi. *lōmaṛī jaisī ãkhē/nazarē hōnā* "Augen/Blicke wie Fuchs sein"

Die beiden Vergleiche weisen auf die Eigenschaft des Luchses und Fuchses hin: *scharfes Sehvermögen*. Aber hier entsteht eine Frage bezüglich der Bewertung des Sprechers.

> So bleibt Tierliebhabern "nur" die Beobachtung der scheuen Pinselohren im Wildpark. Wenn es nicht gerade um Futter geht, müssen die Besucher allerdings selbst *die Augen wie ein Luchs* haben... "die Tiere sind gut getarnt, so Greifenstein. "Wenn sie regungslos sitzen, sind sie fast nicht zu erkennen."

Das deutsche Beispiel (17) findet man oft mit der Variation *die Augen wie ein Fuchs haben*, die auch den Sprecher positiv bewertet.

> Das offizielle Problem liegt darin, das der Bremser *Augen wie ein Fuchs* haben muß und eine wirklich gute Reaktionszeit.

Hier kann aber das deutsche Idiom nicht mit seiner lexikalischen Hindi-Entsprechung ersetzt werden, da mit diesem Idiom nicht nur das scharfes Sehvermögen, sondern auch die Charakter einer Person bewertet wird. Im Vergleich zum Luchs gilt in Indien der Fuchs als das echte Kultursymbol für die 'Listigkeit'. Das Hindi-Idiom wird im oben gegebenen Kontext sehr spöttisch und abwertend wirken.

19. dt. das zweite Gesicht 1. neue/bisher unbekannte Eigenschaften besitzen, 2. ein geändertes Aussehen haben, 3. hellseherische Fähigkeiten besitzen; die Fähigkeit besitzen, Ereignisse vorherzusehen oder vorauszuahnen
20. hi. *dūsarā cēharā* "zweites Gesicht" 'neue/bisher unbekannte Eigenschaften (meist negative Charakter) besitzen'

Beim Nachschlagen der Einträge in Lexika, fällt auf, dass dem deutschen und Hindi Idiom jeweils nur positive und negative Bedeutungsnuancen zugeschrieben werden. Was aber aus der Standardsprache und Mediensprache hervorkommt, ist der Gebrauch beider phraseologischen Einheiten in dem positiven sowie negativen Sinne. So kann der folgende Text mit dem Hindi Idiom übersetzt werden kann:

> .. ist ein Urlaubsparadies, mit unglaublichen schönen Stränden, gutem Essen, bezahlbaren Hotels. Aber es gibt eine andere, dunkele Seite im selbst ernannten "Land des Lächelns". Es ist das zweite Gesicht.... Die Polerisierung der gesellschaftlichen Lager hat in den vergangenen Jahren Ausmaße genommen, die das Land Taumeln bringt.

Die phraseologischen Einheiten beider Sprachen, die sich in der Struktur ähneln, aber verschiedene denotative Bedeutungen haben, werden als falsche Freunde gesehen;

21. dt. *mit offenen Augen schlafen* ‘nicht aufpassen’
22. hi. *khulī ā̃khõ̃ sē sōnā/ā̃khẽ̃ khulī rakha kara sōnā* “mit offenen Augen schlafen” ‘genau aufpassen’

Der Hindi-Phraseologismus hat eine erwartete Bedutung, die sich auf die Kombination von Konstituenten bezieht. Dagegen liegt dem deutschen Phraseologismus die Trope *Ironie* zugrunde.

23. dt. *nicht auf den Mund gefallen sein* ‘schlagfertig oder beredt sein’
24. hi. *mũha kē bala na/nahī̃ gira paṛanā* “auf Mund nicht gefallen sein” ‘keinen Mißerfolg haben; durch eigene Tat sich selbst nicht schaden (Die Bedeutung des Idioms hat nicht mit *Sprechen* oder *Sagen* zu tun)’

Der deutsche Phraseologismus (mit den Variationen wie *auf die Schnauze/Fresse fallen*, die zur Stilschicht ‘vulgär’ gehören) und der Hindi-Phraseologismus erscheinen oberflächlich oder formell als äquivalente Einheiten, aber der Unterschied kann dadurch herausgestellt werden, dass im deutschen Phraseologismus die Primärfunktion *Instrument des Ausdrückens* aktiviert bleibt und im Hindi-Phraseologismus keine Primärbedeutung vorkommt, weil der Gesichtsteil *Mund* seine semantische Autonomie verliert. Eher handelt es sich im Hindi-Phraseologismus um die Metaphorisierung, der im Vergleich zum Teilidiom 23 in dem Idiom ‘auf die Nase gefallen sein’ seine deutsche Teilentsprechung findet. Dieses Beispielpaar hat nur annähernd gleiche denotative Bedeutung und zeigt große Unterschiede bezüglich der Bildlichkeit und Konnotation. Aufgrund dessen passt das Paar mit der Kategorie “Semantische Äquivalenz” zusammen.

Bemerkenswert ist hier die Feststellung, dass alle Kinegramme (Metaphorisierung der Gebärde) einer Sprache voll- oder teiläquivalente Einheiten in der anderen Sprache haben. Das einzige Kinegrammpaar, das nicht als Äquivalenzpaar, sondern als ein Paar der “Falschen Freunde” gesehen werden kann, ist:

25. dt. *ein Auge zudrücken*: ein Auge zudrücken; jemandem eine Tat nachsehen; etwas tolerieren; auf Strafe verzichten; etwas wohlwollend übersehen
26. hi. *ā̃kha māranā* “Auge schlagen” (literal: zudrücken); 1. Mit dieser Mimik vermittelt man dem zweiten, dass man etwas weiß, worüber der Dritte denkt oder nicht weiß, 2. Eine Mimik zum Flirten, was in meisten Situationen sehr provokativ und abwertend gesehen wird.

Beim kontrastiven Vergleich der Phraseologismen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen entstehen auch solche phraseologische Äquivalenten, die die Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Absicht des Sprechers bzw. die Illoktion auf der Sprachverwendungsebene darstellen;

27. dt. *jmdm. ins Gesicht spucken* “jmdn. demütigen, beleidigen”

28. hi. *kisī kē cēharē/mũha para thunkanā* 'auf jmds. Gesicht/Mund spucken'

Was beide dieser Idiome aneinander näher bringt, ist ihre gemeinsame Bedeutung; jmdn beleidigen, sich mit jmdm. respektlos verhalten. Aber was das Hindi-Idiom vom deutschen trennt, ist sein positiver Gebrauch manchmal in solchen Situationen, in denen das Subjekt das Objekt der Aussage herausfordet und seinen Mut zum Ausdruck bringt.

> ....*vaha bālaka jyādā ḍarapōka hai jō kahatā hai maĩ śēra kē mũha para thūnka dūngā. yahī bāta mujha para lāgū hōtī hai...* der Knabe, der sagt, dass er aufs Gesicht des Löwen spuckt, ist feiger. Das gilt auch für mich.

Weiterhin besteht das Einwand bei der Vermittlung von Äquivalenz darin, dass das Idiom des Hindi keine Substativierung des Verbs *spucken* erlaubt, was die Übertragung vom wiefolgend gegebenen Text schwierig macht, und falls übertragen wird, der Text nicht-figurativ und unlogisch wirkt.

> Jetzt, wo man die Zukunft mehrerer Generationen der Deutschen wie ein Süchtiger in einem Kasino kaltschnauzig und ohne nur mit einem Wimpern zu zucken verspielt hat, ist dieser "grandioser" Vorschlag der zweier "besorgter" Politiker einem *deftigen Spuck ins Gesicht* gleichzusetzen.

Sofern es an die phraseosemantischen Felder und Quasisymbole in den deutschen und Hindi Gesicht-Phraseologismen kommt, sind sie mehr oder weniger ähnlich. Einerseits gilt die Bezeichnung Gesicht in den Phraseologismen beider Sprachen als Spiegel der inneren emotionalen Zustände. Andererseits wird sie auch als ein Sprachsymbol für das Ansehen und die Ehre des Menschen gesehen.

29. dt. *jmdm. nach dem Munde reden* 1. papageienhaft nachplappern, 2. etwas sagen, was der andere gerne hört; allzu bereitwillige, opportunistische Anpassung an die Meinung eines anderen zeigen, 3. jemandem immer zustimmen
30. dt. *kisī kā mũha dēkhakara bāta kahanā/karanā* "jmds. Mund nach reden" 'man soll zuerst Laune sehen und dann je nach der Situation sagen, das Zweck ist jmdn bei Laune zu halten.

Diese Phraseologismen sind die beste Beispiele zur Erläuterung der phraseologischen Polysemie. Dieser Phraseologismus wird in Indien meistens in solchen Situationen gebraucht, in denen ein Untergeordneter einen Übergeordneten um etwas oder Erlaubis bittet. Dem Untergeordneten wird immer vorgeschlagen, zum Übergeordneten nur dann zur Bitte gehen, wenn er gut gelaunt ist, sonst kann das Erlabnis oder die Zulassung abgelehnt werden. Weiterhin wäre hier erwähnenswert, dass der *Mund* des Hindi-PLs vollkommen als ein Sprachsymbol für die *Laune* steht, was im Deutschen kein klarer Fall ist.

31. dt. *jemandem den Mund wässerig/wässrig machen* 'den Appetit/die Lust auf etwas wecken'
32. hi. *kisī kē mũha mẽ̃ pānī lānā* "in jmds. Mund Wasser bringen"

Im Vergleich zum Deutschen Idiom wird das des Hindi ausschließlich für leckeres Essen und lukrative Gespräche gebraucht, und nicht für die CDs, Institutionen, Theorien und Idiologien, wie es im Deutschen der Fall ist. Die Übersetzung vom folgenden Satz mit dem Hindi-idiom wird merkwürdig wirken.

> Die neue Single "Angel in Blue Jeans" *macht* schon *den Mund wässrig* für das mittlerweile siebte Album "Bulletproof Picasso", das im September erscheinen wird. Und: Einfach nur widerlich wie sich viele wieder von hohlen nationalistischen Phrasen *den Mund wässrig machen lassen*...

Die Intransitivierung des transitiven Verbs ist auch in Hindi nicht möglich, da diese Transformation die Idiomatizität des Idioms gründlich negiert.

33. dt. *den Kopf oben behalten/oben halten/hochhalten* 'sich nicht entmutigen lassen; nicht aufgeben; wehrhaft/selbstbewusst/optimistisch bleiben'
34. hi. *sira ũcā rakhanā* "Kopf oben halten"
35. dt. *die Nase hoch tragen* 'hochmütig/eingebildet/arrogant sein'
36. ht. *nāka ũcī rakhanā* "Nase hoch halten"

Obwohl die obengegebenen zwei Paare beider Sprachen ähnliche Bedeutungen haben, kommt der Unterschied dadurch zum Ausdruck, dass es in der Indischen Kultur ein Muss gibt, den Kopf und die Nase im figurativen Sinne immer oben zu halten, damit man in Gesellschaft mit dem Respekt und Ruf lebt. Neben der Tatsache, dass die aus diesem Idiom stammende körperliche Haltung der Hindisprachigen als ein starkes Kultursymbol gesehen wird, wird im Hindi außer der konzeptuellen Metapher *oben ist gut* eine zusätzliche konzeptuelle Metapher verwirklichet, nämlich *Geltung/Ruf ist verlängerte Körperhaltung*. Zwar nicht wörtlich, aber die Nase und den Kopf im figurativen Sinne unten zu halten, ist gesellschaftlich abwertend.

> *dēśa kē nāgarika sē apēkṣā kī jātī hai kī vaha apanī jāna dē dē para dēśa kī 'nāka nīcī' na hōnē dē. dēśa kē rājanitījña, kūṭanītijña aura rājanayika sadā viśva mē dēśa kī 'nāka ũcī' rakhanē kā prayāsa karatē haĩ.sainika sarahada para dēśa kī nāka liē jāna dē dētē haĩ. ēka bāpa apanē kuputra kō lēkara sadā saśankita rahatā hai kī vaha kahĩ samāja mē usakī 'nāka na kaṭā dē'.* 'Von den Bürgern wird erwartet, dass sie ihr eigenes Leben aufgeben, aber *die Nase* des Landes *nicht unten werden lassen*, von den Politikern und Botschaftlern wird erwartet, dass sie in der Welt *die Nase* des Landes immer *hoch halten*, *um die Nase* des Landes geben die Soldaten ihr Leben an der Grenze auf, ein Vater wird immer besorgt, dass sein schlechter Sohn seine *Nase* in der Gesellschaft seine Nase *schneiden* lässt.

Dem fast jedem Nase-Idiom des Hindi wird die Abstufung "gesellschaftliche/r Geltung/Ruf" hinzugefügt, was die Vermittlung der Übersetzungsäquivalenz hinsichtlich der kulturellen Konnotation sehr schwierig macht. Im Vergleich zu Hindi gibt es viele Nase-Idiome des Deutschen, die nicht auf die gesellschaftlich-moralische Lage eines Menschen, sondern auf andere Faktoren Bezug nehmen. Zu denen zählen exemplarisch die Nähe bzw. der Zugang zu einem Objekt (jemandem vor der Nase wegfahren: von jemandem knapp verpasst werden), etwas vor der Nase haben (umgangssprachlich: etwas in unmittelbarer Nähe haben) oder den Gemüt einer Person (jmdn an der Nase herumführen). Ob im Deutschsprachigen Raum Nase als das echte oder das Quasi- Symbol des gesellschaftlichen Ansehens gilt, ist anhand der Phraseologismen nicht beweisbar.

Im Vergleich zu all diesen Beispielen, gibt es auch solche Beispiele, die sich nicht in den lexikalischen Komponenten und in der Bildlichkeit übereinstimmen.

37. dt. mit dem Leben davonkommen 'dem Tod knapp entgehen'
38. *hi mauta kē mũha sē (bāla-bāla) nikalanā/bacanā* 'dem Mund des Todes knapp entgehen'

Hier weisen die Phraseologismen die Ähnlichkeit nur an die denotative Bedeutung auf. Aber sie werden genau für solche Situationen gebraucht, in denen es von einem Unfall, Unglück oder der lebensbedrohlichen Krankheit oder Sachlage die Rede ist.

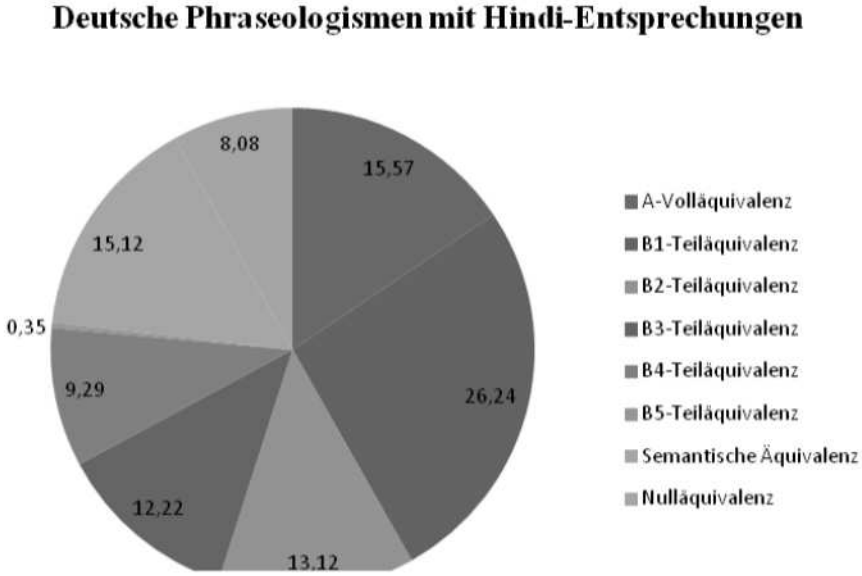
> ...trotzdem gehörten wir zu den Glücklichen, die mit dem Leben davonkamen," erzählt die zierliche Frau im Gespräch mit der..
> *mauta kē mũha sē nikalakara āē lōgõ̃ kī khauphanāka dāstāna... mauta kē mũha sē baca nikalanē kē liē vē bhagavāna kā śukriyā adā karanē lagē...* 'die schreckliche Geschichte der Leute, die dem Mund des Todes entgangen sind'...sie dankten dem Gott dafür, dass sie dem Mund des todes entgangen sind.'

Die Bildlichkeit des Hindi-Idioms und die Personifikation des Todes sind darauf zurückzuführen, dass die zahlreichen indischen Volkslieder, -geschichten und religiöse Bücher voll von solchen Riesen sind, die lebendigen Menschen schluckten oder aßten.

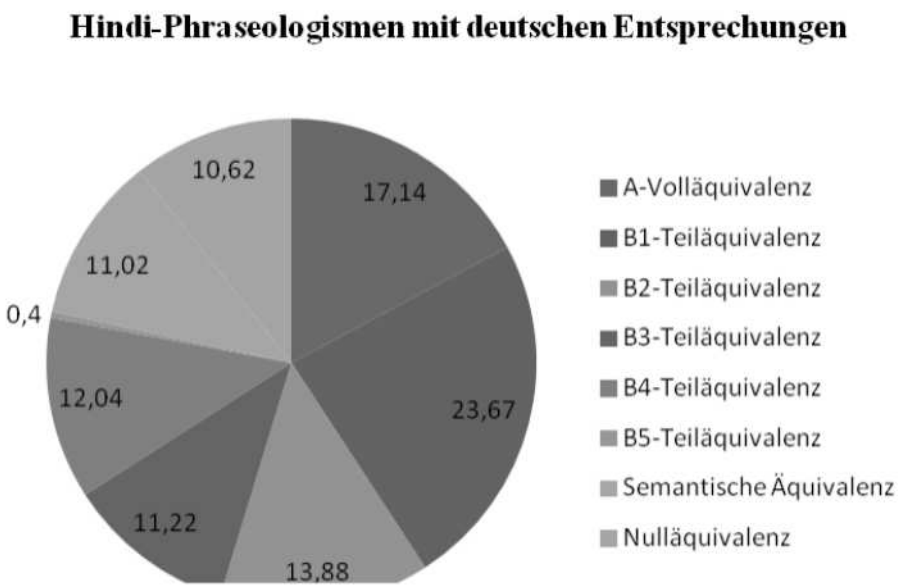
3. Ergebnisse

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags war eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Phraseologismen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen im Deutschen und Hindi. Bei dieser Analyse sollte die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede

in den äquivalent erscheinenden Phraseologismen des Deutschen und Hindi beschrieben werden, wobei die charakteristischen phraseo-semantischen Felder, die Korrelation zwischen der allgemeinen phraseologischen Bedeutung und der Bedeutung der Kernkomponente (hier Gesichtsteilbezeichnung) sowie die Art der Übertragung im Mittelpunkt standen. Bei dieser vergleichenden Untersuchung der phraseologischen Systeme ist zu bemerken, dass diese Systeme mehr Gemeinsamkeiten als Unterschiede aufweisen. Im Hinblick auf die Äquivalenztypologie kann die anteilmäßige Anzahl der Äquivalenztypen von deutschen Phraseologismen mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen verglichen mit denen von Hindi mit folgender Graphik dargestellt werden.



Anhand der graphischen Darstellung von Äquivalenztypen ist zu vermuten, dass die Teiläquivalenz B1 (Unterschied in der wörtlichen Bedeutug) als äquivalenztypologische Mehrheit zwischen phraseologischen Systemen beider Sprachen gesehen werden kann. Im Hinblick auf die Äquivalenztypen von Hindi-Phraseologismen im Vergleich zu denen des Deutschen sind die Ergebnisse ein wenig anders:



Auch in dieser Graphik stellt sich der Äquivalenztyp B1 als Mehrheit dar. Da diese Untersuchung primär zur kriterienbezogenen Identifizierung von phraseologischen Äquivalenten des Deutschen und Hindi und zur Erklärung der ihnen zugrundeliegenden Unterschiede und Ähnlichkeiten gewidmet ist, wird darauf verzichtet, die Entsprechungen für nulläquivalente Einheiten zu finden. Stattdessen wird hier versucht, die ihnen zugrundeliegenden sprach- und kulturspezifischen Züge ans Licht zu bringen. Hier ist bemerkenswert, dass alle Kinegramme (Metaphorisierung der Gebärde) einer Sprache voll- oder teiläquivalente Einheiten in der anderen Sprache haben. Das einzige Kinegrammpaar, das nicht als Äquivalenzpaar, sondern als ein Paar der "Falschen Freunde" gesehen werden kann, ist *ãkha māranā* "Auge schlagen (zudrücken)" und *ein Auge zudrücken*. Wenn man einen Blick auf solche Hindi-Ausdrücke wirft, die keine Entsprechungen im Deutschen haben, kann man feststellen, dass all diese Ausdrücke unter den Oberbegriffen "Verhalten dem Menschen gegenüber" und "gesellschaftlich-moralische Lage eines Menschen" eingeordnet werden können. Einerseits ist keine Äquivalenz für solche Phraseologismen zu finden, in denen man den anderen Menschen sehr hochschätzt, viel Ehre verleiht oder sehr viel liebt, z.B. *rāha mẽ palakẽ bichānā* "in Weg Augenlide ausbreiten", *sira-ãkhõ para baiṭhānā* "jmdn. auf eigene Kopf-Augen setzen". Andererseits gibt es keine Entsprechungen für solche Einheiten, in denen man den anderen Menschen sehr geringschätzt und sich ihm gegenüber überheblich verhält, z. B. *mũha uṭhāyē calē ānā* "Mund aufhe-

bend kommen", *mũha kālā karanā* "Mund schwarz machen" usw. Weiterhin gehören all diese Phraseologismen der Stilschicht "gehoben" oder "salopp "an und sind hyperbolisch bzw. übertreibend. Die große Zahl der zwischensprachlichen Entsprechungen ist vermutlich darauf zurückzuführen, dass die Sprecher des Hindi und des Deutschen "die indo-germanische Denkweise" teilen und es in beiden Kulturen und Sprachgemeinschaften Denkkriterien oder Interpretationsweisen gibt, die als universell für beide Sprachpaare gesehen werden können.

4. Schlussbemerkungen

Sofern es die ideographischen Charakteristika bzw. die phraseologisch-semantischen Felder oder begrifflich-semantischen Universalien betrifft, ist die Verteilung phraseologischer Einheiten mit Gesichtsteilbezeichnungen sowohl quantitativ (Anzahl der Phraseologismen pro Feld) als auch qualitativ (Frequenz der Felder und ihre Struktur) in den verglichenen Sprachen unterschiedlich. Die Verteilung der phraseo-semantischen Felder im Deutschen und Hindi ist wie folgend:

	Ideographische Charakteristika	Deutsch	Hindi
A	Kognitive Prozesse	34	12
B	Emotionaler Zustand oder gefühlsmäßige Lage eines Menschen	64	91
C	Individuell-typologische Persönlichkeitsmerkmale	48	48
D	Physischer Zustand eines Menschen	25	17
E	Verhalten mit den anderen Menschen	41	44
F	Einschätzung einer Lage	20	15
G	Sinneswahrnehmung	32	27
H	Gesellschaftliche, moralische Lage	6	11
I	Menschliches Handeln	4	5

Die Phraseologismen beider Sprachen zeigen Unterschiede in der Zuweisung von ideographischen Merkmalen A (Kognitive Prozesse), B (Emotionaler Zustand) und H (Gesellschaftliche oder moralische Lage). Außer diesen drei Merkmalen haben die übrigen Merkmale mehr oder weniger gleiche Zahl der Phraseologismen. Die hohe Zahl der Phraseologismen mit den Merkmalen B und H im Hindi und die mit Merkmal A im Deutschen ist ver-

mutlich darauf zurückzuführen, dass in der deutschen Kultur das logische und rationale Denken stärker betont war/ist, während in der Kultur derjenigen, die Hindi sprechen, viel Wert auf emotionale Orientierung gelegt wird. Im Hindi ist Mehrheit der Phraseologismen um das phraseosematische Feld "Emotionaler Zustand eines Menschen" gebildet. Außer dem semantischen Feld "Alkohol verbrauchen" oder "betrunken sein" tritt jedes phraseosemantische Feld des Deutschen auch in Hindi-Phraseologismen auf, aber die Felder wie 'jmdn. entwürdigen oder jmds. Würde verletzen', 'jmds. Ansehen, Ruf zerstören' treten nur in Phraseologismen des Hindi auf. Im Vergleich zu den deutschen Phraseologismen (circa 63%) sind die Hindi-Phraseologismen (circa 78%) häufiger negativ-konnotiert, d.h. entweder drücken sie die negativen Emotionen des Menschen aus, oder sie gehören der Stilfärbung pathetisch, pejorativ bzw. abwertend an.

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A contrastive analysis of phraseological units containing facial expression description in German and Hindi

Summary

The aim of the paper is to discuss the results of a contrastive analysis of phraseological units in German and Hindi. The focal issue of the present research study is to determine cross-linguistic equivalents of the phrases at issue. Thanks to the analysis, which was conducted, it was possible to discuss both similarities and differences in the idiomatic stock of the two languages.

Елена Зиновьева
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет
Россия

Алексей Алешин
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет телекоммуникаций
Россия

Русские и шведские устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие манеру речи человека

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются семантика, компонентная структура, эталоны, основания сравнения и особенности функционирования русских и шведских устойчивых сравнений, характеризующих манеру речи человека, приводятся синонимические ряды устойчивых сравнений. Анализ проводится в сравнительном и лингвокультурологическом аспектах. В результате анализа делаются выводы относительно сходства формы и значения устойчивых сравнений русского и шведского языков, а также относительно наличия национально-культурных особенностей единиц двух языков в соответствии с выделением различных характеристик эталона сравнения.

Ключевые слова: *устойчивое сравнение, основание сравнения, национально-культурные особенности, синонимический ряд*

1. Введение

Устойчивые сравнения (УС) составляют один из самых многочисленных разрядов фразеологических единиц с однотипными структурно-семантическими свойствами: их компаративная семантика находит явную формальную выраженность – объект сравнения вводится с помощью сравнительного союза *как* (или его синонимов *будто*, *как будто*, *словно*, *точно*) в русском языке и *som* или *som om* в шведском языке.

Устойчивые сравнения на материале разных языков исследовались в различных аспектах: в структурно-типологическом, в когнитивно-функциональном, этнолингвистическом, психолингвистическом, комму-

никативно-прагматическом (см. обзор в Лебедева 1999), в последние годы (хотя и в небольшой степени) и в лингвокультурологическом (Подхомутников 2003, Ламакина 2010, Алешин 2012). УС, характеризующие человека, являлись объектом анализа в работах сопоставительного плана (например, Шмелева 1988, Федуленкова 2006, Руис-Соррилья Крусате 2007, Кубасова 2008). В основном исследованию подвергались внешность человека, физические качества, свойства личности. Национальная специфика УС проявляется в различии избранных в той или иной культуре эталонов сравнения и стереотипных представлений. Е.В. Иванова справедливо относит эти единицы к интерпретативным когнитемам, представляющим собой «отрезки знаний, полученных в результате интерпретации окружающего мира» (2013: 73). Изучение национально-культурной специфики УС, как показывает проведенный анализ научной литературы, требует дальнейших разработок применительно к конкретным языкам. Русские УС, характеризующие манеру речи человека, на настоящий момент не рассматривались в аспекте лингвокультурологии в сопоставлении с их шведскими аналогами.

Цель данной статьи – рассмотреть национально-культурные особенности выбранной для анализа тематической группы русских и шведских УС. Материалом для исследования послужили данные словарей устойчивых сравнений русского языка (Огольцев 2001, Мокиенко 2003, Лебедева 2013), фразеологических словарей шведского языка (Svensk handordbok. Konstruktioner och fraseologi 1966, Svenskt språkbruk. Ordbok över konstruktioner och fraser 2003), иллюстративный материал сайтов ruscorpora.ru – Национальный корпус русского языка и spraakbanken.gu.se – Språkbanken (Национальный корпус шведского языка).

2. Русские устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие манеру речи

В русском языке интересующая нас группа УС представлена 30 единицами: *строчить, палить как из пулемета; говорить, трещать как трещотка; сыпать как горох (из мешка); говорить, разговаривать как (будто) каша во рту у кого-либо; говорит как пишет; ворковать как голуби (голубки); говорит словно жвачку жует; говорит словно мочалку жует; повторять, заладить как попугай; долбить как дятел; болтать, трещать как сорока; шипеть как гусь (гусыня); шипеть как змея (змей); жужжать как пчела; жужжать как шмель; зудеть, гудеть (над/под ухом) у кого-л. как комар; токовать как глухарь; говорить, болтать как бесструнная балалайка; молоть*

как мельница; язык как мельница; молотить как молотилка; тарахтеть как погремушка; трещать как сорока; трещать как трещотка; греметь как пустая бочка; заладить как сорока; шипеть как кошка, блеять как коза, рычать как лев, мурлыкать как кошка.

Номинативной плотностью отличаются (и, соответственно, образуют синонимические ряды) УС, характеризующие 1) быстро, часто, непрерывно и громко говорящего человека (10 единиц): *строчить, палить как из пулемета; сыпать как горох (из мешка); говорить, болтать как бесструнная балалайка; молоть как мельница; язык как мельница; молотить как молотилка; тарахтеть как погремушка; трещать как сорока; трещать как трещотка; греметь как пустая бочка*; 2) назойливо, длительно и монотонно что-либо говорящего человека (4 единицы): *жужжать как пчела; жужжать как шмель; зудеть (гудеть, жужжать) [над ухом] у кого как комар; зудеть (жужжать, гудеть) как [осенняя] муха*; 3) чью-либо невнятную, малопонятную, неразборчивую речь, плохое произношение (3 единицы): *говорить будто у кого каша во рту; говорит словно жвачку жует; говорит как мочалку жует*; 4) человека, повторяющего одно и то же (3 единицы): *повторять, твердить, заладить как попугай; долбить как дятел; заладить как сорока*; 5) человека, говорящего, разговаривающего зло, приглушенно негодующим тоном, часто сквозь зубы (3 единицы): *шипеть как змея (змей); шипеть как гусь (гусыня), шипеть как кошка*. УС данных синонимических рядов отмечаются словарями как «неодобрительные».

Рассмотрим сначала последовательно единицы выделенных синонимических рядов.

2.1. Устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие быстро и громко говорящего человека

УС, дающие характеристику быстро, громко, непрерывно говорящего человека, в качестве эталонов используют такие единицы, как: *пулемет, бесструнная балалайка, мельница, молотилка, погремушка, сорока, трещотка, пустая бочка, горох (из мешка)*. В качестве объектов сравнения выступают предметы и птица, издающие громкие звуки. Предметы представляют собой хозяйственно-бытовые реалии, детскую игрушку, музыкальный инструмент и оружие.

УС, эталоном которого является *пулемет*, допускает большое количество вариантов формы: *трещать/затрещать (строчить/застрочить, тарахтеть/затарахтеть) как пулемет, (палить как из пулемета), выпаливать (сыпать, строчить) слова как из пулемета*. В материалах «На-

ционального корпуса русского языка» (НКРЯ) данное УС частотно. Оно используется применительно к женщине и мужчине, встретились также такие основания сравнения, как *стрекотать*: «Она *стрекотала* теперь, *как из пулемета*, и оглядывалась на толпу, теснившую их, и глаза у нее были дикие и восторженные» (Татьяна Устинова. Большое зло и мелкие пакости (2003))[1] и *тараторить*: «Каждый из них, будучи в невероятном нервном возбуждении, *тараторит, как из пулемета*» (Александр Михайлов. Капкан для одинокого волка (2001)). Кроме того, когда речь идет о словах, речи, используется глагол *вылетать*: «Заметив коллег, Ларс опустил кресло (теперь он волок его за спинку, как мешок), по-детски улыбнулся и залопотал быстро и стремительно: приветствия, рассуждения о доброй погоде и радостные комментарии по поводу неожиданной встречи *вылетали* из него, *как из пулемета*» (Дмитрий Каралис. Роман с героиней // «Звезда», 2001).

Основанием УС *сыпать как горох* является глагол *говорить*: «– Крошка Цахес *говорила* отрывисто, не глядя ему в глаза. (*Как горох сыпала*!) – Сам напишешь, сам пошлешь» (Андрей Житков. Кафедра (2000)). Отметим, что в контекстах НКРЯ чаще встречается УС *сыпаться как горох* – ‘о быстро, скороговоркой произносимых кем-либо словах’.

УС *говорить, болтать как бесструнная балалайка* фиксируется в словаре как просторечное и презрительное, обычно выступает в значении ‘о пустомеле, болтуне, не сдерживающем обещаний человеке’ (Мокиенко 2003: 23), но может использоваться и при характеристике манеры речи: «Все, что ни говорит, *говорит, как бесструнная балалайка*, и это офицер русской военной академии» (М. А. Булгаков. Белая гвардия (1923–1924)).

Выражения *молоть* [*языком*] *как* [*пустая*] *мельница* и *язык у кого как* [*пустая*] *мельница* имеют в словаре пометы «народное» и «ироническое», эти УС также характеризуют болтуна и употребляются применительно к чьей-то многословной, громкой, очень быстрой и беспрерывной речи (Мокиенко 2003: 244). В цитатах из НКРЯ данные фразеологизмы не частотны, используются в художественной литературе до середины XX века: «– Обжирается, – подтвердил Жиган, у которого *язык заработал, как мельница*» (А. П. Гайдар. Р. В. С. (1925)); «– Царица врала, и ты заврался, *мелешь, как мельница*» (В. Я. Шишков. Емельян Пугачев. Книга вторая. Ч. 1–2 (1939–1945)). В произведениях XIX века наб-

[1] Здесь и далее все иллюстративные контексты русского языка взяты с сайта «Национальный корпус русского языка».

людается замена основания сравнения *молоть* на *лопотать*: «С девками оно часто так бывает: говорит-говорит, *лопочет-лопочет, как мельница* на всех поставах, да вдруг и станет» (В. Г. Короленко. Судный день (1890)).

УС *молотить как молотилка* полностью синонимично рассмотренным единицам и сопровождается в словаре такими же пометами (Мокиенко 2003: 254). К просторечию относится ироничное УС *тарахтеть как* [*детская*] *погремушка*, имеющее то же значение, что и рассмотренные выше единицы (Там же: 324). Контекстов употребления этих двух УС в НКРЯ не встретилось.

Основаниями сравнения *как сорока* обычно являются глаголы *стрекотать, трещать, болтать* или прилагательное *болтливый(ая)*. Устойчивое сравнение *трещать (стрекотать) как сорока* фиксируется как просторечное, ироничное, употребляемое ***преимущественно*** к женщине (Мокиенко 2003: 408), хотя В.М. Мокиенко в приводимом толковании утверждает, что выражение *трещать (стрекотать) как сорока* используется ***исключительно***, когда речь идет о женщине: ‘о быстро, часто и непрерывно говорящей, тараторящей, болтающей (обычно мешая этим окружающим) женщине’. Ср. контексты сайта НКРЯ: «Петя *трещал, как сорока*, склонив набок голову, и порыжевший хохолок его на грязном темени вертелся и подпрыгивал» (И.Е. Вольнов (И.Е. Владимиров). Повесть о днях моей жизни 1912)); «Всю дорогу из Брюсселя – а это полтора часа – он *трещал* по-английски, *как сорока*» (Срочное погружение (2002) // «Домовой», 2002.03.04); «Ольга *трещала* громко, *как сорока*, и от страха так быстро, что разбудила комиссию» (Феликс Чуев. Ильюшин. 1998).

Ироническое просторечное УС *трещать* (*говорить, болтать, тарахтеть, верещать*) *как трещотка* в первом значении употребляется применительно к назойливо тарахтящим сорокам, а во втором – об очень быстро, торопливо, громко и многословно говорящем человеке (Мокиенко 2003: 436; Огольцев 2001: 686). По мнению В.М. Мокиенко, это УС чаще используется применительно к женщине. Ср. с заменой основания сравнения: «Она сама все *вытрехивает*, *как трещотка*, а тут ляпнула про мыло и сорок третий – и быстро тему на «снидаты будэтэ?» (Татьяна Соломатина. Большая собака, или «Эклектичная живописная вавилонская повесть о зарытом» (2009)).

Просторечное пренебрежительное УС *греметь как пустая бочка* отличается от своих синонимов оттенком значения ‘велеречиво и праздно говорить, болтать попусту’ (Мокиенко 2003: 42). Ср. пословицу *Пустая бочка пуще гремит* – о пустом человеке, который громче всех говорит

о своих достоинствах. Контекстов употребления данного УС в НКРЯ нам не встретилось.

Наиболее употребительными из УС рассмотренного синонимического ряда следует признать такие единицы, как *трещать как сорока* и *строчить как из пулемета*.

2.2. Устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие человека, назойливо и монотонно что-либо говорящего

Эталонами всех УС, характеризующих назойливо, длительно и монотонно что-либо говорящего человека, являются насекомые: *пчела; шмель; комар; [осенняя] муха.* На сайте НКРЯ встретились контексты употребления всех сравнений. Ср.: «*Как шмель, зудил* Шигаев *над ухом* Пугачева» (В. Я. Шишков. Емельян Пугачев. Книга вторая. Ч. 3 (1939–1945)); «Она насупливала безволосые брови и *жужжала, как шмель*» (С.Н. Сергеев-Ценский. Счастливица (1931)); «– Ты чего, парень, *зудишь в* самое *ухо*, *как комар*?» (А. А. Богданов. Бунт (1926)); «– Он *дудел* рядом, *как осенняя муха*, продолжая время от времени посылать вокруг, как луч света, ободряющую улыбку» (Роман Солнцев. Полураспад. Из жизни А. А. Левушкина-Александрова, а также анекдоты о нем (2000–2002) // «Октябрь», 2002).

В УС *жужжать как пчела* наблюдается замена основания сравнения на глагол *гудеть*: «Все тихо, только за стеной слышится тонкий храп, должно быть, фрейлины Валуевой, и далеко *гудит, как пчела*, однообразный голос священника» (Д. С. Мережковский. Александр Первый (1922)); «Хотела и не могла вспомнить; закрыла глаза, прислушалась к дальнему, однообразно, *как пчела, гудевшему* голосу, – и вдруг вспомнила» (Там же). Данное УС употребляется в рассмотренном материале только ка характеристика голоса человека.

2.3. Устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие чью-либо неразборчивую речь

Невнятная манера речи характеризуется, по данным словарей устойчивых сравнений русского языка, через образ жующего человека. Эталонами сравнения выступает человек, у которого во рту *каша*, *жвачка* или *мочалка*.

Следует заметить, что УС *будто у кого каша во рту* используется в современных текстах редко, ср. примеры из литературы XIX и начала XX в., представленные на сайте НКРЯ, в том числе с расшире-

нием сравнения: «– Но вы опять мямлите, – сказал адъютанту герцог, будто не желая поддаться осенившему его доброму впечатлению, – у вас вечно, черт возьми, *точно недоеденная каша во рту*» (Г. П. Данилевский. Сожженная Москва (1885)); «Говор здесь странный – вроде английского что-то; *говорят, точно каша во рту*» (Б. Л. Модзалевский. Дневник моей поездки в Париж и Веймар в 1908 году, по делам Пушкинского дома, к А. Ф. Онегину и П. В. Жуковскому (1908)). В большинстве случаев в современном русском языке выражение употребляется без сравнительного союза, как идиома: «Клочковатая борода, сбивчивая речь, *каша во рту* – и эта дикая, птичья манера вскидывать голову после особенно эффектной трели: зрелища более жалкого нельзя было вообразить» (Дмитрий Быков. Орфография (2002)); «Он и до этого-то плохо слова выговаривал, а теперь совсем ничего не поймешь – сплошная *каша во рту*» (Олег Гриневский. Восток – дело тонкое (1998)).

УС *говорит словно жвачку жует* и *говорит как мочалку жует* в материалах НКРЯ не встретились. Вероятно, это обусловлено их устаревающим характером.

2.4. Устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие человека, повторяющего одно и то же

Эталонами русских УС, характеризующих человека, повторяющего одно и то же, являются птицы: *попугай*, *дятел* и *сорока*.

Основаниями сравнения *как попугай*, наиболее частотного в синонимическом ряду, являются глаголы *повторять, заладить, твердить, затвердить, долдонить*: «И *повторял* потом *как попугай* одно и то же» (Андрей Волос. Недвижимость (2000) // «Новый Мир», 2001); «– А чего ты *заладила, как попугай*: «Топлес, топлес!».. (Анатолий Мельник. Авторитет (2000)); «Шауро, *как попугай, твердил* одно и то же» (Эльдар Рязанов. Подведенные итоги (2000)); «– Я тебя дело спрашиваю, а ты *долдонишь, как попугай*» (Сергей Осипов. Страсти по Фоме. Книга вторая. Примус интер парэс (1998)); «– Моя, моя, моя, – что ты *заладил*, *как попугай*» (Владимир Маканин. Голоса (1977)). ..

УС *долбить [одно и то же] как дятел* достаточно частотно в материалах НКРЯ: «Он весь обставился иконами и одно лишь, *как дятел, долбит*: терпение, терпение и еще раз терпение» (А. С. Новиков-Прибой. Цусима (1932–1935)); «– Дуры, – опять сказал Филя. – Ну, *задолбил, как дятел*: дуры, дуры. Твоя Нюра – дура, что ли?» (Василий Шукшин. Залетный (1969–1970)). УС используется с управлением глагола *кого/что*, обыгрывая таким образом первичное значение глагола *долбить*: «Месье

Шарль был прав, когда *долбил меня, как дятел*: «Mon cher ami, if vous encore trop jeune («Дорогой друг, по юности своей») вы никак не научитесь слушать себя, и ваш рара напрасно тратил на меня свои деньги» (Борис Васильев. Картежник и бретер, игрок и дуэлянт (1998)). Ср. также с расширением компонентного состава УС: «А я откуда знаю, когда он приедет, отвяжись», – говорю ей, но она этими *вопросами* с утра до ночи меня *долбит* и долбит, *как дятел сухую лесину*» (М. А. Шолохов. Поднятая целина. Книга 2 (1960)). В качестве основания УС может выступать и глагол *заладить*: «Что ты *заладил одно и то же, как дятел*?» (Татьяна Моспан. Подиум (2000)). Основание сравнения может опускаться: «А ты, *как дятел*: «я Бродского благословил, я Бродского благословил»» (Анатолий Найман. Жизнь и смерть поэта Шварца // «Октябрь», 2001).

Словари устойчивых сравнений русского языка не фиксируют выражения с глагольными основаниями *заладить, твердить, повторять как сорока*, частотными, как показывает материал сайта НКРЯ, в русской речи. Устойчивое сравнение в данном случае синонимизируется с выражением *как попугай* и также характеризует манеру речи человека: «Чем больше я старалась рассуждать логически и анализировать, тем чаще ловила себя на том, что просто *тверж*у про себя, *как сорока*, что-нибудь вроде: «Как же так?»» (Вера Белоусова. По субботам не стреляю. 2000); «– Ничто так не похоже на ложь, как сама правда, – сказал он, будто из книги прочел. – Ты, Старых, *заладил, как сорока*! – Интересно, как он ее под пропеллер подсовывал?» (Г.Я. Бакланов. Навеки девятнатцатилетние. 1979); «Говорить теперь о соглашательстве, когда быть не может даже речи о разделе власти... значит просто *повторять, как сорока*, заученные, но не понятные слова» (В.И. Ленин. О продовольственном налоге. 1921). Очевидно, существование данных устойчивых сравнений мотивировано природной способностью сорок к имитации звуков (см. подробнее в Зиновьева 2012).

2.5. Устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие человека, говорящего зло, приглушенным тоном

Эталонами русских УС, характеризующих злобную речь сквозь зубы, являются зоонимы: *змея (змей), гусь (гусыня), кошка*: «В Колькиной комнате, едва за нами закрылась дверь, он рухнул на диван, подбросил газету над головой и, стараясь, чтобы его не услышали в гостиной, *зашипел* на нас, *как змея*» (Андрей Геласимов. Рахиль (2004) // «Октябрь», 2003); «Из-за тебя, болван, мы провалили важнейшую часть

моего плана, – *шипела как змея* злая Манефа» (Валентин Постников. Удивительные похождения нечистой силы (1996)); «– И, не получив моего благословения, продолжил: – Он, *как змей, шипел,* Шурка, значит» (Геннадий Прашкевич, Александр Богдан. Человек «Ч» (2001)); «Стоявший слева от императрицы князь Вяземский сердито, *как гусь, зашипел* на казака, а миниатюрная Екатерина ... изволила, вместо гнева, всемилостивейше улыбнуться» (В. Я. Шишков. Емельян Пугачев. Книга первая. Ч. 1–2 (1934–1939)). Примеров употребления УС *шипеть как кошка* в НКРЯ не встретилось.

2.6. Устойчивые сравнения русского языка, не образующие синонимических рядов

УС *рычать как лев* имеет значение ‘зло, сердито говорить, выражать негодование, недовольство’ (Огольцев 2001: 314). Отметим, что в иллюстративном материале НКРЯ данное УС встретилось только как характеристика голоса – ‘о сильных агрессивных криках, злобном рычании’ (Мокиенко 2003: 214): «Он отличался громоподобным голосом, *рычал, как лев*, когда какой-нибудь игумен осмеливался порицать его греховное времяпрепровождение, рвал в гневе обличительные эпистолии и топтал их зелеными сапогами, украшенными жемчугом» (А. П. Ладинский. Анна Ярославна – королева Франции (1960)).

В «Словаре сравнений русского языка» В.М. Мокиенко приведено УС *блеять как коза* в значении ‘о человеке, издающем неприятные, высокие, резкие и дребезжащие звуки’ (Мокиенко 2003: 173). Но в иллюстративном материале НКРЯ это УС не встретилось, а в том же значении употребляется выражение *блеять как овца*: «Она рыдала, но мне казалось, что это только так, для порядка, и что она вовсе не плачет; порой мне чудилось, что она вдруг вся, как скелет, рассыплется; она выговаривала слова какие-то раздавленным, дребезжащим голосом; слово preferable, например, она произносила prefe-a-able и на слоге а словно *блеяла как овца*» (Ф. М. Достоевский. Подросток (1875)). Однако это же УС используется и для характеристики неуверенной манеры речи: «Дело в том, что все наши девчонки от него без ума, млеют и *блеют, как овечки*, когда его видят» (Владимир Железников. Каждый мечтает о собаке (1966)).

УС *говорит как пишет* отличается в русском языке энантиосемией: оно может употребляться как в качестве одобрительного для характеристики чьей-то обстоятельной, складной, разумной речи: «У нее выдающееся ораторское дарование, и не менее уверенно владеет она пе-

ром публициста (что называется, «*говорит, как пишет*»)» (Борис Ефимов. Десять десятилетий (2000)), так и в качестве неодобрительного или иронического для характеристики гладкой и многословной речи: «Уязвленные довлатовским красноречием собеседники не раз *попрекали* его тем, что он *говорит как пишет*» (Александр Генис. Довлатов и окрестности (1998)).

Одобрительным и шутливым является УС *ворковать как голубки (голубь с голубкой, два голубка)* – ‘разговаривать дружелюбно, с взаимной ласковостью, нежностью’. УС употребляется применительно к мужчине и женщине (Огольцев 2001: 129): «Почти наткнувшись на Артема с Дуняшкой, они шарахнулись в сторону, и одна из них громко сказала: – Сидят себе и *воркуют, как голубки*. Прям-даки завидочки берут» (Г. М. Марков. Строговы. Кн. 2 (1936–1948)); «В тот же день, когда я вернулся со службы, Михайла и Улька сидели вдвоем в людской за графинчиком, играли в подкидного и *ворковали как два голубка*» (Михаил Шишкин. Всех ожидает одна ночь (1993–2003)); «Идем мы, костылями звеним, *воркуем, как голубь с голубкой*» (С. А. Есенин. Яр (1915)).

Шутливой коннотацией отличается и УС *мурлыкать (урчать) как кошка* – ‘выражать мерным тоном голоса удовлетворение, тихую радость, блаженство и хорошее расположение духа, настроение’ (Мокиенко 2003: 195]: «В отличие от нее г-жа Миткова *мурлычет, как кошка*, но она не терпит, когда говорят вздор, и в нескольких случаях заставила несчастного Игоря Викторовича сконфузиться... (Они о нас (2000) // «Коммерсантъ-Власть», 2000.08.29).

3. Шведские устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие манеру речи человека

Шведские УС, характеризующие манеру речи человека, на настоящий момент не рассматривались в аспекте лингвокультурологии. Интересующая нас группа УС представлена 13 единицами: *tala som en bok* (*говорить как книга*), *kuttra som en duva* (*ворковать как голубь*), *prata som en kvarn* (*говорить как мельница*), *fräsa som en katt* (*шипеть как кошка*), *spinna som en katt* (*мурлыкать как кошка*), *snattra som en anka* (*трещать как утка*), *bräka som en get* (*блеять как коза*), *klunka som kalkoner (tjädertuppar)* (*клокотать как индюки (глухари)*), *vara sladdrig som en kärring* (*быть болтливым как старуха*), *ryta som ett lejon* (*рычать как лев*), *snattra (pladdra) som en papegoja* (*трещать как попугай*), *skrocka som en höna* (*кудахтать как курица*), *låta som sju svåra år* (*звучать как семь тяжелых лет*).

3.1. Устойчивые сравнения, характеризующие быстро и громко говорящего человека

Внутри тематической группы шведских УС, характеризующих манеру речи человека, можно выделить только один синонимический ряд, совпадающий по значению с синонимическими рядами русских УС: характеристика быстрой, громкой, непрерывной, многословной речи: *prata som en kvarn* (говорить как мельница), *snattra (pladdra) som en papegoja* (болтать как попугай), *snattra som en anka* (трещать как утка) и *skrocka som en höna* (кудахтать как курица). В качестве эталонов данного ряда УС выступают птицы (попугай, утка, курица), и хозяйственно-бытовая реалия (мельница).

Наиболее частотным в контекстах художественной литературы и интернета является УС *prata som en kvarn* (говорить как мельница): "Hon *pratade som en kvarn* när Frida kom och tvättade för oppe i köket fick hon inte säga mycket". – «Она *говорила как мельница*, когда Фрида пришла и начала стирать, потому что в кухне поговорить не удавалось» (Ekman K. Springkällan)[2]; "Hon är fullkomligt normal hemma, *pratar som en kvarn*, busar, precis som du beskriver". – «Дома она ведет себя совершенно нормально, *говорит как мельница*, шалит, все как ты описываешь» (www.familjeliv.se).

Данная единица также оказалась известна наибольшему числу респондентов, и около трети опрошенных заявили, что употребляют ее в собственной речи. Интересно отметить, что многие информанты указали на трансформацию данного УС в метафору при использовании его в речи – *pratkvarn* (говорящая мельница).

УС *snattra (pladdra) som en papegoja* (болтать как попугай) также частотно в контекстах интернета: "När ja blir uppretad för något sätter ja mig ner med någon jag inte känner och *pladdrar på som en papegoja*". – «Когда я чем-то раздражен, я сажусь с кем-то кого не знаю и трещу как попугай» (www.danslogen.se); "Sådana exempel lyssnar inte Dinamarca på, nej hon fortsätter *som en papegoja att snattra*" – Такие примеры Динамарка не слушает, она продолжает, как попугай, трещать» (hogrelius.blogspot.ru). Из приведенных примеров видно, что эталон сравнения *en papegoja* (попугай) служит, в отличие от русского языка, для характеристики болтливого человека, а не повторяющего одно и то же.

[2] Здесь и далее все иллюстративные контексты шведского языка взяты с сайта Språkbanken.

УС *snattra som en anka* (*трещать как утка*) и *skrocka som en höna* (*кудахтать как курица*) оказались неизвестными подавляющему большинству респондентов и редки в контекстах литературы и интернета. УС *skrocka som en höna* встречается с расширением в виде компонента *äggsjuk* (буквально «желающая снести яйца», то есть беспокойная): "Det låter som om du är nöjd med situationen...nästan 100 döda och *du skrockar som en äggsjuk höna* att vi icke-kommunister kommer att få det jobbigt". – «Это звучит так, будто ты доволен ситуацией... Почти сотня убитых, а ты *кудахчешь как курица, которая хочет снести яйца*, что нам, не-коммунистам, теперь придется трудно» (arbetarperspektiv.blogg.se). Данное расширение отсылает к УС *gå omkring som en äggsjuk höna* (ходить как курица, которая хочет снести яйца), выражающему нетерпеливое поведение.

3.2. Устойчивые сравнения шведского языка, не образующие синонимических рядов

УС *tala som en bok* (говорить как книга) имеет в шведском языке значение 'говорить высокопарно' (Svenskt språkbruk 2003: 145) и относится, согласно данным опроса, к пассивному запасу носителей языка. В контекстах употреблений данного УС подтверждается его словарное значение: "Han har den här unika språkliga förmågan att han *talar som en bok*" – «у него есть уникальная языковая способность *говорить как книга*» (www.svt.se)

То же можно сказать и об УС *fräsa som en (arg) katt* (кто-л. шипит как (злая) кошка), встречающемся в контекстах помимо расширения *arg* с расширением *ilsken* с тем же значением «злой»: "Försök inte vara gullig eller prata med mig för jag *fräser* oftast *som en ilsken katt* till svar" – «Не пытайся быть милым или говорить со мной, потому что я чаще всего *шиплю как злая кошка* в ответ» (beatris.bloggplatsen.se). Нужно отметить, что контексты употребления данного УС позволяют говорить не только о выражении с его помощью характеристики речи, но и производимого звука, что часто встречается в контекстах о поведении маленьких детей: "Min flicka på drygt ett år har stark vilja och ibland fräser hon åt mig *som en katt*". – «Моя дочка, ей около года, очень своевольная, и иногда *шипит* на меня *как кошка*» (www.familjeliv.se).

Два рассмотренных выше УС совпадают по значению с русскими УС *говорит как пишет* и *шипеть как кошка* соответственно, однако в шведском языке данные УС не образуют синонимических рядов.

УС *bräka som en get* (блеять как коза) оказалось неизвестным большинству информантов, однако многие отметили, что используют по от-

ношению к человеку, говорящему неуверенно и медленно, другое УС – *bräka som ett får* (блеять как овца). Данные УС не находят соответствия в русском языке.

Речь довольного человека в шведском языке выражает УС *spinna som en katt* (мурлыкать как кошка). Данное УС известно всем опрошенным информантам и большинством из них используется в собственной речи. Однако анализ контекстов его употребления в художественных и публицистических текстах выявил тенденцию к использованию этой единицы для характеристики не речи, а издаваемых человеком звуков: "Känslan när man traskar iväg från gymmet å*spinner som en katt* för att man är så nöjd". – «То чувство, когда плетешься из спортзала и *мурлычешь как кошка* от удовольствия» (jennykonstaterar.spotlife.se).

Столь же активно, по данным проведенного опроса, употребляется носителями шведского языка и УС *ryta som ett lejon* (рычать как лев), обозначающее громкую речь. Встречается оно и в контекстах художественной литературы: "Hjälp mig! *röt* han *som ett lejon*, så att det rungade i våningen och genom golvet". – «Помогите! – *прокричал* он *как лев*, так, что вся квартира задрожала и пол затрясся» (Strindberg A. Taklagsöl).

Другое УС, служащее характеристике голоса – *låta som sju svåra år* (звучать как семь тяжелых лет) – неизвестно подавляющему большинству информантов и не имеет контекстов употребления в литературе и интернете, однако в ходе анализа были выявлены контексты, где данное УС выступает в качестве характеристики звука, издаваемого предметом: "Skulle vilja ha en gåband istället eller en ny crosstrainer för den vi har *låter som sju svåra år* när man trampar påden" – «Я бы хотел приобрести новую беговую дорожку или новый эллиптический тренажер, потому что наш *звучит как семь тяжелых лет*, когда на него наступаешь» (blogg.loppi.se).

Рассмотренные УС также не имеют аналогов в русском языке.

Шведское УС *ngn kuttrar som en duva* (кто-л. воркует как голубь) сходно с русским *воркуют как голубки*, однако в шведском УС эталон *голубь* употребляется в единственном числе, что подразумевает характеристику одного говорящего, а не влюбленной пары, как в русском УС: "1942 står Roland påFrihetsplatsen i Estniska Reval och ser in i fönstret till Kultase kafé där Judith sitter och *kuttrar som en duva*" – «В 1942 году Роланд стоял на Площади Независимости в эстонском Ревеле и смотрел в кафе «Култасе», где Юдит сидела и *ворковала как голубь*» (www.manadens bok.se).

Противоположное отличие наблюдается в УС *klunka som kalkoner* (токовать как глухари) с использованием множественного числа сущест-

вительного *kalkoner* (глухари). В русском аналоге этой единицы *токовать как глухарь* подразумевается один говорящий. Данное УС, однако, оказалось незнакомым абсолютному большинству информантов, и употреблений его в контекстах также не встретилось.

4. Заключение

Таким образом, и среди русских, и среди шведских УС, характеризующих манеру речи человека, преобладают отрицательно коннотированные единицы. Номинативной плотностью в обоих языках отличаются выражения, номинирующие громкую, быструю, многословную речь. Полными эквивалентами являются УС, эталоном которых является *кошка – мурлыкать как кошка* и *шипеть как кошка*. Видимо, наблюдения за этим домашним животным позволили возникнуть одинаковым «интерпретативным когнитемам» в языковом сознании и русских, и шведов. Частично эквивалентными следует признать *ворковать как голуби* и *kuttra som en duva*, а также *токовать как глухарь* и *klunka som kalkoner*. УС шведского языка *låta som sju svåra år* (звучать как семь тяжелых лет) безэквивалентно относительно русского языка. В свою очередь, большинство русских УС не имеют эквивалентов в шведском языке. Но, несмотря на это, система образов-эталонов рассмотренных УС во многом схожа. Быстрая многословная громкая речь человека, например, в обоих языках сравнивается с объектами, издающими громкий звук. Это, в частности, близкие человеку хозяйственные реалии, такие, как *мельница* (общий эталон для двух языков), птицы (их использование в качестве эталонов УС данного синонимического ряда шире в шведском языке). Общий эталон сравнений *попугай* служит в русском языке для характеристики повторяющего одно и то же человека, а в шведском – болтуна. Следует также учитывать полисемию УС в двух языках, тот факт, например, что они могут служить и для характеристики речи, и для характеристики голоса.

В результате проведенного анализа можно сделать вывод о том, что различия наблюдаются, главным образом, в количественном наполнении рассмотренной тематической группы УС двух языков. Можно предположить, что лакунарность в шведском языке синонимических рядов УС со значением ‘назойливо, длительно и монотонно что-либо говорить’ или ‘повторять одно и то же’ – это так называемое «значимое отсутствие» для шведского менталитета и языковой картины мира шведского языка, но с большей долей вероятности можно сделать вывод

о том, что данные факты подтверждают тезис об отсутствии прямой связи между национальным менталитетом и языком. Национально-культурные особенности заключаются в том, что в разных лингвокультурах акцент ставится на определенном признаке эталона, который выбирается согласно сложившейся традиции, так называемому национальному мифологическому контексту.

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Russian and Swedish stable comparisons characterizing speech manner of a person

Summary

The article deals with semantics, component structure, standards, the basis of comparison and special aspects of the functioning of stable comparisons in Russian and Swedish languages that characterize a person's speech manner. Synonymic rows of stable comparisons are provided. The analysis is carried out in a contrastive and a cultural linguistic aspect. As a result of the analysis a conclusion is made about the similarity of form and meaning of the set of stable comparisons in Russian and Swedish, and also about the presence of national-cultural particularities of units of the two languages, according to the accentuation of different characteristics of the standard of comparison in view of current cultural linguistic traditions.

PART VI

CULTURAL STUDIES, LANGUAGE TEACHING/ACQUISITION & PHRASEOLOGY

Liisa Granbom-Herranen
University of Turku
Finland

Proverbial expressions and cultural context in archive materials

Abstract. This article focuses on questions to be considered when using research data for paremiology, especially when the aim is to make conclusions about proverbs and culture (in other words, the way in which people live and express values). Context creates the frame for expressions, but often it is not available. Proverbs, phrases and proverbial expressions in vernacular use can be found on the Internet and in various archive materials, proverb dictionaries, published collections of proverbs, newspapers, and assorted other sources. On one hand, these kinds of existing materials may provide answers about context when researching proverbs and other linguistic meaningful units. On the other hand, the use of earlier collected materials or materials collected for some other purpose than paremiology may only increase source criticism. The main subject of the article is the use of material in paremiology and paremiography in the past, present and future from a folkloristic viewpoint. Proverbs are viewed as an essential part of colloquial language, which occurs both in oral and written form. The article focuses on filed data. Archives are full of already collected material waiting to be accessed. When it is not obvious who has collected proverbial material, for what reason the material was collected, or when or where it was collected, the need for source criticism and the ability to overcome new challenges become apparent. Although the focus here is on Finnish proverbs and the article uses Finnish examples, the processes and challenges are the same, no matter which language or culture is being examined. Many of the observations can be generalized in terms of the larger field of paremiology.

Key words: *archive, data, paremiography, paremiology, proverb, proverbial utterances, vernacular language*

1. Introduction

Paremiography focuses on the collecting and classifying of proverbs. It can be understood as a related but independent aspect of paremiology, which is the study of proverbs and proverbial expressions. In paremiologic research, most of the focus is on the definition, form, structure, style, content,

function, meaning or value of proverbs (Mieder 2004: xii). Collecting proverbs – or any kind of cultural unit – usually means participating in an ongoing discourse in the culture in which they are used, as well as a broader context. It also relates to three dimensions of time: past, present and future. In order to understand proverb material that exists either in proverb collections or archives, it is necessary to remain aware how the material has ended up there. Fundamental questions include who collected the material, when and where it was collected, and for which purpose it was collected and filed. The answers to these questions help future researchers to evaluate the possibilities of studying the material.

In my studies on proverbs, I have noticed that a lot of Finnish paremiographic work has been done during critical periods in Finnish history. In this way I came to think about published materials as well as archiving systems. Therefore, even if this article specifically speaks about Finnish examples, there are many things in common with paremiography on the whole. Proverbs may be collected in different eras, and political and social contexts may differ from those in Finland, but the action of collecting proverbs itself is always influenced by what is happening in the spheres of politics, the economy and society.

2. Originators of Finnish paremiography

Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557) was the first person to collect and write down Finnish proverbs (Agricola 1554). In this, he followed the work of Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466–1536), who was his ideal in many ways (Hautala 1954: 26–27, 34). A bishop of the Lutheran church, Agricola is known today as "the father of literary Finnish". The 16th century in Sweden[1] was the era of the Reformation. The Swedish King Gustav Vasa established the Lutheran Church as the national church of all Sweden, and since that time it has been predominant in Finland. The idea of proverbs as belonging to the "words of God" came from Martin Luther, and it was established in Agricola's work as "*der Teuffel ist den Sprichwortten feindt*" (Hautala 1954: 27; Kuusi 1990: 452). In Finnish areas, the language used in sermons was mostly Finnish, and all of the quotations and proverbs from the Bible were heard in Finnish. The Finnish language came into its own for political reasons as well. Both the Reformation and political ideologies provided reasons for Finnish, as well

[1] Finland was incorporated into Sweden during the Crusades of the 12th century, and it was part of the Kingdom of Sweden until the beginning of the 19th century.

as old Finnish proverbs, to be made a visible part of an especially Finnish culture (Andersson 2009: 18–20). In 1630, King Gustav II Adolf even made an official decree to collect folk poetry (and thus also proverbs) (Siikala 1985: 16).

The next collection of Finnish proverbs was also edited by a clergyman, Henrik Florinius (1633–1705). Proverbs were collected during the 17th century, and the book was published in 1702 with the name *Wanhain Suomalaisten Tawaliset ja Suloiset Sananlascut* (*Customary and Beautiful Proverbs of the Old Finns*) (Florinius 1987), including 1500 Finnish proverbs. This was the time in which the position of Finland was entrenched as part of the Swedish kingdom, between the borders of Sweden and Russia. It was a matter of different churches (Lutheran vs. Orthodox), as well as of language. The idea of a folk education in the vernacular (although this would remain just an idea for some centuries) followed the ideas of the Enlightenment, and proverbs were important as a crystallization of folk wisdom. After this collection, in 1729 the chapter of Turku sent a circular with a request for clergy to collect folk tales, poems and other folklore, especially expressions in eloquent ways of speaking figurative expressions, to which proverbs belong (Laasonen 1991: 308). For the first three centuries after the birth of literary Finnish in Finland, the collectors were primarily clergymen.

3. A time of National Romanticism

Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia for the years 1809–1917.[2] The gentility and other estates were aware of the possibility that Finland's territory could be completely joined with that of Russia. Across 19th-century Europe, the age of Romanticism[3] began to replace realism and naturalism. As Romanticism idealized the language and culture of the "folk", it led to the idea of a genuine Finnish folk culture and the move toward independence. However, the Great Fire of Turku in 1827 considerably changed things. After some years, the capital was moved from Turku to Helsinki. As the fire destroyed a large portion of the town and also burned the library and archives of the Academy, the university was also transferred to Helsinki. All notes and manuscripts, including the collections of Finnish proverbs, were destroyed. Copies stored elsewhere were spared the destruction, but not much was left.

[2] Finland had a special position in terms of the rules and regulations of the State, the Lutheran church, popular education, the question of language, its own money and so on.

[3] In Finland, the movement was called "Finnish Romanticism" or "National Romanticism".

During the 19th century, politics and the economy were in flux. Nascent industrialization led to the development of railways, roads and waterways. The militarily strategic position of Finland remained important, even if there was no war in that part of Russia. All of this had an effect on paremiography, as folklore collectors had the possibility of traveling quite freely throughout the Grand Duchy, and indeed they were encouraged to do so to assert the unity of Russia. By the middle of the 19th century, it was not only clergymen who were interested in proverbs. The inspirer of proverb collections in the 19th century was Elias Lönnrot, the compiler of the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic. In 1842, his collection of proverbs called *Suomen kansan sananlaskut* (*Proverbs of Finnish Folk*) was published. It was considered as the authentic voice of the "folk", but actually it was not, as the content was quite assorted. Lönnrot (1981: 8) wrote, "I will leave all that has to do with dividing proverbs into all kinds of subclasses like proverbs, sayings, phrases, comparisons, and so on to those who don't have anything better to do."[4] This was the period when the Finnish Literature Society was established with its proverb collections.

Another reason for this interest in proverbs was the growing nationalistic movement, which was exciting the sense of Finnish identity and would later create the conceptual foundation for Finnish independence from Russia. As Henni Ilomäki (1998: 148) writes, the collectors of folklore in 19th-century Finland were mostly young men, often children of the Swedish-speaking gentility, looking for authentic and old Finnish folk poetry. Young academic nationalists formed an active core group of collectors. As was the case elsewhere across Europe, collecting folklore was part of the process of nationalization for countries that needed to legitimize their own history and culture (Bendix 1997: 67; Apo & Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998: 18).

In Finland, representatives of the "folk" contributed collections of proverbs and other folklore texts, jotting down notes concerning oral traditions over the years or collecting material from their home parishes. The Finnish Literature Society encouraged collectors at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century by providing them with paper and instruction manuals (Stark-Arola 1998: 54; Stark 2013: 119).

The collectors of folklore (and proverbs) were mainly men, as the worldview was invariably androcentric. Even as late as the beginning of the 20th century, both collectors of folklore material and their informants were men.[5] This meant that as collectors encountered the every-

[4] Translated by the author.

[5] From 1916 until the 1970s, women participated in fieldwork in Finland as assistants for men.

day life of the people, women and children (more than 50% of folk) were not included.[6] However, this trend was not unique to Finland (Obelkevich 1994: 222).

Until the beginning of the 20th century, Finland was officially – and even after that, unofficially – a collection of classes that created a legally constituted division of society. There were four estates: two higher ones, consisting of the nobility and the clergy, and two lower ones, made up of burghers and land-owning peasants (Stark 20013: 126). However, the upper classes were a minority. Even the language that they used differed from the language of the underprivileged Finnish-speaking majority,[7] the workers and peasants in the countryside who did not own their land, from among whom proverbs were collected. Clergymen were expected to deliver their sermons in Finnish, but most of them were not born outside the estates, among the "folk".

4. Past and present

After Finland's independence (in 1917) and the civil war (in 1918), proverbs again became a subject of interest in the 1930s. The situation in Finland was still quite dynamic, as the Fennoman political movement continued (Lassila 2003: 10). University students carried out proverb collecting across the country, while the Sanakirjasäätiö[8] (Dictionary Society) organized these collections and published proverbs for individual counties[9] (Posti 1936: 5). Also in the 1930s, the Finnish Literature Society ratified collections, and in-

On the whole, female collectors have been exceptions (Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998: 17, 22).

[6] Approximately 95% of those collectors who came from the folk population were men (Stark-Arola 1998: 54).

[7] The language of proverbs used by ordinary people was Finnish, but the languages of the power elite were Swedish and Russian, as well as German and French (Katajala 2005: 43–51; Granbom-Herranen 2008: 116–117). For example, in the 19th century the Finnish-speaking majority comprised about 85% of the population in Finland, even though there were also ordinary people who spoke Swedish (about 5–10%). In Finland (and also in Sweden, Norway and Russia), there has also always been a Sami-speaking minority (Niemi 1969: 55; Talve 1990: 323).

[8] Today amalgamated with Society for the Study of Finnish (*Kotikielen Seura*) that is tied to the linguistic situation in Finland in the 19th century. Finnish was officially granted equal status with Swedish in 1863, so at the time the Society was established, Finnish was indeed the 'home language' of the majority of people living in Finland and was just beginning to establish itself as a language of administration, education etc. http://www.kotikielenseura.fi/english/index.html [access 20.8.2014].

[9] Varsinais-Suomi published 1936 (collected 1931); Etelä-Pohjanmaa published 1938; Satakunta published 1939 (collected 1933); Etelä-Karjala published 1941; Häme published 1941; Uusimaa published 1945 (collected 1932).

vitations to participate were published in newspapers. During the same era, Finnish paremiographers were active outside Finland as well.

People from various professions and occupations took time aside from their primary responsibilities to collect proverbs. For example, apart from cultural items connected with everyday life, scouts in the Russian army collected proverbs, especially from the Finno-Ugric area (Vesterinen 2003). The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters sponsored Emil Liljeblad's collecting in Ovamboland (a part of Namibia and Angola), as he continued work that his predecessor Martti Rautanen had started in the 19th century. Collecting was also done by missionaries alongside their normal mission work (Kuusi 1970: 6–7, 11). At the beginning of the 20th century, social anthropologist Edward Westermarck collected a large number of proverbs on his expedition to Morocco (Stroup 1982). While these materials are not Finnish, they have been used extensively as comparison material for Finnish proverbs. They may also tell us something about the motivations and factors related to Finnish paremiography.

At the beginning of the 20th century, collectors were often academics, students and researchers. They were young men with the dream to unify the Finno-Ugric language family and establish "the natural borders" for an independent Finland (Wilson 1978: 63). The motivation extended from the upper classes downwards: the idea was that they would rescue folk knowledge and traditions, including proverbs, for the future generations (Korkiakangas 1996: 23). Among the collectors, however, were some representatives of the populace (even if their number in the 19th century was quite small, compared to the end of the 20th century).

The World War II era was a turning point in many ways for Finland. Finnish proverbs had primarily only been oral, whereas proverbs in many Central European language areas were first and foremost connected with literature (Hauser 2012; Schmale 2012). As the ever-growing literate segment of the Finnish nation got more and more opportunities to lay their hands on Finnish books, newspapers and magazines, the oral tradition was no longer as meaningful and powerful as it had been previously. This changed the position of proverbs in the Finnish language, and oral and written communication by and large became more and more similar in many ways. Vernacular proverbs ceased to only belong to oral tradition (Granbom-Herranen 2014: 546–547; 2011: 289).

By the 1950s, everything had been collected. As Lauri Honko (1979: 149) put it, "a State Committee on Folk Tradition declared that the collection of folklore, which had been continuing for more than 125 years, was now completed with great success: Finland possessed the largest folklore archives

in the world, with excellent materials which were intensively collected before the authentic tradition began to decline, as is the case today." Even if this was not the case, the next paremiographic movement occurred at the end of the 20th century when Finnish paremiologists began researching proverbs in new contexts, such as the Internet and other media. Today the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society organizes questionnaires on folklore to the public via various media: in newspapers, in magazines and even on Facebook. The present is a time of a unified Europe. However, small nations and language groups are once again looking for something of their own, like their own history and culture. Proverbs are a part of this movement.

Table 1. Finnish paremiography in various eras, turning points and political movements (Granbom-Herranen 2012: 179)

Sweden 16th-17th-18th	Russia 19th	Finland 20th	Finland as a member of EU 21st century
society of estates Finnish is a language of the underprivileged majority – – – – – – –		parliamentarism Finnish is also the language of power, the economy, politics, etc.	europarliamentarism status of Finnish?
literary Finnish, Bible in Finnish **stable**	**change:** transportation, economy, beginnings of industrialization and urbanization	literacy, penmanship **continuous change**	

Sweden 16th-17th-18th	Russia 19th	Finland 20th	Finland as a member of EU 21st century

MOVEMENTS

Reformation, Lutheranism	Humanism, Enlightenment	Theory of evolution, realism, naturalism	Romanticism, national romanticism	independence, civil war, patriotic movements	WW II, reconstruction	radicalism	Europeanization

PAREMIOGRAPHY

clergy, Agricola, Florinius	academic collectors, Lönnrot	collectors coming from the "folk" SKS: calls for collectors, thematic questionnaires	Internet societies
	missions, expeditions		

5. Nationalism

Nationalism is a movement that for one reason or another makes the existence and visibility of a nation important. Its background is connected with global circumstances or changes in neighbouring areas. While the comparative approach stresses the unities and common themes of proverbs in many places, the nationalistic approach concentrates on the distinctive qualities of proverbs found within one country. Small nations, like Finland and Ireland, have asserted their cultural independence through their languages and by collecting proverbs, for example, which were part of the spoken vernacular (Dorson 1963: 96). Actually it is not possible to think that paremiography could be free of the values of a society or group inside a society. The question is if the collectors have been aware of the valuations they have made (Pöysä 1997: 15). Depending on what is valued, people see or do not see certain aspects of the context.

Folklore studies, as well as paremiography, have always been connected with the nationalistic task as a part of cultural and political independence (Wilson 1978: 51). The motivation for proverb collecting has not arisen only from national or romantic dreams. Nor was the reason to collect proverbs merely based on admiration of the peasant way of life or the inherent beauty of folk poetry. Paremiography has played an important role in the process of nation-building (Honko 1979: 142).

6. What about the material?

In many cases, the use of earlier collected materials may lead to increased likelihood of source criticism, especially in those cases when it is not obvious who collected the proverbs, as well as when, where and for what reason they were collected. In every case, processes and challenges are the same, no matter in which language or culture the study is conducted. With existing material, it is especially important to ask the following questions: Why and for which purpose was the data collected? Who collected it? How? When? Where? When it comes to selecting proverbs from already existing material, provenance can be dubious. When using material collected by someone else, the presumption is generally that the collector's task was to find material that was as comprehensive as possible. The difficulty comes in relation to time and place: every time has its own understanding about what "comprehensive" means, and this likewise applies to proverbs.

The older material in the archives was collected by directly interviewing users of proverbs. Until the middle of the 20th century in Finland, this meant first writing by hand, then using a typewriter. Later collectors began using tape recorders, computers, videos, etc. (Siikala 1984: 9; Harris-Lopez 2003: 112). However, it is a pity that the increased ease of saving information with technological equipment has led to a greater focus on the subject than on the context of use. As vernacular communication has increasingly shifted to written form in newspapers and on the Internet, collecting involves reading text much more than conducting interviews. Each step of the process has its own influence on the collected material. The idea of storing proverb collections in archives is to make them available for future generations. Proverb users, collectors, archivists and researchers are a part of this process, and all of them have some impact on what will be stored.

As noted above, the important things to determine in proverb collections have not been the proverb users or their socio-economic milieu or worldview. Most proverb collectors have noted when and where they found the proverb. Thanks to Finland's strong historical-geographical tradition, its archives include large numbers of proverbs with information on where (geographical location) and when (year) they were collected. In most cases, it is also known who has written down this information. However, it is not always clear who used the proverb or why it may have been used in some special case. The context of proverb performances has not been the main interest of Finnish paremiologists. The information about the context, the situation the proverb was used in, in which sense it was used, and how it was understood have not in general been documented. This means that the connection between the archive collections and the social reality of the living folk tradition is quite thin (Honko 1979: 143; Granbom-Herranen 2008: 53). Without contextual information, it is impossible to actually determine the use of a proverb, how to interpret it and how it functioned. Most paremiological (proverb) studies have been text-oriented (consisting of simple collections of texts without analysis), discussions of group characteristics based on proverb texts, historical and comparative analyses of variants, structural analysis, or focused on texts found in literature (Prahlad 1996: 5). Proverbs and proverbial expressions in vernacular use can also be found in materials collected for some other purpose, like life stories. These kinds of existing materials may provide answers when there is a need to know about the context in which a proverb was used.

Archives are warehouses of information, but indexing systems – no matter if they are manual registers or databases – make some research methods easier than others. The way in which an archive is organized guides the research (Granbom-Herranen 2008: 80). Systematic source criticism of proverb

material can be quite challenging, seeing that files are generally collected in various ways, in many places and at different times, with numerous collectors using all kinds of methods. Yet, in spite of such variation, proverb collections are explored as if commensurable (Silverman-Weinreich 1994: 66).

It is not uncommon for researchers in the field of paremiology to target special groups, like minorities or reclusive folks. This surely a welcome point of view, but it is important to remember that these kinds of archival collections are organized for a special purpose. If collectors come from a different social position than that of the user of the proverbs, juxtaposition is almost certainly present. This may have been the case at the beginning of the 20th century, when a collection of slang expressions was started by the police (Tender 1996). This also may have occurred in Finland when the first clergymen and then upper-class students went to meet the "folk".

7. Published collections

Proverb collections have been published in Finnish since the 16th century, when literary Finnish was invented. However, the effect that they had on the vernacular of Finnish people was minimal, as literacy among Finnish speakers was not a common thing. The Bible is a publication, but for Finnish people it tended to be transmitted orally, as priests read it aloud to parishioners during their sermons. Collections also included proverbs that had a significant role in homilies (Heikkinen 1989: 61, 92). It is worth remembering that every collection is based on the collector's (or publisher's) choice of what should be incorporated in the publication. The summary of later users of the collection may include information about what was left out, but often these comments are ignored when drawing conclusions and future researchers never know about such lacunae.

In many cases, especially in published collection, it is obvious that the collector's morals and didactic grip are imposed on the text (Kuusi 1988: 10). The influence of earlier publications is also sometimes visible. Published collections often include selected material from other publications or collections, as seen, for example, in locality-based collections (Hukka 1989) or comparative collections dealing with languages and places that are unknown to the writer (Kuusi 1979). A collector's personal interest also has an impact on what is collected and how it is interpreted. This is unavoidable, and in many instances it happens subconsciously (Apo 1995: 12). The same might happen in the case of nostalgic feelings on the part of the proverb user or the collector. Proverbs are special because often they first belong to a person and

only after that are they seen as the common property of society. This applies equally to the user and the collector. For example, Sw. Anand Prahlad tells (1996: 201), "Clara Abrams was this researcher's great-grandmother. ... She was a community pillar, storyteller, and chronicler, who used proverbs abundantly. She learned many of her proverbs from her mother, and also collected poetic, wise expressions from forms of popular media such as greetings cards and calendars. I grew up with her and collected proverbs from her most of my life."

8. Future

The terms "new proverb" and "modern proverb" are two of many used in the discussions of paremiographers and paremiologists to describe contemporary expressions (see Granbom-Herranen 2011: 286). While it may be possible to delineate a point after which proverbs should be classified like this (see Mieder 2014: 14–15), it is clear that they should not be excluded on the basis of such a timeline. In the same way as the past is a combination of social, economic, geographical and other cultural factors, the present is a unique creation of those tracks of the past.

Most of the known Finnish proverbs contain agrarian terms, which surely has to do with the fact that even as late as the 1970s agriculture was the main source of livelihood for Finnish people (Waris 1974: 45, 53). Nowadays proverbs are often used in a new context and with a new meaning (Granbom-Herranen 2014: 545), and it can be supposed that the language will further adopt more and more urban concepts over the course of time. The living context of Finnish proverbs has changed from spoken vernacular to written vernacular, as today the native Finnish-speaking population can read and write. This change in literacy has altered the position of proverbs in the Finnish language, and surely it is one of the explanations for the similarities between the use of proverbs in spoken language and in written colloquial form. Overall, oral and written Finnish communication has become more and more similar in many ways (Granbom-Herranen 2011: 289).

As rhetorical changes have become more and more pronounced, traditional proverbs are adapting into new forms. They are combined with other proverbs or phrases, sometimes creating a new fixed form of two utterances. In some cases, they occur in quite extraordinary combinations, if one looks at the basic meaning. New proverbs are created from old proverbs, and old ones are transformed. Nevertheless, despite many changes in life and everyday practices, it is clear beyond any doubt that Finnish proverbs continue

to exist in contemporary Finnish language and have their place as a part of Finnish communication today (Granbom-Herranen 2014: 557).

As Wolfgang Mieder (2014: 16) writes, the reason for paucity "in the collection and registration of modern proverbs is not due to a lack of awareness of such texts", but the difficulties in finding them. In this light, one can speak of the paradox of proverbs. Many definitions of proverb say that it is an "old expression". Yet it is difficult to know which contemporary expressions will still be around after some decades. It is first a challenge to define a new or future proverb, or to recognize potential proverbs before they actually are proverbs. The difficulty is that when collecting contemporary proverbial expressions, we cannot know which ones will last. It also means that there ought to exist a clear and handy understanding of proverbs, including old and traditional ones, contemporary and modern ones, and future ones. By not allowing for the inclusion of potential proverbs, the existing definition does not support research of proverbs in present-day contexts (Grzybek 1987: 40). The paradox is that old proverbs are recognizable, but contemporary or future ones are not. One can easily come to the conclusion that there are no new proverbs, as no one can tell which expressions will become established in that way. Indeed, how is it possible to look for expressions that cannot be defined or determined if they even exist?

9. Conclusion

Collections and collectors of proverbs, as well as material stored in archives, have always been connected with changes in society and larger political movements. As collectors participate in the discourse of which aspects of tradition will be saved for posterity, source criticism is needed when using already existing material in one's research. It is necessary to ask who collected the proverbs, as well as when and where and for what reason. As discussed at the beginning of article, although the focus here is on Finnish paremiography, most of the observations can be generalized in regard to paremiology.

In Finland in the 16th century, the relationship between the church and the state, or cross and crown, provided the incentive to start proverb collections, and for centuries it continued to have an effect on collecting. Surely some proverbs were left out due to perceived inappropriate uses of language or ideas that conflicted with the dominant principles of the time. From the 19th century until the end of the 20th century, further economic, societal and ideological changes influenced the level of interest that people had in paremiology and folklore. After the integration movement in Europe,

leading to the European Union, there has been an increased need for people to connect again with their national heritage. The importance of national cultural elements can be seen today in the 21st century, with its rise of international networks and polyglot communication. Together these have had an impact on the research of national heritage in the form of proverbs. The fact that critical periods like this are linked to interest in paremiography and proverbs does not tell anything about the use of proverbs, however. Proverbs are not used more at such times, regardless if they are more in the limelight than before. It could be said that during times of crises, proverbs spark the interest of researchers as well as the public.

Source criticism can be seen as an integral part of establishing a realistic picture of the material that is used. The aim of the criticism is to highlight possible incorrect conclusions in research findings. The proverbs found in many archives date back centuries, meaning that they are vestiges of speech from ancient times. They have been collected with the preconditions and limitations of previous eras. While it is the case that most paremiographers have followed the given instructions and good habits of their time, the greatest problem with proverbs themselves remains that in most cases the context of their use is unknown and their actual interpretation is even more of a mystery. The challenge comes with studies that try to explain something that is happening in the 21st century, for example, by using expressions that were current and collected in the 17th century and maybe interpreted in the 19th century. Deductions made from archive materials are possible as long as the limitations are at somewhat discussed in the conclusions.

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Wyrażenia przysłowiowe i kontekst kulturowy w materiałach archiwalnych

Streszczenie

W artykule podjęto kwestię wykorzystania materiału badawczego, zwłaszcza kiedy celem jest wysnuwanie wniosków dotyczących przysłów i kultury, czyli sposobu, w jaki ludzie żyją i wyrażają wartości. Kontekst stwarza ramy dla wyrażenia, ale często nie jest on dostępny. Przysłowia, frazeologizmy i wyrażenia przysłowiowe w potocznym użyciu wyekscerpowane z tekstów internetowych i rozmaitych materiałów archiwalnych, słowników przysłów, opublikowanych zbiorów przysłów, gazet i innych źródeł. Z jednej strony w badaniach przysłów i innych jednostek materiały te mogą dostarczać informacji o kontekście, z drugiej zaś – wykorzystanie zebranego uprzednio materiału lub materiałów zgromadzonych w jakimś innym celu niż na potrzeby badań paremiologicznych może zwiększyć krytyczne nastawienie do źródeł. Niniejszy artykuł poświęcony jest wykorzystaniu materiału w paremiologii i paremiografii w przeszłości, teraźniejszości i przyszłości w perspektywie folklorystycznej. Przysłowia stanowią ważną część języka potocznego, zarówno w formie mówionej, jak i pisanej. Artykuł poświęcony jest wykorzystaniu zbiorów skatalogowanych. Archiwa zawierają dużą ilość zebranego materiału, który oczekuje na udostępnienie. Jeśli nie wiadomo, kto zebrał materiał, w jakim celu dokonano tego, oraz gdzie i kiedy, potrzeba krytycyzmu wobec źródeł staje się oczywista. Chociaż w artykule opisano fińskie przysłowia i zanalizowano przykłady pochodzące z języka fińskiego, procesy i wyzwania są takie same dla wszystkich języków i kultur. Wiele poczynionych obserwacji może być podstawą generalizacji w dziedzinie paremiologii.

Erla Hallsteinsdóttir
kultKIT
Denmark

Phraseology and foreign language learning

Abstract. This article provides an overview over the current phraseodidactic research with focus on German. Firstly, I will discuss some characteristics of a phraseological competence. Then I will touch up on the prominence of phraseology in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Furthermore, I will explore methods to define the phraseological units that are to be learned as phraseological basic vocabulary in foreign language acquisition, such as aspects of frequency and native speaker's knowledge and their influence on the selection of phraseological units for teaching materials. Finally, using the example of German as a foreign language, some general aspects of phraseology in foreign language teaching will be illustrated, e.g. Kühn's three step model on phraseodidactics. Here, also newer research approaches such as the intersection of multimodality and the language competence in the context of the learning of phraseology are addressed.

Key words: *phraseodidactics, phraseological competence, phraseological basic vocabulary, CEFR, multimodality*

1. Introduction

Phraseology is here regarded as an integrated "normal" part of every language and phraseological units account for a large part of the vocabulary in language use. As pointed out in Hallsteinsdóttir/Farø (2006: 3), phraseological units are bilateral linguistic signs that – in the traditional sense of de Saussure – build a lexicalized unit of form and meaning. The form is, in difference to lexicalized words, graphically disjunctive, i.e. the lexicalized form contains components separated by blanks. In most cases the components function as words as well, which makes the identification of phraseological units via their form difficult. Phraseological units are on principle ambiguous, as there is always an option to interpret the components compositionally.

Thus, to be able to recognize a phraseological unit as such and reproduce the lexicalized phraseological meaning, one has to know the unit beforehand. Otherwise, one would probably identify its components as lexicalized words per default.

Additionally to the lexicalized linguistic knowledge of common phraseological units in the native language, we assume that speakers use linguistic strategies to process unknown phraseological units. Such strategies are a part of a phraseological competence, as will be discussed in section 2 in relation to phraseology in foreign language learning. In section 3, I will explore the role of phraseology within the educational and didactic policy in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). In the following discussion in section 4, I will touch upon different methods to define those phraseological units that are to be learned (phraseological basic vocabulary), such as aspects of frequency and native speakers knowledge and their influence on the selection of phraseological units for teaching materials. Using the example of German as a foreign language, I will illustrate some general aspects of phraseology in foreign language teaching in section 5. Finally, in section 6, I will address newer research approaches such as the relevance of multimodality in the acquisition of language competence and thereby the learning of phraseology.

2. What to know? Phraseological competence

The phraseological competence is often defined as a complex part of the general linguistic and communicative competence in the native language and other languages mastered. This presupposes that speakers possess a general language competence that consists of the overall linguistic, i.e. phonetic, morpho-syntactic, grammatical, lexical-semantic, textual, situational, pragmatic and cultural knowledge and the communicative competence in (a) given language(s). The communicative competence is thereby seen as the ability to adequately use language in communication. Phraseological competence, thus, is the overall knowledge of phraseological phenomena and the ability to use phraseology. The phraseological competence is a part of a general communicative, cultural and linguistic competence that enables a speaker to communicate successfully in a given socio-cultural context. The phraseological competence, hence, includes everything a speaker needs to know in order to be able to adequately understand and use phraseology in communication (cf. Hallsteinsdóttir 2011a for an extensive discussion).

Research has shown that non-native speakers and language learners of German use a combination of compositional bottom-up and holistic top-down strategies when processing both known and unknown phraseological units (Hallsteinsdóttir 1999, 2001; Petrič 2013). The application of strategies depends on several aspects as:

- the degree of lexicalization, i.e. of the student's knowledge of the foreign phraseology;
- semantic predictability and transparency of the meaning;
- the literal meaning and the formal structure of the components;
- visualization potential of both the phraseological and literal meaning;
- parallel structures (form, meaning and usage) in the L1;
- frequency and context of use.

Beside the inevitable role of information from the context in the process of understanding phraseological units, the native language might be the strongest aspect influencing the phraseological competence. As the results from Hallsteinsdóttir (2001) and Petrič (2013) clearly show, the conceptual, semantic and morpho-syntactic transfer from the native language – and other languages – is one of the dominating strategies of understanding and probably also of using phraseology in a foreign language (Hallsteinsdóttir 2001, Petrič 2013; Reder 2006, 2008). Newer research on phraseology confirms that also the literal meaning of the components plays a significant role in phraseological language processing (cf. Hallsteinsdóttir 2001; Rabanus et al. 2008: 27). If phraseodidactic work is to profit from a systematic implementation of results from research on the phraseological competence, more research is needed. For instance, the role of the literal meaning in cognitive processes needs to be clarified and described in order to define the influence of the literal meaning of the components, their symbolic meaning and structures of mental concepts (in the native and in the foreign language) on the processing of the overall phraseological meaning (cf. in detail on research desiderata in Aguado (2002); processing strategies in Hallsteinsdóttir (2001); metalinguistic strategies in Bergerová (2009, 2010), Kispál (2011) and Jesenšek (2006)).

The CEFR defines the language proficiency of foreign language learners as a communicative language competence including pragmatic, sociolinguistic and linguistic competences. In the next section, the notion of phraseology within those competences in the CEFR is explored.

3. What to learn? The role of the CEFR[1]

The aim of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) is to provide "a common basis for the explicit description of objectives, content and methods"[2] for foreign language teaching in Europe:

> The Common European Framework provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The Framework also defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis.[3]

The prominence of phraseology in the CEFR has been explored by Hallsteinsdóttir (2014), Jazbec and Enčeva (2012) and Pirttisaari (2006).

Jazbec and Enčeva (2012: 161) state that the CEFR does not explicitly define phraseology as a competence goal in foreign language learning before C1-level as the following citation illustrates:

> From Level B2, users are then found able to express themselves adequately in language which is sociolinguistically appropriate to the situations and persons involved, and begin to acquire an ability to cope with variation of speech, plus a greater degree of control over register and idiom. (CEFR p. 121)

This does not correspond to a phraseodidactic approach that states that knowledge of formulaic language is indispensable (Aguado 2002: 43) and phraseology – a phraseological competence including both phraseological units and processing strategies – therefore should be implemented in the language learning already from the beginning (cf. Iglesias 2013).

A closer look at the three communicative competences in the CEFR – pragmatic, linguistic and sociolinguistic – shows a more differentiated picture. Phraseology is not mentioned explicitly in the description of the pragmatic competence. The pragmatic competence consists of highly formalized aspects, whose linguistic realization is not specified in the CEFR. Highly

[1] www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf. Retrieved 05.12.2014.

[2] CEFR, page 1: www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf. Retrieved 05.12.2014.

[3] CEFR, prefatory note: www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf. Retrieved 05.12.2014.

formalized phenomena are often connected to highly formalized language and therefore we assume that the adequate language use bound to the content of the pragmatic competence would include phraseology from A1 level. Phraseology is in fact defined explicitly as a part of both the sociolinguistic (as expressions of folk wisdom, cf. CEFR p. 120) and the lexical competence. The lexical competence as "the competence of, and ability to use, the vocabulary of a language" (CEFR p. 110) includes grammatical and lexical elements. The lexical elements, i.e. the vocabulary, consists of elements from two main categories, "fixed expressions" and "single word forms". Fixed expressions that "consisting of several words, which are used and learnt as wholes" (CEFR p. 110) seem to include more or less phraseology in broad sense as all categories of multiword units.

Pirttisaari (2006: 249–250) points out the terminological inconsistence in the German version of the CEFR, e.g. the ambiguous use of the terminus *idiomatic*. There seems to be some terminological difference between the English and the German version of the CEFR. The German version explicitly uses the term *phraseology*, while the English version uses *fixed expressions*, *idiomatic expressions* and *colloquialisms* while the term *phraseology* does not occur. Nevertheless, the terminological inconsistence can be found in both versions and becomes a problem, when the terminology is used to distinct between idiomatic and non-idiomatic language use, e.g.

- *idioms*: reading comprehension: B2 (p. 69),
- *idiomatic usage*: listening comprehension: B2 (p. 66); watching TV and Film: C1 (p. 71); informal discussion (with friends): B1 (p. 77); formal discussion and meetings: B1 (p. 78); sociolinguistic appropriateness: C1 (p. 122),
- *idiomatic expressions*: spoken interaction: C2 (p. 27); qualitative aspects of spoken language: C2 (p. 28); spoken interaction: C2 (p. 74); descriptors: C2 (p. 36); listening comprehension: C1 and C2 (p. 66); vocabulary range: C1 and C2 (p. 112); sociolinguistic appropriateness: C1 and C2 (p. 122)
- *non-idiomatic speech*: interviewing and being interviewed: A1 (p. 82)

Even though phraseology is defined explicitly as a part of the sociolinguistic and lexical competence, the decision making of, which vocabulary and thereby also phraseological units should be learned, is explicitly left to the consideration of the users of the CEFR (p. 122). That is, the decision on "which proverbs, clichés and folk idioms learners should need/be equipped/be required to a) recognise and understand and b) use themselves" and "which formulae, idioms and lexical items to require candidates to recognise or recall" (CEFR p. 140, also p. 112 and 149–150) is not made by the

CEFR at all. The next section describes phraseodidactic approaches to the selection of a basic phraseological vocabulary.

4. What to teach? A phraseological basic vocabulary

One major aspect of phraseodidactics is the selection of phraseological units belonging to the basic vocabulary and therefore should be learned in foreign languages. The phraseodidactic research on basic vocabulary includes an exploration of methods to define relevant phraseological units (phraseological minimum/optimum), such as aspects of corpus linguistics and cross-linguistic research and their influence on the selection of phraseological units for teaching materials and learner's dictionaries.

The selection criteria for a basic phraseological vocabulary as such have been known and approved upon for a long time (cf. Baur et al. 1996; Daniels 1985; Durčo 2001; Eismann 1979; Häcki Buhofer/Burger 1994; Hallsteinsdóttir et al. 2006; Hessky 1992; Jesenšek 2011; Möhring 2011; Weller 1979). The main criteria are (cf. Hallsteinsdóttir et al. 2006: 118 for a detailed discussion):

- *Actuality* in the sense of an adequate frequency of the phraseological unit in language use (corpora) and in the native speaker's knowledge of phraseology (cf. Jesenšek 2006: 142).
- Thematic *relevance* of the phraseological meaning and pragmatic aspects of usage according to the levels, content and competences defined in the CEFR (linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences as well as reading, writing, listening, speaking and interacting skills).
- *Cross-linguistic* structures and problematic units in relation to the learner's native language phraseology, their linguistic proficiency and learning aims (cf. Hallsteinsdóttir 2001; Hessky 1992: 167; Reder 2011).

There are several approaches to the selection on the basis of actuality as a high degree of native speakers' knowledge (Jesenšek 2006; ˇ Sajankoá 2005, 2005a) and occurrence in authentic texts and/or dictionaries (Möhring 2011, Hallsteinsdóttir et al. 2006).

A methodic approach for the selection of a phraseological minimum of 300 German proverbs is introduced in Kacjan (2013). The selection is based on frequency in corpora, occurrences on the Internet and in monolingual German dictionaries. Also Baur et al. (1996) and Durčo (2001) have contributed considerably to the theoretic-methodical approach to a proverbial basic vocabulary.

As for other phraseological units, Hallsteinsdóttir et al. (2006) introduce a mixed method approach based on two separate studies on frequency in corpora and a questionnaire study on native speaker's knowledge. Data from both studies on 1,112 phraseological units extracted from dictionaries and research literature is used to define their actuality and relevance and thereby usability in teaching German as a foreign language. The conclusion is that only 401 phraseological units (in groups AB and CB, cf. Hallsteinsdóttir et al. 2006: 127) are well known and frequent enough to be included in a basic phraseological vocabulary. As Hallsteinsdóttir et al. (2006: 129) point out very clearly, their selection of relevant phraseological units is to be seen as an open list, that is only the very first step in the phraseodidactic working process and it should be supplied with didactic and phraseographic work in order to make the vocabulary usable in learning and teaching materials.

A mixed corpus-linguistic and language competence based approach is a promising method to explore the actuality and relevance of phraseological units. The selection should though, always be based on linguistic material that generally can and should be used in foreign language teaching, that is very large corpora containing everyday language and a very large group of native speaker from a broad range of sociolinguistic groups. Special corpora containing only one genre or media should only be used very carefully and with a caution of their restrictions in language use.

Ettinger (2013) introduces the criterium of "individual usability" for the selection of phraseologcial units for use in the independent learning of phraseology in foreign languages, i.e. by compiling a personalized phraseological dictionary. A usable framework for the operationalisation of an "individual usability" in order to define what phraseology should be learned, could be connectet to collective usability of phraseology in social groups (e.g. defined by age, native language, study subject or learning goal) or the linguistic context of use (genre, situation, context, thematic specification, etc.). Individualized learning as proposed by Ettinger (2013) should be based on a solid phraseological awareness from the native language and institutionalized foreign language learning or in the learning material used. Furthermore, for such individualized learning to be succesful, learners have to develop an interest in learning phraseology. A part of that is to understand and accept its relevance for their langugae acquisition and communicative competence. For a learner to achieve this, phraseology should be seen as an integrative part of languae learning and the role of phraseodidactics in foreign language acquistion has to be clearly defined. A short description of phraseodidactic approaches is given in the next section.

5. How to teach? Phraseodidactic approaches

Phraseodidactics is a (mostly linguistic orientated) research discipline that addresses the systematic implementation of phraseology in native[4] and foreign language learning (cf. Ettinger 2001: 87). The German phraseodidactic research goes back around 30 years and there have been several publications dedicated to phraseodidactics (mostly focusing on German) in foreign languages during the last decades, e.g. the special issues edited by Wotjak (1996), Hallsteinsdóttir et al. (2011), the anthologies edited by Lorenz-Bourjot/Lüger (2001), Jesenšek/Fabčič (2007), Konecny et al. (2013), Meunier/Granger (2008) and Rey (2013). Moreover, publications on phraseodidactics can be found in several conference proceedings (cf. Lüger 1997 and the bibliography in Lüger 1997a), journals (Jesenšek 2006) and handbooks (e.g. Ettinger 2007; Wray 2007. In addition to theoretical approaches e.g. on the role of native phraseology, several publications develop concepts for integrative, text based exercises, tutorials and software as well as phraseological dictionaries from a didactic and cross-linguistic point of view (e.g. Babillon 2001; Bergerová 2009, 2010, 2011; Ettinger 1998, 2001; Hallsteinsdóttir 2006; Henk 2001; Jesenšek 2011; Köster 2001; Krajl/Kacjan 2011; Lenk 2001; Rentel 2011; Sava 2011; Stolze 2001; Wotjak 1996).

Nowadays, there is generally a consensus on the importance of phraseology in foreign language learning. Nevertheless, results from phraseodidactic research still seem only to have very little influence on the treatment of phraseology in commercial teaching materials. Recent analysis show that the treatment of phraseology in foreign language textbooks has serious deficits in the selection, occurrence, and didactic implementation of phraseological units (cf. Iglesias 2013; Jazbec/Enčeva 2012; Jesenšek 2013: 84–85; Schuhmacher 2013). Such deficits are quite remarkable since firstly, most of the (German) publishers claim to use the specifications in the CEFR and, secondly, the relevance of treating phraseology in textbooks, as usual (in the sense of "normal") elements of foreign language vocabulary, has been clearly described (Jesenšek 2006: 144). Furthermore, results from newer research have been used to develop research based learning/teaching materials on phraseology as e.g. the following online available phraseodidactic resources[5] that

[4] The role of phraseology in native language acquisition (Häcki Buhofer 2007) and didactics (cf. Kühn (2007) is a neglected area, both in phraseological research and phraseodidactics (cf. Mückel 2013).

[5] For an overview over ongoing projects and other phraseological resources see www.europhras.org. Retrieved 05.12.2014.

are freely accessible and could easily serve as inspiration for the implementation of phraseology in (commercial) teaching materials:

- SprichWort-Plattform: an online phraseographic database with German-Slovenian-Slovak-Czech-Hungarian proverbs (Jesenšek 2007–2013).
- Teaching material on German phraseology with theoretical and didactic approach (Bergerová 1998–2006).
- EPHRAS, a multimedia-based learning software on German-Hungarian-Slovenian-Slovak phraseology (Kralj/Kacjan 2011).
- German phraseology and phraseodidactics with a phraseographic database and exercises for language learner (Ettinger).
- Italian-German collocations (Konecny/Autelli 2012).
- Phraseopedia, an online-database of German-Spanish phraseology (Strohschen 2013).

Peter Kühn's model (cf. Kühn 1992, 1994) has had an essential influence on the didactic concepts of those materials (cf. Bergerová 2011; Jesenšek 2011; Kralj/Kacjan 2011) as well as on most contemporary approaches to how to teach (German) phraseology. Kühn's model includes the following three steps:

- Step one: The recognition of a word combination as a phraseological unit in its context of language use.
- Step two: The decoding of the phraseological meaning e.g. by using information from the context, a visualization of the phraseological image or looking up in a dictionary.
- Step three: The learning of a phraseological unit as a linguistic unit of form and meaning with the goal of actively using it in foreign language communication.

Notably learning materials accounting for step three, including the conception and implementation of exercises to support the active use of phraseology in foreign language, are still a major desideratum in phraseodidactics (cf. Ettinger 2007: 904).

Newer interdisciplinary approaches discuss phraseodidactics not only from a linguistic perspective but also at the intersection of language and literature (cf. Bernstein 2010; Henk 2001; Preußer 2011), music (Hirschfeld 1996; Lenk 2010, 2011), advertisements (Laskowski 2010) or other non-linguistic aspects. The next section closes the phraseodidactic discussion of this paper with a short introduction to phraseology and multimodality.

6. Language and beyond? Multimodality

As stated in the introduction, phraseological units are on principle ambiguous. As the components of a phraseological unit retain the option to function as words in language use, there is always an option to construct a compositional meaning based on the literal meaning(s) of the components. Such semantic complexity is the basis for the realization of multimodal effects in language use. By multimodality, we here mean the use of more than one sign system in a text, e.g. the visualization as in (Hallsteinsdóttir 2011; Hallsteinsdóttir/Farø 2010). The semantic complexity of phraseological units make them notorious candidates for all kinds of word plays, often in combination with illustrations or audio-visual effect in genres like advertising, poems, song texts, headlines, etc. As an example, figure 1 shows an illustration of the German idiom *mit jemandem Katz und Maus spielen* ('to play cat and mouse with someone') on the front page of Hallsteinsdóttir (2001). It is based on the literal meaning of the words *cat* and *mouse* but a speaker knowing the idiom will probably activate the phraseological meaning 'a situation

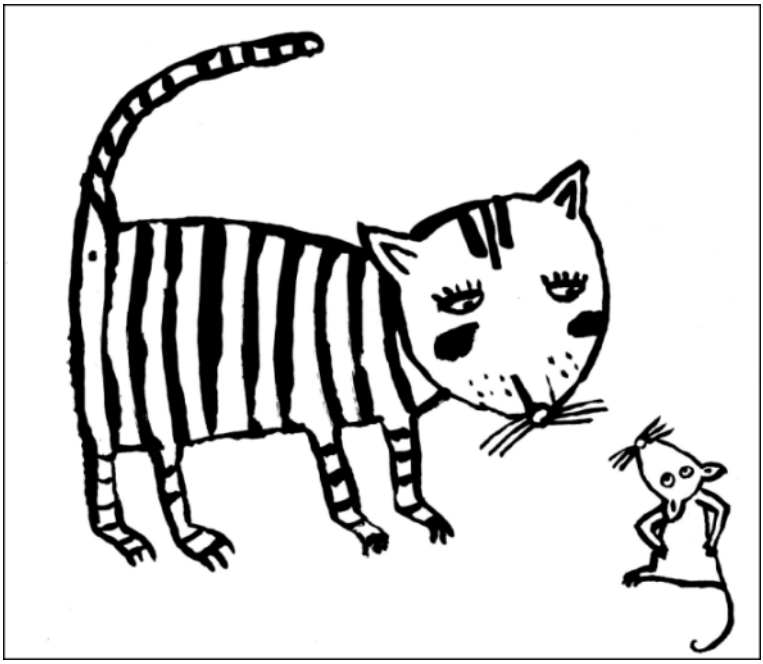

Figure 1. "to play cat and mouse with someone" (illustration by Franziska Neubert[9])

[6] www.franziskaneubert.de.

in which you let someone else believe that they have managed to escape, before you actually catch them'[7]. The German and the English idiom have similar meanings, the degree of cruelty in depending on the dictionary consulted[8]. DUDEN, though, connects the idiom explicitly to 'the game that the cat seems to be playing with the mouse before eating it'[9].

The effect of multimodality is often based on confronting the usual (lexicalized meaning) with the unusual and aiming to surprise the language user which requires more processing effort and arises stronger awareness in the understanding process. The surprise effect of the illustration in figure 1 is achieved by a second illustration on the back of the book (figure 2). The normal situation of the cat eating the mouse is turned into the opposite as the mouse seems to have eaten the cat[10]:

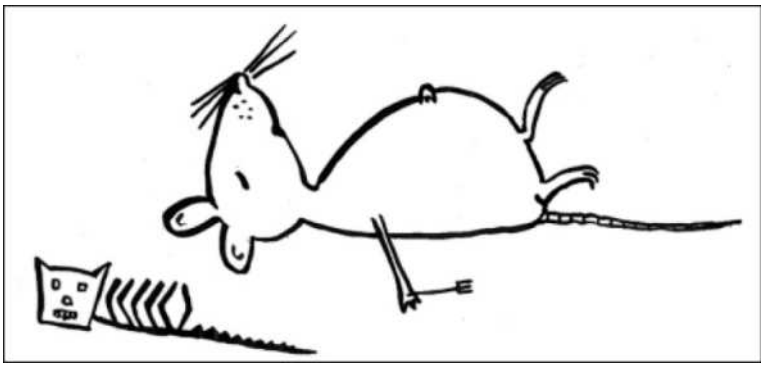

Figure 2. "to play cat and mouse with someone" (illustration by Franziska Neubert – www.franziskaneubert.de – on the back of Hallsteinsdóttir 2001)

Rentel (2011) focuses on the combination of verbal and visual elements in German advertisements and states that the use of multimodal advertisements in teaching has a high degree of effectiveness according to the learning process and a positive influence on the learner's motivation to learn Ger-

[7] Macmillian Dictionary: www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/cat-and-mouse. Retrieved 05.12.2014.

[8] For instance Collins English Dictionary: 'denoting a fight or contest in which participants attempt to confuse or deceive each other in a cruel or teasing way, esp. before a final act of cruelty or unkindness' (www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/englishćat-and-mouse?show CookiePolicy=true). Retrieved 05.12.2014.

[9] DUDEN online: www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Katz. Retrieved 05.12.2014.

[10] For those growing up watching Tom and Jerry on TV this is probably the more logical result of a 'cat and mouse play' though.

man. Konecny/Autelli (2013) have empirically tested and successfully implemented visualization as a didactic and lexicographic tool in teaching collocations in German and Italian as foreign languages. Through the visualization, so they state, the cognitive conceptualizations behind the phraseological meaning can be accessed and processed in a way that positively influences the learning process. The aspect of visualization as a learning tool is also implemented in the EPHRAS learning material.

Using and understanding multimodality requires competences at the interplay between linguistic and non-linguistic aspects. As multimodality is an important aspect of phraseology in language use, it should also be considered as an important aspect of a phraseological competence and thereby an obligatory aspect of phraseodidactics.

7. Conclusions

Within German as a foreign language there is an increasing interest in phraseodidactics and a wide spread consensus amongst researchers on the necessity of the implementation of phraseology in the language learning process from the beginning (cf. pro-arguments in Jesenšek 2013: 83 ff.). The importance of implementing phraseology and phraseodidactics in the education of (both native and non-native) foreign language teacher in order to acquire a metalinguistic phraseological knowledge – as a part of a language teacher's phraseological competence and to ensure the adequate integration of phraseology in the language classroom – is indisputable. This is already implemented in learning and teaching materials (Bergerová 1998–2002; Jesenšek 2013a) and in the curricula for German as a foreign language at several universities. However, even in the context of German, there is still a lot of work to be done in order to obtain a general awareness of the important role of phraseology in the language and to establish understanding for the necessity of implementing phraseology in curricula and teaching materials. The selection of a basic phraseological vocabulary and its didactic implementation within holistic approaches to language as an aspect of communication inclusive new media also belong to the desiderata in the German phraseodidactics even though some aspects already have been explored in detail as described in this paper. In other languages, phraseodidactics does not even exist at all or its development is still at the very beginning. Here, the German phraseodidactic research can be an inspiration also with its tradition for a strong interconnectedness and networking with other disciplines in interdisciplinary phraseodidactic approaches.

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Frazeologia w nauczaniu języków obcych

Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono zarys współczesnych badań z zakresu frazeodydaktyki, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem języka niemieckiego. Autorka omawia pojęcie kompetencji frazeologicznej i przedstawia rolę i miejsce frazeologii w Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Charakteryzuje metody ustalania, które jednostki frazeologiczne powinny być włączone do podstawowego zasobu słownictwa w procesie przyswajania języka obcego, zwracając uwagę na częstość użycia i wiedzę rodzimego użytkownika języka oraz wpływ tych czynników na wybór związków frazeologicznych uwzględnianych w materiałach dydaktycznych. Na przykładzie dydaktyki języka niemieckiego jako obcego autorka omawia ogólne aspekty nauczania frazeologii w glottodydaktyce, w tym trzystopniowy model Kühna. Przedstawione są również nowsze podejścia takie jak powiązanie multimodalności z kompetencją frazeologiczną w kontekście nauczania stałych połączeń wyrazowych.

Shin'ichiro Ishikawa
Kobe University
Japan

Japanese Polite Sentence-Final Markers: *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune*, and *desuyone* A Corpus-based Analysis with a Focus on Frequency, Collocation, and Functional Grouping

Abstract. This paper discusses the results of a corpus-based study of the usage and functions of four Japanese polite sentence-final markers (PSFMs): *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune*, and *desuyone*. Although previous studies have not wholly elucidated the detailed usage of the PSFMs, our analyses focusing on frequency, collocation, and functional grouping revealed several noteworthy facts. There is a basic contrast between the bare form *desu* and the three forms with sentence-final particles (SFPs). There exist two major factors in the classification of the PSFMs: strength of addresser/addressee-orientation and degree of modality. The four PSFMs are ordered differently in terms of addresser/addressee-orientation and modality. Furthermore, *desune* is neutral in both factors and it can be used as a versatile sentence-final marker, like *desu*.

Key words: *polite sentence-final markers, Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ), Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (CSJ), collocations, functional grouping*

1. Introduction

There is a rich variety in Japanese sentence-final particles (SFPs), which usually express modality. Among them, *yo*, *ne*, and their composite form, *yone*, play an important role in the discourse between the addresser and the addressee. According to dictionaries, *yo* expresses the addresser's intention to impose his or her own will, feeling, judgment, and opinion on the addressee; on the other hand, *ne* expresses the addresser's intention to request the addressees' agreement, to make the addressee confirm the truth value of the information, and to persuade the addressee (*Shin-Meikai Japanese Dictionary 7th Ed.*, translation mine). As *yone* is not regarded as an independent

headword, its function is assumed to be equal to the sum of the functions of *yo* and *ne*.

Yo, *ne*, and *yone*, have been studied from varied viewpoints such as semantics, pragmatics, and discourse functions. However, their collocations with *desu*, a polite form of the copula *da*, have attracted much less attention, though they occur quite frequently in varied types of discourse.

The sentences below illustrate the use of the four polite sentence-final markers (PSFMs) *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune*, and *desuyone*. Although describing the same fact (i.e., Keiko is a teacher), sentences (1)–(4) seem to have different nuances and functions.

(1) *Keiko wa sensei desu.* (Keiko is a teacher.)

(2) *Keiko wa sensei desuyo.* (Keiko is a teacher. Don't you know that?)

(3) *Keiko wa sensei desune.* (Keiko is a teacher, you know.)

(4) *Keiko wa sensei desuyone.* (Keiko is a teacher, am I right?)

Interestingly, PSFMs' behaviors in the actual language use and their mutual relations have not been wholly elucidated yet; neither dictionaries nor textbooks provide an explicit account. For example, it still remains unclear how frequently PSFMs are used, how they collocate with preceding words, and how they can be classified. Neither dictionaries nor textbooks give an explicit account of actual usage of the four PSFMs.

Therefore, the current study adopted a corpus-based approach and aimed to examine the usage of the four PSFMs with a special focus on frequency, collocations, and functions.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Semantics

Previous studies have paid special attention to the semantic difference between *yo* and *ne*, and many discuss the gap in information concerning the addresser and the addressee. According to Masuoka (1991), *yo* suggests that the information that the addresser and the addressee possess is different, while *ne* suggests that it is identical. Kamio (1990) proposes the information territory theory and notes that *ne* presents the information belonging to the territory of the addressee, not of the addresser. Kinsui & Takubo (1998) propose the discourse management theory, which argues that the purpose of discourse is minimizing the I domain (information indirectly obtained) and

maximizing the D domain (information directly obtained through experiences), and insist that *yo* conveys that the proposition is still in the I domain, while *ne* conveys that the proposition is being reconsidered and recalculated. Najima (2010) mentions that both of *yo* and *ne* express certainty and fixedness of the proposition, but the former suggests that the addresser alone can control it, while the latter does not. Takiura (2008) defines the semantic feature of *yo* as addresser-oriented (addresser+) and that of *ne* as addressee-oriented (addressee+) respectively, meaning that the former concerns a mono-directional assertion by the addresser and the latter concerns request of confirmation of information sharing by the addressee.

The third SFP, *yone*, has also been discussed. Zheng (2007) suggests that *yone* functions as an assertion marker and at the same time as a questioning marker, and it often creates a sense of unity between the addresser and the addressee. Izuhara (2003) regards *yone* as a closeness and oneness marker. Chou (2009) classifies the function of *yone* into showing sympathy, requiring confirmation, combination of both (showing sympathy and requiring confirmation,) and presenting information. However, how to situate *yone* in relation to *yo* and *ne* is not necessarily clear. Takiura (2008) suggests that the function of *yone* can be reduced to the sum of the functions of *yo* (addresser+) and *ne* (addressee+). Meanwhile, Kinsui (1993) warns that *yone* may not be a simple composite of *yo* and *ne*. Najima (2010) also says that *yone*, unlike *yo* and *ne*, expresses uncertainty of the proposition and can be used in spite of how the addresser controls a proposition. Najima (2010) emphasizes that *yone* is not a simple composite form of *yo* and *ne* but rather an archetypal form prior to them.

Although these studies have contributed a lot to a better description of the wide-ranging functions of the SFPs, in many ways, the usage and mutual relationships of the PSFMs as their extended forms have not been clarified.

2.2. Pragmatics

The SFPs have also been discussed in pragmatics, especially from the viewpoint of the politeness theory, which suggests that distance ("Don't impose"), deference ("Give options"), and camaraderie ("Make the other party feel good" / "Be friendly") should be appropriately considered in communication (Lakoff, 1990). As Brown & Levinson (1978) suggest, anyone hopes that both of his or her negative face (distance and deference) and positive face (camaraderie) are respected by others. Negative face refers to the desire "to be unimpeded and free from imposition," and positive face refers to the desire "to be appreciated and approved of by selected others" (Tracy, 1990).

Thus, it is a prerequisite in communication to avoid face-threatening acts. The addresser usually focus on courtesy and friendliness for avoiding threats to one's negative and positive face respectively.

The SFPs often serve these pragmatic needs in communication. Many studies have focused on the pragmatic functions of *ne*, including confirmation, agreement, and commenting (Ohso, 1986), or evaluation, (dis)agreement, and request for agreement/confirmation/action (Kin & Tei 2006); it can also act as facilitator, attention getter, softener, and filler (Usami 2007). What matters here is that *ne* can be used to show respect to the addressee's negative face (e.g., in the softener function) and also to his or her positive face (e.g., in the facilitator function). Based on this functional duality of *ne*, Najima (2006) emphasizes the need to analyze *ne* in a network of φ (absence of any SFPs), *yo*, *ne*, and *ka*; Takiura (2008) also insists that *ne* (addressee+) functions as a negative politeness marker when compared to *yo* (addresser+), and as a positive politeness marker when compared to φ. In addition, several studies have discussed the pragmatics of expanded SFP forms: Dobeta (2001), for instance, examines a string of *so* (so, like that, that way) + *desu* + SFPs, namely, *sodesu*, *sodesuyo*, *sodesune*, and *sodesuka*, suggesting that these backchannels are used as a positive politeness strategy to meet the addressee's desire to be acknowledged.

Although politeness seems to be one of the keys to understanding the functions of the SFPs and PSFMs, mutual relationships among them remain largely unclear.

3. Research Design

3.1. RQs

As surveyed above, previous studies have discussed the semantics and pragmatics of the SFPs mainly from the theoretical viewpoint. However, how the PSFMs as their common occurrence forms are used in actual communication has not been completely clarified. Therefore, in the current study, the author adopted a corpus-based approach and aimed to examine how the four PSFMs, *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune*, and *desuyone*, occur in the attested language data and how their functions are interrelated. Special focus was on frequency, collocations, and functions. Thus, the following three research questions (RQs) were posed.

RQ1: How frequently are the four PSFMs used in discourses?
RQ2: Which words typically collocate with the four PSFMs?
RQ3: How are the four PSFMs functionally grouped?

3.2. Data

When discussing the PSFMs in use, we need to pay attention to diversity in discourse types. Thus, five datasets were used for the current analysis, which reflect different utterance modes (monologue or dialogue), utterance methods (spoken or written), and formality in utterance (formal or casual).

Table 1. Types of Data Used for the Analysis

Databases	Corpora	Mode	Method	Formality
Academic Speeches (AS)	CSJ	Mono	Sp	Formal
Casual Speeches (CS)	CSJ	Mono	Sp	Casual
Political Speeches (PS)	BCCWJ	Mono/Dia	Sp	Formal
Online Question Board Messages (QB)	BCCWJ	Mono/Dia	Wr	Mainly Casual
Online Blogs (BG)	BCCWJ	Mono	Wr	Mainly Casual

AS and CS were taken from the "Academic Presentation Speeches" and "Simulated Public Speaking" modules in the core data of the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (CSJ). AS includes 70 transcripts of oral presentations at academic meetings in the fields of science, technology, humanities, and social studies. The length of a talk is 10 to 25 minutes. CS includes 107 transcripts of non-professional talks about three topics: my happiest experience, my saddest experience, and my hometown. The length of a talk is 10 to 15 minutes.

PS, QB, and BG were taken from "Minutes of the Diet," "Yahoo! Chiebukuro," and "Yahoo! Blog" modules in the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ). The "Minutes of the Diet" module collects transcripts of utterances of the Diet members, and only the data from the 1990s and 2000s was used. The "Yahoo! Chiebukuro" module is a collection of written messages posted to the online question board. When an answer message is posted, the question and answer set can be regarded as a kind of dialogue. The "Yahoo! Blog" module collects blog texts about varied topics such as business, computers, life, entertainment, home, politics, health, education, science, socialization, community, arts, sports, and hobby.

All the data outlined above were used for frequency analysis. Meanwhile, a random selection of 100 samples for each of the four PSFMs were used for collocation analysis. As it was revealed that AS does not include

enough occurrences of *desuyo* and *desuyone* (see Sec. 4.1), only four datasets, meaning 400 samples for each of the PSFMs, were used.

3.3. Procedure

First, concerning AS and CS, the original "trn" formats were converted to texts, and the frequencies of the PSFMs were examined. As the CSJ transcripts include no punctuation marks, the number of the PSFMs occurring at the end of semantic phrases (*bunsetsu*) was counted. Then, concerning PS, QB, and BG, the frequencies of the PSFMs were counted using the "Chunagon" interface of the BCCWJ. The number of the PSFMs immediately followed by punctuation marks ("supplementary symbols") was counted. The difference in meaning and function was not considered in counting the frequency of each PSFM. For instance, *desuyo* as a claim marker (*Keiko wa sensei desuyo*) and *desuyo* as an imperative marker (*Asu wa hayaku kuru no desuyo* [You should come early tomorrow]) are not distinguished.

Next, L1 or N-1 collocates, which occur immediately before PSFMs, were examined. Based on the total frequency in 400 samples, the top ten were chosen for each of the four PSFMs, which were analyzed qualitatively.

Finally, thirty frequent L1 collocates commonly occurring with all four PSFMs were chosen, and the contingency table with the four PSFMs as variables and the thirty collocates as cases were prepared. Then, cluster analysis and correspondence analysis were conducted for the purpose of comparing the four PSFMs.

Cluster analysis is a basic descriptive and exploratory technique for simple data classification. The interrelation of cases or variables is analyzed by a series of stages of dissimilarity matrix construction, adoption of a clustering algorithm, and choice of a value of the dissimilarity for group classification, which is shown in a tree-diagram (Woods, Fletcher, & Hughes, 1986). We define the initial dissimilarity as a square root of $(2-2*r)$ (r is a coefficient of correlation) and calculate the distance between clusters by the Ward algorithm.

Correspondence analysis (CA), which has been recently adopted in many corpus studies (Ishikawa, Maeda, Yamasaki, 2010), is another descriptive and exploratory technique to analyze a two-way frequency table, including correspondence between rows and columns. CA simultaneously classifies cases and variables, which are both called categories, and displays the internal structure existing in a set of item-category data in a simple two-dimensional scatter plot, which enables us to intuitively examine how the categories or items are mutually interrelated and grouped.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Frequency (RQ1)

One of the most fundamental facts about the usage of lexical items is frequency. When discussing a set of synonymous items, frequency tells us which is a core member and which is a peripheral member in the set. Table 2 shows the raw frequency and the frequency ratio of each PSFM to the total occurrences of the four PSFMs. "+SFP" represents the ratio of occurrences of the SFP-added forms (*desuyo*, *desune*, and *desuyone*) to the total occurrences of the four PSFMs, and "Av" represents the average of the frequency ratios in the five datasets.

Table 2. Frequencies and Ratios of the Four PSFMs

	Raw Frequency				Frequency Ratio (%)				
Data	*desu*	*desuyo*	*desune*	*desuyone*	*desu*	*desuyo*	*desune*	*desuyone*	+SFP
AS	806	1	402	3	66.5	0.1	33.2	0.2	33.5
CS	750	131	1717	101	27.8	4.9	63.6	3.7	72.2
PS	4701	1165	2726	320	52.7	13.1	30.6	3.6	47.3
QB	89011	10118	9948	6094	77.3	8.8	8.6	5.3	22.7
BG	55379	3571	8694	2194	79.3	5.1	12.4	3.1	20.7
Av	—	—	—	—	60.7	6.4	29.7	3.2	39.3

First, the average frequency ratio revealed that *desu* occurs most often (approx. 60%) and it is followed by *desune* (approx. 30%). Compared with these top two PSFMs, the ratios of *desuyo* (6.4%) and *desuyone* (3.2%) are quite limited. As expected, a simple bare form, *desu*, and the most complicated composite form, *desuyone*, occur most and least frequently respectively.

What should be noted here is the striking difference in frequency between *desuyo* and *desune*. Although *yo* and *ne* have been discussed as counterparts of each other in the previous studies (Najima, 2010), the use of *desuyo* seems to be much more limited than the use of *desune*. Although it is true that frequency order varies in different text types (for instance, *desune* occurs more often than *desu* in CS), the overall tendency that *desu* and *desune* occur more often, while *desuyo* and *desuyone* less often applies to most text types.

Another important finding is that the frequency ratio, which represents the width of use, does not reflect the relation of the four PSFMs in terms of word formation types.

	desu	*desune*	*desuyo*	*desuyone*
Word formation	bare form	bare form + SFP		bare form + SFP + SFP
Frequency ratio	> 50%	> 20%	< 10%	

Fig. 1. Word Formation Types and Frequency Ratios of the Four PSFMs

In terms of word formation, the four PSFMs can be classified into a group of *desu*, *desune*, and *desuyo*, and a group of *desuyone*; in terms of frequency, however, they can be classified into a group of *desu* and *desune*, and a group of *desuyo and desuyone*. This suggests an uncertain status of *desuyo* in comparison to the other synonymous expressions.

Finally, we like to discuss the influence of text types on the + SFP ratio, which reflects the degree of modality embodied in discourses. As seen in Table 2, neither the difference between monologues (AS: 33.5%, CS: 72.2%, BG: 20.7%) and dialogues (PS: 47.3%, QB: 22.7%) nor that between formal speeches (AS: 33.5%, PS: 47.3%) and casual speeches (CS: 72.2%, QB: 22.7%, BG: 20.7%) are clear enough. However, the difference between spoken (AS: 33.5%, CS: 72.2%, PS: 47.3%) and written (QB: 22.7%, BG: 20.7%) speech is more stable, suggesting that the difference in utterance methods may exert a substantial influence on the choice of SFP-added forms.

4.2. Collocation (RQ2)

The top ten high frequency L1 collocates for the four PSFMs are listed in the table below, where the values represent raw frequencies in the 400 occurrences taken from four of the text databases (excluding AS).

An interesting finding is that many words collocate commonly with several PSFMs. Four words, *n* (colloquial variant of *no*), *no* (particle), *so* (so), and *wake* (reason), occur with all four PSFMs; and four more words, *ta* (past tense marker), *koto* (thing), *nai* (negation), and *ii* (good), occur with three PSFMs. This suggests that the four PSFMs, including the base form, *desu*, have a certain degree of similarity in their semantic and functional behaviors. These common collocates, which are not so much lexical as functional, often form set phrases presenting the structure of an utterance: *no/n desu* (*yo/ne/yone*) [the fact is...], *koto desu* (*yo/ne/yone*) [it is...], *so desu* (*yo/ne/yone*) [I hear that...], *wake desu* (*yo/ne/yone*) [it naturally means that...], for instance.

Table 3. High Frequency Collocating Morphemes (per 400 occurrences)

desu		*desuyo*		*desune*		*desuyone*	
n	64	*n*	186	*n*	121	*n*	157
no	32	*no*	28	*so*	29	*wake*	44
so	20	*ii*	14	*wake*	28	*nai*	27
wake	16	*nai*	12	*ii*	12	*koto*	17
koto	11	*wake*	13	*no*	12	*no*	10
yo	11	*so*	9	*nai*	11	*oi*	6
ta	6	*daijobu*	8	*koto*	9	*ii*	5
mono	6	*yoi*	7	*yo*	9	*kanji*	5
ijo	6	*yo*	5	*ta*	8	*so*	4
rashii	5	*ta*	3	*tai*	8	*kata*	4

Quotations are from the four text databases.

(5) *Noka no kata ni totte nogyo o yaru to iu koto ga ichiban no ikigai na n desune.* (Farming is the best joy of life for farmers.) [Minutes of the Diet, 2005]

(6) *Kodomo no seicho o miru koto ga shiawase de ii n jyanai? Futsu no koto desuyo.* (Seeing your children grow up makes you happy. It's not bad. Just a normal thing.) [Yahoo! Chiebukuro, 2005]

(7) *Sono kanojyo sugoku ochikonde... Sore wa so desuyone.* (That girl seemed so depressed. It's understandable, isn't it?) [Yahoo! Blog, 2008]

(8) *Yarisugoshite kita wake desune.* (I have just left it as it is. You know.) [Casual Speeches]

Meanwhile, some collocates are specific to particular PSFMs: *mono* + *desu*, *daijobu* + *desuyo*, *tai* + *desune*, *kanji* + *desuyone*, for instance. These will be examined in a detail in the next section.

4.3. Functional Grouping (RQ3)

As mentioned above, the four PSFMs are similar in terms of the types of collocates. However, this does not mean that individual PSFMs have the same collocational patterns. Even when different PSFMs have the same collocates, their frequencies usually vary a lot. For instance, although *n* is one of the most frequent common collocates for the four PSFMs, the frequency of *n* + *desuyo* is 186, while that of *n* + *desu* is as low as 64.

The table below shows some of the frequencies of the thirty major collocates, which were chosen according to the total frequency.

Table 4. Frequencies of the Top 30 Collocates

L1 word	*desu*	*desuyo*	*desune*	*desuyone*	total
n	64	186	121	157	528
wake	16	13	28	44	101
no	32	28	12	10	82
so	20	9	29	4	62
nai	5	13	12	29	59
...	...	...	...	...	...

By conducting statistical analyses, we can express the relations of the four PSFMs in terms of their collocational tendencies and classify them accordingly. Figure 2 shows the result of the cluster analysis.

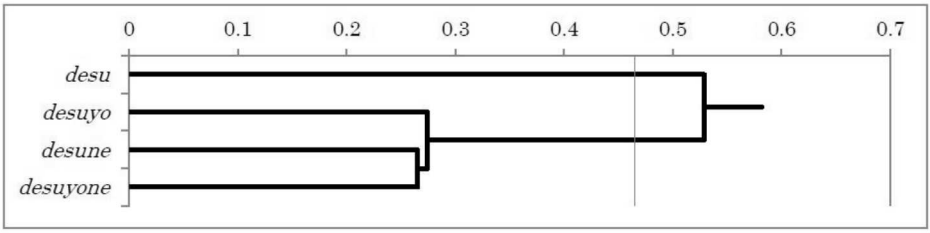

Fig. 2. Tree Diagram Based on Cluster Analysis

The tree diagram above shows that the four PSFMs can be separated in terms of collocational patterns into two subgroups: *desu* vs. the three SFP-added forms. As *desune*, *desuyone*, and *desuyo* aggregate almost at the same position (0.27–0.28), the difference within the SFP-added forms seems rather small. This finding well matches the fact that *desu* is a bare form, and the other three have SFPs. The diagram also suggests that *desuyone* is unstable in relation to the other PSFMs. For, *desuyone* is somewhat closer to *desune* than to *desuyo* in terms of collocation, but it is closer to *desuyo* than to *desune* in terms of frequency (see Sec. 4.1). It is true that *desuyone* is originally derived from *desu*, *yo*, and *ne*, but the influences of *yo* and *ne* appear with different strengths in the different aspects of the behavior of *desuyone*.

Figure 3 shows the result of the correspondence analysis. The scatter plot illustrates not only the mutual relationships among the four PSFMs but their collocational preferences as well. The two arrows are added by the author.

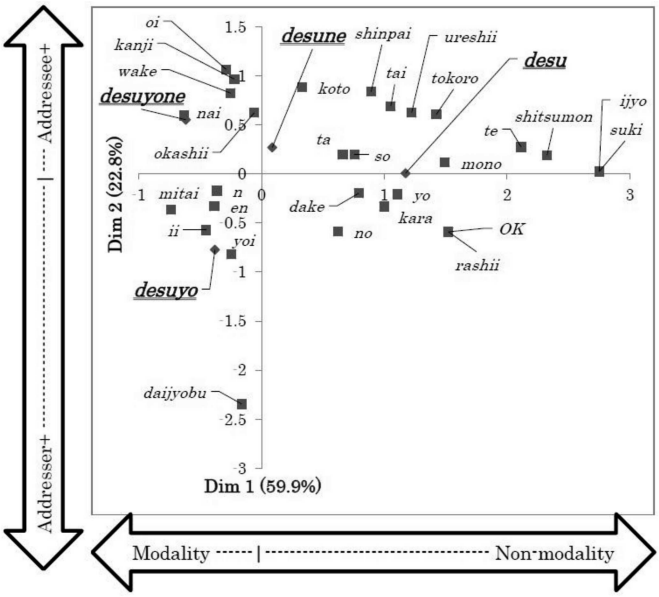

Fig. 3. Scatter Plot Based on Correspondence Analysis

As the contributions of Dimension 1 (vertical axis) and Dimension 2 (horizontal axis) are 59.9% and 22.8% respectively, and their accumulated contribution reaches 82.7%, the scatter plot based on the two dimensions summarizes almost all of the information in the original frequency table.

The vertical axis reflects the strength of the addresser/addressee-orientation expressed by the PSFMs, which can be the most crucial criterion for grouping the four PSFMs. On the vertical axis, the four PSFMs are in the order *desuyo* < *desu* < *desune* < *desuyone*. *Desuyo*, which is positioned in the lower half, is the least addressee-oriented, in other words, the most addresser-oriented. *Desu*, which is positioned in the middle, is neutral in terms of the degree of addresser/addressee-orientation. In contrast, *desune* and *desuyone*, which are positioned in the upper half, are more addressee-oriented. This corroborates the traditional explanation that *yo* usually expresses the addresser's intention to impose his or her judgment, while *ne* expresses the need of the addressee's confirmation or agreement. An important finding here is that the scatter plot suggests that *desuyone* can be somewhat more addressee-oriented than *desune*. If we regard *desuyone* as a simple composite of *desu*, *yo*, and *ne*, the strength of its addressee-orientation should be weaker than that of *desune*, because *desuyone* includes *yo*, the least addressee-oriented SFP. However, in spite of this, *desuyone* has a fairly strong addressee-orientation, suggesting that *desuyone* is not necessarily a simple sum of *desu*, *yo*, and *ne*.

The horizontal axis shows the strength of modality expressed by the PSFMs, which is an additional criterion for grouping the four PSFMs. On the horizontal axis, the four PSFMs are in the order *desu* < *desune* < *desuyo* < *desuyone*. *Desuyone* and *desuyo*, which are positioned in the left half, are modality-oriented. *Desune*, which is positioned in the right half but rather close to the middle, seems to show neutrality in terms of expression of modality. Finally, *desu*, which is positioned in the right half, is clearly non-modal. What should be noted here is that *desune*, even though it is one of the SFP-added forms, is positioned in the non-modality zone. This might explain why *desune* is used quite often in comparison to the other two SFP-added forms (see Sec. 4.1). The original semantic features of *desune* might be sometimes "bleached" in discourses, and it can be used as a versatile sentence-final marker, like *desu*.

If we pay attention to both axes, we can schematize the relationship of the four PSFMs in the following way:

Table 5. The Four PSFMs Schematized by Two Criteria

	addressee-oriented	(neutral)	addresser-oriented
non-modality-oriented		*desu*	
(neutral)		*desune*	
modality-oriented	*desuyone*		*desuyo*

This schematization helps us to understand the relationships of the four PSFMs in a deeper and clearer way. In addition, observation of the L1 collocates positioned close to each of the PSFMs leads to more sophistication in understanding the core functions and semantics of the PSFMs.

First, *desu* is used when the addresser simply presents information without a particular intention to show his or her interpretation or to impose it on the addressee. *Desu* tends to collocate with words such as *so* (I hear that...), *yo* (it seems that...), *mono* (it should be...), *kara* (it is because...). In any case, the addresser is just describing the outer situation, and he or she is neutral in the evaluation or interpretation of the situation. Collocations with *so* and *yo*, both of which concern describing indirect experiences, show that *desu* is used particularly when the addresser avoids showing his or her own opinion explicitly.

(9) *Ososhiki toka de derarenakatta so desu* (I hear that she cannot leave home because of a funeral ceremony.) [Casual speeches]

(10) *Majika de saraburedo ga hashiru yosu wa nakanaka hakuryoku ga aru mono desu* (it is considerably exciting to see a racing force gallop away just in front of us.) [Casual Speeches]

(11) *Kiken sei ga arukara desu* (it is because there exists some danger.) [Minutes of the Diet 1998]

Next, *desune*, though it is one of the SFP-added forms, shows neither clear modality nor a clear addresser/addressee-orientation. This double neutrality explains why *desune* is used most often next to *desu* in varied contexts across varied text types. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that *desune* does not have any characteristic collocates positioned in its vicinity. Thus, *desune* often functions as a versatile polite sentence-final marker, like *desu*.

Then, *desuyo*, which shows least addressee-orientation, is used when the addresser intentionally controls modality and imposes his or her own opinion, interpretation, and evaluation on the addressee. The negative face of the addressee might be threatened when *desuyo* is used. However, *desuyo* functions in a more complicated way in actual discourses, which is suggested by its collocates such as *daijobu* (ok, safe) and *ii/yoi* (good, permitted). In collocation with these positive evaluative adjectives, *desuyo* acquires a specific pragmatic function. For instance, when the addresser says "*daijobu desuyo*," he or she usually tries to encourage or console the addressee who feels uncertain and worried. *Desuyo* gives the addresser a stronger authoritative power, which contributes to effective encouragement and consolation for the addresses. Likewise, when the addresser says "*ii/yoi desuyo*," he or she shows an authority and gives permission or advice to the addressee, which also makes the addressee feel more assured. In both cases, use of *desuyo* leads to a greater assertive, persuasive, and authoritative power of the addresser's utterance and creation of a kind of comradeship, which in turn leads to giving more assurance to the addressee. Therefore, the use of *desuyo* may threaten the addressee's negative face, but at the same time, it can show respect to his or her positive face.

(12) *Kawaita nuno de karuku osaeru yo ni fukeba daijobu desuyo*. (If you wipe a dry cloth on it, with lightly pushing on it, you will have no problems.) [Yahoo! Chiebukuro, 2005]

(13) *Toire ittoita ho ga ii desuyo.* (You had better go to the toilet beforehand.) [Yahoo! Blog, 2008]

Finally, *desuyone* is used when the addresser tries to make a good cooperative relation with the addressee and to make his or her own opinion acknowledged by the addressee. Unlike *desuyo*, *desuyone* shows that the ad-

dresser may be feeling less sure of the content of his or her own utterance. Thus, the addresser hopes to obtain confirmation, acknowledgement, and agreement from the addressee, which is typically seen in collocates such as *nai* (not), *okashii* (strange), *oi* (many), *kanji* (feeling), and *wake* (should be).

(14) *FIFA rankingutte okashii desuyone* (There is something wrong with the FIFA ranking, isn't it?) [Yahoo! Chiebukuro, 2005]

(15) *Nanji ni kaettemo okorare nai mitai na kanji desuyone* (I feel that your family never scolds you even if you come home so late.) [Casual Speeches]

(16) *Koka to iunowa kiwamete usui no dewa naika to iu funi omou wake desuyone* (I have a feeling that the effect may not necessarily be enough) [Minutes of the Diet, 2001]

(17) *Sentaku shi ga atta wake desuyone* (We had an option, didn't we?) [Minutes of the Diet, 2002]

A series of hedge-like collocates, *mitai* (look like), *dewa naika* (wonder whether), and *omou* (*feel*), for instance, corroborate our hypothesis that the addresser may not be certain of what he or she says when using *desuyone*. Thus, when the addresser is confident enough about the content of his or her own utterance and needs no support, *desuyo* tends to be chosen. Meanwhile, when the addresser feels somewhat uncertain of his or her utterance and needs some support, *desuyone* is likely to be chosen, which invites the addressee into the discourse and makes the addressee support the addresser.

5. Conclusion

Our corpus-based quantitative approach shed a new light on the usage of the four PSFMs, which, unlike the SFPs, were not given enough attention in the previous studies. Our findings can be summarized as follows:

RQ1 (Frequency): Among the four PSFMs, the simple bare form, *desu* occurs most often, and the most complicated form, *desuyone*, occurs least often. Although *desuyo* and *desune* seem to be alike in word form and a function, the latter occurs much more often, which suggests the possibility of a versatile use of *desune*.

RQ2 (Collocation): The four PSFMs collocate commonly with a particular group of L1 words such as *n*, *no*, *so*, *ta*, and so on. Many of them are not really lexical but functional, and they often form set phrases showing the structure of the utterance. Meanwhile, some collocates are specific to particular PSFMs.

RQ3 (Functional Grouping): There is a gap between *desu* and the other SFP-added forms. There exist two staple factors to classify the PSFMs: strength of addresser/addressee-orientation and degree of modality. The four PSFMs can be ordered as in *desuyo* < *desu* < *desune* < *desuyone* in terms of addresser/addressee-orientation and as in *desu* < *desune* < *desuyo* < *desuyone* in terms of modality. Though it is one of the SFP-added forms, *desune* is rather neutral with respect to both factors, and therefore it can often be used as a versatile sentence-final marker, like *desu*.

Although these findings are based on the observation of behaviors of the PSFMs, they also contribute to better understanding of the SFPs as their major elements. We can say that our analytical approach based on rich corpus data and with a pinpoint focus on the PSFMs as a common occurrence form of the SFPs succeeded in revealing several noteworthy facts about the usage and function of the PSFMs and the SFPs as well. In the following research, we plan to expand the size and diversity of data used for analysis and to establish a more sophisticated approach incorporating quantitative facts obtained from corpora effectively in the traditional theoretical discussions.

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Japońskie grzecznościowe wykładniki zakończenia zdania: *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune* i *desuyone*. Analiza korpusowa z uwzględnieniem frekwencji, kolokacji i grupowania funkcjonalnego

Streszczenie

Artykuł zawiera omówienie wyników badania korpusowego użycia i funkcji grzecznościowych wykładników zakończenia zdania *desu*, *desuyo*, *desune* i *desuyone*. Chociaż wcześniejsze badania zawierają szczegółowe omówienie użycia wybranej grupy jednostek, niniejsza analiza, skupiona na frekwencji, kolokacji i funkcjonalnym grupowaniu, ujawnia kilka godnych uwagi faktów. Istnieje wyraźny kontrast pomiędzy formą *desu* i pozostałymi z partykułami. W klasyfikacji omawianych jednostek ważne są dwa czynniki: siła nadawcy/orientacja na nadawcę i stopień modalności. Cztery wybrane do analizy jednostki układają się różnie w aspekcie relacji nadawca/orientacja na nadawcę i modalność. Forma *desune* jest neutralna w obu aspektach i może być wykorzystywana jako uniwersalny wyznacznik końca zdania, podobnie jak *desu*.

Krystyna Nikołajczuk
Narodowy Uniwersytet Lwowski im. Iwana Franki
Ukraina

Najwyższy czas na frazeologię. Nauczanie polskich frazeologizmów o znaczeniu temporalnym w środowisku ukraińskojęzycznym

Abstrakt. Artykuł poświęcony jest badaniom nad znajomością normy w zakresie wybranych polskich związków frazeologicznych określających pojęcia czasowe wśród osób ukraińskojęzycznych uczących się polszczyzny. Kompetencja frazeologiczna została przeanalizowana głównie na podstawie badań ankietowych. Ujawniono, jakie związki frazeologiczne spośród tych o znaczeniu temporalnym mogą przysparzać najwięcej kłopotów osobom ukraińskojęzycznym. Zaproponowano różne typy ćwiczeń językowych doskonalących umiejętności stosowania frazeologizmów o znaczeniu czasowym przez Ukraińców uczących się języka polskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: *frazeologia temporalna, interferencja, glottodydaktyka, język polski jako obcy, język ukraiński*

„Dobra znajomość frazeologii jest znakiem naprawdę dobrej znajomości języka", – słusznie pisze lwowska badaczka Ałła Krawczuk (2011: 408). Ucząc polszczyzny ukraińskich studentów na Narodowym Uniwersytecie Lwowskim im. Iwana Franki, wykładowcy m.in. poświęcają szczególną uwagę frazeologii, w tym zarówno z punktu widzenia praktyki, jak i teorii:

> Opanowanie frazeologii danego języka jest ważnym elementem zajęć poświęconych kształceniu sprawności leksykalno-komunikacyjnych, zdolność bowiem do odczytania wszystkich aspektów znaczenia frazeologizmów oraz do aktywnego posługiwania się przy wypowiadaniu się w języku obcym świadczy o wysokim poziomie kompetencji językowej i komunikacyjnej. Frazeologia wzbogaca słownictwo, rozwija kompetencję kulturową, jest narzędziem do poznania nowego językowego obrazu świata (Dilna, Sahata 2010: 136).

Pomocne pod tym względem są ćwiczenia z frazeologii, zawarte zarówno w specjalnych podręcznikach (Buttler 1975; Pięcińska 2006; Ry-

bicka 1993), jak i licznych pracach glottodydaktycznych zawierających mniejsze lub większe partie poświęcone nauczaniu obcokrajowców polskich frazeologizmów. Frazeologia pod względem glottodydaktyki jest także przedmiotem rozważań naukowych badaczy polskich, m.in. Anny Dąbrowskiej, Urszuli Dobesz, Małgorzaty Pasieki (2010), Agnieszki Madei (2001; 2007), Alicji Nowakowskiej (2004), Grażyny Zarzyckiej (2010; 2012), Patrycji Pałki (2004), Włodzimierza Kowalskiego (2005), Anny Trębskiej-Kerntopf (2005), Anny Mazanek (2005), Anny Rabczuk (2011) i in. Zagadnienia frazeologiczne przez pryzmat glottodydaktyki są m.in. przedmiotem zainteresowań ukraińskich językoznawczyń Ałły Krawczuk (2010; 2011; 2012), Julii Dilnej (głównie frazeologizmy pojawiające się w prozie młodzieżowej: 2008; 2010; 2011), Julii Sahaty (głównie frazeologizmy zawierające nazwy zwierząt: 2009) czy też Oksany Baraniwskiej (2007) etc.: badaczki rozpatrują polską frazeologię ze względu na odbiorcę ukraińskiego, proponują swoje własne ćwiczenia, w których przede wszystkim pojawiają się „trudne" (np. ze względu na transfer negatywny) dla osób ukraińskojęzycznych frazeologizmy. W ramach magisterskich zajęć z metodyki nauczania języka polskiego jako obcego studenci polonistyki lwowskiej sami próbują tworzyć ćwiczenia z frazeologizmami różniącymi się w ich rodzimym języku i języku polskim niektórymi członami, znaczeniem etc., co z kolei sprzyja doskonaleniu ich biernej i czynnej znajomości polskiej frazeologii.

Jednak takich prac, czyli prac ujawniających „piętę achillesową" Ukraińców w zakresie stosowania polskiej frazeologii oraz oferujących różne typy ćwiczeń frazeologicznych w celu podwyższenia kompetencji językowej tych ostatnich, jest wciąż za mało. Poza uwagą badaczy np. znajduje się frazeologia temporalna polszczyzny, mimo że czas w życiu człowieka jest bardzo ważny, co zresztą odzwierciedlone zostało w gramatyce oraz leksyce i frazeologii języka polskiego. Pod tym względem możemy wymienić jedynie artykuł Anny Rabczuk i Katarzyny Kuś *Od zmierzchu do świtu – nietarantinowska frazeologia* (2009), w którym autorki podają ćwiczenia z frazeologizmami zawierającymi człony *dzień, noc, wieczór, rano* i *świt* (wśród nich są także frazeologizmy o innym znaczeniu niż temporalne).

Przedmiotem analizy w proponowanym artykule czynimy zatem kompetencję ukraińskojęzycznych użytkowników polszczyzny w zakresie używania frazeologizmów na określenie pojęć czasowych[1]. W artykule uwzględniono 20 związków frazeologicznych (dalej ZF) oznaczających okresy ludz-

[1] Niniejsza praca jest rozwinięciem oraz uzupełnieniem wcześniejszych badań (Nikołajczuk 2013).

kiego życia: dzieciństwo, młodość, wiek średni oraz starość. Te 20 ZF, wyekscerpowanych ze słowników języka polskiego[2], zostało przeanalizowanych w Narodowym Korpusie Języka Polskiego (dalej NKJP) oraz Internecie (ogółem zbadano 10171 kontekstów). Na podstawie badań kontekstowych ujawniono poziom kompetencji *native speakerów* w zakresie stosowania polskiej frazeologii temporalnej (pod uwagę bierze się konteksty, w których osadzono temporalne ZF o normatywnej postaci znaczeniowo-strukturalnej; innowacje frazeologiczne nie są w tej sytuacji uwzględniane[3]). Analiza realizacji funkcjonalnych analizowanych ZF pozwoli również na doprecyzowanie znaczeń niektórych z nich (w wypadku, kiedy w różnych słownikach przytacza się nieco odmienne definicje tego samego ZF). Konteksty korpusowe posłużyły również jako podstawa do stworzenia przez nas ćwiczeń z temporalnymi ZF[4]. W badaniu (zarówno kontekstowym, jak i ankietowym) bierze się pod uwagę znaczenie ZF na trzech poziomach: sygnifikacyjnym (najogólniejsze znaczenie ZF, które odzwierciedlone jest w słownikach), desygnacyjnym (ukonkretnienie, dopełnienie znaczenia ZF na poziomie sygnifikacyjnym: ukazuje konkretną relację ZF z przedmiotem lub zjawiskiem pozajęzykowym) i konotacyjnym (dodatkowe cechy emocjonalno-oceniająco-stylistyczne, które zwykle są przedstawiane w definicjach słownikowych w postaci specjalnych kwalifikatorów (np.: iron., przest., pogard. etc.)) (szczegółowo na ten temat pisali В. Білоноженко, І. Гнатюк (1989), І. Тепляков (1987; 1988; 1990; 2005), А. Кравчук (2005) etc.). Analizę kontekstową prowadzono równolegle z badaniami ankietowymi wśród ukraińskich studentów. Pozwoliły one wykryć ewentualne trudności, które mogą napotkać Ukraińcy uczący się polszczyzny. W badaniach ankietowych wzięło udział 100 respondentów: są to studenci na zaawansowanym poziomie znajomości języka polskiego (88% respondentów to osoby studiujące polonistykę na Narodowym Uniwersytecie Lwowskim im. Iwana Franki (dalej SP) oraz jej absolwenci (dalej AP)), pozostała zaś część (12%) to studenci stosunków międzynarodowych (dalej SSM). Zadanie respondentów polegało na zdefiniowaniu zaproponowanych ZF (wskazówki

[2] Korzystamy ze słowników: ISJP, MSF, SFJP, SFWP, SFwUTiA, USJP, WKS, WSF, WSFJP, WSF PWN. Odpowiednie skrótowce podaje się na końcu artykułu w wykazie skrótów użytych w tekście.

[3] Pojęcia „norma frazeologiczna" oraz „innowacja frazeologiczna" rozumiemy według Stanisława Bąby, a zatem norma frazeologiczna to „zbiór zaaprobowanych przez polską społeczność językową frazeologizmów oraz reguł określających sposób realizacji ich tożsamości w tekstach", innowacja zaś to „wszelkie odchylenie od normy frazeologicznej" (2009: 11, 25).

[4] Korpus w nauczaniu języka polskiego jako obcego m.in. stał się przedmiotem badawczym w artykułach B. Chachulskiej (2005), G. Gałkowskiego (2005).

na to, że dotyczą one czasu, nie było) oraz użyciu ich w krótkich kontekstach. 20 analizowanych ZF podzielono na dwie grupy: Ankieta 1 – 10 ZF (50 respondentów); Ankieta 2 – jeszcze 10 ZF (50 respondentów). Poniżej podaje się ogólne wyniki dwóch ankiet:

Tabela 1. Wyniki ankiety 1

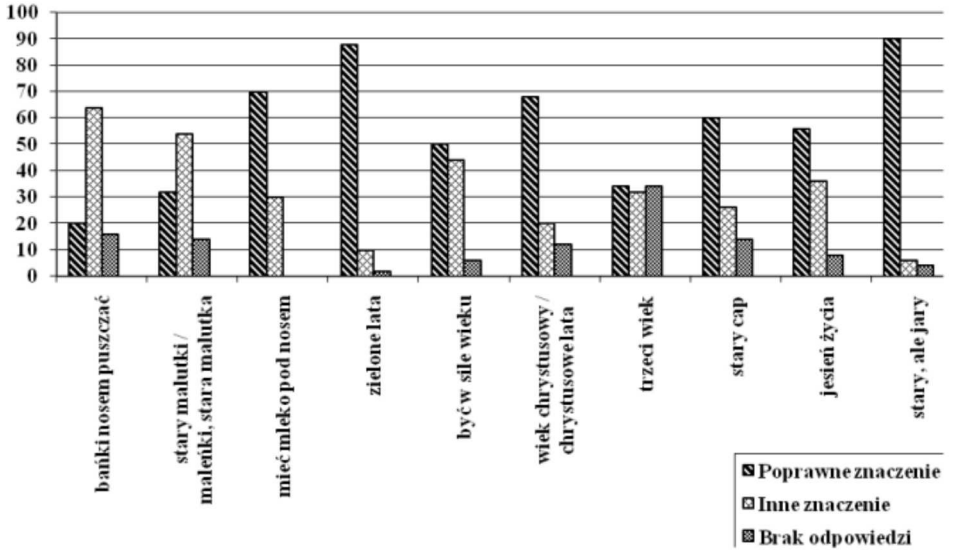
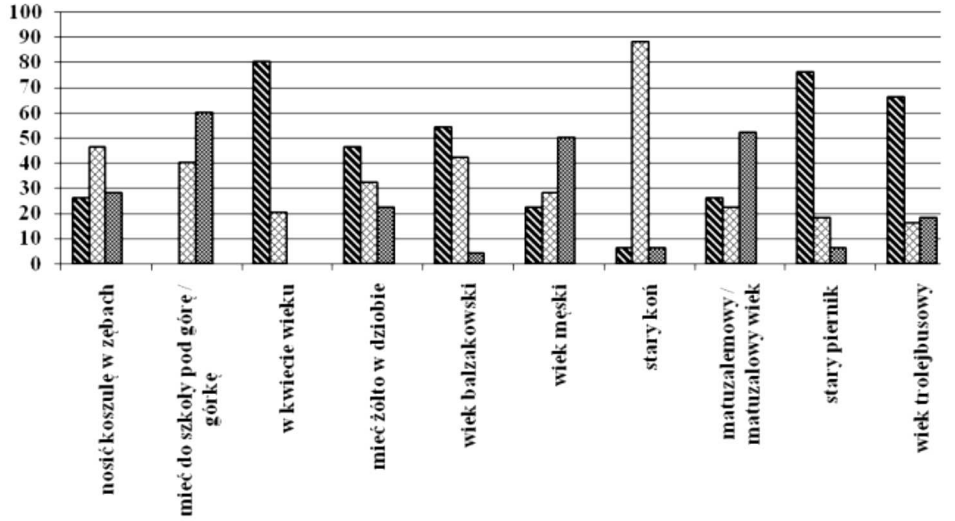


Tabela 2. Wyniki ankiety 2



Uwzględniając wyniki dwóch ankiet, dochodzimy do wniosku, że ukraińscy respondenci najlepiej radzą sobie z rozumieniem i używaniem tych temporalnych ZF, które albo są podobne (w większości pod względem formalnym) do ZF istniejących w ich rodzimym języku, albo są internacjonalizmami (*wiek chrystusowy, chrystusowe lata, wiek balzakowski*). I tak, 90% ankietowanych poprawnie zdefiniowało polski ZF ***stary, ale jary*** 'o kimś niemłodym, ale czerstwym, zdrowym, silnym', czego przyczyną jest chyba wspólny mechanizm myślenia metaforycznego w języku polskim oraz ukraińskim, ponieważ w tym ostatnim też istnieje fraza o podobnej strukturze i o tym samym znaczeniu *Старий, старий, але ярий*. Pozytywny transfer owocuje również właściwym rozumieniem przez studentów ZF ***stary cap*** o znaczeniu 'stary, zniedołężniały, lubieżny, głupi, brzydki, nieprzyzwoicie się zachowujący wobec kobiet mężczyzna'. W języku ukraińskim w jego odmianie mówionej często używa się obraźliwego określenia starszego mężczyzny, takiego, jaki bardzo interesuje się kobietami, *старий цап/цапок*. 74% respondentów, najprawdopodobniej pod wpływem języka ukraińskiego, skojarzyło znaczenie ZF *stary cap* ze starością. W strukturze znaczeniowej, według respondentów obok semów sygnifikacyjnych 'stary + mężczyzna' pojawiły się jednak różne semy desygnacyjne: 'stary mężczyzna' + 'który aktywnie interesuje się kobietami, ale one nim nie'[5], 'zniedołężniały'[6], 'nie bardzo atrakcyjny', 'głupi' (ogółem – 60% respondentów (są to poprawne definicje)). Niektórzy respondenci (pozostałe 14%) jednak udzielili niepoprawnej odpowiedzi, wyodrębniając obok semów sygnifikacyjnych 'stary + mężczyzna' błędne semy desygnacyjne: 'doświadczony'[7] (pod wpływem chyba stereotypu, że starość kojarzy się też z doświadczeniem życiowym), 'stara się wyglądać młodo, ale wygląda to groteskowo'[8], 'zachowuje się, ubiera się, mówi jak młody facet', 'chce wyglądać młodziej'. *Stary cap* w ujęciu osób ankietowanych to też 'siwy człowiek' (AP); ktoś, kto 'robi z siebie mądrzejszego, niż jest w życiu' (SP); 'udaje z siebie młodą osobę' (3 odpowiedzi) albo w ogóle 'tak mówią, kiedy ktoś chce obrazić kogoś innego niezależnie od wieku' (SSM).

[5] Jeden respondent AP, chyba biorąc pod uwagę skojarzenie *starszy mężczyzna – brak powodzenia u kobiet*, pod frazeologizmem *stary cap* rozumie *starego kawalera*: 'może chodzi o starego kawalera'.

[6] W taki sposób frazeologizm *stary cap* zdefiniował też SSM, nie precyzując jednak wieku człowieka: 'człowiek do niczego nie przydatny, nic nie warty'.

[7] Znaczenie 'człowiek doświadczony' (w tym niekoniecznie stary) w języku polskim mają frazeologizmy zawierające nazwy innych zwierząt: *stary lis/wróbel* (USJP).

[8] Podobne znaczenie, co prawda z semem dyferencjalnym płci, ma polski ZF *Z tyłu liceum, z przodu muzeum* o znaczeniu '*pot. iron. a. żart.* o starszej kobiecie, która chce wyglądać młodo, ale jej twarz zdradza prawdziwy wiek' (WSF PWN).

W definicjach napisanych przez studentów pojawia się też (poprawne) negatywne natężenie znaczenia konotacyjnego tego ZF: ‘obraźliwy’, ‘z lekceważeniem’, ‘pogardliwy’.

Język rodzimy pomaga Ukraińcom uczącym się polszczyzny w odbieraniu ZF: ***zielone lata*** (ukr. *молодий зелений*; poprawne odpowiedzi – 88%), ***w kwiecie wieku*** (ukr. *у розквіті сил*; poprawne odpowiedzi – 80%), ***mieć mleko pod nosem*** (ukr. *молоко не обсохло у кого, молоко на губах у кого, губи в молоці в кого, з молоком на губах, (материне) молоко на губах не обсохло/висохло*; poprawne odpowiedzi – 70%), ***jesień życia***[9] (ukr. *осінь життя*; poprawne odpowiedzi – 56%). Ukraiński frazeologizm *молоко на губах не обсохло/висохло* o formalnie nieco innej strukturze niż polski *mieć mleko pod nosem* na tyle mocno tkwi w świadomości osób ukraińskojęzycznych, że jedna studentka polonistyki, mimo (błędnego!) zdefiniowania polskiego frazeologizmu: ‘kiedy dorosły człowiek zachowuje się jak dziecko, nie umie sobie poradzić w życiu; w przytłaczającej większości dotyczy to mężczyzn’, ilustruje go zdaniem *U niego jeszcze mleko pod nosem nie wyschło*.

Dwa ZF – ***w sile wieku*** i ***w kwiecie wieku*** – o podobnej strukturze formalnej i znaczeniowej (por. ZF *w sile wieku* ‘ktoś, kto jest w pełni sił życiowych, nie jest już młody, a jeszcze nie jest stary (zwłaszcza o mężczyźnie)’; ZF *w kwiecie wieku* ‘w wieku młodym lub średnim’[10]; w pełni sił życiowych’) Ukraińcy pojmują w różny sposób: tylko 50% ankietowanych podało poprawną pełną definicję dla ZF *w sile wieku* i aż 80% – dla ZF *w kwiecie wieku*. Poziom znajomości ZF *w sile wieku* wśród osób ankietowanych wzrasta, kiedy bierze się pod uwagę nie definicje słownikowe tego ZF, lecz jego znaczenie wynikające z kontekstów NKJP. I tak, wyniki przeszukiwania tego frazeologizmu w NKJP nie potwierdzają ograniczonych ram dotyczących konkretnego wieku człowieka, czyli wieku średniego. Zwykle te granice wie-

[9] Wśród niepoprawnych definicji ZF *jesień życia* warto zwrócić uwagę na 2 napisane przez SP: ‘złote lata życia’ oraz ‘coś dobre, miłe, przyjemne w życiu’. SP, jak widać, kojarzą ten frazeologizm przede wszystkim z czymś pozytywnym. Ciekawe, że w świadomości Polaków starość, wyrażona ZF *jesień życia*, też jest piękna, beztroska, radosna etc., co wynika z kontekstów NKJP oraz Internetu: stosunek kontekstów, w których wykorzystano ZF *jesień życia*, o negatywnej treści, w porównaniu z kontekstami o pozytywnej treści, jest 18% : 82% (dokładniej o tym problemie zob. (Ніколайчук 2012)).

[10] Sem ‘średni wiek’ obok ‘młody wiek’ wyodrębnia się jedynie w WSFJP. Inne słowniki (ISJP, WSF PWN, USJP, WSF) zawężają znaczenie tego ZF do jednego semu temporalnego: ‘młody wiek’. W NKJP oraz Internecie spośród 291 kontekstów, gdzie użyto tego ZF w jego tradycyjnej postaci formalno-znaczeniowej, w 62 kontekstach jednoznacznie ujawnia się sem temporalny ‘młodość’, w 123 zaś – sem temporalny ‘średni wiek’.

kowe w kontekstach są szersze: *Najwięcej wśród nas jest osób* ***w sile wieku*** *– od 17. do 64. roku życia, zdolnych do pracy* („Dziennik Zachodni"). Największa liczba lat, którą ma człowiek *w sile wieku*, sięgnęła 73 lat, najmniejsza zaś – 5 miesięcy: *Otóż jestem* ***w sile wieku****, mam 73 lata, i niestety nie pochodzę z rodziny długowiecznej* [...] (Sprawozdanie stenograficzne z obrad Sejmu RP z dnia 12.10.1995, 2 kadencja, 62 posiedzenie, 2 dzień); *A teraz facet* ***w sile wieku*** *– ukończone 5 miesięcy – pozwala cycowi memu na godzinę, góra półtora godziny przerwy* (Usenet – pl.soc.dzieci. W tym kontekście jednak ZF *w sile wieku* używa się nieco żartobliwie). Przemawia to chyba za tym, że Polacy przede wszystkim rozumieją ten ZF nie jako określenie wieku średniego, lecz zgodnie z jego semem 'być w pełni sił życiowych', który należy do ogólnej struktury znaczenia (obok 'być dorosłym, dojrzałym) tego frazeologizmu w definicjach WSF PWN, USJP, SFJP, WSF[11]. Uwzględniając ten fakt, możemy stwierdzić wzrost poziomu znajomości ZF *w sile wieku* wśród Ukraińców, ponieważ 74% respondentów wyodrębniło (osobno lub w połączeniu z innymi semamami) sem 'w pełni sił życiowych'.

Odpowiedniki (strukturalnie nieco odległe) w języku ukraińskim ma też polski ZF *mieć żółto w dziobie* (ukr. *горобеня жовтодзьобе, курча жовтороте (пухнасте)*). W języku ukraińskim jednak jest on rzadko używany. A zatem przypuszczamy, że aż 46% ankietowanych poprawnie zdefiniowało ten ZF na podstawie skojarzeń metaforycznych. Bardzo ważny pod względem glottodydaktyki jest ten fakt, że polski ZF *mieć żółto w dziobie* nie jest frekwencyjny w NKJP oraz Internecie: znaleziono bowiem tylko 3 konteksty zawierające ten ZF, w tym 2 – użycia innowacyjne. Znaczy to, że ci respondenci, którzy zaproponowali błędną definicję ZF *mieć żółto w dziobie*, są mniej narażeni na zakłócenie komunikacji z Polakami, którzy jak wykazują badania korpusowe niezbyt często używają tego ZF. Z innej zaś strony poprawne skojarzenia metaforyczne pomogą w odebraniu potocznego rzeczownika *żółtodziób* o znaczeniu 'młody, niedoświadczony chłopak; młokos', często używanego przez *native speakerów* (na zapytanie [base=żółtodziób] w NKJP znaleziono 729 kontekstów).

ZF ***stary piernik*** 76% respondentów zdefiniowało we właściwym tradycyjnym znaczeniu 'o starym, niedołężnym mężczyźnie'. W języku ukraińskim nie ma takiego ZF. W jego stylu potocznym jednak często używa się innego ZF, zawierającego rzeczownik (pejoratywny) *пердун*, fonetycznie podobnego do polskiego rzeczownika *piernik* – ukr. ZF *старий пердун* o tym samym znaczeniu sygnifikacyjno-desygnacyjnym, co polski ZF *stary piernik*.

[11] Ten ostatni (WSF) definiuje frazeologizm *być w sile wieku* bez semu 'być dorosłym, dojrzałym': 'być człowiekiem w pełni sił witalnych'.

Znaczenie konotacyjne zaś trochę się różni: w języku ukraińskim natężenie negatywne tego ZF jest, jak wydaje się, silniejsze. A zatem chyba na podstawie podobieństwa fonetycznego polskiego i ukraińskiego leksemu polski ZF *stary piernik* został poprawnie zrozumiany przez ankietowanych.

W przypadku innego polskiego ZF, dzisiaj już przestarzałego – ***wiek trolejbusowy*** – zachodzi nieco paradoksalna sytuacja. Poziom znajomości znaczenia tego ZF ('powyżej pięćdziesiątego roku życia' (WSFJP)) wśród *native speakerów* jest niski: w NKJP oraz Internecie znaleziono tylko 31 kontekstów jego użycia (włącznie z innowacjami). Stosunkowo niska frekwencja ZF *wiek trolejbusowy* jest uwarunkowana chyba tym, że jest on przestarzały i ograniczony terytorialnie (warszawskie). Potwierdzeniem niskiej znajomości tego ZF wśród rodzimych użytkowników polszczyzny są pytania na forach dotyczące jego znaczenia: *O i czy mogłabyś powiedzieć jaki jest wiek trolejbusowy – bo spodobało mi się to stwierdzenie* [odpowiedź:] *Numery trolejbusów w Warszawie były dwucyfrowe i zaczynały się od cyfry 5. Pani po pięćdziesiątce była w wieku trolejbusowym* (http://okiemgackowej.blox.pl). Tymczasem aż 66% osób ukraińskojęzycznych zdefiniowało ten ZF jako 'starość, emerytura'. Przypuszczamy, iż w tej sytuacji pomocny stał się nie tyle język rodzimy, w którym nie ma tego ZF, ile własna kompetencja kulturowa oraz stereotypowe spojrzenie studentów na „ukraińską codzienność". Chodzi najprawdopodobniej o skojarzenia, że często trolejbusem na Ukrainie jeżdżą albo studenci (bo jest tańszy niż autobus), albo właśnie emeryci, ponieważ nie muszą płacić za przejazd tym środkiem transportu. Hipotezę tę potwierdza się w niektórych definicjach respondentów: *wiek trolejbusowy* to 'wiek studiów' (SSM; 1 definicja), ale też o 'starszych ludziach, o emerytach, którzy jeżdżą najczęściej trolejbusem' (SP), 'to chyba znaczy starszy wiek, kiedy babcie i dziadkowie jeżdżą już tylko trolejbusem' (SP), 'wiek człowieka na emeryturze, bo zazwyczaj emeryci jeżdżą trolejbusem za darmo: *Jaki wspaniały jest wiek trolejbusowy: jeździsz za darmo i na wszystkich krzyczysz!*' (SSM).

Znajomość tła historyczno-kulturalnego pomaga Ukraińcom uczącym się polszczyzny w odbieraniu ZF ***wiek chrystusowy***, ***chrystusowe lata***, ***wiek balzakowski***. Np.: 54% ankietowanych uważa, że *wiek balzakowski* to wiek kobiety 'po trzydziestce', 'około czterdziestki', 'między 30. a 40. rokiem życia'. Bardzo blisko poprawnej odpowiedzi było 32% respondentów, którzy myślą, że jest to wiek 'po czterdziestce'; czasami też wskazane są błędne semy o charakterze desygnacyjnym: 'zawyczaj tak mówią o rozwiedzionych kobietach (samotnych)' (SSM), 'kobieta po czterdziestce, która już dawno jest matką, a jeszcze chce biegać na randki' (SP) czy też 'mówi się o kobiecie po czterdziestce, która chce miłości, ale już nie jest taka młoda' (SP).

Nie zawsze jednak frazeologizmy internacjonalne są znane ukraińskim respondentom. I tak, międzynarodowy ZF *matuzalemowy/matuzalowy wiek* (ukr. *мафусаїлів вік* (rzadko używany)) poprawnie odbiera tylko 26% ankietowanych – 'późna starość'. 52% ankietowanych w ogóle nie udzieliło informacji dotyczących rozumienia przez nich tego ZF. 22% zaś podało błędne definicje: np. 'kilkumiesięczne dziecko', 'osoba młoda, aktywna', 'ktoś taki młody, szczęśliwy, nie martwi się niczym', a nawet 'kiedy mają zdawać egzaminy maturalne'.

W przypadku ZF *stary malutki/maleńki, stara maleńka, nosić koszulę w zębach* Ukraińcy ulegają transferowi negatywnemu. I tak, tylko 32% respondentów słusznie uważa, że znaczenie frazeologizmów ***stary malutki/maleńki***, ***stara maleńka*** jest związane ze zbyt poważnym zachowaniem, zbyt mądrymi myślami jak na swój wiek. Np.: '**Stary malutki/maleńki**, **stara maleńka** – to znaczy, że dziecko coś mówi albo zachowuje się jako starszy człowiek: *Anna to stara malutka, czasem mówi o bardzo poważnych rzeczach*' (AP). 54% natomiast udzieliło błędnej definicji, w tym 30% – pod wpływem formalnie podobnego ukraińskiego przysłowia *Старе, як мале: що побачить, того й просить* albo jego skróconej wersji *старе, як мале* o znaczeniu 'starzy ludzie zachowują się jak dzieci', a także odpowiednich we wspólnocie ukraińskojęzycznych stereotypów: *Dziadek mój jest jak stary malutki* (SP); *Babcia strasznie się obraziła na to, stara malutka jest* (SP).

Mniej respondentów (26%) zna ZF ***nosić koszulę w zębach*** ('być małym dzieckiem'). Spora część ankietowanych albo w ogóle nie zdefiniowała tego ZF (28%), albo wytłumaczyła go niepoprawnie (46%). Wśród błędnych definicji znalazły się m.in. takie: 'kiedy człowiek jest uratowany od jakiejś biedy' (SSM), 'być szczęśliwym' (SSM), 'kiedy osoba jest bardzo szczęśliwa i może uniknąć szkody': *W tym nieszczęsnym wypadku on został nieuszkodzony. Nosi koszulę w zębach*' (SSM). Ukraińcy, jak widać, mylą znaczenie tego ZF ze znaczeniem innego polskiego ZF *w czepku urodzony*, *urodzić się w czepku* ('o kimś mającym wielkie szczęście w życiu' (WSF PWN)). Fakt ten związany jest chyba z oddziaływaniem języka rodzimego, w którym funkcjonuje ZF *народитися в сорочці*, zawierający rzeczownik *сорочка* (pol. *koszula*). Ten wspólny element ukr. *народитися в сорочці* oraz pol. *nosić koszulę w zębach* spowodował skojarzenie między tymi ZF. Ukraińscy respondenci przypisali zatem polskiemu frazeologizmowi *nosić koszulę w zębach* (błędne) znaczenie ukr. ZF *народитися в сорочці* 'być szczęśliwcem'.

Niewiele osób ukraińskojęzycznych zna systemowe znaczenie także pozostałych ZF: ***trzeci wiek*** (34%), ***wiek męski*** (22%), ***bańki nosem puszczać*** (20%), ***stary koń*** (6%), ***mieć do szkoły pod górę/górkę*** (0). Największym zagrożeniem mogącym spowodować zakłocenie w komunikacji polsko-

językowej Ukraińców z Polakami jest niski poziom znajomości ZF *stary koń, trzeci wiek, wiek męski*, ponieważ te ostatnie dość często występują w NKJP oraz Internecie, co znaczy, że są używane przez *native speakerów* (por.: *trzeci wiek*: 1825 kontekstów[12]; *stary koń*: 202 konteksty; *wiek męski*: 104 konteksty; *mieć do szkoły pod górę/górkę*: 30 kontekstów; *bańki nosem puszczać*: 0 kontekstów[13]). I tak, Ukraińcom uczącym się polszczyzny rozumienie ZF *trzeci wiek* sprawia trudności. 34% respondentów nie udzieliło żadnej informacji dotyczącej znaczenia tego ZF. 3 ankietowanych uważa, że frazeologizm ten określa trzecie tysiąclecie (XXI wiek), stąd chyba u 3 innych respondentów pojawiło się skojarzenie 'trzeci wiek to innowacje technologiczne': 'coś jest bardzo nowoczesne: *W tym sklepie można kupić komórkę trzeciego wieku*' (AP). Motywując chyba znaczenie ZF liczebnikiem *trzeci*, 6 Ukraińców zdefiniowało ZF *trzeci wiek* 'od 20 do 30 lat' (2), '30 lat', '30 i więcej lat', 'młodość'; 3 innych zaś zaproponowało definicję 'dojrzałość', 'dojrzałość, wiek po młodości' (co chyba też oznacza 'po 30. roku życia'). Np.: *W trzecim wieku zabrano Pawła do wojska* (SP). I tylko 34% respondentów skojarzyło sobie ten ZF z okresem starości, emerytury (w tym 1 AP zdefiniowała frazeologizm jako 'bardzo stary'). Np.: *Stary już jestem, wnuczku. Zacząłem już swój trzeci wiek życia* (AP).

Podsumowując wyniki przeprowadzonej ankiety, a także uwzględniając obserwacje czynione w trakcie zajęć z Ukraińcami uczącymi się polszczyzny, możemy stwierdzić, że poziom znajomości frazeologii temporalnej wśród osób ukraińskojęzycznych na ogół jest średni. Najlepiej znane są Ukraińcom ZF *stary, ale jary, zielone lata, w kwiecie wieku, stary piernik, mieć mleko pod nosem, stary cap, wiek trolejbusowy, jesień życia, mieć żółto w dziobie*, w których odbieraniu pomaga im język rodzimy, oraz internacjonalne ZF

[12] Tu i dalej podaje się liczbę kontekstów NKJP, gdzie wykorzystano ZF w ich tradycyjnej postaci formalno-znaczeniowej, bez innowacji różnego typu. Jeśli chodzi o ZF *trzeci wiek*, to jest on najczęściej używany nie samodzielnie, lecz jako komponent nazwy popularnych, m.in. też w Polsce, uczelni dla ludzi w podeszłym wieku *Uniwersytet Trzeciego Wieku* (pojawia się w 1650 kontekstach: 899 kontekstów – pełna nazwa, 209 kontekstów – *Uniwersytet III Wieku*, 542 konteksty – skrótowiec *UTW*) oraz *Akademia Trzeciego Wieku* (pojawia się w 41 kontekstach: 33 konteksty – pełna nazwa, 8 kontekstów – *Akademia III Wieku*).

[13] Na podstawie badań korpusowych możemy stwierdzić, że frazeologizm ten nie jest dobrze znany także Polakom, a co najmniej nie jest przez nich często używany. W żadnym z 14 wyników NKJP nie znaleziono frazeologizmu *bańki nosem puszczać* w znaczeniu 'być małym dzieckiem', w kontekstach zaś najczęściej obserwujemy jego dosłowne odczytanie: *Ale nikt nie umiał puszczać baniek nosem tak, jak on! Kiedyś do nosa przykleił sobie gumę do żucia i wydmuchał balona, który zakrył pół nieba* (Usenet – pl.soc.religia). Warto też zwrócić uwagę na fakt, że ZF *bańki nosem puszczać* rejestruje tylko WSFJP, co jeszcze raz przemawia za niską frekwencją tej jednostki.

wiek chrystusowy/chrystusowe lata, *wiek balzakowski*. Najgorzej respondenci radzą sobie z rozumieniem i używaniem ZF *bańki nosem puszczać*, *trzeci wiek*, *mieć do szkoły pod górę/górkę*, *wiek męski*, *stary koń*, *matuzalemowy/matuzalowy wiek*, a również *stary malutki/maleńki*, *stara malutka*, *nosić koszulę w zębach*, w których do mylenia znaczeń dochodzi wskutek ulegania transferowi negatywnemu lub sugerowania się niewłaściwym odczytaniem metafory, leżącej u podstaw ZF. Nieznajomość ZF *stary malutki/maleńki*, *stara malutka*, *nosić koszulę w zębach* czy często używanych *stary koń*, *trzeci wiek*, *wiek męski* może przysporzyć problemów w komunikacji polskojęzycznej Ukraińców z Polakami. Dlatego w celu podwyższania kompetencji Ukraińców uczących się języka polskiego w zakresie stosowania polskiej frazeologii trzeba przygotowywać ćwiczenia przeznaczone specjalnie dla tej grupy językowej i uwzględniające ZF tzw. „trudne" ze względu na odbiorcę ukraińskojęzycznego. Nie powinny się w tych ćwiczeniach pojawiać ZF o niskiej frekwencji w NKJP oraz Internecie, czyli ZF rzadko używane przez *native speakerów* (*bańki nosem puszczać*, *mieć żółto w dziobie* czy też *wiek trolejbusowy*).

Jako przykładowe niech posłużą cztery następujące ćwiczenia. Pierwsze dwa ćwiczenia są przeznaczone dla uczących się polszczyzny na niższych poziomach (A 1, A 2).

Ćwiczenie 1. Proszę wybrać właściwe słowo i wyjaśnić znaczenie uzupełnionego frazeologizmu.

1. *Niezwykli ludzie. Koledzy krwiodawcy to w większości ludzie* ***w*** ..... ***wieku***, *między 30. a 50. rokiem życia* („Polska. Głos Wielkopolski")[14].

a) sile; b) szczycie; c) pełni.

2. *Każda pora życia ma sobie tylko właściwy charakter: dziecko jest słabe i niepewne, młodzieniec śmiały i porywczy,* ..... ***męski*** *cechuje powaga, a starość jest czasem zupełnej dojrzałości* („Gazeta Poznańska").

a) czas; b) okres; c) wiek.

3. *Może za czasów księdza młodości ludzie dorastali szybciej, ale teraz dwunastolatek* ***ma mleko*** ..... *Nie jest przygotowany, by samemu rozwiązywać własne problemy. Ktoś musi mu w tym pomagać. I właśnie od tego są rodzice* („Skarb w glinianym naczyniu").

a) na wargach; b) pod nosem; c) na policzkach.

[14] Wszystkie zdania w tym ćwiczeniu są wyekscerpowane z NKJP. W nawiasach wskazuje się dokładny tytuł źródła.

4. *Na wileńszczyźnie np. przyjmowano, że opieka pierwszego anioła stróża w istocie trwa dość krótko: od momentu chrztu (a więc nawet nie od chwili narodzin!) do czasu, aż człowiek osiągnie* ***wiek*** ..... *– czyli 33 lata* (Pinezka.pl).

a) chrystusowy; b) jezusowy; c) Chrystusa.

5. *Elit z pierwszego okresu transformacji już nie ma. Są to ludzie, z których połowa w tamtych latach nosiła* ..... ***w zębach****. Dla nich przeżycie wartości jako czegoś,co wpływa na widzenie świata, jest abstrakcją* („Dziennik Bałtycki").

a) śpioszki; b) koszulę; c) rajstopy.

6. *A ty* ***stary*** ..... *sam się nie wychowujesz, tylko mamy ci trzeba? Nie jesteś za swój rozwój odpowiedzialny? Za to czy się karmisz, na co patrzysz, kogo naśladujesz?* (www.forum.michalkiewicz.pl).

a) ogrze; b) pony; c) koniu.

7. *Kiedy człowiek wchodzi w* ..... ***życia****, to oprócz zajmowania się wnukami powinien jeszcze zająć się także sobą* („Gazeta Poznańska").

a) jesień; b) zimę; c) lato.

8. *Nie spuszczał wzroku z Marty.* ***Stary*** ....., *pomyślała, niech sobie patrzy. Siwy, uszkodzony przez paraliż, ale na pewno jeszcze krzepki* („Zakładnicy").

a) cap; b) wróbel; c) pies.

Klucz:

1. *w* ***sile*** *wieku* – 'ktoś, kto jest w pełni sił życiowych, nie jest już młody, a jeszcze nie jest stary (zwłaszcza o mężczyźnie)'.
2. ***wiek*** *męski* – 'okres życia, w którym mężczyzna jest w pełni sił fizycznych i umysłowych'[15].
3. *mieć mleko* ***pod nosem*** – '(o chłopcu) młody i niedojrzały'.
4. *wiek* ***chrystusowy*** – 'trzydziesty, trzydziesty trzeci rok życia (zwłaszcza o mężczyźnie)'.
5. *nosić* ***koszulę*** *w zębach* – 'być małym dzieckiem'.
6. *stary* ***koń*** – 'o mężczyźnie dorosłym lub dorastającym chłopcu, zachowującym się infantylnie, jak dziecko'.
7. ***jesień*** *życia* – 'okres starości człowieka'.
8. *stary* ***cap*** – 'stary zniedołężniały, lubieżny, głupi, brzydki, nieprzyzwoicie się zachowujący wobec kobiet mężczyzna'.

Ćwiczenie 2. Proszę dopasować frazeologizmy z ramki do odpowiednich definicji, a następnie ułożyć z nimi zdania.

trzeci wiek, mieć do szkoły pod górkę, zielone lata, wiek balzakowski, stary malutki, matuzalemowy wiek, stary koń, mieć mleko pod nosem

[15] W NKJP oraz Internecie, spośród 104 kontekstów, gdzie użyto ZF *wiek męski* w jego tradycyjnej postaci formalno-znaczeniowej, w 76 kontekstach ujawnia się precyzowanie wieku mężczyzny w pełni sił fizycznych i umysłowych – 'średni wiek'.

DZIECIŃSTWO	MŁODOŚĆ	WIEK ŚREDNI	STAROŚĆ
‘mieć trudne dzieciństwo’:	‘okres młodości’:	‘wiek kobiety między 30. a 40. rokiem życia’:	‘starość człowieka’:
‘chłopiec zachowujący się zbyt poważnie na swój wiek; ‘dziecko ubierane jak dorosły’:	‘(o chłopcu) młody i niedojrzały:	‘o mężczyźnie dorosłym zachowującym się infantylnie, jak dziecko’:	‘sędziwy wiek, lata późnej starości’:

Klucz:

DZIECIŃSTWO	MŁODOŚĆ	WIEK ŚREDNI	STAROŚĆ
‘mieć trudne dzieciństwo’: ***mieć do szkoły pod górkę***	‘okres młodości’: ***zielone lata***	‘wiek kobiety między 30. a 40. rokiem życia’: ***wiek balzakowski***	‘starość człowieka’: ***trzeci wiek***
‘chłopiec zachowujący się zbyt poważnie na swój wiek; ‘dziecko ubierane jak dorosły’: ***stary malutki***	‘(o chłopcu) młody i niedojrzały: ***mieć mleko pod nosem***	‘o mężczyźnie dorosłym zachowującym się infantylnie, jak dziecko’: ***stary koń***[16]	‘sędziwy wiek, lata późnej starości’: ***matuzalemowy wiek***

[16] Trzeba zwrócić uwagę, że podmiotem może być nie tylko dorosły mężczyzna, lecz także dorastający chłopiec, zachowujący się infantylnie, jak dziecko. Lokalizacja ZF *stary koń* w obrębie grupy ‘średni wiek’ jest uwarunkowana jednak funkcjonowaniem tego ZF: spośród 202 kontekstów, w których osadzono ten frazeologizm w jego tradycyjnej postaci formalno-znaczeniowej, w 46 kontekstach jednoznacznie ujawnia się sem temporalny ‘młodość’; w 99 zaś – sem temporalny ‘średni wiek’. Np.: *Do dziś się tego filmu boję. Jako 36-letni **stary koń** oglądam go ciągle oczami 11-latka i budzę się czasami w nocy, bo mi się coś śni z udziałem bohaterki zamienionej w węża* („Gazeta Wrocławska”).

Kolejne dwa ćwiczenia mogą robić studenci już bardziej zaawansowani: ćwiczenie 3 – poziom B 1, B 2, ćwiczenie 4 – poziom C 1, C 2.

Zadaniem studentów w następnym ćwiczeniu jest prawidłowe uzupełnienie pustych miejsc, a następnie zdefiniowanie brakujących frazeologizmów. Każdy frazeologizm o znaczeniu temporalnym umieszczono w zdaniu (wydzielonym kursywą), wyekscerpowanym z NKJP. W przypisach podaje się dokładną nazwę źródła, z którego wzięto zdania zawierające brakujące frazeologizmy temporalne.

Ćwiczenie 3. Proszę wstawić w puste miejsca frazeologizmy z ramki, a następnie podać do nich definicje.

trzeci wiek, mieć mleko pod nosem, chrystusowy wiek, zielone lata, w sile wieku, stara malutka, nosić koszulę w zębach, stary cap, jesień życia

Moja (ewentualna) kochana rodzina

Za tydzień obchodzimy moje urodziny. *Będę miał wtedy 33 lata, a* (1) .... *jest najlepszy na odnoszenie sukcesów*[17]. Więc postanowiłem nareszcie się zapoznać z rodziną mojej ukochanej Basi. Najwyższy czas. Chyba nie poniosę porażki, przecież to są moje urodziny! Ale denerwuję się już na zapas. No cóż, muszę dobrze wypaść w oczach moich ewentualnych krewnych, jeżeli chcę wejść do tej rodziny. Inaczej wpadnę w poważne tarapaty. Trzeba wszystko zapiąć na ostatni guzik. Urodzinowi goście będą na pewno wymagający.

Wczoraj z Baśką oglądałem jej rodzinny album. Na pierwszym zdjęciu ujrzałem swoją dziewczynę z ojcem. *Był to mąż* (2) ....., *potężnie zbudowany, rumiany i czarnobrewy, emanujący nieposkromioną mocą i zwierzęcą energią. Z pewnością niedobrze byłoby mieć w nim wroga, ale jeszcze niebezpieczniej przyjaciela. Pomyślałem, że muszę podczas rozmowy ostrożnie ważyć słowa, aby pozyskać zaufanie*[18]. Teraz ten poważny mężczyzna dźwiga już piąty krzyżyk na grzbiecie i jest naprawdę grubą rybą w naszym mieście. *Mimo że w latach 50.* (3) ....., *w latach 60. był szczylem, w 70. studiował, a dopiero na progu lat 80. zaczął w polityce stawiać pierwsze kroki*[19]. Z następnego zdjęcia uśmiechał się do nas młodszy braciszek Baśki. *Niewątpliwie odziedziczył po swoich rodzicach najlepsze cechy urody obojga. Miał jeszcze* (4) ....., *lecz złoty puch na rumianych policzkach mile kontrastował z różowawą bielą skóry*[20]. Obok niego stała dziewczynka o głębokim spojrzeniu. „(5) ..... – *mówi o Agatce pedagog szkolny Barbara Moskwa, bo dziewczynka próbuje naśladować świat dorosłych"*[21], – skomentowała Basia zdjęcie swojej kuzynki. A to chyba babcia mojej

[17] „Słowo Polskie. Gazeta Wrocławska".

[18] „Metamorfozy".

[19] „Gazeta Wyborcza".

[20] „Metamorfozy".

[21] „Życie Warszawy".

dziewczyny: jeszcze jest młoda na tym trochę pożółkłym biało-czarnym zdjęciu. *Pochodzi z Krakowa, ale czas okupacji młoda dziewczyna, której jak i innym rówieśnikom – wojna skradła najpiękniejsze* (6) ..... *życia, spędziła w Warszawie*[22]. Tam właśnie poznała swojego męża Stefana. Na ostatnim zdjęciu był leciwy już mężczyzna w otoczeniu kilku pań. „To mój stryjek Jan Dudzik. W kółko powtarza, że *ewidentnym „mankamentem* (7) ..... *" jest systematyczny ubytek sił fizycznych, które zostają w tyle za duchem*[23]. Ale w starym piecu jeszcze diabeł pali! *Baby! Francowata słabość Dudzika. Jedna dała mu syfa w prezencie, druga okradła. Taki* (8) ..... . *Zawsze ma pełne ręce roboty*[24]. W tych dniach wujek znalazł ogłoszenie *„57-letnia, kulturalna, zadbana, bez zobowiązań z duszą pozna pana o podobnych walorach, na wspólną podróż po utkanej złotymi liści ścieżce* (9) ..... . *Cel matrymonialny"*[25]. I wiesz co? Umówił się z nią na randkę!".

No cóż, chyba będzie mi naprawdę wesoło w tej rodzinie. „Kochanie, oni Cię polubią, zobaczysz", – powiedziała mi Basia. „Aby tylko nie lubili jak psy dziada w ciasnej ulicy", – przeleciało mi przez głowę.

Klucz: *chrystusowy wiek* (1), *w sile wieku* (2), *nosić koszulę w zębach* (3), *mleko pod nosem* (4), *stara malutka* (5), *zielone lata* (6), *trzeci wiek* (7), *stary cap* (8), *jesień życia* (9).

Przy okazji studenci mogą nauczyć się też innych frazeologizmów (*najwyższy czas na coś, denerwować się na zapas, wejść do rodziny, zapiąć coś na ostatni guzik, dźwigać któryś (np. piąty) krzyżyk na grzbiecie, gruba ryba, stawiać pierwsze kroki, głębokie spojrzenie, mieć pełne ręce roboty, lubić kogoś jak psy dziada w ciasnej ulicy*[26], *coś przeleciało komuś przez głowę*, przysłowie *w starym piecu diabeł pali*), powtórzyć reguły łączliwości niektórych wyrazów (*odnieść sukces, ponieść porażkę, pozyskać zaufanie*).

Kolejne ćwiczenie jest oparte na błędnych definicjach oraz ilustracjach tekstowych, podanych przez ankietowanych. Zdania, wydzielone kursywą w tym ćwiczeniu, to przykłady napisane przez respondentów. W przypisie najpierw podaje się definicję tych przykładów (wydzielonych kursywą zdań) oraz inne ZF pasujące do treści kontekstu. Zadanie polega na ujawnieniu oraz poprawieniu błędów.

Ćwiczenie 4. W poniższym dialogu proszę znaleźć frazeologizmy osadzone w nieodpowiednich do ich znaczenia kontekstach oraz wytłumaczyć znaczenia bądź

[22] „Zielone Brygady. Pismo Ekologów".

[23] „Gazeta Poznańska".

[24] „Gdzie jest droga na walne?".

[25] „Dziennik Polski".

[26] Tu też trzeba zwrócić uwagę studentów na różnicę struktury podobnych do siebie ZF: polskiego *lubić kogoś jak psy dziada w ciasnej ulicy* i ukraińskiego *любити як пес діда на перелазі* czy też rzadziej używany *любити як пси діда на вузькій стежці*.

sytuacje użycia tych frazeologizmów. Proszę zaproponować, gdzie jest to możliwe, inne frazeologizmy pasujące do tych kontekstów.

Przykład: W kontekście *Nasz dyrektor to stary koń, pracuje więcej niż my, mniej odpoczywa i chyba lepiej od nas wygląda* nie pasuje frazeologizm *stary koń* (znaczenie normatywne tego frazeologizmu: 'dorosły mężczyzna lub dorastający chłopiec, zachowujący się infantylnie, jak dziecko'). Zamiast tego frazeologizmu można użyć frazeologizm *stary, ale jary* o znaczeniu normatywnym 'ktoś niemłody, ale czerstwy, zdrowy, silny'.

Krzysztof: Cześć, Basiu! Co słychać w pracy? Jak nasz dyrektor? Tęskni za mną?

Basia: Cześć, Krzysztofie! W pracy wszystko jak dawniej. *Nasz dyrektor to stary koń, pracuje więcej niż my, mniej odpoczywa i chyba lepiej od nas wygląda*.

Jak mija twój urlop? Przypominam sobie, że pojechałeś nad morze z kuzynem.

Krzysztof: Tak. Wczoraj wróciliśmy. Był to bajeczny wypoczynek! Tylko łyżką dziegciu w beczce miodu stała się kradzież pieniędzy Tomasza. Jednak los uśmiechnął się do niego. Kierownik hotelu, w którym zamieszkaliśmy, pomógł znaleźć złodzieja. Tak naprawdę to mieliśmy szczęście poznać tego kierownika. *On jest starym piernikiem, dużo wie i już go tak łatwo nie okłamiesz*[27].

Basia: To mieliście przygodę! Słuchaj, a twój kuzyn jest młodszy od ciebie?

Krzysztof: *Tomasz jest w wieku balzakowskim*[28]. Ma cudowną córeczkę. Teraz właśnie spędza wakacje pod gruszą u babci. Po drodze wpadliśmy do niej.

A jak twoja babcia się czuje? Słyszałem o jakimś wypadku samochodowym.

Basia: *Moja babcia już stara malutka, boi się zostawać w domu sama, potrzebuje dużo uwagi*[29], zwłaszcza po tym zdarzeniu. *Ona miała wypadek samochodowy, ale nosi koszulę w zębach i tylko dlatego jest żywa*[30]. Jakiś pan nie chciał poczekać, aż przejdzie ulicę. Omal jej nie zabił.

Krzysztof: To straszne! *Trzeba mieć chociaż troszeczkę współczucia do ludzi w sile wieku*[31]. Dobrze, że wszystko szczęśliwie się skończyło.

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[27] *Stary piernik* – (błędne znaczenie) 'człowiek, który ma wielkie doświadczenie życiowe; starszy, już bardzo doświadczony człowiek' (SP). Zamiast tego ZF można użyć ZF *stary lis, wróbel, wyga* o znaczeniu 'człowiek doświadczony, sprytny, przebiegły'.

[28] *Wiek balzakowski* – (błędne znaczenie) 'po czterdziestce' (SP). Tu trzeba zwrócić uwagę, że tylko kobieta może być w *wieku balzakowskim* (30–40 lat). Zamiast tego ZF można użyć ZF *wiek męski* o znaczeniu 'okres życia, w którym mężczyzna jest w pełni sił fizycznych i umysłowych' albo ZF *w sile wieku* o znaczeniu 'ktoś, kto jest w pełni sił życiowych, nie jest już młody, a jeszcze nie jest stary (zwłaszcza o mężczyźnie).

[29] *Stary malutki/maleńki, stara malutka* – (błędne znaczenie) 'kiedy stary człowiek zachowuje się jak dziecko' (SP). Zamiast tego frazeologzimu można użyć wyrazu *zdzieciniała*.

[30] *Nosić koszulę w zębach* – (błędne znaczenie) 'być szczęśliwym' (SSM). Zamiast tego ZF można użyć ZF *w czepku urodzony, urodzić się w czepku* o znaczeniu 'o kimś mającym wielkie szczęście w życiu'.

[31] *W sile wieku* – (błędne znaczenie) 'stary człowiek' (AP). Zamiast tego ZF można użyć ZF *trzeci wiek, jesień życia, starszy wiek, piękny wiek, późny wiek, późne lata, poważny wiek* lub też mniej frekwencyjne w NKJP ZF *ładny wiek, poważne lata, być dobrze w latach, być w latach, zaawansowany wiek, ktoś jest w zaawansowanym wieku, zaawansowany wiekiem, zaawansowany w latach* o znaczeniu 'okres starości człowieka', 'stary (człowiek)'.

Basiu, nasza Kasia miała chyba urodziny w zeszłym tygodniu. Jak było?

Basia: Wspaniale! Kasia tylko ciągle narzekała, że jej beztroska młodość już minęła. Wiesz, co powiedziała na imprezie? *„Czas wychodzić za mąż i rodzić dzieci. Trzeci wiek się zaczął"*[32]. Mamy dużo zdjęć. Może masz ochotę na kawę jutro? Wpadnij do mnie.

Krzysztof: Świetnie!!! Mam też małą niespodziankę dla Ciebie. To jeszcze zadzwonię jutro. Cześć.

Basia: Cześć!

Zaproponowane ćwiczenia, naszym zdaniem, mogą ulepszyć poziom znajomości polskiej frazeologii, nie tylko temporalnej, wśród Ukraińców uczących się polszczyzny, a zarazem pomogą im pokonać możliwe bariery komunikacyjne, związane z brakiem kompetencji w zakresie stosowania frazeologizmów na określenie pojęć czasowych.

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[32] *Trzeci wiek* – (błędne znaczenie) 'dojrzałość, wiek po młodości' (SP). Zamiast tego ZF można użyć ZF *wiek balzakowski* o znaczeniu 'wiek kobiety między 30. a 40. rokiem życia' lub też ZF *wiek dojrzały, dojrzałe lata* o ogólniejszym znaczeniu 'okres życia człowieka między wczesną młodością a starością'.

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HIGH TIME FOR PHRASEOLOGY
Teaching Polish phraseological units expressing time-related notions in the Ukrainian environment

Summary

The paper is devoted ti research on the knowledge on the norm regarding selected Polish phraseological units expressing time-related notions in the Ukrainian native speakers who are learners of Polish as a second language. Phraseological competence has been analysed mostly on the questionnaire material. The study revealed which phraseological units belonging to the analysed group may cause problems for such learners. The article contains various kinds of activities which can be used in order to improve Ukrainian students' ability to use such units.

Przemysław Wiatrowski
Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu
Polska

Realia Nusantary w świetle indonezyjskiej frazeologii

Abstrakt. Przedmiotem artykułu są indonezyjskie frazeologizmy. Nie były one dotąd opisywane przez polskich badaczy. Celem rozważań jest inwentaryzacja tych jednostek frazeologicznych, w których ujawniają się realia Nusantary (tak Indonezyjczycy nazywają swój kraj położony na ponad siedemnastu tysiącach wysp Archipelagu Malajskiego w Azji Południowo-Wschodniej). Chodzi o takie połączenia wyrazowe, które zawierają leksemy denotujące właściwe Indonezji fakty geograficzne, przyrodnicze, historyczne, kulturowe. Podczas analizy omówiono motywację znaczenia badanych frazeologizmów. Przywoływane w artykule związki wyrazowe wyekscerpowano z opracowań frazeograficznych i słownika ogólnego języka indonezyjskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: *Nusantara, realia Indonezji, język indonezyjski, frazeologia*

1. Wprowadzenie

> W zasobie frazeologicznym każdego języka znajdujemy chyba najwięcej potwierdzeń tego, jak ściśle jest związany ów język z życiem społeczności, która się nim posługuje. Wielokomponentowość i – zwykle – metaforyczna (metonimiczna) geneza frazeologizmów sprzyjają utrwalaniu w nich realiów obyczajowo-społecznych, ludzkich przekonań i poglądów na świat. Wiele połączeń idiomatycznych może być zatem traktowanych jako dokument dawnych obyczajów, stosunków, życia w bardziej lub mniej odległych epokach

– pisze Anna Pajdzińska w studium *Frazeologia a zmiany kulturowe* (2006a: 61). Zacytowana teza badaczki, znakomicie udowodniona w przywołanym artykule, stanowi punkt wyjścia niniejszego szkicu. Inwentaryzuję w nim indonezyjskie frazeologizmy, w których przetrwały realia Nusantary. Wyjaśnijmy

od razu, że słowo *Nusantara* jest nieoficjalną nazwą terytorium Indonezji. Tak Indonezyjczycy określają zespół ponad siedemnastu tysięcy należących do ich kraju wysp. Omawiane nomen proprium wywodzi się od sanskryckiego leksemu złożonego *nusantara* oznaczającego 'archipelag' (*nusa* 'wyspa', *antara* 'pomiędzy, poza, odległość, rozpiętość') (zob. Purwadi, Purnomo 2008: 8, 99).

Celem artykułu jest analiza utrwalonych połączeń wyrazowych zawierających komponenty denotujące realia Indonezji – kraju leżącego w Azji Południowo-Wschodniej, zajmującego sporą część Archipelagu Malajskiego. Oficjalnym językiem Republiki Indonezji jest język indonezyjski (*bahasa Indonesia*) – jeden z największych języków świata. Rozwinął się z literackiego, klasycznego języka malajskiego funkcjonującego na obszarze sułtanatu Riau-Johor (Sneddon 2003: 69–70; na temat historii języka indonezyjskiego zob. też np. Robson 2004: 15–23; Syahroni et al. 2013: 1–7). Liczbę jego użytkowników szacuje się – w zależności od ujęcia – na 200–270 milionów. Genetycznie język indonezyjski należy do rodziny języków austronezyjskich (grupa języków malajsko-sumatrańskich w obrębie zespołu języków zachodnioindonezyjskich) (Majewicz 1989: 76–78, 84–85; na temat rodziny języków austronezyjskich zob. także Sneddon 2003; Adelaar 2005; Huptyś 2014). Z kolei pod względem typologicznym zaliczany jest do języków aglutynacyjnych (zob. np. Quinn 2001: vii).

Materiał badawczy pochodzi z następujących specjalistycznych źródeł leksykograficznych:

1. M. Gandasudirdja, *700 Peribahasa Indonesia* (1963);
2. A. Chaer, *Kamus Ungkapan Bahasa Indonesia* (2002);
3. K.St. Pamuntjak, N.St. Iskandar, A.Dt. Madjoindo, *Peribahasa* (2004);
4. Suprapto, *Kamus Peribahasa Bahasa Indonesia* (2007);
5. J.S. Badudu, *Kamus Peribahasa. Memahami Arti dan Kiasan Peribahasa, Pepatah, dan Ungkapan* (2009a);
6. J.S. Badudu, *Kamus Ungkapan Bahasa Indonesia* (2009b);
7. A. Prasetyo, *Super Lengkap Peribahasa Indonesia Plus Update EYD Terbaru* (2010).

Ekscerpcji poddałem również internetową wersję ogólnego słownika języka indonezyjskiego *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (www.kbbi.web.id). W efekcie zgromadziłem jednostki frazeologiczne, w których składzie znajdują się wyrazy odnoszące się do rozmaitych faktów geograficznych, przyrodniczych, historycznych, kulturowych Indonezji.

Wśród odnotowanych połączeń leksykalnych są różne formalnie jednostki: typowe związki frazeologiczne („społecznie utrwalone połączenia wyrazów wykazujące nieregularność pod jakimś względem, np.: w ich składzie występują wyrazy lub formy wyrazów nie wchodzące w swobodne

związki składniowe; znaczenie frazeologizmu nie wynika ze znaczeń komponentów; naruszone bywają zasady łączliwości wyrazów" – Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 315[1]), ustabilizowane konstrukcje porównawcze oraz przysłowia. Wymienione rodzaje jednostek w indonezyjskiej nomenklaturze obejmowane są terminami *peribahasa* lub *idiom*[2]. Odpowiadają one polskiemu określeniu *jednostka frazeologiczna*, stosowanemu przez niektórych frazeologów (zob. np. Nowakowska 2005; Młynarczyk 2013). Widoczna jest więc różnica terminologiczna między polskim i indonezyjskim ujęciem omawianego zagadnienia. Przypomnijmy, w polskich badaniach idiomem nazywa się takie frazeologizmy, których „utrwalone znaczenie jest zupełnie inne niż to, które wynika ze znaczeń członów składowych" (Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 318)[3]. Porównania frazeologiczne (a także jednostki typu *egipskie ciemności*, *czarna rozpacz*) zaliczane są z kolei do frazemów (połączeń frazeologicznych), czyli utrwalonych związków wyrazowych, których sens mieści się w zakresie semantycznym komponentu dominującego znaczeniowo, choć cała jednostka frazeologiczna jest nieregularna semantycznie (zob. Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 319)[4]. W opracowaniach indonezyjskich omawiane dwa typy połączeń leksykalnych: idiomy i frazemy określane są – odpowiednio – mianem idiomów pełnych (*idiom penuh*) oraz częściowych (*idiom sebagian*) (zob. Chaer 2007: 127; 2012: 296; 2013: 75; Suwandi 2008: 96).

2. Analiza materiału frazeologicznego

Przegląd indonezyjskich frazeologizmów ograniczam do zaprezentowania wybranych przykładów zawierających komponenty reprezentujące następujące pola tematyczne: położenie geograficzne, warunki klimatyczne, flora, fauna, historia, język, religia, sztuka, tradycyjne tkaniny, kulinaria. Kryterium

[1] Zbieżne ujęcie – dotyczące przede wszystkim niesumaryczności znaczeniowej frazeologizmów – funkcjonuje w indonezyjskiej literaturze przedmiotu. Zob. np. Kridalaksana 1982: 62; Badudu 1992: 154; Pateda 2010: 230–233.

[2] O pojmowaniu idiomu m.in. na indonezyjskim gruncie pisze np. M.A. Khak w artykule *Idiom dalam Bahasa Indonesia: Struktur dan Makna*, http://www.balaibahasa.org/file/5IDIOM_DALAM_BAHASA_INDONESIA.pdf [dostęp: 15.05.2014]. Na temat pojęcia *peribahasa* zob. np. Kridalaksana 1982: 131; Pateda 2010: 230.

[3] Na temat różnych definicji idiomu zob. Zakrzewski 2002: 19–23. Dodajmy, że frazeologia pojmowana wąsko nie obejmuje przysłów (uznawanych za minimalne teksty) (zob. Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 318; Szpila 2003).

[4] Wśród tego typu frazeologizmów znajdują się również porównania idiomatyczne (zob. Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 319).

decydującym o przywołaniu danego połączenia wyrazowego uczyniłem typowość, reprezentatywność, „indonezyjską wyrazistość" desygnatu, do którego odnosi się jeden ze składników frazeologizmu. W toku analiz podaję znaczenie dosłowne jednostki, jej znaczenie frazeologiczne oraz staram się dotrzeć do elementów motywujących ten drugi typ znaczenia[5].

2.1. Geografia

Indonezja zajmuje znaczną część Archipelagu Malajskiego i obejmuje ponad 17 000 wysp, z których spora część (ok. 6000) jest niezamieszkana ze względu na brak wody pitnej. Ogląd mapy fizycznej świata pozwala dostrzec 5 dominujących wysp indonezyjskich. Są to: Sumatra, Jawa, Borneo (należąca w większości do Indonezji i zwana po indonezyjsku *Kalimantan*), Celebes (po indonezyjsku *Sulawesi*) oraz Nowa Gwinea (jej zachodnia część dawniej stanowiła indonezyjską prowincję zwaną *Irian Jaya* – Irian Zachodni). Indonezja jest więc krajem wyspiarskim (fakt ten zapisany jest w etymologii oficjalnej nazwy kraju[6] oraz w nieoficjalnym określeniu *tanah air* dosł. ziemia (i) woda, czyli 'kraj urodzenia, ojczyzna'), co odzwierciedlają również odnalezione w słownikach liczne frazeologizmy z leksemem *pulau* 'wyspa'. Oto kilka wybranych przykładów: *berlayar di pulau kapuk* (dosł. żeglować na wyspę kapoku) 'tidur' ('spać'); *pulau sudah lenyap, daratan sudah tenggelam* (dosł. wyspa już zniknęła, stały ląd już zatonął) 'sudah tidak ada harapan lagi (gagal sama sekali)' ('nie ma już nadziei (coś całkowicie daremnego)'); *berlayar menantang* || *mengadang* || *menuju pulau* (dosł. żeglować (zdążać) ku wyspie) 'setiap usaha harus ada tujuannya' ('każde przedsięwzięcie, każdy wysiłek musi mieć swój cel'); *seperti kersik di pulau* (dosł. jak piasku na wyspie) 'sangat banyak' ('bardzo dużo'). Motywacja przywołanych połączeń wyrazowych jest przejrzysta. Pierwszy idiom – o genezie metaforycznej – odwołuje się do wiedzy o sposobie wyzyskiwania drzewa kapokowego uprawianego w Indonezji: włóknami (w formie puchu) otaczającego nasiona tej rośliny wypełnia się materace. U podłoża znaczeniowego drugiego frazeologizmu legły obiektywne cechy przedmiotu, mianowicie fakt, że pochłonięta przez wodę wyspa (na ogół) znika bezpowrotnie. W kształtowaniu wartości semantycznej związku wyrazowego *berlayar menantang (mengadang, menuju) pulau* istotną rolę odgrywa komponent werbalny *berlayar* ('żeglować') ozna-

[5] O pojęciu motywacji we frazeologii zob. np. Lewicki, Pajdzińska 2001: 319; Lewicki 2003a: 275–292; 2003b: 259–274; Spagińska-Pruszak 2005: 54–64.

[6] „**Indonezja**, państwo w Azji; sens nazwy można objaśnić jako 'wyspy indyjskie' (drugi człon nazwy pochodzi z greckiego *nesos* 'wyspa')" (Grzenia 2008: 116).

czający czynność wykonywaną w jakimś kierunku. Każda podróż najczęściej zakłada dotarcie do jakiegoś miejsca. Ostatni z omawianych frazeologizmów – o statusie intensivum – utrwala niedefinicyjne (*pulau* 'tanah (daratan) yang dikelilingi air (di laut, di sungai, atau di danau)' 'ziemia otoczona wodą (na morzu, rzece, jeziorze)'), nieistotne cechy obiektu (piasek jako integralny składnik wyspy).

Wyspa to część lądu otoczona wodą[7]. Indonezję oblewają wody kilku mórz (m.in. Morza Jawajskiego, Morza Celebeskiego, Morza Andamańskiego, Morza Południowochińskiego) oraz Oceanu Indyjskiego i Pacyfiku. Zakładać więc należy, że znalazło to odbicie w indonezyjskiej frazeologii. I tak na przykład składnik *laut* 'morze' występuje w następujących połączeniach wyrazowych: *kalau sungai mengalir ke laut, laut tiada akan bertambah* (dosł. choć rzeka wpływa do morza, morze nie powiększa się) 'pemberian orang miskin tak akan dapat mengubah orang kaya' ('dar od człowieka biednego nie może zmienić (kogoś) w człowieka bogatego'); *laut mana tak berombak, bumi mana tak ditimpa hujan* (dosł. które morze nie ma fal, która ziemia nie jest uderzana deszczem) 'tak ada orang yang luput dari kesalahan' ('nie ma człowieka bez wad'); *membuang garam ke laut/menggarami laut* (dosł. wrzucać sól do morza/solić morze) 'pekerjaan yang tidak ada gunanya' ('praca, która nie ma sensu'). Tak jak rzeka nie ma wpływu na objętość morza, tak dar od osoby biednej nie może uczynić obdarowanego bogaczem. Tak jak nie istnieje idealne, ciche i spokojne morze i nie istnieje ląd, który nie byłby dotknięty opadami deszczu, tak nie ma idealnego człowieka, który nie popełniałby błędów. Trzeci idiom odnosi się z kolei do czynności bezcelowej, nadaremnej: nie soli się morza, które jest już słone. Znaczenia frazeologiczne analizowanych połączeń opierają się na obserwacjach obiektywnych, naturalnych zjawisk występujących w przyrodzie.

Warto jeszcze wspomnieć o tym, że w Indonezji występuje kilkadziesiąt wulkanów, których spora część jest nadal aktywna. Między innymi wulkan Merapi (środkowa część Jawy). Jego nazwa pojawia się w połączeniu wyrazowym *gunung Merapi itu pun akan aktif selamanya* (dosł. (ten) wulkan Merapi będzie zawsze aktywny) 'dikatakan kepada semangat seseorang yang senantiasa berkobar – kobar, tidak pernah surut' ('mówi się tak o kimś, kto zawsze jest zmotywowany, pełen entuzjazmu – płonie, nigdy nie gaśnie')[8]. Znacze-

[7] Na temat językowego obrazu wyspy (w polszczyźnie) zob. Maćkiewicz 1999.

[8] Jednym z najsłynniejszych wulkanów Indonezji jest – znajdujący się pomiędzy Sumatrą a Jawą – wulkan Krakatoa (Krakatau), którego erupcja w 1883 roku pozbawiła życia ponad 35 000 osób i wpłynęła na zmianę ziemskiego klimatu. Do historii przeszły też wybuchy takich wulkanów, jak Tambora na wyspie Sumbawa czy Gunung Agung na Bali (zob. Forshee 2006: 2).

nie tego frazeologizmu możemy uznać za motywowane dopiero wówczas, gdy odwołamy się do wiedzy o tym, że wulkan Merapi jest najaktywniejszym wulkanem Jawy. W analizowanym przykładzie znalazła więc odbicie analogia między ludzkim zapałem, entuzjazmem a aktywnością wulkanu.

Niektóre spośród zgromadzonych frazeologizmów poza nazwą wulkanu zawierają także nazwy indonezyjskich miejscowości, na przykład: *lain Bengkulu, lain Semarang*; *lain dahulu, lain sekarang* (dosł. inne Bengkulu, inny Semarang; inaczej kiedyś, inaczej teraz). Bengkulu to miasto leżące w południowo-zachodniej części Sumatry. Semarang z kolei znajduje się na północnym wybrzeżu Jawy. Znaczenie idiomatyczne: 'segala sesuatu itu senantiasa berubah sesuai dengan pergantian masa' ('wszystko ciągle się zmienia zgodnie z upływającym czasem') motywowane jest spostrzeżeniami dotyczącymi zmieniającego się oblicza miast, które nieustannie się rozwijają.

2.2. Warunki klimatyczne

Indonezja leży w strefie klimatu równikowego wilgotnego z obfitymi opadami deszczu i wysoką temperaturą powietrza. Występują tam dwie pory roku: sucha (od kwietnia do października) oraz deszczowa (od listopada do marca). Pora sucha to po indonezyjsku *musim kemarau*, pora deszczowa zaś – *musim hujan*. Oba wskazane zestawienia pojawiają się w wyekscerpowanych stałych połączeniach leksykalnych i ukazują obserwacje pogodowe Indonezyjczyków: *musim hujan dingin, musim kemarau panas* (dosł. w porze deszczowej jest zimno, w porze suchej gorąco) 'keadaan yang sudah pasti, bukan rekayasa belaka' ('sytuacja, która jest już pewna, której nie można w ogóle zmienić'). Mamy tutaj do czynienia ze swoistym, właściwym indonezyjskiej społeczności ujęciem opisywanej przez frazeologizm rzeczywistości. Temperatura powietrza w ciągu roku utrzymuje się w Indonezji na stałym poziomie i wynosi od 28 do 34 stopni Celsjusza. Dla mieszkańca umiarkowanej strefy klimatycznej taka temperatura to już upał, a więc o zimnie mowy być nie może. Odczucie ciepła i zimna różni Polaków i Indonezyjczyków.

Wiedza o zjawiskach atmosferycznych zawarta jest także w kolejnych idiomach: *menunggu hujan pagi di musim kemarau* (dosł. oczekiwać deszczu rankiem w porze suchej) 'mengharapkan sesuatu yang tidak mungkin terjadi' ('mieć nadzieję, że stanie się coś, co nie może się zdarzyć'); *seperti cendawan di musim hujan* (dosł. jak grzyby w porze deszczowej) 'sesuatu yang cepat berkembang atau banyak sekali' ('coś, co szybko kwitnie lub czego jest bardzo dużo'). W obydwu przykładach czytelna jest relacja między znaczeniem dosłownym a przenośnym. Nie trudno zatem zrekonstruować genezę tych frazeologizmów. Indonezyjczycy nie mają wątpliwości, że podczas pory su-

chej padający o poranku deszcz to zjawisko (w zasadzie) niewystępujące. Znaczenie połączenia wyrazowego odnosi się więc do sytuacji oczekiwania czegoś, co nie ma szans się wydarzyć. Druga egzemplifikacja ujawnia fakty nieobce naszej strefie klimatycznej. Po obfitych deszczach mamy do czynienia – w Polsce zwłaszcza jesienią – z masowym wysypem (pojawem) grzybów, stąd znaczenie frazeologiczne 'sesuatu yang cepat berkembang atau banyak sekali'.

Warto na marginesie odnotować, że jedno z indonezyjskich miast – Bogor – zasłużyło na drugie, peryfrastyczne miano *kota hujan* (dosł. miasto deszczu) ze względu na odnotowywane tam częste opady ('sebutan lain untuk kota Bogor' – 'inna nazwa na Bogor').

2.3. Flora

Florę (i faunę) Indonezji „cechuje niesłychana różnorodność gatunków. Wprawdzie kraj jest rozległy, zajmuje jednak niewiele ponad 1% ogólnej powierzchni lądów na Ziemi. Za to w jego granicach występuje 10% wszystkich znanych na świecie gatunków roślin" (Olszewska 1995: 14)[9]. Jednym z symboli Indonezji (ale także innych krajów Azji Południowo-Wschodniej) jest durian.

Słowniki ogólny oraz frazeologiczne języka indonezyjskiego notują stałe związki wyrazowe z leksemem *durian*. Słownik języka indonezyjskiego (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*) podaje, że wyraz *durian* ma dwa znaczenia: 1) 'pohon yang batangnya lurus, tingginya sekitar 20–40 m, dahannya jarang, kulit batangnya kasar dan berwarna kelabu, bunga tersusun dalam malai, berwarna kuning; *Durio zibethinus*'; 2) 'buah durian, berkulit tebal dan berduri, berbentuk bundar lonjong atau bundar telur, dagingnya berwarna putih, kuning tua atau putih kekuning-kuningan, berbau tajam dan dapat memabukkan' (www.kbbi.web.id). Możemy to przetłumaczyć następująco: 1) 'drzewo o prostym pniu, wysokie na 20–40 metrów, z rzadkimi gałęziami, o twardej i szarej korze, z żółtymi kwiatami układającymi się w kiście'; 2) 'owoc duriana mający grubą łupinę i kolce, o kształcie owalnym lub jajowatym, z białym, żółtym lub biało-żółtawym miąższem o ostrym zapachu, który może odurzać'. Durian zatem to jednocześnie drzewo i owoc tego drzewa. W odnotowanych frazeologizmach składnik *durian* występuje wy-

[9] Przez Indonezję (między wyspami Bali i Lombok oraz Borneo i Celebes) przebiega tzw. linia Wallace'a, która pod względem biologicznym dzieli obszar tego kraju na część zachodnią z florą i fauną orientalną oraz wschodnią z gatunkami charakterystycznymi dla kontynentu australijskiego (zob. Forshee 2006: 3; także Olszewska 1995: 12).

łącznie w drugim znaczeniu. Na charakterystyczny wygląd owocu zwraca uwagę jego indonezyjska nazwa derywowana od rzeczownika *duri* 'kolec' (*duri* + *an*).

W Azji Południowo-Wschodniej panuje przekonanie o wyjątkowości duriana. Indonezyjczycy mówią o nim *rajanya buah* ('król owoców'). Niektórzy sądzą, że to ze względu na fakt, iż durian jest przysmakiem tygrysa uważanego z kolei za króla lasu. W grę wchodzą też duże rozmiary owocu (do 40 centymetrów długości, waga do 5 kilogramów) i przede wszystkim wyjątkowy, niepowtarzalny smak. Durian wydziela charakterystyczny, nieprzyjemny zapach opisywany zwykle jako woń padliny lub zgniłej cebuli (dlatego też w krajach azjatyckich w niektórych miejscach publicznych można znaleźć piktogram zakazujący wnoszenia tego owocu). Spadający ze sporej wysokości kilkukilogramowy, kolczasty owoc może też stanowić zagrożenie dla człowieka. Durian – dodajmy – pochodzi z wyspy Kalimantan (indonezyjska część Borneo)[10].

Spójrzmy teraz na wybrane frazeologizmy z komponentem oznaczającym omawiany owoc. Pierwszy ma następującą formę: *bagai mendapat durian runtuh* (dosł. jakby otrzymać durian, który spadł) o znaczeniu 'mendapat keuntungan yang tidak tersangka-sangka atau tidak dengan bersusah payah', czyli 'otrzymać nieoczekiwany, niespodziewany zysk lub otrzymać, zdobyć go bez wielkiego wysiłku'. Indonezyjczycy traktują durian jako coś cennego i trudnego do zdobycia – cennego ze względu na wspomniane wcześniej niezwykłe walory smakowe; trudnego do zdobycia, gdyż rośnie na wysokich drzewach, a dotarcie do miąższu, czyli przedarcie się przez grubą i kolczastą łupinę, też wymaga wysiłku. Pewnie i o jego nie tak niską – w porównaniu z innymi owocami – cenę chodzi.

Kolejny frazeologizm uwypukla nieco inne cechy duriana: *seperti durian dengan mentimun* (dosł. jak durian z ogórkiem). Wyzyskana jest tutaj opozycja wielkości owocu i warzywa. Istotna jest też zapewne ich odporność na uszkodzenia. W porównaniu z durianem ogórek jest czymś małym i delikatnym. Znaczenie połączenia *seperti durian dengan mentimun* ('orang yang lemah (miskin, bodoh) melawan orang yang kuat (kaya, pandai)') odnosi się do osoby słabej (biednej, głupiej) przeciwstawiającej się osobie silnej (bogatej, mądrej). Chodzi więc o konfrontację stron o nierównomiernych siłach. Sens omawianego związku wyrazowego jest motywowany przez przeciwstawne cechy: 'duży' – 'mały', 'twardy' – 'miękki'.

[10] Szczegółowe informacje na temat duriana (drzewa i owocu) zawiera publikacja: Sobir, Napitupulu 2010.

2.4. Fauna

Na terytorium Indonezji występuje 12% wszystkich znanych na świecie gatunków ssaków, 16% gatunków gadów i płazów oraz 17% wszystkich gatunków ptaków (zob. Olszewska 1994: 14). Spotkać tam można na przykład słonie indyjskie, nosorożce sumatrzańskie i jawajskie, tapiry malajskie, tygrysy, pantery mgliste, lamparty, orangutany, nosacze, pytony, kobry, warany, smoki latające, papugi, wieloszpony sumatrzańskie, gwizdokosy, rabiki, drozdy sundajskie, argusy malajskie, dzioborożce, szpaki balijskie i wiele innych gatunków.

Obszar Indonezji zamieszkuje także drapieżnik z rodziny łaszowatych zwany cywetą (łaskun muzang, *Paradoxurus hermaphroditus*). W języku indonezyjskim stosuje się ogólne określenie *musang*, z kolei w języku jawajskim *luak* lub *luwak*. Cyweta to ssak prowadzący nadrzewny i nocny tryb życia. Zasiedla tropikalne lasy. Pojawia się też w pobliżu siedlisk ludzkich. Żywi się przede wszystkim roślinami (głównie owocami), ale także owadami, gryzoniami, drobnymi kręgowcami. Bardzo chętnie zjada owoce kawowca, które – nadtrawione – wydala. Miejscowa ludność zbiera je i wykorzystuje do produkcji najdroższej kawy świata, czyli *kopi luak/luwak* (*kopi* 'kawa'). Zdaniem Indonezyjczyków omawiane zwierzę poluje również na kury. To przeświadczenie odzwierciedla słownikowa definicja leksemu *musang* zawierająca następującą informację: 'biasa keluar malam untuk mencari makan, terutama buah-buahan atau ayam' ('zwykle wychodzi w nocy, żeby poszukać pożywienia, szczególnie owoców lub kur'). Sąd ten znalazł odbicie w indonezyjskim idiomie *musang berbulu ayam* (dosł. cyweta mająca pióra kury), który stanowi odpowiednik funkcjonującego w języku indonezyjskim połączenia o biblijnej proweniencji *serigala berbulu domba* (dosł. wilk mający sierść owcy). Obydwa frazeologizmy charakteryzują się znaczeniem 'orang jahat berlaku sebagai orang baik' ('zły człowiek, który zachowuje się jak dobry').

Nocny tryb życia cywety oraz jej obecność w pobliżu domostw oddają z kolei jednostki: *hidup seperti musang* (dosł. żyć jak cyweta) 'tentang orang jahat (pencuri) yang pada siang hari tidak kelihatan tetapi pada malam hari merayap mencari mangsanya' ('o złym człowieku (złodzieju), który nie jest widywany za dnia, ale wieczorem zakrada się i kradnie zdobycz'); *musang terjun, lantai terjungkat* (dosł. cyweta skacze, podłoga się odchyla) 'terdapat tanda-tanda kejahatan yang telah diperbuat' ('odkryć pozostawione ślady przestępstwa'). Przytoczne przykłady świadczą o negatywnym nacechowaniu cywety w języku indonezyjskim.

Ujemne skojarzenia budzą też takie stworzenia, jak bawół domowy (udomowiona odmiana bawołu wodnego) oraz krewetka. Indonezyjczycy przypi-

sują im cechę głupoty, co oddają idiomy: *otak kerbau* (dosł. mózg bawołu), *otak udang* (dosł. mózg krewetki) o znaczeniu 'tolol; bodoh' ('głupi'). Krewetka budzi też w indonezyjskim kręgu kulturowym skojarzenia z czerwienią, na co wskazuje porównanie *seperti udang dipanggang* (dosł. jak upieczona krewetka) 'merah sekali (karena malu dan sebagainya)' ('bardzo czerwony (ze wstydu itd.)'). Skorupiak ten jest lokalną specjalnością leżącego nad Morzem Jawajskim miasta Cirebon, które w języku indonezyjskim zyskało miano *kota udang* (dosł. miasto krewetek; 'sebutan lain untuk kota Cirebon' – 'inna nazwa miasta Cirebon').

W innym frazeologizmie pojawia się nazwa małpy z gatunku *Pythecus pyrrahus*: *hitam lotong/lutung* (dosł. czarny (jak) małpa). Ze zwierzęciem tym związane jest myślenie Indonezyjczyków o czerni. Analizowany związek wyrazowy ma bowiem znaczenie 'hitam sekali' ('bardzo czarny').

I jeszcze jeden frazeologizm z komponentem *cecak* (*cicak*) będącym nazwą małej (ok. 10-centymetrowej) jaszczurki żyjącej na drzewach, która często towarzyszy człowiekowi, ponieważ gości w indonezyjskich domach (wspina się po ścianach i dachach). Odnaleziony idiom (w formie porównania) charakteryzuje zachowanie gada po utracie ogona: *seperti cecak dibuang ekornya* (dosł. jak cecak z usuniętym ogonem) 'gelisah karena tidak tahu nasibnya' ('o kimś niespokojnym, kto nie zna swojego losu'). Co ciekawe, cecak ma zdolność do regeneracji ogona utraconego na przykład podczas walki z drapieżnikiem.

2.5. Historia

W XVI wieku przybyli do Indonezji Holendrzy

> z nadzieją na przejęcie handlu cennymi przyprawami korzennymi pochodzącymi z Moluków, takimi jak gałka muszkatołowa, goździki oraz pieprz, na które był olbrzymi popyt w Europie. W 1602 roku założyli Kompanię Wschodnioindyjską i stali się potęgą europejską (Laskowska 2012: 33).

W 1750 roku między sułtanatami Surakarty i Yogyakarty utworzono holenderską strefę administracyjną. W kolejnym stuleciu zwierzchnictwo Holendrów rozprzestrzeniło się na inne wyspy. Tak powstały Holenderskie Indie Wschodnie. W roku 1941 do Indonezji wkraczają wojska japońskie. Okupacja trwa następne cztery lata. 17 sierpnia 1945 roku ogłoszono niepodległość Indonezji. Holendrzy nie uznali jednak nowego republikańskiego rządu. W kolejnych latach toczą się walki między wojskami indonezyjskimi i holenderskimi. Dopiero na mocy traktatu podpisanego 2 listopada 1949 roku w Hadze Indonezja uniezależniła się od Holandii. Dokumenty gwarantujące suweren-

ność Indonezji podpisano 27 grudnia 1949 roku (zob. Ricklefs 2008: 69–270; Laskowska 2012: 33–73).

Tak długa obecność Holendrów na terenie Indonezji musiała znaleźć odbicie w języku[11]. Nie dziwi funkcjonowanie w indonezyjskim zapożyczeń holenderskich (np. *seterika* 'żelazko', *seprai* 'prześcieradło', *kantor* 'biuro', *pulpen* 'długopis', *formulir* 'formularz'). Ślad holenderskiej dominacji pozostał także we frazeologii. Tak na przykład wyrażenie *Belanda hitam* (dosł. czarna Holandia) ma zarówno znaczenie 'orang negro' ('Murzyn'), jak i 'orang Indonesia yang memihak Belanda (pada zaman penjajahan Belanda)' ('Indonezyjczyk, który trzymał stronę, wspierał Holandię (w czasach kolonizacji)'). Czerń odsyła tutaj do ciemnej karnacji Murzyna, ale także Indonezyjczyka. W wypadku drugiego znaczenia ujawniają się dodatkowo ujemnie wartościujące konotacje[12] czerni.

Niepochlebny obraz Holendrów wyłania się z kolejnego frazeologizmu o statusie porównania: *bagai Belanda minta tanah* (dosł. jak Holandia prosząca o ziemię) 'orang yang tamak; diberi sedikit mau banyak; diberi banyak mau semuanya' ('chciwy człowiek; dano mu trochę, chce więcej; dano mu dużo, chce wszystko'). Nie ulega wątpliwości, że semantyka tego połączenia leksykalnego fundowana jest negatywnymi skojarzeniami przypisującymi Holendrom chciwość, zachłanność, które to cechy objawiły się w przeszłości chęcią zagarnięcia całego terytorium Indonezji (co zresztą stało się faktem).

I jeszcze jedna egzemplifikacja ukazująca charakterystyczne oblicze Indonezji: *menjadi Belanda tiga suku* (dosł. stać się holenderską trzecią grupą etniczną) 'masuk warga negara Belanda (di zaman penjajahan dulu)' ('stać się członkiem państwa holenderskiego (w czasach kolonizacji)'). Należy w tym miejscu podkreślić fakt ogromnego zróżnicowania etnicznego Indonezji. Na jej terenie żyją różnorodne grupy etniczne (ponad 300[13]) posługujące się od-

[11] Holandia to w języku indonezyjskim *Belanda*. Onim ten motywuje potoczny czasownik *membelandakan* 'menjadikan (warga negara) Belanda' ('stać się członkiem państwa holenderskiego'); 'menerjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Belanda' ('tłumaczyć na język holenderski') oraz leksem *kebelanda-belandaan* 'bertingkah laku seperti orang Belanda; kebarat-baratan' ('zachowywać się jak Holender; westernizować się').

[12] Na konotację leksykalną składają się te elementy pragmatyki znaku, „które są odbiciem wyobrażeń kulturowych i tradycji związanych z danym wyrazem, panującej w danym społeczeństwie praktyki wyzyskiwania odpowiedniej rzeczy i wielu innych czynników pozajęzykowych. [...] cechy asocjacyjne, choć nie wchodzą bezpośrednio do semantyki wyrazu, są dla niego bardzo istotne, ponieważ w wielu wypadkach właśnie na nich się opierają regularna metaforyzacja wyrazu, porównania, słowotwórstwo i inne procesy językowe" (Apresjan 2000: 76). Na temat konotacji zob. także Bartmiński 1988; Pajdzińska 1988.

[13] Na przykład Jawajczycy, Batakowie, Balijczycy, Madurowie, Malajowie, Minangkabauczycy, Papuasi, Sasakowie, Sundajczycy, Timorczycy i in.

rębnymi językami regionalnymi[14]. Każdy Indonezyjczyk jest reprezentantem dwóch społeczności: lokalnej (grupa etniczna) oraz narodowej i posługuje się na ogół dwoma językami (regionalnym oraz indonezyjskim). W czasach kolonizacji holenderskiej pojawiła się trzecia tożsamość związana z przynależnością do Holenderskich Indii Wschodnich.

2.6. Język

Na podstawie kilku jednostek frazeologicznych można wnosić o przeszłości językowej Indonezji. Jeden z idiomów informuje o proweniencji języka indonezyjskiego: *bahasa Melayu pasar* (dosł. bazarowy język malajski). Język indonezyjski to ustandaryzowany wariant języka malajskiego (*bahasa Melayu*). Najwcześniejszy pisemny dowód poświadczający istnienie języka malajskiego to inskrypcje wyryte na kamieniu pochodzącym z południowej Sumatry (VII w n.e.) (zob. Sneddon 2003: 20; Robson 2004: 15). Określenie *bahasa Indonesia* w odniesieniu do wspólnego języka sporej części mieszkańców Archipelagu Malajskiego padło po raz pierwszy podczas drugiego kongresu młodzieży zorganizowanego 28 października 1928 roku przez organizacje studenckie Indii Wschodnich. Reprezentanci młodzieży holenderskich Indii (dzisiejsza Indonezja, wówczas kolonia holenderska), pochodzący z odmiennych grup etnicznych, religijnych i kulturowych, proklamowali istnienie jednej ojczyzny – Indonezji, jednego narodu – narodu indonezyjskiego oraz jednego języka – *bahasa Indonesia* (zob. Sneddon 2003: 101–103; Robson 2004: 19; Laskowska 2012: 62; Syahroni et al. 2013: 4–5).

W 1724 roku François Valentijn, holenderski minister, autor dziejów Holenderskiej Kompanii Wschodnioindyjskiej, wyraził opinię, że język malajski jest zachwycający, doskonały, przyjemny w odbiorze i bogaty. Wydzielił ponadto dwa jego warianty: wysoki malajski oraz niski malajski, który zyskał określenie *bazarowy język malajski* (zob. Robson 2004: 18), czyli mówiony język codziennej komunikacji, zawierający leksemy z języków regionalnych, nierespektujący zasad gramatycznych. Jasne staje się wobec tego znaczenie idiomu *bahasa Melayu pasar*: 'bahasa sehari-hari yang tidak memperhatikan aturan bahasa' ('mowa codzienna, która łamie zasady języka').

W toku dziejów język malajski zapisywany był na trzy sposoby. Najpierw korzystano z systemu pisma indyjskiego (w VII–XIII wieku w królestwie Sriwijaya w południowo-zachodniej części Sumatry, ale także na innych obsza-

[14] W zależności od ujęcia ich liczba wynosi od 250 do nawet 550.

rach tej wyspy), następnie arabskiego (pod wpływem islamu, który dotarł na Sumatrę przede wszystkim z Indii w XIII–XIV wieku), ostatecznie łacińskiego (wprowadzonego w kolejnych stuleciach przez kolonizatorów holenderskich) (zob. Hardiati 2002: 2–3; Sneddon 2003: 52; Robson 2004: 16, 39; Laskowska 2012: 26–27). O arabskiej przeszłości ortografii malajskiej świadczą takie na przykład idiomy, jak: *mengaji alif-alif* (dosł. studiować alfabet) 'belajar dari dasar' ('uczyć się od podstaw'); *tidak tahu di alif* (dosł. nie znać się na pierwszej literze alfabetu) 'buta huruf' ('analfabeta'). Wywodzące się z języka arabskiego słowo *alif* oznacza pierwszą literę arabskiego alfabetu, z kolei reduplikacja *alif-alif* denotuje arabski alfabet. Nauka alfabetu uznawana jest za czynność podstawową, odbywającą się na początkowym etapie edukacji szkolnej, umożliwiającą rozwój intelektualny jednostki. Sądy te legły u podstaw znaczenia frazeologicznego idiomu *mengaji alif-alif*. Czytelny jest też związek między znaczeniem dosłownym a idiomatycznym związku wyrazowego *tidak tahu di alif-alif*. Analfabeta – jak wiadomo – to osoba nieumiejąca czytać i pisać, a zatem nieznająca alfabetu, nawet jego pierwszej litery.

2.7. Religia

Niemal 90% ludności Indonezji stanowią muzułmanie. Nusantara to najliczniejszy kraj muzułmański na świecie. Pozostała część populacji to przede wszystkim protestanci (ok. 7%), katolicy (ok. 3%), hindusi (ok. 2%) i buddyści (ok. 1%). Islam dotarł na obszary dzisiejszej Indonezji w XIII wieku. Wskazuje się, że głównie z Indii.

> Pierwsze dowody mówiące o indonezyjskich wyznawcach islamu pochodzą z północnej części Sumatry. Na cmentarzu Lamreh (w prowincji Aceh) znajduje się nagrobek sułtana o imieniu Sulaiman ibn Abdullah ibn al-Basir, który zmarł w 1211 r. Jest to równocześnie pierwszy dowód istnienia muzułmańskich królestw na terytorium Indonezji (Laskowska 2012: 27).

W ciągu wieków islam rozprzestrzeniał się drogą pokojową na pozostałe wyspy archipelagu.

Wobec powyższego należy przypuszczać, że świat utrwalony w indonezyjskiej frazeologii to świat widziany między innymi przez pryzmat islamu. W odnotowanych związkach wyrazowych znalazło odbicie między innymi przekonanie, że twórcą całego świata jest Allah, np.: *bagai bergerak bumi Allah* (dosł. jakby poruszyła się ziemia Allaha) 'aku sangat terkejut dan sedih' ('jestem bardzo zaskoczony i smutny'); *berputar bumi Allah* (dosł. wiruje ziemia

Allaha) ‘pusing; hampir-hampir pingsan (karena terkejut, dan sebagainya)’ (‘niepokoić się; niemal omdlały (z powodu zaskoczenia itd.)’). Zwrócić tutaj należy uwagę na konotacje przypisywane ziemi. Chodzi przede wszystkim o stabilność, nieruchomość. Jakikolwiek ruch wykracza poza tę normę, a zatem zaskakuje, niepokoi.

Religijny punkt widzenia przejawia się także w idiomie metaforycznie określającym fakt śmierci: *pulang ke rahmat Allah* (dosł. wrócić do miłosierdzia Bożego) ‘meninggal; wafat’ (‘umrzeć’). Śmierć ujmowana jest w kategoriach przemieszczania się. Ostatecznym dopełnieniem losu człowieka – zgodnie z eschatologią islamu – jest powrót duszy do Boga. W omawianym idiomie pobrzmiewa koraniczny atrybut Allaha *raḥmān* ‘miłosierny’.

Warto jeszcze wspomnieć o innym sposobie przejawiania się islamu w indonezyjskiej frazeologii, to znaczy o obecności frazeologizmów, w których składzie występują wyrazy prymarnie oznaczające przedmioty związane z życiem religijnym muzułmanów. Przykładem takiego idiomu jest połączenie *arah kiblat yang berbeda* (dosł. różne kierunki modlitwy). Za pomocą tej jednostki Indonezyjczycy mówią o postawach ludzi i stosunkach międzyludzkich. Słowniki podają następujące znaczenie tego frazeologizmu: ‘suami istri yang berbeda keyakinan’ (‘małżeństwo, które różni się przekonaniami’). Komponentem tematycznie związanym z religią jest pochodzący z języka arabskiego rzeczownik *kiblat*, czyli ‘arah ke Kakbah di Mekah (pada waktu salat)’ (‘kierunek na Al-Kabę w Mekce (w czasie modlitwy do Allaha)’). Znaczenie przenośne idiomu to efekt dostrzeżenia analogii między odmiennym zachowaniem osób modlących się a różnymi poglądami żony i męża. Dodajmy na marginesie, że pojawiająca się w definicji wyrazu *kiblat* Al-Kaba to świątynia i sanktuarium w Mekce – najważniejsze miejsce święte islamu.

2.8. Sztuka

„Sztuka jest obecna w życiu każdego Indonezyjczyka. Ważne miejsce zajmuje teatr, który jest nie tylko ulubioną rozrywką, ale także obrzędem o charakterze mistycznym” (Zimnicka 2005: 23). Teatr ten nosi nazwę *wayang* (‘teatr cieni’). Rozwinął się na Bali i Jawie. W ciągu wieków wykształciło się kilkadziesiąt odmian gatunkowych wayangu, który wykorzystuje różnego rodzaju media: lalki, maski, ludzi. Klasyczny wayang oparty jest na repertuarze czerpiącym wątki z dwóch eposów indyjskich: *Ramajany* i *Mahabharaty*. *Wayang kulit* na przykład to przedstawienia, w których używa się lalek wykonanych ze skóry bawolej (*kulit* ‘skóra’). Występy odbywają się przy pałacach, na otwartej przestrzeni, od dziewiątej wieczorem do czwartej rano.

Podczas przedstawienia dwuwymiarowe lalki, poruszane przez narratora (zwanego dalangiem), eksponowane są na podświetlonym ekranie wykonanym z białego płótna. Publiczność może zasiadać po obu stronach ekranu, by obserwować teatr cieni lub kunszt dalanga poruszającego lalkami. Występy teatru cieni organizuje się z okazji świąt państwowych, religijnych lub uroczystości rodzinnych (narodziny, śluby, urodziny) (zob. Zimnicka 2005; Forshee 2006: 54–56).

Odnaleziony w słownikach frazeologicznych języka indonezyjskiego idiom oddaje wygląd lalki z teatru *wayang kulit*: *mata wayang/semata wayang* (dosł. oko wayangu/jedno oko wayangu). Jak już wspomniałem, lalki w tej odmianie wayangu są dwuwymiarowe, płaskie. Twarz i nogi postaci ukazane są z profilu (tors natomiast od frontu). W konsekwencji uczestnik przedstawienia widzi wyłącznie jedno oko bohatera. Ta cecha lalki motywuje znaczenie przywołanego idiomu: 'tunggal (tentang anak); hanya satu-satunya' ('jedynak; tylko jeden, jedyny').

Inne aspekty wayangu uwypukla frazeologizm *wayang kepadaman damar* (dosł. zgaszenie wayangu lampą). Wiedza o elementach składających się na przedstawienie teatru cieni pozwala ustalić motywację znaczenia: 'suatu kekacauan yang terjadi dengan tiba-tiba' ('nagłe, niespodziewane zamieszanie, nieporządek, chaos'). Chodzi o to, że lalki w wayangu eksponowane są na ekranie podświetlonym lampą oliwną. A zatem dochodzi do niepożądanej sytuacji (chaosu), kiedy lampa niespodziewanie gaśnie i przedstawienie nie może być kontynuowane.

Jako ciekawostkę warto dodać, że słowo *wayang* ma też znaczenie sekundarne: 'pelaku (yang hanya sebagai pelaku, bukan sebagai perencana); orang suruhan yang harus bertindak sesuai dengan perintah orang lain', czyli oznacza wykonawcę czyjegoś planu, osobę, której nakazano podjąć działania zgodne z czyimś poleceniem. Podana eksplikacja jest przejrzysta, jeśli uwzględni się fakt, że laki w wayangu są – przypomnijmy – wyłącznie w rękach narratora (dalanga). Tylko on nimi porusza, ma nad nimi władzę.

2.9. Tradycyjne tkaniny

Kolejny przykład idiomu poświadcza dwa fakty typowe dla Indonezji: *durian jatuh, sarung naik* (dosł. durian spada, sarong się unosi). O durianie była już wcześniej mowa. Przywołany związek wyrazowy jeszcze inaczej ujmuje ten owoc. Wiedza o tym, jak Indonezyjczycy go postrzegają, pozwala przypisać mu cechę 'wpływa na potencję', która motywuje znaczenie frazeologizmu. Durian jest bowiem uważany za doskonały afrodyzjak (zawiera wysokie stężenie substancji chemicznych odpowiadających za wzrost popędu

seksualnego). Omawiane połączenie utrwala ponadto kolejny znaczący fragment indonezyjskiej kultury. Chodzi mianowicie o zwyczaj noszenia przez kobiety i mężczyzn sarongu (indon. *sarung*). Jest to swego rodzaju spódnica upięta z jednego płata tkaniny, zakrywająca dolne partie ciała (od pasa w dół). Na tym tle wyraźnie rysuje się znaczenie frazeologizmu 'podniecić się seksualnie'.

Komponent *sarung* jest także obecny w jednostce porównawczej *bagai menghasta kain sarung* (dosł. jakby mierzyć na łokcie tkaninę sarong). Jest to konstrukcja utrwalająca pragmatyzm i realizm myślenia Indonezyjczyków. Wskazuje bowiem działanie nieliczące się z realiami codzienności, które okazuje się bezskuteczne, nie przynosi spodziewanego rezultatu: 'melakukan pekerjaan yang sia-sia' ('wykonywać pracę, która jest bezowocna'). W analizowanym połączeniu wyrazowym zakrzepła wiedza o dawnym antropometrycznym systemie pomiarów wykorzystywanym w Indonezji. Przed wprowadzeniem międzynarodowego porządku w tym zakresie jednostkami miary długości były: *depa* ('sążeń' – długość rozpostartych ramion (mniej niż dwa metry)), *hasta* ('łokieć' – ok. 45–56 cm) i *jengkal* ('rozpiętość dłoni od kciuka do małego palca' – ok. 22,2 cm). J.S. Badudu tak wyjaśnia motywację omawianego idiomu: „Kalau kita mengukur kain sarung itu dengan hasta kita, tetapi kita tidak memberi tanda di mana kita mulai mengukur, tentu kita akan terus-menerus menghasta tanpa berhenti karena kain sarung itu merupakan lingkaran"[15] (2009a: 99).

Trzeba również dodać, że Indonezja słynie z wyrobu batiku. Fakt ten oddaje odnotowane w jednym ze słowników połączenie *negara tirai batik* (dosł. kraj za batikową kurtyną) odnoszące się do Indonezji. Batik „to materiał, przeważnie bawełniany, zdobiony ręcznie dwubarwnym lub wielobarwnym motywem przy użyciu wosku i barwników. Jako tkanina oryginalnie pochodząca z Indonezji, mająca unikalny charakter, zaliczona została do wytworów dziedzictwa światowego" (Lesner 2005: 39; zob. także McCabe Elliot 2004). Wytwarzana jest w różnych miejscach kraju. Są jednak takie miasta w Indonezji, z którymi łączy się produkcję batiku. Jednym z nich jest Pekalongan (na Jawie Środkowej) nazywane *kota batik* (dosł. miasto batiku).

W poddanych ekscerpcji leksykonach nie ma zbyt wielu jednostek frazeologicznych z komponentem *batik*. Jako egzemplifikację można podać związek wyrazowy *batik sudah gentas* (dosł. batik już się skończył) o znaczeniu 'tidak dapat menghasilkan lagi' ('nie można ponownie zdobyć zysku'), które

[15] „Jeśli mierzymy (tkaninę) sarong na łokcie, ale nie oznaczymy, w którym miejscu rozpoczęliśmy pomiar, z pewnością będziemy musieli mierzyć bez końca, ponieważ sarong ma kształt okręgu".

motywuje przede wszystkim konotacja ‘dochodowy’. I jeszcze dwa przykłady potwierdzające pozytywne skojarzenia Indonezyjczyków dotyczące batiku: *batik Semarang* (dosł. batik z (miasta) Semarang) ‘seorang perempuan yang makin tua semakin cantik adanya’ (‘kobieta, która jest coraz starsza, ale nadal piękna’) oraz *batik Semarang, semakin dicuci semakin terang* (dosł. batik z (miasta) Semarang; im częściej prany, tym czystszy) ‘dikatakan pada janda yang cantik melebihi kecantikannya pada saat masih gadis’ (‘mówi się tak o pięknej wdowie, której uroda przewyższa jej urodę z czasów młodości (przedmałżeńskiej)’). Drugie znaczenie omawianego frazeologizmu odnosi się do starych przedmiotów, które nadal są dobre. W obu związkach wyrazowych ujawnia się pozytywne wartościowanie batiku produkowanego w Semarangu.

W porównaniu frazeologicznym *bagai membatik di musim hujan* (dosł. jakby wyrabiać batik w porze deszczowej) ‘melakukan pekerjaan yang tidak kunjung selesai’ (‘wykonywać pracę, która szybko się nie skończy’) mowa jest o dwóch faktach typowych dla Indonezji: wytwarzaniu batiku i porze deszczowej, które to fakty niejako wykluczają się wzajemnie, to znaczy obfite deszcze nie sprzyjają produkcji batiku. W procesie jego wytwarzania tkaninę najpierw pierze się wielokrotnie (w celu usunięcia zabrudzeń), następnie suszy. Płukanie w zimnej wodzie, suszenie i prasowanie to także ostatni etap produkcji batiku. Opady deszczu nie ułatwiają więc wykonywania wskazanych czynności, spowalniają przede wszystkim etap suszenia tkaniny.

2.10. Kulinaria

W przeglądzie indonezyjskich połączeń wyrazowych denotujących realia Nusantary nie może zabraknąć jednostek zawierających komponent odnoszący się do ryżu. W uwzględnionych słownikach specjalistycznych (frazeologicznych) i ogólnym nie brakuje tego typu połączeń. Ograniczę się więc do zaprezentowania tylko niektórych. Najpierw jednak kilka słów komentarza na temat roli ryżu w życiu Indonezyjczyków. Stanowi on podstawę indonezyjskiego wyżywienia (zob. Forshee 2006: 129). W indonezyjskiej kulturze (a także w innych krajach Dalekiego Wschodu oraz Azji Południowo-Wschodniej) „zajmuje to samo miejsce, co chleb w kulturze polskiej. Świadczy o tym chociażby indonezyjskie powiedzenie *kalau belum makan nasi belum makan*, co można przetłumaczyć jako ‘jeśli jeszcze nie jadłeś ryżu, nic nie jadłeś’. Odzwierciedleniem omawianego stanu rzeczy jest ponadto semantyczno-leksykalna segmentacja rzeczywistości pozajęzykowej. Indonezyjczycy posługują się czterema odrębnymi wyrazami będącymi odpowiednikami polskiego rzeczownika *ryż*: *padi* ‘ryż rosnący na polu’, *gabah* ‘niełu-

skany ryż po młóceniu', *beras* 'obłuskane ziarno ryżu przygotowane do gotowania', *nasi* 'ugotowany ryż'. Przeświadczenie o istotnej roli ryżu w życiu Indonezyjczyków ujawnia sekundarne znaczenie wyrazu *nasi* 'rezeki', czyli 'podstawowe potrzeby życiowe, codzienne wyżywienie, zarobki, dochody'. Nie dziwi zatem semantyka idiomów *mencari nasi* (dosł. szukać ryżu) 'bekerja' ('pracować') oraz *mencari sesuap nasi* (dosł. szukać kęsa ryżu) 'bekerja untuk mendapatkan rezeki' ('pracować, żeby otrzymać zarobek')" (Wiatrowski w druku). Przekonanie o tym, że ryż to podstawa wyżywienia mieszkańców Indonezji, legło też u podstaw kolejnego frazeologizmu: *menantikan nasi disajikan di mulut* (dosł. oczekiwać ryżu podanego do ust). Odnosi się on do osoby bardzo leniwej, która tylko oczekuje na dary od kogoś albo oczekuje takiego losu od Boga, że nie będzie musiała ciężko pracować ('orang yang sangat malas hanya menantikan pemberian orang saja atau hanya menantikan takdir Tuhan tanpa mau berusaha').

Na marginesie warto dodać, że w systemie leksykalnym języka indonezyjskiego istnieje specjalne słowo denotujące czynność gotowania ryżu[16]: *tanak*. Wyraz ten funduje takie konstrukcje, jak: *menanak* 'memasak nasi' ('gotować ryż'), *tanak-tanakan* 'bermain masak-masakan' ('bawić się w gotowanie'), *mempertanak* 'menanak (nasi)' ('gotować ryż'), *penanak* 'orang yang tugasnya menanak; nasijuru tanak' ('człowiek, którego zadaniem jest gotowanie ryżu; profesjonalista w gotowaniu ryżu'), *sepertanak* (*sepertanak nasi*) 'waktu yang lamanya sama dengan orang menanak nasi (kira-kira 20 menit)' ('czas, który trwa tak długo jak gotowanie ryżu przez człowieka (około 20 minut)'), *sepenanak* (*sepenanak nasi*) 'sepertanak nasi'.

Kuchnia indonezyjska to również sambal. Tak nazywa się sos chili podawany do wielu potraw (przede wszystkim ryżu). Najprostsza jego wersja składa się z papryczek chili i soli. Niekiedy dodaje się do tego sosu cebulę, czosnek, pomidory, sok z limonki, cukier, olej i inne składniki. Ze względu na nie wyróżnia się rozmaite odmiany sambalu (zob. Forshee 2006: 131). Jedna z nich nie może się obejść bez przyprawy ze startych krewetek lub małych ryb. Zwie się ona po indonezyjsku *belacan*. Obydwa fakty – sambal i belacan – ujmuje następujący idiom: *karam sambal oleh belacan* (dosł. sambal nieudany z powodu przyprawy ze startych krewetek lub małych ryb) o znaczeniu 'mendapat kerugian karena perbuatan orang kepercayaan atau yang dikasihi' ('ponieść stratę z powodu czynu osoby godnej zaufania lub osoby kochanej'). Inny frazeologizm ukazuje sambal jako niezastąpiony dodatek do przystawek: *ulam mencari sambal* (dosł. ulam szuka sam-

[16] Na odnotowanie zasługują ponadto dwa słowa odnoszące się do pola ryżowego: *sawah* 'mokre pole ryżowe' i *ladang* 'suche pole ryżowe'.

balu, przy czym *ulam* to surowe liście warzyw spożywane właśnie jako przystawka z ryżem). Omawiana jednostka opatrzona została w jednym ze słowników eksplikacją: 'perempuan yang mencari laki-laki' ('dziewczyna, która szuka chłopca').

3. Wnioski

W Polsce systematycznych badań indonezyjskich ustalonych związków wyrazowych do tej pory nie prowadzono. Nie jest znany zasób frazeologiczny języka indonezyjskiego, jego zróżnicowanie formalno-funkcjonalne oraz mikrosystemy semantyczne. Analizie warto poddać motywację znaczeniową złożonych jednostek leksykalnych oraz zapisane w nich przeświadczenia o świecie. Frazeologizmy

> Powszechnie uznaje się [...] za jednostki charakterystyczne dla danego języka, decydujące o jego swoistości, odrębności, można więc zakładać, że właśnie w nich najpełniej odzwierciedla się specyfika myślenia pewnej wspólnoty, właściwe jej sposoby konceptualizacji elementów świata, kategoryzacje i wartościowania

– zauważa Anna Pajdzińska (2006b: 8). Zaprezentowane w niniejszym artykule jednostki frazeologiczne potwierdzają konstatacje badaczki. Utrwaliły się w nich realia Indonezji obce polskiej rzeczywistości, polskiemu kręgowi kulturowemu, świadczące o swoistości geograficzno-kulturowej Nusantary. Analiza zgromadzonego materiału frazeologicznego pozwala jednak zauważyć podobieństwa w postrzeganiu świata przez społeczności indonezyjską i polską, czego odbiciem są chociażby konotacje semantyczne przypisywane poszczególnym referentom. Dla przykładu: zbieżny sposób widzenia rzeczywistości, te same obiektywne cechy przedmiotu wchodzą do struktury semantycznej połączeń *gunung Merapi itu pun akan aktif selamanya* (dosł. (ten) wulkan Merapi będzie zawsze aktywny) 'dikatakan kepada semangat seseorang yang senantiasa berkobar – kobar, tidak pernah surut' ('mówi się tak o kimś, kto zawsze jest zmotywowany, pełen entuzjazmu – płonie, nigdy nie gaśnie') oraz *wulkan energii* ('o kimś pełnym energii, pomysłów, inicjatyw'). W innych frazeologizmach zauważalny jest ten sam system skojarzeń przypisywanych jednak odmiennym, zdeterminowanym kulturowo desygnatom: *mencari nasi* (dosł. szukać ryżu) 'bekerja' ('pracować'), *mencari sesuap nasi* (dosł. szukać kęsa ryżu) 'bekerja untuk mendapatkan rezeki' ('pracować, żeby otrzymać zarobek') oraz polski zwrot *iść*, *pójść za chlebem* ('udawać się, udać się na poszukiwanie pracy, zarobku'). Ale widać i tutaj pewne

podobieństwo formalne, wszak i ryż, i chleb to rodzaje pożywienia traktowanego przez obie wspólnoty jako podstawa, nieodłączny element codziennego życia.

Choć przywołane w studium frazeologizmy dotyczą faktów charakterystycznych dla Indonezji, nie ma najmniejszej wątpliwości, że opisują one świat ze wspólnej obu społecznościom perspektywy – perspektywy człowieka. Indonezyjska frazeologia – podobnie jak polska (zob. Pajdzińska 1990) – odzwierciedla antropocentryczny ogląd rzeczywistości.

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Realities of Nusantara in the light of Indonesian phraseology

Summary

The topic of this article is the Indonesian idiomatic expressions containing components naming various realities of Nusantara (Nusantara is the unofficial name of Indonesia – a country lying on the Malay Archipelago in Southeast Asia). The

research material was taken from phraseological and general dictionaries of Indonesian language. Reported associations of expression were assigned to several thematic groups considering the realities denoted by the components of idiomatic expressions. The paper thus presents word combinations containing lexemes that reflect various information. This information includes the geographical location and climate conditions of Indonesia, its flora, fauna, history, language, religion, art, traditional textiles and cooking.