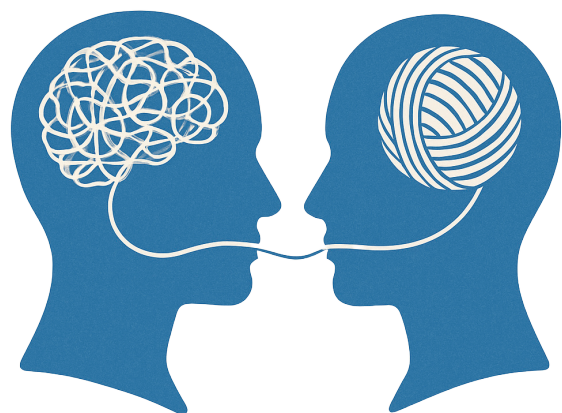
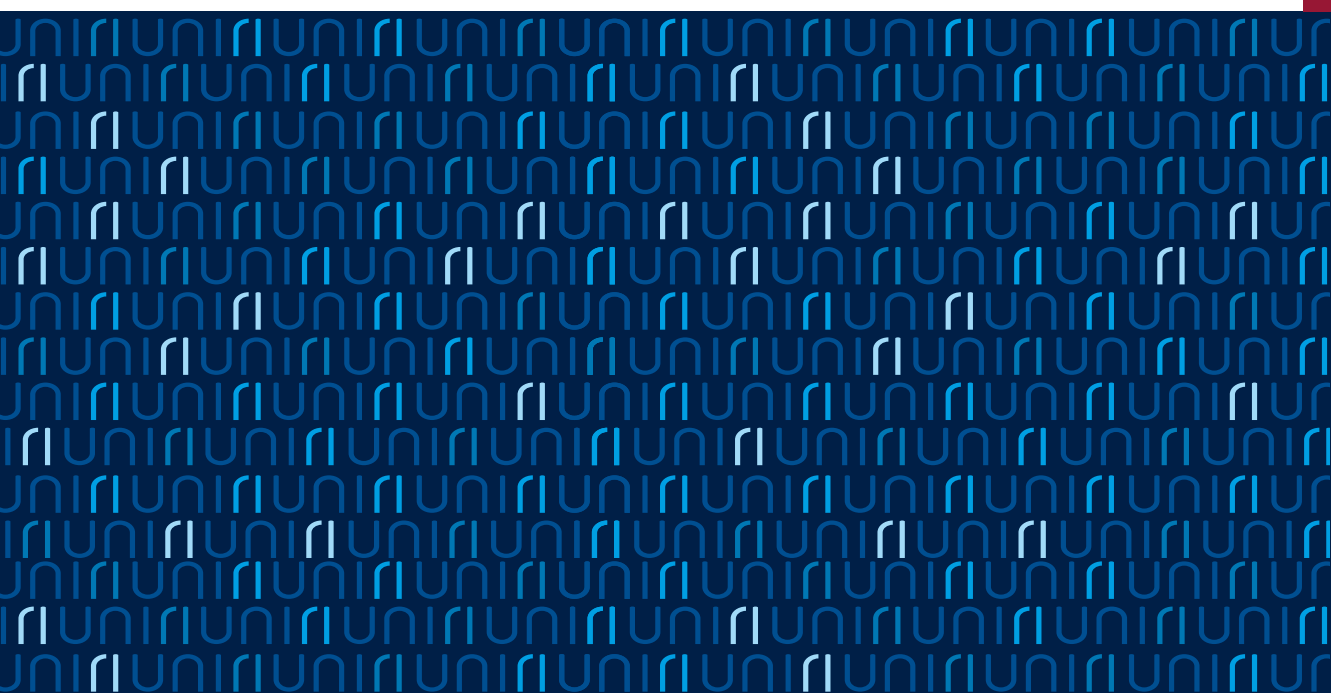




Edited by
Katja Dobrić Basanež
Mihaela Matešić
Jana Jurčević

Figurative Language in Use: Metaphorical Collocations and Beyond



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University of Rijeka
Faculty of Humanities and
Social Sciences

Edited by Katja Dobrić Basanež, Mihaela Matešić, Jana Jurčević

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN USE:

METAPHORICAL COLLOCATIONS AND BEYOND

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Figurative Language in Use: Metaphorical Collocations and Beyond

Editors

Assistant Professor Katja Dobrić Basanež, PhD

Professor Mihaela Matešić, PhD

PhD Jana Jurčević

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Professor Mihaela Matešić, PhD

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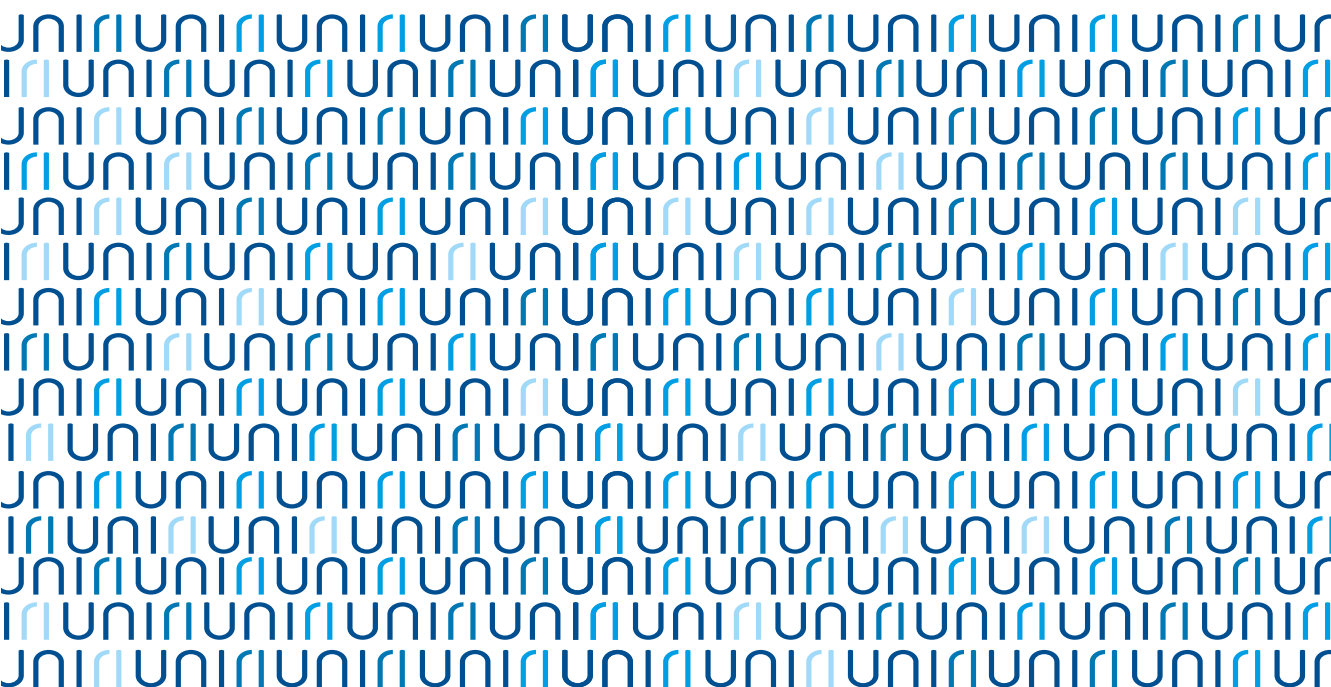
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Contents

List of contributors	8
Preface	10
Part I: Metaphorical Collocations in Corpora and Translation	
Some Issues in the Study of Metaphorical Collocations: A CMT Perspective.	16
<i>Zoltán Kövecses</i>	
A Journey through the MetaKol Project: Insights into the Study of Metaphorical Collocations	34
<i>Nataša Košuta</i>	
<i>Burning and Threatening Waves</i> – Collocations of the Pandemic in Croatian Media Discourse	67
<i>Ksenija Benčina</i> <i>Ivana Moritz</i>	
Metaphor in Croatian and Polish Verbal Collocations	81
<i>Magdalena Baer</i> <i>Goranka Blagus Bartolec</i>	
Metaphor in Verbal Collocations Expressing Emotions. Examples from Croatian and French	101
<i>Barbara Vodanović</i>	
Metaphorical Collocations from a Specialised Text-Typological Perspective.	111
<i>Alessandra Zurolo</i>	
Metaphorische Kollokationen mit der Konstituente <i>Ohr</i> im Lettischen. . . .	129
<i>Ilga Migla</i>	
Translating Metaphorical Collocations of the Type ADJ+N on the Example of English to Croatian Translation	141
<i>Goran Schmidt</i>	
Part II: Beyond Metaphors and Metaphorical Collocations	
Metonymische Phrasemkonstruktionen	156
<i>Vladimir Karabalić</i>	
Modell der doppelten Signifikation bei usualisierten präpositionalen Wortverbindungen in epistemischer modaler Bedeutung	171
<i>Monika Hornáček Banášová</i>	

Conceptual Characteristics of Time in English, Finnish and Hungarian . . .	187
<i>Zsuzsa Máthé</i>	

Part III: Teaching Metaphors and Metaphorical Expressions

Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects of Collocations as Grammatical Constructions in Early Language Discourse	202
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Dunja Pavličević-Franić
Katarina Aladrović Slovaček

Korpusorientiertes Lernen zur Sprachförderung im Bereich der Phraseologie. Ein Bericht aus der Unterrichtspraxis	217
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Marios Chrissou

Die Integration des metaphorischen Lernens in den DaF-Unterricht. Ein anwendungsbezogener Ansatz	239
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Magdalena Malechová

List of contributors

Katarina Aladrović Slovaček

Faculty of Teacher Education
University of Zagreb
kaladrovic@gmail.com

Magdalena Baer

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
magdalena.baer@amu.edu.pl

Ksenija Benčina

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek
kbencina@ffos.hr

Goranka Blagus Bartolec

Institute for the Croatian Language, Zagreb
gblagus@ihjj.hr

Marios Chrissou

Department of German Language and Literature
School of Philosophy
National and Kapodistrias University of Athens
mchrissou@gs.uoa.gr

Monika Hornáček Banášová

Lehrstuhl für Germanistik
Philosophische Fakultät
Universität der hl. Cyrill und Method in Trnava
monika.hornacek.banasova@ucm.sk

Vladimir Karabalić

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek
vkarabalic@ffos.hr

Nataša Košuta

University of Rijeka
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
nkosuta@ffri.uniri.hr

Zoltán Kövecses

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
kovecses.zoltan@btk.elte.hu

Magdalena Malechová

Faculty of Arts,
University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice
malechova@ff.jcu.cz

Zsuzsa Máthé

Babes-Bolyai University, Romania
emailzsuzsi@gmail.com

Ilga Migla

Universitāt Lettlands
Institut für lettische Sprache
ilga.migla@lu.lv

Ivana Moritz

Faculty of Education
Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek
imoritz@fozozs.hr

Dunja Pavličević-Franić

Faculty of Teacher Education
University of Zagreb
dmpfranic@gmail.com

Goran Schmidt

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek
gschmidt@ffos.hr

Barbara Vodanović

Department of French and Francophone Studies
University of Zadar
bvodanov@unizd.hr

Alessandra Zurolo

University of Naples “Federico II”
alessandra.zurolo@unina.it

Preface

While it is true that collocations have been investigated from many perspectives thus far both in the Language for General Purposes (LGP) and the Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), the fact remains that their metaphorical potential has not been devoted sufficient attention to, which especially holds true for contrastive studies. It is for this reason that the project “Metaphorical collocations – syntagmatic relations between semantics and pragmatics” (*MetaKol*), financed by the Croatian Science Foundation (IP-2020-02-6319), was launched at the University of Rijeka. The purpose of the project was to reveal whether and to what degree metaphorical processes affect the formation of collocations, and hence, give rise to metaphorical collocations. Albeit there have been many attempts to define collocations, both from the perspective of the frequency-based approach and the traditional phraseological one, “there is...no universally accepted formal definition of collocations” (Mel’čuk 1998: 24), let alone the metaphorical ones (Patekar 2022). As far as the latter lexico-semantic phenomenon is concerned, it seems that the efforts to define it, although acknowledging the role of both metaphorization and metonymization in the formation of collocations, seem to diverge with regard to determining which constituent of the collocation carries metaphorical meaning. Some studies suggest that the metaphorical dimension lies in the collocates (Stojić and Murica 2010; Stojić and Štiglić 2011; Stojić and Barić 2013; Stojić 2015), whereas others, especially the recent ones (Dobrić Basanež 2024; Stojić and Konecny 2024; Stojić and Matešić 2024), propose that the base, mainly in polysemous nouns, can also undergo the process of metaphorization. Needless to say, the collocate is completely dependent upon the base, and its (metaphorical) meaning comes to the foreground only when both constituents enter into combination with each other (Konecny 2010). Another problematic issue lies in the detection of “dead metaphors”, whose unnoticed might result in discarding a potential collocation candidate as non-metaphorical. It is here that we need to resort to the investigation of the etymology of collocates in order to detect the metaphorical image operating in the background of the collocation. What is more, turning to corpus data, which reveal significant occurrences of semantically related collocates gathering around a certain base, can help determine the common metaphor represented by those collocations (Winter 2014), and clear the issue of dead metaphors. Investigating metaphorical collocations from the perspectives of both corpus and cognitive linguistics, while consulting corpus data and metaphor inventories (Lakoff et al. 1991), thus represents a sound approach, which assists us in arriving at the inventories of metaphorical collocations. The same approach was also taken in the *MetaKol* project for the four investigated languages (i.e. Croatian, German, English, and Italian). Many chapters in this book, although not all tackling the metaphorical dimension, discuss these syntagmatic lexical units from both the cognitive and lexical perspectives. They are based on contributions of the authors who participated in the international conference *MetaCol – Collocations in the Light of Metaphors and Metonymies*, organized by the project’s research team, and held in Dubrovnik from 3rd to 4th October, 2024 at the Inter-University Centre. The conference included two plenary

talks of the distinguished linguists **Zoltán Kövecses** and **Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij** as well as over thirty presentations by other linguists from Croatia and abroad, held either in English or German. This book is the result of the authors' contributions at the conference as well as discussions among the audience. It includes fourteen chapters, of which ten are written in English, and four in German. The book is divided into three parts.

The contributions in Part I, "Metaphorical Collocations in Corpora and Translation", examine metaphorical collocations either from the corpus-based approach or from the perspective of translation studies. The opening chapter by **Zoltán Kövecses** reflects the discussion of his plenary talk at the conference and examines the role of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) in the emergence of collocations. Kövecses investigates the nature of metaphorical and metonymic processes underlying metaphorical and metonymic collocations as well as their level of generality or abstraction. He also seeks explanations for the salience of certain metaphorical collocations locating these explanations in the significance of particular dimensions of human experience within society, such as the universal emotion of anger. Chapter Two by **Nataša Košuta** presents the results of the MetaKol project, while summarizing the main findings of the 24 research papers published within the framework of the project. Chapter Three by **Ksenija Benčina** and **Ivana Moritz** focuses on creative metaphorical collocations with the word "val" (wave) in a corpus of Croatian newspaper articles. The chapter suggests that the cognitive structuring behind the COVID-19 pandemic involved the source domain of natural phenomena and that by studying metaphorical expressions in media discourse, one can detect how people react to crisis situations. Chapter Four by **Magdalena Baer** and **Goranka Blagus Bartolec** studies verbal collocations in English and Croatian spoken corpora of parliamentary sessions from a contrastive corpus-based perspective. It suggests that the metaphorical potential resides in the verb and reveals that metaphorical images are shared between cultures despite the fact that the investigated verbal collocations belong to different semantic fields. Chapter Five by **Barbara Vodanović** also analyses verbal collocations, but the ones centring around nouns of emotions in Croatian and French. Her results suggest that metaphors of emotions cut across the analysed languages, both of which perceive them as objects in motion. Chapter Six by **Alessandra Zurolo** investigates metaphorical collocations in the German language of medicine, by focusing on two textbooks on virology and popular articles on coronavirus in the magazines *Die Zeit* und *Der Spiegel*. Her findings suggest that the most common metaphors involve images of war, machine, technical communication, and space. Chapter Seven by **Ilga Migla** is in German and discusses metaphorical collocations with the constituent "auss" (Ger. *Ohr*, Eng. *ear*) in Latvian, monitoring their development from the 16th century to the present. The final chapter in this section is written by **Goran Schmidt**. It focuses on the translation of metaphorical collocations of the type ADJ+N and detects the preferred translation solution, while referring to Nida's distinction between 'formal correspondence' and 'translation equivalence'.

The next section of the book, Part II, “Beyond Metaphor and Metaphorical Collocations”, includes three chapters that examine either metaphors or phraseological units other than metaphorical collocations. Chapter Nine by **Vladimir Karabalić** is written in German and addresses the issue of phraseme constructions, a phenomenon set at the intersection of lexicon and grammar. It investigates a subtype of these constructions, namely, identity statements with two equal slot fillers (e.g. *X ist / sind (kein/e) X*) and suggests that, due to the different denotation of those fillers, these expressions are metonymic in nature. Chapter Ten by **Monika Hornáček Banášová** examines German prepositional phrases expressing epistemic modality, which represent yet another combination at the interface of lexicology, phraseology and construction grammar. The last chapter in this part is written by **Zsuzsa Máthé** and it explores metaphors of time in English, Finnish and Hungarian. Results suggest that time, although perceived as a dynamic object in all three languages, is represented differently both at the lexical and the conceptual level.

Finally, Part III, “Teaching Metaphors and Metaphorical Expressions”, consists of contributions dealing with the methods of teaching metaphors to students of foreign languages or students of their first language (Croatian). Chapter Twelve by **Dunja Pavličević-Franić** and **Katarina Aladrović Slovaček** examines the level of collocational competence among 100 fourth-grade students of primary school in the Croatian (L1) language classroom, suggesting that more attention should be devoted to collocation exercises since they play a pivotal role in achieving student’s lexical and communicative competence. Chapter Thirteen, written by **Marios Chrissou**, explores the role of digital language corpora in teaching vocabulary related to phraseology, addressing both theoretical insights and practical teaching methods. The final chapter, authored by **Magdalena Malechová**, investigates methods for teaching creative writing through metaphors, focusing specifically on experiential learning. This approach encourages students in a German-as-a-Foreign-Language (GFL) classroom to produce texts using both conventional and novel metaphorical expressions.

All chapters in this book have undergone international peer reviews, thus ensuring the quality and originality of contributions. We thank the reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions, which guided us in the editing process and helped us bring this book to completion.

We owe special thanks to Aneta Stojić, the principal investigator of the *MetaKol* project, who brought us together and shared with us both the challenges and the joys of scientific work throughout the past four years.

Finally, we would like to thank the University of Rijeka and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, both recognized for their commitment to high-quality scholarly publishing. Their consistent adherence to the international publishing standards as well as the standards required by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education, and Youth provided us with clear guidance and structured support throughout the editing process, enabling us to confidently meet the highest publishing standards.

Rijeka, May 2025

Katja Dobrić Basaneže

Mihaela Matešić

Jana Jurčević

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Part I: Metaphorical Collocations in Corpora and Translation

Some Issues in the Study of Metaphorical Collocations: A CMT Perspective

Zoltán Kövecses

My goal in the chapter is to provide an account of the collocability of lexical items using a CMT framework. I argue that what initially appears to be a lexical relationship between lexical items is a conceptual relationship (involving concepts). I examine three general issues in connection with metaphorical collocations: the issue of the delimitation of potential metaphorical collocations, that of the reasons for some metaphorical collocations being salient, and that of the occurrence and use of metaphorical collocations on different levels of schematicity, or abstraction. The linguistic examples and the analyses I use to demonstrate my points come from the domain of emotions, predominantly anger.

Keywords: metaphorical collocation, secondary metaphor, secondary metonymy, salience of metaphorical collocations, multilevel metaphorical collocations

1. Introduction

There are many definitions of collocations, and the definitions view collocations as a phenomenon that occurs on the word level. For example, according to Sketch Engine, “a collocation is a sequence or combination of words that occur together more often than would be expected by chance (from Wikipedia Collocation)” (Sketch Engine). However, many, more recent studies treat collocations as a relationship that indeed occurs between words, but which is the result of certain conceptual phenomena (see, e.g., Deignan 2005; Poulsen 2022; Stojić and Konecny 2024). These commonly involve metaphor and metonymy in these treatments, as they are conceived in conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (see, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010).

The general issue I wish to examine is how CMT can account for which words occur together frequently in texts. But, at the same time, I will ignore the issue of the specific strengths of such combinations of words; rather, my main concern will be with the potential occurrences of word combinations, as provided by conceptual metaphors and metonymies.

To achieve my goals, I ask three specific questions:

- (1) What is the nature of the metaphoric and metonymic processes that can result in metaphoric and metonymic collocations?
- (2) How can we account for the salience of many metaphorical collocations?
- (3) Do metaphorical collocations occur on the same level of generality, or abstraction?

I will discuss these three issues in light and on the basis of my own work on emotion metaphors and metonymies over the past 40 years. Given this, what I am about to say in the chapter reflects my personal views, and there is no guarantee that other CMT researchers would arrive at the same findings that I present here.

2. Kinds of metaphors and metonymies in collocations

As mentioned above, collocations are word-level phenomena in many approaches, but even the most basic issues concerning collocations require a conceptual approach. One such issue is the following: How can we characterize the mechanisms by which a certain word selects a set of other words as “collocational partners” (Kövecses 1986: 130). One answer to this surely is that the collocational range of a word (the corresponding concept) is in part delimited by the concepts that are used to conceptualize it or by the concepts that it is used to conceptualize. Among the many processes of conceptualization (see e.g., Kövecses 2006), two are especially relevant to collocations: conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy.

Consider first a case in which the collocational range of a word (concept) is defined by a concept that is used to conceptualize it by means of the mechanism of metaphor. Take, for example, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A STORM from Kövecses (1986: 119):

ANGER IS A STORM

After the row she *stormed* out of the room

Waves of anger *swept* over him.

We had a *tempestuous* meeting.

He *thundered* with rage.

His face *clouded* over with anger.

After that *stormy* conversation, he wouldn't even talk to me.

You could see rage *surging up* in him.

Here, anger is the node, and the storm-related words are the collocates, or, as I prefer to say this, the ANGER concept (frame) with its various near-synonyms is the node and the storm-related words that constitute the concept of STORM are the collocates. The node is represented by words like *anger* and *rage*. The collocates would be *waves*, *thunder*, *cloud over*, and *surge up*. In other words, the STORM frame as a source concept would define and delimit the collocational range of the various anger words that compose the ANGER frame, the target concept of the metaphor. Notice that some of the metaphorical expressions given above are not collocates of *anger*. For instance, *tempestuous* would not be and *stormy* would not be either. Metaphorical expressions belonging to particular conceptual metaphors are not necessarily collocations. It seems that collocations are simply a special kind of metaphorical expression, a broader, more inclusive category than collocations.

The node-collocate order is sometimes reversible on the conceptual level. The STORM frame can be the node and ANGER the collocate. The examples come from Kövecses (1986: 118):

A STORM IS AN ANGRY PERSON

It was a *violent* storm.

The sea was *lashing* the rocks.

The *fierce* wind caused a lot of damage.

The *angry* waves *calmed down* as the dawn came.

We had a *raging* storm last night.

The *savage* storm *whipped up* the waves.

There were *roaring* winds.

In this case, it is the ANGER frame (and the ANGRY PERSON within that) that is used to conceptualize the storm. The node is the STORM, and the collocates are the metaphorical expressions that compose the ANGER (ANGRY PERSON) frame. We can call this *secondary metaphorization*, where the more usual (i.e., the *primary*) conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A STORM is reversed¹.

In both primary and secondary metaphorization the potential range of the collocates with respect to a node are delimited by the conceptual metaphors. Obviously, each node concept can have a number of collocate concepts, but it is not the

1 Please note that *primary* here is not used in the sense of Grady (1997).

case that each node and collocate concept can be reversed in metaphorical node-collocate relationships.

Another cognitive process to delimit the range of collocates is that of *metonymization* (see Kövecses 1986). Metonymies can also be of two kinds: primary and secondary (again, not in the sense of Grady). *Primary metonymies*, in the domain of emotions, provide mental access to an emotion target concept, such as ANGER or PRIDE. Typical primary metonymies for PRIDE include ERECT POSTURE FOR PRIDE (e.g., *After winning the race, he walked to the rostrum with his head held high*), and CHEST OUT FOR PRIDE (e.g., *After winning the race, he swelled with pride*), etc. These examples depict the result of pride, that is, some of the behavioral responses that accompany pride (see Kövecses 1986). In such cases, an expression used to describe the result, or manifestation, of PRIDE metonymically indicates pride. A higher-level metonymy to capture such cases is THE RESULT OR MANIFESTATION OF A STATE FOR THE STATE, of which THE RESULT OR MANIFESTATION OF PRIDE FOR PRIDE is a special case.

But we also have another version of this primary metonymy that characterizes pride and defines the collocations of the PRIDE concept. PRIDE is a state, like ANGER or JOY, that has its causes and manifestations, or responses. Now, the term *proud* can be used metonymically for either its causes or responses. Some examples that show this include a *proud* achievement, a *proud* victory, a *proud* feat, etc. for causes of pride, and a *proud* look, a *proud* gait, a *proud* smile, etc. for manifestations of pride. In other words, here it is the word *proud* that is used metonymically for causes or manifestations of PRIDE, as opposed to an expression that denotes a cause or manifestation being used metonymically for PRIDE.

The central, non-metonymic use of *proud* is the one when it describes a person who is proud (e.g., *John is proud of his son*). But cases like achievement, victory, feat, look, gait, and smile are not persons. They express either the causes or the manifestations of pride. These uses of the term *proud* are metonymic in the sense that the central meaning of *proud* (when it denotes persons) is used to denote the causes and manifestations of pride. The relevant conceptual metonymies thus are:

THE CENTRAL SENSE OF PROUD FOR THE CAUSE OF PRIDE

THE CENTRAL SENSE OF PROUD FOR THE MANIFESTATION OF PRIDE

This way we can account for a large number of collocations for the word *proud*. This account is not based on the relationship between any two words, but it is deeply conceptual, and follows regularities in the conceptual system, where, to begin with, we have the general metonymies A STATE FOR THE CAUSES OF THAT STATE and A STATE FOR THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THAT STATE. Given that emotions can be construed as states, we can then have: AN EMOTION FOR THE CAUSE OF THAT EMOTION and AN EMOTION FOR THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THAT EMOTION. The metonymies of THE CENTRAL SENSE OF PROUD FOR THE CAUSE OF PRIDE and THE

CENTRAL SENSE OF PROUD FOR THE MANIFESTATION OF PRIDE are simply more specific versions of the generic metonymies in the conceptual system.

The above are cases that I call primary metonymization. To see how there are many additional cases that are built on such primary metonymies but are also different in an important way, consider some more collocations with *proud*: *proud* gold medal, *proud* day, *proud* fields of Waterloo, *proud* sight, etc. These are not causes or manifestations of pride. The gold medal is just a token of an achievement, the day is the time of an achievement, the fields are the venue of an achievement, and the sight is the visual experience of an achievement (not the achievement itself), and so forth. These collocations are the result of what we can call secondary metonymization: THE CENTRAL SENSE OF PROUD FOR THE TOKEN/TIME/VENUE/PERCEPTUAL EXPERIENCE OF AN ACHIEVEMENT, which is based on the primary metonymy of THE CENTRAL SENSE OF PROUD FOR THE CAUSE OF PRIDE. We can generalize these observations into a principle: “The word *proud* can be used to modify a noun which denotes the possible tokens, the time, the place and the visual experience of the prototypical cause of pride” (Kövecses 1986: 134). As can be expected, when we analyze the data at this level of detail, or granularity, we can find several interesting (but systematic) differences between languages as regards such generalizations. For example, this type of secondary metonymization does not seem to apply to Hungarian.

3. How can we account for the salience of many metaphorical collocations?

In a recent study on anger in American English that I have done with Karen Sullivan (Kövecses and Sullivan 2025), we noticed that metaphorical collocations with the word *anger* occur with varying degrees of frequency in a random concordance list of 2000 metaphorical occurrences of the word in COCA. A partial list of such items is as follows:

anger giving way [3]; *anger in* [32]; *building anger* [6]; *containing anger* [4]; *controlling anger* [6]; *deep anger* [14]; *directing anger at* [32]; *expressing anger* [54]; *focusing anger on* [7]; *from anger* [4]; *fueling anger* [14]; *getting over anger* [9]; *growing anger* [11]; *inflaming the anger* [3]; *keeping anger in check* [3]; *leading to anger* [3]; *letting out anger* [23]; *lots of anger* [17]; *much anger* [10]; *restraining anger* [4]; *rising anger* [13]; *seeing anger* [5]; *showing anger* [18]; *stoking anger* [6]; *through anger* [5];

The numbers in square brackets show the number of times a collocation occurred in the data. Some collocations stand out with the high figures they have produced in our survey (e.g., *anger in*, *expressing anger*, *letting out anger*, *directing anger*), some occurred with medium frequency (e.g., *fueling anger*, *lots of anger*, *showing anger*), and some with low figures (e.g., *anger giving way*, *inflaming anger*, *keeping anger in check*). The metaphorical expressions, that is, the metaphorical collocations, belong to particular conceptual metaphors. These are given below, illustrated by some examples:

- ANGER IS AN OBJECT (*show anger*)
- ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (*anger in, let anger out, express anger*)
- INTENSITY IS QUANTITY (*great anger, much anger, growing anger, building anger*)
- ANGER IS FIRE (*burning anger, fuel anger, sparking anger*)
- ANGER IS A WEAPON (*direct anger, focus on anger*)
- ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL (*control anger, keep anger in check, restrain anger*)
- STATES ARE LOCATIONS (*getting over anger*).

Actually, this set of conceptual metaphors is already rank ordered. It is rank ordered according to the metaphorical salience of the metaphorical collocations. We have calculated metaphorical salience in the following way:

In the corpus, we have checked and calculated:

- the number of tokens found in the corpus for a conceptual metaphor,
- the percentage of the tokens for a conceptual metaphor in relation to all the tokens,
- the number and percentage of the mappings that apply to a given metaphor,
- the percentage of the mappings that apply to a given metaphor,
- plus, the number and percentage of the types for that metaphor.

Thus, metaphorical salience for each conceptual metaphor was taken to be the *aggregate value of the percentage of the tokens, the percentage of the types, and the percentage of the mappings*. To exemplify this, consider the following table with the top six most salient conceptual metaphors for American English in the corpus-based approach (from Kövecses & Sullivan 2025):

Table 1. Top six most salient metaphors for American English

Metaphorical Source Domain	Tokens	% of all tokens	Types	% of all types	No. of metaphorical mappings	% of metaphorical mappings	Aggregate
OBJECT	77	7.3%	34	9.9%	17	9.0%	26.2%
SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	151	14.3%	16	4.7%	7	3.7%	22.6%
INTENSITY IS QUANTITY	103	9.7%	24	7.0%	3	1.6%	18.3%
FIRE	69	6.5%	25	7.3%	8	4.2%	18.0%
WEAPON	71	6.7%	28	8.2%	5	2.6%	17.5%
DANGEROUS ANIMAL	79	7.5%	21	6.1%	7	3.7%	17.3%

Notice that what puts the OBJECT metaphor in first position in our token-based approach is mainly due to the fact that it has 17 mappings, by far the highest number among these metaphors.

But what is much more important in the present context is that in each of the conceptual metaphors there are some mappings that are characterized by rather high token numbers of metaphorical collocations relative to the other mappings within the same conceptual metaphor. To demonstrate this, below I provide a list of the above conceptual metaphors with a partial list of their mappings and the number of occurrences of some metaphorical collocations based on the mappings:

- **ANGER IS AN OBJECT**

- seeing object → being aware of anger (*seeing anger* [5])
- showing object → allowing others to be aware of anger (*showing anger* [18];

- **ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER**

- container → angry person('s body) (*anger in* [32]; *containing anger* [4]; *room for anger* [1])
- substance coming out of the container → showing anger (*expressing anger* [54]; *letting out anger* [23]; *acting out anger* [2]; *displacing anger* [1]; *infused with anger* [1])

- **INTENSITY IS QUANTITY**

- larger quantity → higher intensity (*lots of anger* [17]; *deep anger* [14]; *rising anger* [13]; *growing anger* [11]; *much anger* [10]; *building anger*

[6]; *accumulated anger* [2]; *big anger* [2]; *great anger* [2]; *high anger* [2]; *increasing anger* [1]; *mountain of anger* [1]; *peak of anger* [1]; *threshold of anger* [1]; *soaring anger* [1]; *swelling anger* [1])

- **ANGER IS FIRE**

- more fuel to the fire → more anger (*fueling anger* [14]; *stoking anger* [6]; *inflaming the anger* [3]; *fanning the anger* [2])

- **ANGER IS A WEAPON**

- person at whom the weapon is aimed → the target of anger (*directing anger at* [32]; *focusing anger on* [7]; *anger falling on* [2]; *bearing the brunt of anger* [1]; *drawing anger* [1]; *flinging anger at* [1]; *intimidating with anger* [1]; *pierced by anger* [1]; *quailing before anger* [1]; *risk anger* [1]; *scars from anger* [1]; *spurred by anger* [1])
- obstacle to weapon → factor ameliorating effects of anger (*between you and the anger* [1]; *blunting the anger* [1])

- **ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL**

- to keep the animal in check → to control anger (*controlling anger* [6]; *restraining anger* [4]; *keeping anger in check* [3]; *soothing anger* [2]; *taming anger* [1]; *handling the anger* [1]; *caged anger* [1])

The mappings with the highest numbers of occurrence for particular metaphorical collocations indicate the “main meaning focus/foci” of a conceptual metaphor (see Kövecses 2005, 2010; Kövecses et al. 2025: 1422). The main meaning focus shows the dimension of a target concept that a source concept profiles. For example, in the OBJECT metaphor, the mapping that represents the main meaning focus is as follows: “showing object → allowing others to be aware of anger”. We know this because the metaphorical collocation *showing anger* produced the highest number of token occurrence within the OBJECT metaphor. Similarly, the mapping “substance coming out of the container → showing anger” is a dominant meaning focus in the SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor, with token occurrence numbers of 54 (*expressing anger*) and 23 (*let out anger*). Both of these mappings focus on the visibility, or expression, dimension of the concept of ANGER. By contrast, the “larger quantity → higher intensity” mapping in the metaphor INTENSITY IS QUANTITY profiles the dimension of intensity of ANGER, with several metaphorical collocations scoring relatively high numbers.

In the token-based approach, the three most profiled or focused-on dimensions of the concept of ANGER were the following: visibility, intensity, and dangerousness. The dimension of Visibility was profiled by the OBJECT and SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphors, that of Intensity by the INTENSITY IS QUANTITY and FIRE metaphors, and that of Dangerousness by the WEAPON and DANGEROUS ANIMAL

metaphors. Interestingly, but maybe not surprisingly, in the dictionary-based approach, the dominant dimensions of ANGER were Dangerousness, Displeasure, and Intensity. That is to say, it seems that the concept of ANGER in American English is dominated by four dimensions: Visibility, Intensity, Dangerousness, and Displeasure, as far as the linguistic data shows.

What does this conclusion have to do with metaphorical collocations? In order to see this, let us follow the logic by which we have arrived at the conclusion. We started out from the most frequent metaphorical collocations and assigned them to particular conceptual metaphors. We checked the metaphorical salience of the given conceptual metaphors with the help of the dominant mappings that represent the main meaning focus of the metaphors. The dominant mappings led us to establish some Dimensions of the concept of ANGER in American English. These dimensions are predominant for speakers of American English, at least judging by the wealth of linguistic evidence. But we can reverse this logic and suggest that the predominant dimensions lead to the most profiled mappings that lead to the most salient conceptual metaphors, which, in turn, give us the most salient metaphorical collocations. It is the four dimensions that Americans seem to be most concerned with in the course of handling their everyday anger experiences, and this is why the corpus-based research produced the results that it did.

4. Do metaphorical collocations occur on the same level of schematicity?

In my book *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Kövecses 2020), I have proposed that conceptual metaphors occupy various levels of schematicity: the image schema level, the domain level, the frame level, and the mental space level within a unified hierarchical structure (for a justification of the four levels, see Kövecses 2020 chapter 4.). The linguistic items that make the conceptual metaphors on the various levels manifest in language use are also characterized by different degrees of schematicity. My suggestion in the present connection will be that, similar to metaphors in general, the metaphorical collocations can also be found on these four levels of schematicity.

Consider again some of the metaphorical collocations we have seen above, where the corresponding conceptual metaphors are given in small caps following the examples:

- *seeing anger, showing anger* OBJECT
- *anger in, expressing anger, letting out anger, containing anger* SUBSTANCE
IN CONTAINER
- *rising anger, lots of anger, much anger* INTENSITY IS QUANTITY
- *fueling anger, inflaming anger, stoking anger* FIRE

- *directing anger at, focusing anger on* WEAPON
- *keeping anger in check, controlling anger, restraining anger, caged anger* DANGEROUS ANIMAL

As presented here, the collocations in a given conceptual metaphor all appear to be on the same level of schematicity. If we use the term “domain” to define conceptual metaphors (as it is common in the “standard” view, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980), then all the conceptual metaphors are domain-level ones, and all the metaphorical collocations are domain-level ones as well.

But a closer look suggests otherwise. Some are on the IMAGE SCHEMA level, such as *lots of, much, in, (let) out*. These expressions are not limited to particular experiential domains; they have a wide range of applications. Some are on the DOMAIN level, such as *control, restrain, contain, express*. These are more specific as regards the domains they can apply to. Some are on the FRAME level, such as *inflame, stoke, direct at, see, show, keep in check*, which attach to more specific frames of conceptualized experience within domains. In other words, a conceptual metaphor is linguistically realized by linguistic expressions on several distinct levels of schematicity.

When we use an expression from any of the above levels in an actual communicative situation, we are functioning *online* at a level that we can call the *mental space* level. This is our fourth and most specific level. Thus, we get the following four levels that constitute a “schematicity hierarchy” (see Dancygier and Sweetser 2014; Kövecses 2017, 2020²):

- IMAGE SCHEMA level
- DOMAIN level
- FRAME level
- MENTAL SPACE level

When we do corpus-based or corpus-oriented research on metaphorical collocations, we find items in our concordance lists at this most specific level in an *archived* form. This means that a particular concordance line involving a metaphorical collocation is an archived version of a mental space level metaphor. In an online act of metaphorical conceptualization, a mental space is given linguistic form. But the question is: Where does the metaphorical form that expresses the mental space come from? The short answer is that mental spaces can make use of linguistic (or other) forms *that come from either frames, domains, or image schemas*. The default case is where mental spaces are structured and

2 Such schematicity hierarchies are only formed for “correlation metaphors,” but not for resemblance ones (see Kövecses 2020).

given expression by frames and frame level metaphorical items (see Fauconnier 1994), the conceptual structure immediately above the mental space level in a schematicity hierarchy. The same goes for metaphorical collocations when used online in an act of communication. However, mental spaces involving metaphorical collocations can also be informed by higher levels in the hierarchy, that is, by the domain and image schema levels.

4.1. Option 1: Frame level provides lexical material

Let us now see an example for each of the three options, and begin with the default case. I'll use a made-up example in each case, to simplify things. Imagine that we hear the following sentence:

- What John said fueled Mary's anger.

Since the sentence is used as part of an online conversation, it prompts a metaphorical mental space in which there is a cause (what John said) that makes Mary's anger greater, that is, more intense. This meaning is conveyed by means of the metaphorical collocation *fuel anger*. The metaphorical meaning of the sentence can be given as a mental space level metaphor: CAUSING AN INCREASE IN MARY'S INTENSITY OF ANGER IS CAUSING AN INCREASE IN FIRE HEAT.

Where does the metaphorical conceptual content come from? As mentioned above, in many cases it comes from a frame. Here the frame is a conventional metaphorical one, and it is commonly referred to as ANGER IS FIRE. This conceptual metaphor consists of several conventional mappings, such as "the thing burning → the angry person," "the fire (heat) → the anger," "the cause of fire → the cause of anger," and "the intensity/degree of fire (heat) → the intensity of anger." On the mental space level, it is the last mapping that is utilized. The mental space level metaphor is structured by a frame level one in this sense.

The ANGER IS FIRE metaphor is part of a larger system of metaphors, the EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE system. Several emotions, not just anger, are viewed metaphorically through this higher-level metaphor, including fear, love, joy, etc. (see, e.g., Kövecses 2000). Particular emotions constitute a larger system of concepts that we collectively call the EMOTION domain, a superordinate natural category (see Rosch 1978)³. TEMPERATURE, the source concept of the generic metaphor, is also a domain in this sense.

What makes it possible to link this source concept with this target concept? It is an additional conceptual metaphor: INTENSITY IS HEAT. This metaphor extends beyond the emotion domain. It can also be found with several others, like, work, exercise, conflict (see Kövecses 2010). The metaphor has a clear experiential

3 Calling this a "domain", I depart from the conventions of standard CMT, where a "domain" could be any source and target concept. At the same time, I use the term in both of these meanings in the chapter.

basis: the more intense an activity or state, the higher the (body) heat produced. This experiential basis is clearly observable in the emotion domain (see Kövecses 2000; Waggoner 2010). The INTENSITY IS HEAT metaphor is not tied to a particular domain; it is “above” domains. It is in the metaphorical conceptual system, but it is not tied to particular natural categories. It serves the purpose of conceptualizing the “dimensions” of categories (like INTENSITY in the present case), as the term was used in the previous section (see also, Kövecses et al. 2025).

All in all, then, we have the following schematicity hierarchy of conceptual metaphors in connection with the example *What John said fueled Mary's anger*:

- INTENSITY IS HEAT
- EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE
- **ANGER IS FIRE**
- CAUSING AN INCREASE IN MARY'S INTENSITY OF ANGER IS CAUSING AN INCREASE IN FIRE HEAT

The metaphorical collocation ***fuel anger*** that was identified in our dataset evokes and its understanding requires four hierarchically connected conceptual metaphors on different levels. The metaphorical collocation goes into the new online metaphor on the mental space level from the conventional frame level one. (This is indicated by the metaphor in boldface.)

4.2. Option 2: Domain level provides lexical material

Let us now look at the second option, when the metaphorical collocation at the mental space level is provided not by a frame level metaphor but a domain level one. Consider the following example from an imaginary conversation:

- Mary tried to *control* her anger.

When we try to control our anger, this can be done metaphorically in many ways. We can do it according to the ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and think of it as holding the animal back; according to the ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED SUBSTANCE metaphor and think of it as keeping the substance inside the container; according to the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor and think of it as reducing steam; or according to the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor and think of it as putting out the fire. All of these are real options, but the use of the sentence with the word *control* does not reveal a single specific frame level metaphor. This means that the word can only come from either the domain level or the image schema level. Now CONTROL, together with RESTRAIN and CHECK, are special cases of CAUSATION, which, at the highest level of abstraction, involves one entity acting on another entity with some effect. Metaphorically, CAUSES ARE FORCES. CONTROL is one special case of this. For this reason, the word *control* can only come from

the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, or more precisely, EMOTIONS ARE INTERACTIONS OF FORCES, metaphor. In other words, we have the following situation:

Image schema level:

CAUSES ARE FORCES

Domain level:

EMOTIONS ARE INTERACTIONS OF FORCES (CONTROLLING AN EMOTION IS CONTROLLING THE FORCES)

Frame level:

--

Mental space level:

MARY'S ATTEMPT AT CONTROLLING HER ANGER IS AN ATTEMPT TO CONTROL A PHYSICAL FORCE

Linguistic level:

- Mary tried to control her anger.

In this example, the metaphorical collocation *controlling anger* for the actual, online act of communication at the mental space level is provided by the domain level metaphor, without the speaker committing himself/herself to a more specific metaphor conceptually (and, consequently, linguistically).

4.3. Option 3: Image schema level provides lexical material

Finally, let us examine the third option, where the lexical material (the metaphorical collocation), *lots of anger*, derives from an image schema level metaphor. Take the following made-up sentence: *There was lots of anger in John*. (I am not going to include the metaphorical collocation *anger in John* in the analysis.)

The expression *lots of* in the metaphorical collocation *lots of anger* is clearly not tied to anger, and not even to the emotion domain. It can apply to any number of domains. This wide applicability makes it the source concept of a very abstract metaphor in the conceptual system: INTENSITY IS QUANTITY. This is an image schema level metaphor; it is as schematic as it can get. The experiential basis for the metaphor is clear: the larger the entity, the larger the force with which it can affect another entity. Furthermore, states are metaphorically viewed as substances. Hence: STATES ARE SUBSTANCES.

In the present case, there are no explicit domain level and frame level metaphors.

As a result, it is the image schema level metaphor that structures the necessary mental space level one⁴: it gives the concept of ANGER the generic property of intensity through INTENSITY IS QUANTITY. But the property gets specified as high on the intensity scale on the mental space level. This act of specification, or elaboration, is a standard feature of what happens at this level in relation to conventional frames.

In sum, we get the following picture:

Image schema level:

INTENSITY IS QUANTITY + STATES ARE SUBSTANCES

Domain level:

--

Frame level:

--

Mental space level:

THE HIGH INTENSITY OF JOHN'S ANGER IS THE LARGE AMOUNT OF SUBSTANCE
IN THE BODY CONTAINER

Thus, metaphorical collocations can legitimately occur on different levels of abstraction *within* the same conceptual metaphor, as we saw in section 4.1. However, this does not mean that in every metaphorical act of communication we can always presume the presence of four *particular* conceptual metaphors.

5. Conclusions

In the chapter, I have examined three general issues in connection with metaphorical collocations: the issue of the delimitation of potential metaphorical collocations, that of the reasons for some metaphorical collocations being salient, and that of the occurrence and use of metaphorical collocations on different levels of schematicity, or abstraction.

As regards the first issue, I suggested that there are systematic metaphoric and metonymic processes beyond what we can take to be "standard" cases of conceptual metaphors and metonymies that can define and delimit potential metaphorical collocations. I called them secondary metaphorization and metonymization. These processes can not only reveal further collocations (beyond

4 "Necessary" because, on this view, every act of communication prompts a mental space (see, Fauconnier 1994).

what's available through the traditional primary ones) but can also explain their existence in a systematic way.

As for the salience of many metaphorical collocations, I argued that such collocations are salient because the conceptual metaphors that involve them are salient, and the conceptual metaphors are salient because some of their mappings are salient, and those mappings are salient because the dimensions of the concept of ANGER they point to or highlight are salient. Conversely, what explains the salience of many metaphorical collocations is ultimately the significance of certain dimensions of experience in a society.

Of course, this claim requires further, nonlinguistic evidence. The issue is a social-psychological one, over and above being a linguistic one. However, the relationship between dominant social-psychological concerns in a society and their possible linguistic reflexes in the form of the heavy use of certain metaphorical collocations may give us the clue to understand why some collocations are salient and others less so or not salient at all.

Finally, concerning the multilevel nature of metaphors involving many metaphorical collocations, I made the claim that when we use metaphorical collocations online that are based on correlation metaphors, the metaphors used prompt for four levels of schematicity in the conceptual metaphors: mental space level, frame level, domain level, and image schema level conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphors above the mental space level can each provide the actual linguistic metaphor (the metaphorical collocation) employed at this level.

The potential value and novelty of the approach that was presented here may be twofold. First, we can distinguish two axes in the conceptual "arrangement" of metaphorical collocations: the "horizontal," where we investigated both primary and secondary processes of metaphor and metonymy, and the "vertical," where we took into account different layers of schematicity in metaphor. These additions to the study of metaphorical collocations may give us more systematicity in the exploration of the collocational range of words. Second, the study of the issue of metaphorical salience may be used alongside the notion of the strength of metaphorical collocations. In addition to the largely statistical view of collocational strength, the salience of metaphorical collocations may give us a way to embed metaphorical collocations in their social-historical-psychological context.

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O nekim izazovima u istraživanju metaforičkih kolokacija iz perspektive teorije konceptualne metafore (CMT)

U ovome poglavlju cilj je bio objasniti kolokabilnost leksičkih jedinica iz perspektive teorije konceptualne metafore (CMT). Ponajprije, odnos između jedinica koje tvore metaforičku kolokaciju samo je prividno leksičke naravi i zapravo predstavlja konceptualni odnos (tj. podrazumijeva konceptualizaciju). U vezi s time istražena su tri načelna pitanja: pitanje definiranja pojma metaforičkih kolokacija, pitanje razloga zbog kojih su neke metaforičke kolokacije istaknutije (engl. *salient*) od drugih te pitanje pojavljivanja i uporabe metaforičkih kolokacija na različitim razinama shematičnosti, odnosno apstrakcije. Dokazi za iznesene tvrdnje dobiveni su analizom primjera metaforičkih kolokacija u domeni emocija, ponajprije ljutnje.

Ključne riječi: metaforička kolokacija, sekundarna metafora, sekundarna metonimija, istaknutost (engl. *salience*) metaforičkih kolokacija, višerazinske metaforičke kolokacije

A Journey through the MetaKol Project: Insights into the Study of Metaphorical Collocations

Nataša Košuta

In den Kollokationen ist in besonderer Weise die unverwechselbare Eigenart einer Sprache niedergelegt. (Hausmann, 1989, p. 9)⁵

The purpose of this chapter is to provide insight into the research on metaphorical collocations conducted within the project *Metaphorical Collocations – Syntagmatic Relations between Semantics and Pragmatics* (acronym: MetaKol), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation (IP-2020-02-6319)⁶.

Metaphorical collocations are considered a distinct semantic subset of lexical collocations consisting of at least two lexemes, where one component is used in a figurative sense. Previous research on collocations indicates that, from a synchronic perspective, collocational bonding is perceived as a conventional and predetermined word bond due to the semantic cohesion between its components and selectional constraints in collocational pairing. Recent studies in this field suggest that there is a correlation between the degree of semantic cohesion among components and the transfer of meaning in one of the components. Moreover, they indicate that conceptual metaphor theory can offer insights into the patterns underlying collocation formation. This project specifically aimed to investigate these aspects.

This chapter provides an overview of the achievements of the MetaKol project, with a particular emphasis on the results presented in 24 scientific papers derived from the project. The objective of this study is to categorize new findings on metaphorical collocations in accordance with the goals defined within the project framework and to contextualize them within the existing body of research on collocations. The key categories addressed in this chapter include: the creation of an inventory of metaphorical collocations based on corpus research, the description of metaphorical collocations from lexical-semantic, pragmatic, and contrastive perspectives, and the establishment of criteria for the typology of metaphorical collocations.

5 Eng. "In collocations, the distinctive character of a language is uniquely embedded" (Hausmann 1989: 9).

6 This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project *Metaphorical Collocations – Syntagmatic Relations between Semantics and Pragmatics* (IP-2020-02-6319).

Keywords: collocations, metaphorical collocations, corpus research, lexical-semantic aspect, pragmatic aspect, contrastive aspect, conceptualization

1. Introduction

Linguists have been attempting to describe collocational relationships between words, and collocation as a complex lexical-semantic phenomenon, since the early 20th⁷ century within various disciplines, particularly computational and corpus linguistics, phraseology, lexicography, translation studies, and glottodidactics (Hausmann 2007: 225–229; Stojić and Košuta 2021: 81). As a result of various approaches to collocation research, numerous scientific papers have been published proposing multiple definitions (Konecny 2010a: 5; Keglević Blažević 2022: 191), all sharing the understanding that collocations involve a syntagmatic relationship between lexemes (Konecny 2010c: 1207). Although there is no universally accepted definition of collocations (Lea 2007: 262; Stojić and Košuta 2020: 144; Keglević Blažević 2024: 223), two main approaches⁸ can be distinguished in the international scientific discourse on collocations: the statistically-oriented approach (based on the statistical significance of co-occurrence of two or more

7 Among the predecessors of contemporary collocation theories, Walter Porzig and Eugenio Coseriu are particularly noteworthy. Walter Porzig bases his interpretation of lexical associations on the fact that there is a connection between words that is exclusively conditioned by meaning (Porzig 1934: 79). In explaining semantic relationships between words, he argues that these are not merely associative relations but fundamental meaning relationships (Ger. *wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen*) that form the essence of expressed meaning. Porzig elaborates on semantic relationships through examples of word combinations consisting of a verb and a noun functioning as an object that the verb implies. He emphasizes that the selection of elements forming a particular combination is not left to the speaker's discretion but is predetermined. However, the establishment of fundamental meaning relationships does not imply that only one lexical combination is possible; rather, within that semantic field, other combinations are also viable, provided they rest on an already established semantic relationship. Building on Porzig's observations concerning syntagmatic relationships, Eugenio Coseriu further refines the nature of syntagmatic implications between two elements that form a lexical bond. He concludes that these syntagmatic phenomena are conditioned by paradigmatic relationships, illustrating this with the example of the word *tree* (Ger. 'Baum'), which, as a unit within the paradigm plant (Ger. 'Pflanze'), functions as a distinctive feature in the paradigm of verbs, such as *cut* (Ger. 'schneiden'), thereby forming the unit *chop down* (Ger. 'fällen'). This implies that his determination of syntagmatic relationships is based on the fact that a specific element within one paradigm functions as a distinguishing feature within another paradigm (Coseriu 1967: 297). Coseriu refers to such syntagmatic relationships, which rely on mutual interdependence, as lexical solidarity (Ger. *lexikalische Solidaritäten*).

8 Siepmann (2007: 237) also mentions a third approach to collocations, which he proposes to call the "pragmatic" approach. This is because structural irregularities and non-compositionality in such expressions are, both diachronically and functionally, subordinated to pragmatic regularities that determine the relationship between situational context and linguistic forms.

words forming so-called clusters)⁹ and Hausmann's¹⁰ base-oriented approach¹¹ (which primarily focuses on the semantic unpredictability of the bond and is based on lexicographical, didactic, and contrastive linguistic considerations (Bergerová 2012: 68)¹². In accordance with the statistically-oriented approach and the broader understanding of collocations, collocations are considered word combinations that frequently and predictably co-occur due to their semantic compatibility (Reder 2002: 451; Herbst and Götz-Votteler 2007: 2011; Holzinger 2021: 120; Jesenšek 2021: 195). Hausmann's base-oriented approach adopts a narrower view, treating collocations as hierarchically organized binary structures consisting of a cognitively dominant and a cognitively subordinate element (Konecny 2010c: 1207). The cognitively dominant and semantically autonomous element, referred to by Hausmann (1984: 401; 1985: 119) as the base, is the core component of the collocation, while the cognitively subordinate and semantically dependent element is termed the collocator. In his model of collocation description, Hausmann (1990: vi–vii) identifies six primary types: (1) verb as collocator + noun as object (base), (2) adjective as collocator + noun as base, (3) noun as subject (base) + verb as collocator, (4) noun as collocator + noun as base, (5) adverb as collocator + adjective as base and (6) adverb as collocator + verb as base. He also notes that combinations of the first and second types (i.e., verb as collocator + noun as object as base and adjective as collocator + noun as base) are the most frequent. Hausmann generally considers collocations as binary structures but also acknowledges the possibility of merging two binary structures into a ternary

9 In German linguistic literature, the term *British contextualism* has become established for the statistically-oriented approach. This term refers to a linguistic theory that focuses on corpus-based language research at a descriptive level, specifically investigating the function of words in a text, where meaning is derived from linguistic and situational context (Stojić 2012: 18). Within the theory of British contextualism, whose initiator and founder is considered to be John Rupert Firth, the concept of collocation was mentioned for the first time. For collocational meaning, Firth proposes the term *meaning by 'collocation'* and emphasizes the distinction between collocational meaning and the meaning of words in a given context: "It must be pointed out that meaning by collocation is not at all the same thing as contextual meaning, which is the functional relation of the sentence to the processes of a context of situation in the context of culture" (Firth 1957: 194–195).

10 Franz Josef Hausmann is a German Romance philologist, linguist, and lexicographer who has distinguished himself primarily through his work on collocations. His structural analysis of collocations is widely accepted by experts (Petrović 2008: 32), and his typology of collocational combinations based on syntactic-morphological criteria is one of the most well-known and frequently cited typologies in the literature on collocations (Konecny 2010a: 187).

11 Hausmann defines collocations as typical, specific, and characteristic binary word combinations (Hausmann 1985: 118). Providing examples such as Ger. *eingefleischter Junggeselle* (Eng. 'confirmed bachelor'), Ger. *schütteres Haar* (Eng. 'thinning hair'), Ger. *heikles Thema* (Eng. 'sensitive topic'), Ger. *ausgelassene Stimmung* (Eng. 'exuberant mood'), and Ger. *penetranter Geruch* (Eng. 'pungent smell'), he concludes that these are semi-finished products of a language (Ger. 'Halbfertigprodukte der Sprache') (Hausmann 1993b: 5).

12 Bergerová (2012: 73–74) concludes, based on empirical research using an emotion lexicon as an example, that there is complementarity and overlap between two principles.

one, known as triple collocations (Ger. *Tripelkollokationen*), as in Ger. *endgültige Entscheidung treffen* (Eng. ‘make a final decision’) – a combination of the two binary collocations Ger. *endgültige Entscheidung* (Eng. ‘final decision’) and Ger. *Entscheidung treffen* (Eng. ‘make a decision’). The base most frequently appears as a noun, while verbs and adjectives function as bases only when combined with adverbial collocators (Hausmann 1985: 119). The base is described as a word that can be defined, learned, and translated without context, whereas the collocator is chosen and defined in dependence on the base (Hausmann 2007: 218)¹³. The fundamental distinction between the base and the collocator lies in the fact that the base is generally used in its literal meaning, while the meaning of the collocator in collocation may deviate from its primary meaning (Konecny 2010c: 1280), expressing varying degrees of idiomaticity (Hausmann 2007: 218). The collocator, when used outside of the collocation, retains its primary meaning, whereas in collocation, through co-occurrence with the base, it acquires a new meaning (Reder 2006a: 101)¹⁴ that is specific to a particular language and based on convention (Reder 2006b: 160).

1.1. A Brief Overview of the Conceptual Definition of Metaphorical Collocations

Collocations in which the collocator is used in a figurative (metaphorical) sense are referred to by Reder (2006b: 161) as metaphorical collocations. Analyzing various examples, Reder (2006a: 101–105; 2006b: 164–166) concludes that a prerequisite for the realization of a metaphorical collocation is the polysemy¹⁵ of the collocator, where the relationship between the literal and figurative meaning of the collocator is based on similarity and the association of direct physical human experience with abstract phenomena or ideas, while the meaning is disambiguated in context (Reder 2006b: 161–162). In addition to Reder (2006a, 2006b), two

13 Hausmann (1993a: 475) explains this using the example of the collocator Ger. *hart* (Eng. ‘hard’) and collocations such as Ger. *eine harte Matratze* (Eng. ‘a hard mattress’), Ger. *harte Eier* (Eng. ‘hard-boiled eggs’), Ger. *ein harter Bleistift* (Eng. ‘a hard pencil’), Ger. *harte Kartoffeln* (Eng. ‘hard potatoes’), Ger. *hartes Herz* (Eng. ‘a hard heart’), Ger. *harte Farben* (Eng. ‘harsh colors’), Ger. *jmdn hart anfassen* (Eng. ‘to treat someone harshly’), and others, noting that the meaning of the adjective *hart* is distinguished in context and that only through world knowledge does it become plausible.

14 Reder (2006b: 161) explains this with the example Ger. *ein Schüler wird versetzt* (Eng. ‘a student is transferred’). The literal meaning of the verb Ger. *versetzen* is Ger. *an eine andere Stelle o. Ä. setzen, bringen* (Duden 2006) (Eng. ‘to move to another place or similar’) (e.g., Ger. *die Knöpfe an einem Mantel versetzen* – Eng. ‘to move the buttons on a coat’). However, in combination with the lexeme Ger. *Schüler* (Eng. ‘student’), the verb acquires the meaning Ger. *in die nächste Klasse aufnehmen* (Eng. ‘to advance to the next grade’).

15 Polysemy is essentially a synchronic linguistic phenomenon that is conditioned diachronically, based on the principle of accumulating meanings within an already existing structure, where different meanings are stored separately. As such, polysemy meets the complex needs of linguistic communication by facilitating the naming of various extralinguistic phenomena that humans cognitively process, allowing them to intuitively select the appropriate meaning in a given context (Rafaelli 2015: 185).

other authors stand out within German linguistic research (Volungevičienė 2008; Konecny 2009, 2010a, 2010b), both of whom consider metaphorical collocations as a distinct type of collocational bond with one component used in a figurative sense. Volungevičienė (2008: 295) further argues that metaphorical collocations are based on lexicalized metaphors whose figurative meaning has become conventionalized, whereas Konecny (2010a: 607–610; 2009: 126–132) points out that the degree of metaphoricity of the collocator can vary, distinguishing four groups of collocators. In the first group, the collocator retains part of its primary meaning, the metaphor is lexicalized, and from the perspective of a native speaker, it is no longer consciously perceived (e.g., Ita. *profondo odio, amore, dolore* – Eng. ‘deep hatred, love, pain’). The collocator of the second group retains a relatively high degree of similarity to its primary meaning, though lower than that of the first group, with boundaries between the groups not always being clearly defined (e.g., Ita. *piantare un chiodo, un coltello, le unghie, i denti* – Eng. ‘to drive in a nail, a knife, fingernails, teeth’). The meaning of the third group of collocators significantly deviates from the primary meaning, but the metaphor remains active (e.g., Ita. *ammazzare il tempo, la noia, le ore* – Eng. ‘to kill time, boredom, hours’), whereas the meaning of the fourth group of collocators differs so greatly from the primary meaning that from a synchronic perspective, even native speakers can no longer discern the connection between meanings (e.g., Ita. *un numero verde* – Eng. ‘a toll-free number’, Eng. literally, ‘green number’; Ita. *una notte bianca* – Eng. ‘a sleepless night’, Eng. literally, ‘a white night’). The degree of metaphoricity, and consequently the degree of lexicalization, is highest in this last group of metaphorical collocations. As noted by Siller-Runggaldier (2011: 158), the degree of metaphoricity of the collocator influences the degree of semantic cohesion between components – the stronger the metaphoricity of the collocator, the greater the semantic cohesion and interconnection between the elements of the collocation. Patekar (2022) analyzes available studies, particularly those published in English, and synthesizes existing interpretations and definitions of the term metaphorical collocation. He finds that only a handful of authors have directly studied metaphorical collocations and, in this context, notes that some researchers point to the connection between a metaphorical collocation and a specific conceptual metaphor that motivated the transfer of meaning (Patekar 2022: 37), suggesting that this should be further investigated. Based on the analysis of studies employing the term metaphorical collocations, he concludes that metaphorical collocations are a recognized linguistic phenomenon, albeit a relatively recent one (most works have been published since 2010). Furthermore, he observes that most authors do not provide a definition, assuming the term is self-explanatory. Approximately half of the authors consider metaphorical collocations to be combinations of two words, one of which is used in a figurative sense (as explained by the aforementioned German linguists), while the other half includes both idioms and metaphorical collocations under the term (Patekar 2022: 42).

Previous research on metaphorical collocations, which forms the theoretical foundation for the MetaKol project, has indicated that collocations are dynamic lexical associations subject to modification. The collocator is semantically

reanalyzed in the event of a base change, thereby allowing for combinations with new bases. Furthermore, semantic cohesion among collocation elements is the result of specific cognitive processes, namely metaphorical and metonymic ones, while differences between languages are attributed to different conceptualizations and cognitive approaches to the same reality (Reder 2006b: 173; Konecny 2010a: 630; 2010c: 1217; 2010b: 133; Stojić and Košuta 2020: 153). Stojić and Košuta (2020: 153) associate the degree of lexicalization of metaphor with the level of semantic cohesion between the components of a collocational unit. They propose the hypothesis that a more faded metaphor results in stronger cohesion, which is why collocations, from a synchronic perspective, are considered semantically transparent word combinations. This observation also forms the basis of the MetaKol project hypothesis. To explain the motivation behind meaning change, many authors rely on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), believing that it provides a convincing explanation for semantic developmental processes that are often no longer evident from a synchronic perspective (Keglević Blažević 2022: 198). The following section will briefly introduce CMT in order to relate it to the objectives and hypotheses of the MetaKol project.

1.2. Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy

A turning point in the understanding of metaphor and metonymy occurred with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980, as metaphor was no longer viewed merely as a stylistic figure but as an integral part of our perception of the world. Metaphor is based on an objective similarity between two phenomena that have no direct connection in the extralinguistic world. The metaphorical shift in the meaning of a lexeme always moves from the concrete to the abstract, implying that abstract phenomena are understood through concrete experiences. Unlike metaphor, metonymy is based on referential proximity, as it relies on pre-existing relationships between phenomena in the extralinguistic world, as in the sentence Cro. *Dvorana je bila prepuna nepoznatih lica*. (Eng. 'The hall was full of unfamiliar faces.'), where the meaning of the noun Cro. *lice* (Eng. 'face') is metonymically conditioned, referring to people as a whole. However, metonymy can also function in the opposite direction, where the whole can be used to name one of its parts (Raffaelli 2015: 173–175). In most cases, linguistic metonymy is conventionalized and used unconsciously and automatically (Wachowski 2019: 29).

Metaphor and metonymy¹⁶ began to be systematically studied as part of cognitive linguistics, which examines cognitive mechanisms underlying human perception and understanding of the extralinguistic world. Since these processes shape our conceptual system, cognitive linguistics discusses conceptual metaphor. Conceptual metaphor involves two cognitive domains – the source domain and the target domain¹⁷, where understanding of the target domain is based on the

16 Metaphor connects similar elements that are linked paradigmatically, whereas metonymy connects proximate elements that are linked syntagmatically (Raffaelli 2015: 178).

17 As common and frequent source domains, Kövecses (2010: 18–27) lists the following: The

knowledge of the source domain and their mutual similarity. Raffaelli (2015: 178) illustrates this with the frequently occurring conceptual metaphors LOVE IS WAR and TIME IS MONEY, in which LOVE and WAR serve as source domains for understanding the target domains. Reder (2006b: 173) demonstrates the transfer of physically tangible properties to abstract concepts using the conceptual metaphor Ger. WÖRTER SIND BEHÄLTER (Eng. 'WORDS ARE CONTAINERS') through collocations such as Ger. *hohle Phrasen* (Eng. 'hollow phrases'), Ger. *offene Worte* (Eng. 'open words'), and Ger. *leeres Geschwätz* (Eng. 'empty chatter'), where attributes are not used in their literal meaning but rather in a metaphorical sense. The metaphor in these examples is based on the container concept. Reder (2006b: 173) also notes that certain concepts are not realized in the same way in all languages, and that speakers may not recognize the meanings of some words as metaphorical, even though metaphors are ubiquitous in language. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 14–15), the above examples illustrate structural metaphors. In addition to structural metaphors, the authors also distinguish orientational metaphors, which are based on the organization of conceptual systems and spatial orientation, such as up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral, as in the following examples: HAPPY IS UP – SAD IS DOWN, HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP – SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN AND MORE IS UP – LESS IS DOWN.

Across different languages, the same conceptual metaphors can be found for emotions such as happiness, time, and others. Kövecses (2015: 4) explains this either as coincidence, as the possibility that languages have borrowed these metaphors from one another, or as the existence of universal foundations upon which they emerge. Metaphorical cognition is grounded in the human body, in the situations in which people act and live their lives, in the discourses they participate in, and in the conceptual knowledge they have accumulated about the world through experience (Kövecses 2015: 200). The cognitive-linguistic approach places the human need for conceptualizing the environment at the center of all linguistic activity. However, since this environment changes with experience and external influences, concepts are regularly recombined, expanded, or even transformed (Glass 2019: 66). Fundamental cultural values correlate with fundamental concepts of a given culture, as they are deeply rooted within it – such as the social value judgment „more is better”, which aligns with the conceptual metaphors MORE IS UP and GOOD IS UP. However, the type and dominance of orientation depend on the culture itself (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 22–24). Furthermore, our experience with physical objects creates the foundation for ontological metaphors, which shape how we perceive events, activities, emotions, and ideas as entities or substances. For instance, the metaphor THE MIND IS A MACHINE explains expressions like *My mind just isn't operating today*. (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 25–27). The most

Human Body, Health and Illness, Animals, Plants, Buildings and Construction, Machines and Tools, Games and Sport, Money and Economic Transactions (Business), Cooking and Food, Heat and Cold, Light and Darkness, Forces, Movement and Direction. As common target domains, he identifies: Emotion, Desire, Morality, Thought, Society/Nation, Politics, Economy, Human Relationships, Communication, Time, Life and Death, Religion, and Events and Actions. Most source domains are concrete, whereas most target domains are abstract.

common ontological metaphor is personification, in which a physical object takes on human characteristics, as in *Inflation has attacked the foundation of our economy*. (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 33).

These theoretical considerations will be connected to the conceptual definition of metaphorical collocations and the attempt at their typology, which could help answer the still unresolved question regarding the idiosyncrasy of collocations – that is, why different languages exhibit variations in lexical selection within fixed word combinations, and whether these combinations are actually arbitrary. To determine whether these findings represent linguistic regularities leading to the formation of collocations, further comprehensive intra-linguistic and cross-linguistic studies are required. These are, in essence, the goals of the MetaKol project, which will be presented in the following section.

2. Description of the MetaKol Project – Objectives, Methods, Activities, and Results

The primary objective of the four-year scientific research project *Metaphorical Collocations – Syntagmatic Relations between Semantics and Pragmatics* (MetaKol)¹⁸, funded by the Croatian Science Foundation¹⁹, was to shed light on the processes of metaphorization in metaphorical collocations in order to gain insights into the formation of collocational bonds and their semantic and pragmatic characteristics. This, in turn, contributes to a better understanding of this complex phenomenon, as previous research on collocations has not fully addressed key questions regarding their nature.

The specific objectives relate to the different aspects of research, employing appropriate scientific approaches that include establishing theoretical foundations for the study of metaphorical collocations, creating an inventory of metaphorical collocations, analyzing metaphorical collocations from semantic and pragmatic perspectives, and drawing conclusions about the interaction between semantics and pragmatics in the domain of metaphorical collocations. Establishing the theoretical foundations for researching metaphorical collocations involved an analysis of available relevant literature as well as literature acquired within the project, alongside defining the methodology for creating an inventory of metaphorical collocations. The work on inventory composition included compiling a list of the most frequent nouns in the Croatian language, followed by equivalent lists of the most frequent nouns in German, English, and Italian. Collocational profiles of these nouns were then created, serving as the basis for inventories (lists) of metaphorical collocations in all examined languages.

18 All relevant information about the project, research team members, activities, and results is available on the project website: <https://metakol.uniri.hr/>.

19 After a rigorous review process, the project proposal was approved for a four-year funding at the end of 2020. The first project activities began in early 2021, and the project itself was completed in December 2024.

Collocational profiles of the most frequent nouns in all four languages were extracted from the Croatian web corpus *hrWaC*, the German web Corpus *deTenTen18* (later replaced by *deTenTen20*), the English web corpus *enTenTen20*, and the Italian web corpus *itTenTen20* using Sketch Engine tool (Kilgariff et al. 2014). These profiles were subsequently subjected to manual selection and evaluation from semantic and pragmatic perspectives (Keglević and Barić 2022: 15). The inventory compilation process for this research also included the development of a semi-automatic script for extracting metaphorical collocations from large online corpora and the identification of the most effective technique for automatic detection of metaphorical collocations. The analysis of metaphorical collocation lists focused on identifying semantic and idiosyncratic specificities, examining linguistic processes involved in the formation of metaphorical collocations, and clarifying the role of conceptual metaphors, which had been previously discussed in some studies on collocations (Konecny 2022: 20). Additionally, the study aimed to create descriptions of prototypical patterns of metaphorical collocations and develop a catalogue of criteria for the typology of metaphorical collocations.

The initial hypothesis of this research was that collocation formation processes are universal across all languages, but that the motivation behind meaning is often based on metaphorical meaning specific to individual languages. Over time, metaphorical meaning faded, thereby strengthening semantic cohesion among collocation components, which in turn increased restrictions in collocational pairing, leading to idiosyncrasy (Stojić et al. 2022b: 7; Konecny 2022: 19–20).

To verify and confirm this hypothesis, an extensive corpus-based study was planned. In general, collocational bonds can be determined by statistical and semantic-pragmatic approach. In applied research, the statistical approach involves corpus-based identification of co-occurrences, i.e., words that statistically co-occur above average frequency, typically within a maximum span of five positions. On the other hand, the semantic-pragmatic approach is based on identifying a meaningful relationship between both components, which goes beyond simple co-occurrence relations. Such semantically interdependent components of collocations can be identified through manual extraction, which is an extremely demanding and time-consuming process. Therefore, this research applied a combination of computational-linguistic and theoretical semantic-pragmatic approaches, using nouns as the most common component in collocational structures. The computational-linguistic approach involved exploring the possibility of combining association measures into complex models to enhance performance in metaphorical collocation extraction, while the semantic-pragmatic aspect provided deeper insight into the nature of collocational bonding and contributed to its clearer definition.

Members of the research team contributed in various ways to achieving the project's goals. The project leader, Prof. Dr. Aneta Stojić, from the Department of German Studies at the University of Rijeka, is an experienced linguist specializing in collocational research, and she collaborated closely with Assoc. Prof. Dr. Christine Konecny from the Institute of Romance Studies at the University of

Innsbruck. To carry out activities requiring corpus and computational linguistic approaches, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marija Brkić Bakarić and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lucia Načinović Prskalo from the Faculty of Informatics and Digital Technologies at the University of Rijeka were engaged. Activities requiring theoretical-semantic, corpus-linguistic, and applied linguistic approaches in Croatian language research were conducted by the project leader Prof. Dr. Aneta Stojić, with contributions from Asst. Prof. Dr. Nataša Košuta from the Department of German Studies, Prof. Dr. Mihaela Matešić from the Department of Croatian Studies at the University of Rijeka, and Dr. Jana Jurčević, a postdoctoral researcher employed in the third and fourth phases of the project. Research on collocations in German was primarily conducted by Ana Keglević Blažević, a doctoral student at the Ph.D. program in German Studies at the University of Maribor and a research assistant at the University of Osijek. Research on English collocations was carried out by Asst. Prof. Dr. Katja Dobrić Basanež from the Department of English Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Pula, Dr. Jana Jurčević, Asst. Prof. Dr. Jakob Patekar from RIT Croatia (Rochester Institute of Technology) in Zagreb, and Ph.D. candidate Iva Barić, a student of the Ph.D. program in Glottodidactics at the University of Zagreb. Collocations in Italian were examined by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Christine Konecny. In the later stages of the project, contrastive studies were conducted, leading to numerous interesting insights.

The MetaKol research project aimed to increase the visibility and accessibility of Croatian linguistic material in the field of (cognitive) semantic research, both within European and broader scientific discourse. This was achieved through: dissemination of research results via the publicly accessible project website through an interactive application²⁰, presentation of research findings at relevant national and prestigious international scientific conferences, including two conferences organized within the project and publication of scientific papers in renowned national and international scientific journals indexed in relevant databases (WoS/Scopus). A list of these publications is available on the project's website: <https://metakol.uniri.hr/radovi/>.

The conferences organized within the project hosted some of the leading global experts in phraseology and collocational research. Their primary objective was to bring together specialists for a constructive and collegial discussion on methodological and other challenges in identifying metaphorical collocations and achieving the project's goals. Both conferences were international and were held at

20 The development of the database available through the application is based on the results of the MetaKol research project. The application enables easy searching of metaphorical collocations by collocational base (noun) or collocator. The search results include: Collocational base (noun), Associated collocators, and Context in which they are used. All information is available in four languages: Croatian, English, German, and Italian. A cross-linguistic comparison feature allows users to explore semantic variations and cultural specificities in collocation formation across different languages. The purpose of the application is to provide insights into the nature of metaphorical collocational bonds, considering cognitive processes of metaphorical and metonymic mapping (<https://app-metakol.uniri.hr/>).

the Inter University Centre (IUC) Dubrovnik²¹. The first conference, *Metaphorische Kollokationen – Von der Theorie zur Praxis*, took place on September 22–23, 2022, in German, featuring 20 speakers and 16 presentations, including two plenary lectures delivered by esteemed experts Kathrin Steyer from the Leibniz Institute for the German Language in Mannheim, Germany, and Zita Hollós from Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Budapest, Hungary²². Two years later, on October 3–4, 2024, during the final year of the project, a second international scientific conference, *Collocations in the Light of Metaphors and Metonymies*, was held in both German and English to make the event more accessible to the broader scientific community. This second conference featured 52 speakers and 38 presentations, including two plenary lectures by renowned and internationally recognized scholars Zoltán Kövecses and Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij²³. The discussion primarily focused on the role of metaphorical and metonymic processes in the formation of metaphorical collocations, which serve as a basis for defining the typology of collocational bonds, a topic that will be elaborated later. The second conference also provided the research team with an opportunity to present a comprehensive summary of all acquired knowledge and research findings.

The practical implications of the research results on metaphorical collocations within the MetaKol project are considered highly relevant not only to the field of applied linguistics but also – when structured in a strictly systematic, machine-readable format – to various computational linguistics and natural language processing tasks. Moreover, the acquired insights, systematically described from semantic and pragmatic perspectives, hold significance for other linguistic disciplines, particularly lexicography, translation studies, language for specific purposes (LSP) research, and glottodidactics. The findings from research on metaphorical collocations in the four aforementioned languages will be explored in greater detail in the following sections, within a systematic overview of the scientific contributions of the project.

21 IUC Dubrovnik is an independent international institution for advanced studies, organized as a consortium of universities.

22 The abstracts of Kathrin Steyer's lecture titled *Was für eine glorreiche Idee! Zum Einfluss von Kotextmustern auf den Kollokationsstatus* and Zita Hollós' lecture titled *Von der Puppe zum Schmetterling: Digitale Metamorphose eines korpusgestützten Kollokationswörterbuchs auf den Kollokationsstatus* are available in the Book of Abstracts (Stojić et al. 2022a) at: https://metakol.uniri.hr/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Book-of-abstracts_Dubrovnik_5.9..pdf.

23 The abstracts of Zoltán Kövecses' lecture titled *Collocations in CMT* and Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij's lecture titled *Metaphor as a Conceptual Basis for the Motivation of Multiword Units* are available at: https://metakol.uniri.hr/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/The-Book-of-Abstracts_MetaCol-2024_FINAL.pdf.

3. Contribution to the Study of Metaphorical Collocations as a Result of the MetaKol Project

The studies resulting from the MetaKol project can be classified into several categories corresponding to the set objectives and expected outcomes of the project. Primarily, these categories include the methodology for compiling an inventory of metaphorical collocations, the semantic description of metaphorical collocations to identify conceptual metaphor and metonymy as productive patterns of collocational structuring, the features of metaphorical collocations in cross-linguistic comparison, and the criteria for the typology of metaphorical collocations. A special category includes studies focused on enhancing the performance of algorithms for the automatic and semi-automatic extraction of collocations from large online corpora, which will be addressed within the aforementioned categories.

3.1. Methodology for Compiling an Inventory of Metaphorical Collocations – Challenges and Solutions

The methodology for compiling an inventory of metaphorical collocations is extensively described in several studies by members of the research team (Stojić and Košuta 2021; Brkić Bakarić et al. 2022; Stojić and Košuta 2022; Keglević Blažević 2024; Konecny 2023; Patekar 2024), and it represents a complex and time-consuming process. One of the earliest studies on this topic (Stojić and Košuta 2021: 84–85) outlines the fundamental steps of research and explains the rationale for using corpus-based research in collocational studies, emphasizing the usefulness of computational tools such as Sketch Engine. Corpus-based research enables an overview of large collections of authentic texts, providing insights into statistically representative research results. By applying a corpus-driven approach, as defined by Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 63), the corpus serves to validate hypotheses, whose confirmation, according to Stojić and Košuta (2022: 14), could lead to new theoretical insights into the principles of collocational structuring and new theoretical findings regarding metaphorical collocations. Brkić Bakarić et al. (2022: 7) describe the technical challenges of automatic detection of metaphorical collocations in their study. They highlight the importance of compiling inventories of metaphorical collocations in different languages. Regarding the role of Sketch Engine in collocation research, its main advantage, as noted by Ćurčo (2010: 116), is its ability to extract collocators and bases across various grammatical relationships and to efficiently generate collocational profiles of words (Ćurčo 2010: 123). However, a limitation of the tool is that the application of different statistical measures generates long and largely redundant word lists. Consequently, this study employed the logDice statistical measure, which enables the identification of typicality (saliency)²⁴ in word combinations²⁵.

24 Saliency is a statistical measure that determines the significance of a given token within a specific context.

25 The logDice measure expresses the strength of cohesion between collocation components, while its frequency within the corpus is measured by the frequency metric (Stojić and Košuta 2022: 15). Ježek (2016: 203), for instance, emphasizes that salience, rather than frequency, is

Nevertheless, as noted by Keglević Blažević (2024: 230), a high logDice value for a word combination does not necessarily indicate a collocation. Corpus analysis was conducted using Sketch Engine on the aforementioned comparable corpora of Croatian (hrWaC)²⁶, German (deTenTen20), English (enTenTen20), and Italian (itTenTen20).

Based on the theoretical framework of collocations and Hausmann's model of collocational structuring, the research on metaphorical collocations focused on the base as the carrier of fundamental meaning and the most frequent nouns in the Croatian language. By querying the hrWaC corpus, the 100 most frequent nouns in the Croatian language were identified (Konecny 2023: 16). In the second step, a manual extraction process was conducted to eliminate nouns that are not productive in collocational structuring (Stojić and Košuta 2022: 15), resulting in a final list of 59 nouns (Konecny 2023: 17). Based on the list of the most frequent nouns in Croatian, equivalent noun lists were compiled for the other three languages. The final lists of nouns included in the study have been published on the project's website: <https://metakol.uniri.hr/popisi/>. Collocational profiles of the most frequent nouns were investigated through the Wordsketch function across all examined languages. In accordance with Hausmann's typology of collocational structures (Hausmann 1990: vi–vii), grammatical relations²⁷ (Word Sketch grammar) were selected for each language to be further analyzed. These base-collocator combinations consist of two autosemantic words that align with the definition of lexical collocations, making them relevant for further research²⁸. The Word Sketch tool also offers the ability to identify and display collocations based on the searched term or word type. A particularly useful feature is the concordance display, which presents the searched terms in their textual context, showing a specified number of positions to the left and right of the queried lexeme (Kilgariff et al. 2014).

Načinović Prskalo and Brkić Bakarić (2022: 110–111) trained models for the automatic recognition of metaphorical collocations based on linguistic descriptions of the noun Cro. godina (Eng. 'year') in different languages and the most productive patterns for forming metaphorical collocations (adjective + noun, verb + noun,

the defining feature of collocations. This is illustrated with the examples *heavy rain* and *pouring rain*. The first collocation is more frequent, but the adjective *heavy* can combine with a wide range of words, whereas *pouring* collocates with a limited set of words. This means that *pouring* has a higher saliency score, indicating that the tendency for *pouring* to co-occur with *rain* is stronger than for *heavy* to co-occur with *rain*. The saliency score accounts for this difference.

26 The hrWaC web corpus consists of texts from the internet and contains over 1.2 billion words (Ljubešić and Klubička 2014).

27 A grammatical relation (gramrel) refers to a column in the Word Sketch tool. Each column represents a category displaying collocations within the same morphosyntactic structure, i.e., combinations with the same relationship to the queried word, such as verb subjects or noun modifiers (Kilgariff et al. 2014).

28 Out of a total of 21 grammatical relations for the queried word Cro. *godina* (Eng. 'year'), nine were selected for further analysis (Stojić and Košuta 2022: 16).

and phrasal verbs in English). They employed four algorithms: Support Vector Machines (SVM), Multilayer Perceptron, C4.5, and Random Forest. The best results were achieved with Multilayer Perceptron for Croatian (accuracy: 75.29%), SVM for German (accuracy: 82.90%), and Random Forest for English (accuracy: 72.24%). It was observed that incorporating word embeddings significantly improved the results, but the findings are still considered preliminary, as they are based on a single noun. Future research steps include expanding the analysis to other nouns and experimenting with new measures and linguistic features to improve the accuracy of metaphorical collocation extraction.

In another study (Brkić Bakarić et al. 2023: 24) they emphasize that automatic extraction of metaphorical collocations presents a significant challenge due to their idiosyncratic nature. The authors provide a systematic review of the literature on collocation extraction and present existing methods, measures, and resources for automatic collocation extraction. The literature review is categorized into three approaches: statistical, hybrid, and distributional-semantic, with a dedicated section focusing on the Croatian language. The study highlights methods, tools, and resources that could be used in future research. The analysis indicates that, although there is a substantial body of research on automatic collocation extraction for languages such as English, none specifically addresses metaphorical collocations. Furthermore, the number of studies on automatic collocation extraction for Croatian is very limited, and there is no existing research on the extraction of metaphorical collocations. In conclusion, the authors define two key research questions relevant for future studies: Are there universal mechanisms in the formation of metaphorical collocations across different languages? and What is the most effective approach for automatic extraction of metaphorical collocations?.

Data obtained through the computational-linguistic approach result in a corpus-analytical identification of co-occurrences, i.e., words that statistically co-occur above average frequency, aligning with the broader concept of collocations. However, to determine the meaningful relationship between both elements of a collocation, which goes beyond mere co-occurrence, a theoretical-semantic approach must also be incorporated. The application of both approaches in research bridges broad and narrow definitions of collocations, leading to an adapted implementation of the so-called funnel method (Ger. 'Trichter-Methode') (Majoros 2013: 76)²⁹. Unlike the original method, which focuses on thematically

29 The funnel method (Ger. 'Trichter-Methode') is a process for analyzing figurative expressions in text corpora, combining automated and manual search techniques (Majoros 2013: 74–78). The first step involves selecting lexemes relevant to the field of analysis and conducting an automated search, which results in a list of collocations presented in context. In the second step, each context is manually analyzed to identify metaphorical expressions. The third step utilizes the identified metaphorical expressions for a new search, thereby expanding the set of relevant data. The fourth step focuses on determining the frequency of metaphorical expressions, aiming to identify which metaphorical expressions dominate the corpus. Finally, in the fifth step, data interpretation is conducted, linking the identified metaphorical expressions

relevant texts, this study starts with the most frequent bases in all four examined languages, for which collocational profiles are generated and then manually processed. Manual extraction of collocations identifies those with metaphorical meaning, forming an inventory of metaphorical collocations, which is subsequently subjected to semantic and pragmatic analysis. Stojić and Košuta (2022) provide a detailed description of the methodology for compiling an inventory of metaphorical collocations, using the noun Cro. *godina* (Eng. 'year') as a case study, as it is the most frequent noun in all four corpora. Their study outlines specific features related to individual grammatical relations, as well as limitations of the Sketch Engine tool. One of the key findings highlights the necessity of analyzing lemma usage in context to identify various semantic and pragmatic specificities relevant to describing collocational profiles of a given noun (Stojić and Košuta 2022: 21). Furthermore, they conclude that a detailed analysis of the collocational profiles of the noun Cro. *godina* (Eng. 'year') provided sufficient linguistic insights to determine the necessary steps for compiling an inventory of metaphorical collocations, despite the limitations of the applied tools (Word Sketch in Sketch Engine). Based on the grammatical relations generated by the system, the study determined which grammatical relations are relevant for compiling an inventory of metaphorical collocations for other frequent nouns in Croatian. These include: Cro. *kakav?* (Eng. 'what kind?'), Cro. *n-koga-čega* (Eng. 'genitive noun phrase'), Cro. *koga što* (Eng. 'accusative noun phrase'), Cro. *subjekt_od* (Eng. 'subject_of'), Cro. *particip* (Eng. 'participle'), and Cro. *biti_kakav?* (Eng. 'to be + adjective?') (Stojić and Košuta 2022: 26). These relations correspond to Hausmann's classification of collocations: (1) verb as collocator + noun as base in object function (*koga što* and *particip*), (2) adjective as collocator + noun as base (*kakav?*), (3) noun as base in subject function + verb as collocator (*subjekt_od*), and (4) noun as collocator + noun as base (*n-koga-čega*). The grammatical relation *biti_kakav?* can be linked to types (1), (2), and (3), while types (5) adverb as collocator + adjective as base and (6) adverb as collocator + verb as base were not represented in the grammatical relations further analyzed. The results of the conducted analysis also demonstrated that the most productive collocational combinations involve adjective as collocator + noun as base and verb as collocator + noun as base, realized through various morphosyntactic constructions (Stojić and Košuta 2022: 26).

For German, 18 grammatical categories were identified, some of which were excluded due to their irrelevance to the planned analysis or because they posed significant challenges in collocation extraction. Among these excluded categories were prepositional objects in the accusative, genitive, and dative, which follow the structure verb + preposition + noun (in accusative, genitive, or dative cases). Ultimately, the following relevant grammatical relations were established for German (Keglević Blažević 2024: 227–228): (1) *modifiers of x* (adjective + noun, e.g., Ger. *ein ernstes Problem* – Eng. 'a serious problem'), (2) *verbs with x as*

with their corresponding metaphorical concepts. Based on frequency values, it is determined which metaphors are of significant importance in conceptualization or how the metaphorical structure of the subject domain can be described.

subject (verb + noun as subject, e.g., Ger. *die Zeit drängt* – Eng. ‘time is pressing’); (3) *verbs with x as accusative object* (verb + noun in accusative, e.g., Ger. *eine Frage aufwerfen* – Eng. ‘to raise a question’), (4) *verbs with x as dative object* (verb + noun in dative, e.g., Ger. *einer Frage nachgehen* – Eng. ‘to pursue a question’), (5) *genitive objects of x* (noun + noun in genitive, e.g., Ger. *eine Zeit des Umbruchs* – Eng. ‘a time of upheaval’), and (6) *nouns with x as genitive object* (noun + noun as genitive object, e.g., Ger. *im Laufe der Zeit* – Eng. ‘in the course of time’). The analysis revealed that the same collocator frequently appears in different grammatical relations and that grammatical relations must be adapted to the specific noun in question. The results also confirmed that most extracted collocations and metaphorical collocations conform to the structures of adjective as collocator + noun as base and verb as collocator + noun as base, as previously demonstrated in earlier studies (Keglević Blažević 2024: 229), as well as in searches of Croatian and English corpora (Patekar 2024: 599). Keglević Blažević (2024: 229) highlights the necessity of contextual verification of system-generated word combinations, particularly in the case of separable verbs (Ger. ‘trennbare Verben’), which represent a peculiarity of German and are not recognized by the system. The same applies to triple collocations, as noted by Hausmann (2004: 316), which can only be detected through contextual examination. Keglević Blažević (2024: 233) asserts that fully automated extraction of metaphorical collocations through co-occurrence analysis is not feasible and concludes that manual verification of word combinations is essential. The identification process for metaphorical collocations can be summarized in three key steps: automated generation of collocational profiles, manual review and refinement of word lists, and semantic analysis of identified metaphorical collocations. For English, Patekar (2024: 600–605) analyzed a corpus of over 43 billion tokens (more than 36.5 billion words) derived from internet texts, focusing on the noun *day*, the fourth most frequent noun in the English corpus. He identified 28 grammatical relations, of which the most relevant were: *modifiers of ‘day’*, *verbs with ‘day’ as object*, *verbs with ‘day’ as subject*, and *verbs with particle X and ‘day’ as object*, a category specific to English. The first three categories align with grammatical relations already identified for Croatian and German. Patekar (2024: 607) concludes that phrasal verbs with the noun *day* as an object constitute a highly productive category of metaphorical collocations, as they clearly involve figurative meaning. His research indicates that the most productive phrasal verbs include those with the particles *up*, *out*, *off*, and *away*. Patekar (2024: 609) further defines six steps for compiling an inventory of metaphorical collocations in English: 1. selecting extraction tools and a representative English corpus, 2. using tools to extract collocations for a given word, 3. first round of manual analysis to exclude irrelevant categories (e.g., certain grammatical relations), 4. second round of manual analysis to identify metaphorical collocations, 5. identifying the conceptual metaphor underlying the metaphorical collocation, and 6. finalizing the inventory. Steps 4, 5, and 6, which pertain to the detection of metaphorical collocations during collocational profile analysis of selected frequent nouns, are presented in detail by Konecny (2023: 18). Beyond describing the manual processing procedure, Konecny outlines which information is included in the inventory of metaphorical collocations: assessing whether a word combination qualifies as a collocation

(qualitative assessment), marked as “1” (yes) or “0” (no), determining whether meaning transfer is metaphorical or metonymic, recorded using the same numeric notation, if the collocation is metaphorical or metonymic, its type is specified, providing an example of the collocation in context (e.g., a sentence or text excerpt from the corpus, including the source reference), verifying the presence of a conceptual metaphor or metonymy, which is then recorded in the dataset, and adding relevant notes, such as whether the collocator appears in different grammatical relations (gramrel), whether it is incorrectly tagged, or other pertinent observations. The collocational profiling approach also includes a contrastive aspect, comparing word combinations presumed to be metaphorical collocations with their equivalents in one or more other languages, which greatly aids their classification. All insights gained from the analysis of collocational profiles and the development of the metaphorical collocation inventory form an integral part of the systematized methodology for researching metaphorical collocations. This methodology serves as the foundation for their semantic and contrastive analysis from multiple perspectives, the results of which will be presented in the following sections.

3.2. Metaphorical Collocations from a Semantic and Contrastive Perspective

The published studies by members of the research team primarily focus on the semantic description of collocations, as this approach can provide insights into the existence of universal patterns in collocation formation and clarify the relationship between conceptual metaphor (and metonymy) in the creation of metaphorical collocations (Konecny 2023; Barić and Keglević Blažević 2024; Dobrić Basanež 2024a, 2024b, 2024c; Jurčević 2024; Keglević Blažević 2024; Košuta 2024; Stojić 2024; Stojić and Jurčević 2024; Stojić and Matešić 2024). The affiliation of collocations with a particular conceptual metaphor was determined using the *Master Metaphor List* (Lakoff et al. 1991).

Konecny (2023: 10), in her study on theoretical foundations and linguistic practices regarding metaphorical collocations, describes the current state of research and highlights the role of the diachronic perspective in tracing the chronology and different phases of metaphorical transfers of collocators to new conceptual fields. In the case of verbs as collocators, different extensions and modifications of semantic and pragmatic valency can also be identified. Consequently, analyzing the collocator rather than the base is essential for studying metaphorical collocations, as the meaning of the base is generally more stable. Therefore, the MetaKol project often considers the etymology of the collocator, particularly when it contributes to uncovering the metaphorical process underlying a given combination, which may no longer be transparent from a synchronic perspective.

Analyzing collocations with the base Cro. *godina* (Eng. ‘year’) and its equivalents in three other languages, Konecny (2023: 15) posits that metaphorical collocations are a highly complex phenomenon that can manifest in various forms and degrees of metaphorization and transparency. Peripheral metaphorical collocations may overlap with other categories, unlike core representatives of

the group. Furthermore, metonymy plays a role in collocations, albeit to a lesser extent, and should be included in the analysis to assess its importance relative to metaphorical collocations. The preliminary conclusions drawn from the analysis of collocational profiles of various nouns include the following (Konecny 2023: 19–23): (1) general (generic) nouns such as Ita. *uomo* (in the sense of *essere umano* Eng. ‘human being’), *persona* (Eng. ‘person’), and *cosa* (Eng. ‘thing’) rarely form metaphorical collocations compared to more specific nouns, a trend observed in all analyzed languages (Croatian, German, and English), (2) just as individual lexical units can have multiple meanings, certain word combinations may also carry multiple meanings, which may be idiomatic, freely combined, or genuinely collocational, (3) morphosyntactic variations, such as singular vs. plural usage of nouns, can influence the semantic interpretation of collocations, (4) in cases where an inanimate noun (e.g., Ita. *tempo* – Eng. ‘time’) appears as a subject with a verb typically associated with animate entities (e.g., Ita. *dire* – Eng. ‘say’), personification occurs, (5) collocators can disambiguate polysemous bases, and (6) collocators can trigger a semantic reinterpretation of a noun (base), as in the example Ita. *eterno bambino* (Eng. ‘eternal child’), where Ita. *bambino* (Eng. ‘child’) does not denote a literal child but an adult behaving childishly, while Ital. *eterno* (Eng. ‘eternal’) does not mean infinitely lasting but rather emphasizes the persistence of a certain behavior. These preliminary results highlight the complexity of (metaphorical) collocations, their polysemy, and the role of morphosyntactic factors in meaning determination.

An analysis of collocational patterns of the selected nouns in the corpus revealed that the meaning of the base plays a crucial role in generating metaphorical collocations. Therefore, the nouns were categorized according to their lexical-semantic field, followed by semantic analysis. The primary aim was to examine the role of the base in metaphorical and/or metonymic processes and the hypothesis that meaning transfers in nouns from the same or similar semantic field rely on one or more conceptual metaphors. This approach is described in several studies (Barić and Keglević Blažević 2024; Košuta 2024; Stojić 2024; Stojić and Jurčević 2024; Stojić and Matešić 2024).

Barić and Keglević Blažević (2024) tested these assumptions on metaphorical collocations with the bases Ger. *Zahl* (Eng. ‘number’) and Ger. *Nummer* (Eng. ‘number’), comparing them with their English and Croatian equivalents. Their semantic analysis confirms the initial hypothesis that metaphorical collocations belonging to the same semantic field are based on specific conceptual metaphors. Supporting the notion that metaphorical collocations originate from conceptual metaphors, the study also finds that similar metaphORIZATION processes occur across all three languages, driven by common conceptual metaphors. The dominant conceptual metaphors identified are: AMOUNT IS A PHYSICAL PROPERTY, AMOUNT IS SIZE, AND AMOUNT IS VERTICALITY. These findings indicate that the analyzed bases are conceptualized as entities or objects (Barić and Keglević Blažević 2024: 199–201). Furthermore, this study demonstrates that the meaning of the base plays a key role in forming metaphorical collocations, with abstract nouns such as *number* generating a high number of metaphorical collocations. In

contrast, bases from other (concrete) semantic fields, such as *people* and *space*, exhibit fewer metaphorical collocations. The cross-linguistic comparison reveals similar patterns across different languages, suggesting the existence of universal cognitive mechanisms (Barić and Keglavić Blažević 2024: 203), which supports the initial hypothesis of the MetaKol project.

Košuta (2024) analyzes metaphorical collocations in the Croatian language using nouns that denote action, such as Cro. *igra* (Eng. 'game'), Cro. *rad* (Eng. 'work'), Cro. *razvoj* (Eng. 'development'), Cro. *rezultat* (Eng. 'result'), and Cro. *utakmica* (Eng. 'match'). These nouns do not belong to the same lexical-semantic field but represent abstract categories expressing events, actions, and processes, often implying a temporal trajectory or endpoint, as in the case of the noun Cro. *rezultat* (Eng. 'result') (Košuta 2024: 171). One of the main objectives was to examine whether these nouns can be categorized according to the conceptual metaphors established for nouns belonging to the semantic field of "time"³⁰ and to determine whether the type of noun plays a role in conceptualization. The study confirmed connections with nearly all conceptual metaphor categories identified for the semantic field of "time" and further established the following conceptual metaphors: GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN, GOOD IS FORWARD, COMPETITIVENESS IS WAR, ARGUMENTATION IS WAR, COMPETITIVENESS IS A RACE, ACTION IS A MACHINE, ACTION IS A BUILDING, ACTIVE IS ALIVE, INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT, WORK IS A PLANT, AND DEVELOPMENT IS A BEING. These were subjected to further analysis, but the identified conceptual metaphors are characteristic only for specific nouns and their collocational partners. For example, in the metaphorical collocation Cro. *gušiti razvoj* (Eng. 'to stifle development'), the interaction between the base and the collocator is reciprocal rather than unidirectional. The collocation enables the verb Cro. *gušiti* (Eng. 'to stifle') to establish a connection with the concept of BEING, thereby attributing human and/or animal characteristics to the noun Cro. *razvoj* (Eng. 'development'). Based on the analyzed examples, the author draws the following conclusions regarding the role of the collocator: (1) the same collocator can have different meanings when combined with the same base, (2) the same collocator can have the same meaning when combined with different bases, (3) different collocators can have the same meaning when combined with the same base, and (4) different meanings of collocations composed of the same elements are distinguished by context (Košuta 2024: 176).

Metaphorical collocations from the semantic field of "time", with bases such as Cro. *godina* (Eng. 'year'), Cro. *dan* (Eng. 'day'), Cro. *vrijeme* (Eng. 'time'), Cro. *sat* (Eng. 'hour'), Cro. *mjesec* (Eng. 'month'), and Cro. *tjedan* (Eng. 'week'), have been comprehensively examined in the scientific monograph by the project leader (Stojić 2024). This monograph contains a list of metaphorical collocations from the semantic field of "time", categorized by their corresponding conceptual metaphors³¹, along with 1,182 examples of their usage in context, representing a

30 For a detailed analysis, see Stojić (2024).

31 The following conceptual metaphors have been identified: TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, TIME IS A JOURNEY, SPATIAL PROXIMITY IS TEMPORAL

valuable contribution to metaphorical collocation research (Stojić 2024: 155–209). The author concludes that a corpus-driven approach to analyzing collocational patterns within the semantic field of “time” has confirmed the initial hypothesis that conceptual metaphors and metonymies play a crucial role in constructing the meaning of metaphorical collocations. Furthermore, conceptual metonymy emerges as a strong cognitive and linguistic mechanism in shaping terminology. The author asserts that conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy constitute productive patterns of collocational structuring when it comes to metaphorical collocations.

Stojić and Jurčević (2024) describe the conceptualization of social units at micro-, meso-, and macro-levels, examining abstract concepts representing different levels of social reality and metaphorical collocations with nouns such as Cro. *osoba* (Eng. ‘person’, individual level), Cro. *obitelj* (Eng. ‘family’, group level), and Cro. *narod* (Eng. ‘nation’, community level). Their analysis concludes that conceptual metaphor and metonymy are key and highly productive mechanisms in collocational structuring, particularly for bases representing concepts at the meso- and macro-levels. However, differences were identified in the productivity and nature of metaphorical and metonymic transfers. The noun Cro. *osoba* (Eng. ‘person’) was found to be the least productive base in forming metaphorical and/or metonymic meanings due to its reference to a social unit at the micro-level, thus limiting its potential for metaphorical and metonymic transfers. Conversely, Cro. *obitelj* (Eng. ‘family’) and Cro. *narod* (Eng. ‘nation’), which represent groups and social institutions, frequently undergo metonymic shifts and personification. Additionally, patterns of integrated metaphonymy (a combination of metonymy and metaphor) were identified, particularly in collocations with Cro. *narod* (Eng. ‘nation’) and Cro. *obitelj* (Eng. ‘family’) (Stojić and Jurčević 2024: 28).

Dobrić Basaneže (2024a) analyzes metaphorical collocations with the base *market* in English, focusing on the following grammatical relations: *modifiers of x*, *adjective predicates of x*, *verbs with x as object*, and *verbs with x as subject*. The study concludes that economic processes are often described using terms commonly associated with machine operation (e.g., *the market crashes*) or with the growth and development of living beings (e.g., *the market grows*). However, the author observes that such mappings are less frequent than newer images depicting price increases. The study also highlights that investigating historical context, specialized knowledge, and the etymology of the collocator reveals that meaning is a dynamic process. A metaphorical collocation, especially when there

PROXIMITY, TIME IS A LANDSCAPE AND WE MOVE THROUGH IT, TIME CAN BE MEASURED, TIME IS A REPEATING SEQUENCE, TIME IS A DIVISIBLE WHOLE, TIME IS POSSESSION, TIME HAS OBJECT-LIKE PROPERTIES, TIME HAS THE DIMENSIONS OF AN OBJECT, A SCALE IS A PROPERTY, TIME IS PERCEIVED THROUGH THE SENSES, TIME IS A CONTAINER, TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY, TIME IS A LIQUID, TIME HAS FEELINGS, TIME HAS QUALITIES, TIME IS AN AGENT, TIME IS AN EVENT DEFINED BY CIRCUMSTANCES, TIME IS A PRECISELY DEFINED PERIOD WITHIN A NOMENCLATURE, TIME IS A DISTINCT EVENT, TIME IS AN EVENT DEFINED BY METEOROLOGICAL CONDITIONS, TIME IS A PERIOD WITHIN A DAY, AND TIME IS AN EVENT THAT STANDS OUT WITHIN A SPECIFIC TIME PERIOD.

is no consensus on its origin, can belong to multiple metaphorical mappings rather than just one. The author concludes that corpus-based research shows that one metaphorical image can be more dominant than another (e.g., AMOUNT IS VERTICALITY compared to COMPETITION IS WAR in collocations such as *bear* and *bull markets*). She proposes establishing a network of metaphorical mappings, moving from specific to general, to facilitate a systematic approach to classifying metaphorical collocations of other nouns in the same or similar categories (e.g., *law or state*), which, like *market*, function as social institutions (Dobrić Basanež 2024a: 44).

Dobrić Basanež (2024b) analyzed metaphorical collocations from a contrastive corpus perspective with the bases Eng. *law* in enTenTen20, Ger. *Gesetz* in deTenTen20, and Cro. *zakon* in hrWaC 2.2, focusing on the grammatical relations *verbs with x as subject* and *verbs with x as object*, which correspond to the grammatical relations *subjekt_od* and *koga što?* in Croatian, with the additional category *verbs with x as (dative) object* for German. The metaphorical collocations were classified according to conceptual metaphors from the *Master Metaphor List* (Lakoff et al. 1991) and MetaNet. If conceptual mappings were not available in either source, the author formulated new conceptual metaphors. The contrastive analysis revealed that most collocates in the three corpora, representing close equivalents, belong to the same conceptual metaphor. It was found that most collocates align with the conceptualization of laws as physical restraints (LAWS ARE PHYSICAL RESTRAINTS), suggesting that laws indeed function as obstacles to individual action. Furthermore, laws tend to govern human behavior and are therefore attributed a higher status. They are also perceived as living beings and possessions. At times, they are conceptualized as containers that can be modified and shaped and as physical structures that need support. Their enactment is structured as movement along a path, while breaking laws slows down movement, disrupts their functionality, or even ‘wounds’ them, personifying laws as military opponents. Additionally, the enactment of laws is often framed in terms of speech acts. However, their creation is never impulsive; it follows careful planning and must align with existing laws. Ultimately, once enacted, laws are perceived as valuable entities capable of solving citizens’ problems (Dobrić Basanež 2024b: 231). The analysis also demonstrated that some metaphorical collocations were not detected in all examined languages (e.g., LEGAL FORCE IS A VALUE and LAWS ARE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS, which were absent from the English corpus). The results confirmed the initial hypothesis that metaphorical collocations are grounded in culturally universal conceptual metaphors. Despite differences between legal systems, the universal role of law is primarily to structure citizens’ behavior and function as a type of physical constraint. The author concludes that, although collocations are often perceived as arbitrary combinations of words, contrastive analysis suggests that conceptual metaphors in specialized (legal) phraseology overlap (Dobrić Basanež 2024b: 235). A similar conclusion was drawn from an investigation of metaphorical collocations with the bases Eng. *right* and Cro. *pravo* in English and Croatian web corpora, focusing on the grammatical relations: *modifiers of x*, *adjective predicates of x*, *verbs with x as object*, *verbs with x as subject*, and *possessors of x*, which correspond to *kakav?*,

biti kakav?, *particip*, *subjekt_od*, *objekt_od*, and *n-koga čega* in Croatian (Dobrić Basanež 2024c). The study suggests that law is inherently metaphorical, despite the common assumption that legal language aims for objectivity. In both English and Croatian legal discourse, rights are perceived as possessions (RIGHTS ARE POSSESSIONS). In the English corpus, rights are conceptualized as something that cannot be taken away from an individual (e.g., *inalienable/inherent/indispensable rights*), whereas in Croatian, legal guarantees prevent the removal of rights (e.g., *zajamčeno/zagarantirano pravo; uzimati/oduzeti pravo*). Both corpora also contain metaphorical collocations that conceptualize rights as monetary assets. Another dominant metaphor in both languages is the idea that gaining and maintaining rights is fighting a war (GAINING AND MAINTAINING RIGHTS IS FIGHTING A WAR), which accounts for numerous collocations. The contrastive analysis indicates that Croatian and English legal cultures generally conceptualize legal notions similarly, as reflected in the overlapping conceptual mappings. Additionally, the findings suggest that both nouns (Eng. *right* and Cro. *pravo*) frequently collocate with words referring to events (EVENT STRUCTURE), further supporting the idea that their conceptual underpinnings are largely parallel (Dobrić Basanež 2024c: 181).

A specific conceptual mapping was also explored in a study on lexical synesthesia in metaphorical collocations, focusing on gustatory adjectives in English, such as *sweet voices*, *sour scents*, *spicy undertones* (Jurčević 2024). Lexical synesthesia in this study is perceived as an independent linguistic process, distinct from neurological synesthesia, but heavily reliant on metonymization due to the embodied nature of language. The main goal of the study was to demonstrate how the human mind uses metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of sensory perception and why they manifest as metaphorical collocations on the lexical level. The analysis focused on adjectives such as *sweet*, *sour*, *salty*, *bitter*, *hot*, and *fresh*, and confirmed three hypotheses: (1) Metaphorical collocations are the preferred lexical manifestation of lexical synesthesia and are based on metaphorical and metonymic mappings; (2) Metaphorical collocations enabled by cross-modal mapping originate from metonymy and are subsequently schematized into primary or correlation metaphors, shaped by embodied experiences, and (3) Collocational patterns in lexical synesthesia demonstrate the highest degree of semantic cohesion when forming idioms (e.g., *fresh start*, which does not allow substitution with *new*, as in *new start*). Furthermore, gustatory adjectives possess highly restricted collocational ranges but compensate for this limitation through cross-modal mapping, which strengthens semantic cohesion between collocational constituents (Jurčević 2024: 77).

While previous observations primarily focused on the semantic role of collocators in determining the meaning of the base, a study conducted by Stojić and Matešić (2024) shifts attention to the behavior of the collocator when appearing with a polysemous and abstract base that has undergone metaphorization, such as the Croatian noun *prilika* (Eng. 'opportunity'). The aim was to investigate how the metaphorical meaning of an abstract base affects semantic cohesion and the relationships within the collocation. The analysis identified several synsemantic collocators (e.g., Cro. *svaka* – Eng. 'every', Cro. *mnoge* – Eng. 'many', and Cro.

sav – Eng. ‘all’), which serve grammatical functions. Although collocations typically consist of two autosemantic words, the authors consider these combinations metaphorical collocations because they are grounded in the conceptual metaphor OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT. When the given collocators appear alongside the noun Cro. *prilika*, they exhibit specific semantic and morphological constraints, similar to lexical bonding (Stojić and Matešić 2024: 64). The noun Cro. *prilika*, as a direct object, is associated with two primary meanings: Cro. *šansa* (Eng. ‘chance’) and Cro. *okolnost* (Eng. ‘circumstance’), with the meaning of Cro. *šansa* predominating. This implies that Cro. *prilika*, in combination with verbs, is more frequently conceptualized as *opportunity* or *possibility*, rather than as *circumstance* (Stojić and Matešić 2024: 69). The personification of the noun Cro. *prilika* is enabled by the conceptual metaphor OPPORTUNITY IS A FORCE, which allows the abstract noun Cro. *prilika* to be linked with verbs denoting actions, even when it would not normally be semantically compatible with them (Stojić and Matešić 2024: 70). The authors (Stojić and Matešić 2024: 71) further establish that the noun Cro. *prilika* in the genitive case, when combined with another noun as an attribute, provides valuable insight into the diversity of collocates and their semantic functions. Specifically, metaphorization extends the meaning of nominalized verbs, enabling nuanced expressions, while metonymy facilitates the representation of complex concepts through associative relationships. In conclusion, it is emphasized that morphological and syntactic fossilization, influenced by number, case, and morphosyntactic constraints, strengthens the bond between the collocator and the base. Processes such as the reduction to *singulare tantum* or *plurale tantum* contribute to the stability of collocations. The analysis identified five key functions of collocators in collocations with the word Cro. *prilika*: the conceptualization of an abstract noun as a concrete object, decomposition for the purpose of meaning refinement or terminological precision, anthropocentric evaluation of the abstract noun, personification of the abstract noun, and indefinite quantification (Stojić and Matešić 2024: 73).

The results of all conducted analyses have been consolidated in a study focusing on the criteria for the typology of collocational bonds (Stojić and Konecny 2024), together with the criteria for the automatic identification of metaphorical collocations from large online corpora (Načinović Prskalo and Brkić Bakarić in press), the conclusions of which will be presented in the following section.

3.3. Criteria for Identifying and Classifying Metaphorical Collocations

The study carried out by Načinović Prskalo and Brkić Bakarić (in press) offers a computational linguistics perspective on the key criteria necessary for the effective identification of metaphorical collocations. In their paper *Fine-tuning BERT for the Task of Metaphorical Collocations Identification*, the authors explain how they fine-tune BERT³²-based models – specifically mBERT and BERTiC – to identify

32 Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers (BERT) is a transformer-based language model that has become a standard in Natural Language Processing (NLP) due to its ability to efficiently process large amounts of text and extract deeper semantic features

metaphorical collocations in the Croatian language, treating the task as a token classification problem. For the purposes of the study the hrWaC corpus was used, with collocation profiles of 59 frequent nouns extracted and manually annotated to create training and test datasets. The fine-tuned models performed well and achieved high accuracy (97.4% for BERTiC and 96.8% for mBERT). However, the initial F1 score was moderate (0.586) due to inconsistencies in the annotation. After an error analysis and a revision of the labeling, the F1 score improved significantly to 0.84, demonstrating the importance of high-quality labeled data. The study plans to extend the model to other languages (English, German, Italian) and refine the training to improve the recognition of metaphorical collocations in different languages.

Stojić and Konecny (2024), based on existing literature on collocations and comparative linguistic analysis, explain the concept of metaphorical collocations and the methodology for identifying them (previously described in this study as part of the methodology for compiling inventories of metaphorical collocations). Building upon these foundations, they establish criteria for identifying metaphorical collocations and propose their classification into subtypes.

The criteria for identifying metaphorical collocations include: (1) Congruence with conceptual metaphors and cognitive plausibility, (2) Inclusion of metonymic aspects, (3) Semantic modification, (4) Deviation from linguistic conventions, (5) Consistency in use, (6) Frequency of use, and (7) Contextual adaptation and possible polysemy of collocations. According to these criteria, a collocation is considered metaphorical if it can be mapped onto an overarching conceptual metaphor, such as ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE. Metonymy often plays a significant role in forming metaphorical collocations, frequently in combination with metaphor. Examples from different languages illustrate how metonymic shifts influence the meaning of collocations. Corpus analysis should therefore examine whether metonymic processes affect the base or the collocator and how they interact with metaphorical shifts. To classify a collocation as metaphorical, it is necessary to analyze the semantic change of the collocator within the collocation compared to its primary meaning. If a semantic shift occurs, the collocation acquires a metaphorical meaning, which can be determined by comparing the contextual and primary meanings of the word. One characteristic of metaphorical collocations is their unusual word combinations that violate selectional restrictions of the language, making the metaphor salient. For example, phrases such as *to kill the time* or *time flies by* use verbs in unexpected contexts. Metaphorical collocations often recur in similar contexts, indicating their stability in language. If a particular collocation appears with multiple bases within the same semantic field, the likelihood of its metaphorical nature increases. Although frequency alone is not a decisive factor, high frequency and typicality can indicate a collocation's recognizability as a metaphorical unit. Corpus analysis provides a more precise determination of such relationships. Additionally, metaphorical collocations can exhibit polysemy depending on the context. For example, the expression Cro. *radno vrijeme* (Eng.

‘working hours’) can refer to a person’s work schedule, a store’s opening hours, or medical consultation hours, depending on the context. Combining these criteria enables a comprehensive assessment of metaphorically and/or metonymically motivated collocations, providing a robust framework for their analysis across different languages. Based on qualitative, manual analysis of collocational profiles of the most frequent nouns in the four examined languages (Croatian, German, English, and Italian), and following the preliminary typology proposed by Konecny (2023: 24–30), nine subtypes of metaphorical and metonymic collocations were identified, depending on the underlying semantic-cognitive process: (1) Metaphorical collocations (e.g., Cro. *vrijeme odmiče*, Ger. *die Zeit schreitet voran*, Eng. *time marches on*, and Ita. *il tempo avanza*), (2) Metonymic collocations (e.g., Cro. *mudre riječi*, Ger. *weise Worte*, Eng. *wise words*, and Ita. *parole sagge*), (3) Metaphonymic collocations (a blend of metaphor and metonymy e.g., Cro. *čitati vrijeme*, Ger. *die Zeit (von der Uhr) ablesen*, Eng. *read the time*, and Ita. *leggere l’orario/l’ora*), (4) Collocations containing a faded metaphor (e.g., Cro. *prošli tjedan*, Ger. *vergangene Woche*, and Ita. *settimana scorsa*, Eng. *last week*), (5) Collocations containing a faded metonymy (e.g., Cro. *posvojiti dijete*, Ger. *ein Kind adoptieren*, Eng. *adopt a child* and Ita. *adottare un bambino*), (6) Collocations containing a faded metaphonymy (e.g., Eng. *conceive a child*, and Ita. *concepire un bambino*), (7) Metaphorical collocations in terminology (e.g., Eng. *twin city*, and Ita. *città gemellata*), (8) Metonymic collocations in terminology (e.g., Cro. *beba na zadak*, Eng. *breech child/breech baby*, and Ita. *bambino podalico*), and (9) Metaphonymic collocations in terminology (e.g., Ita. *stringere i tempi*) (Stojić and Konecny 2024: 85–94).

The authors conclude that collocations are not arbitrary combinations but are motivated by linguistic, cognitive, historical, and socio-cultural factors, as confirmed by their analyses across the four languages. Furthermore, collocations appear idiosyncratic only from an interlingual perspective, when the specific features of each language are considered. Despite differences in specific verbalizations, shared patterns in metaphorical conceptualization suggest the existence of linguistic universals or at least common cognitive patterns that transcend individual languages.

The proposed typology demonstrates that meaning transfer involves regular patterns and that, in addition to metaphors, metonymic elements also play a crucial role. The authors (Stojić and Konecny 2024: 94) conclude that the proposed criteria and typology enhance systematic research on metaphorical collocations and emphasize the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach in future studies.

4. Concluding Reflections

The results of the MetaKol project represent a significant contribution to the understanding of metaphorical collocations, as well as to the theoretical and methodological foundation of this linguistic phenomenon.

Through a systematic research methodology, combining corpus-based, semantic,

pragmatic, and contrastive analysis, the research team has provided empirical evidence supporting the existence of universal patterns in the formation of metaphorical collocations, grounded in conceptual metaphor and metonymy, while also highlighting culture-specific similarities and differences across languages.

For example, legal terminology in Croatian, German, and English exhibits culture-specific metaphors, based on distinct social and legal concepts. Studies have shown that certain metaphorical images, such as *LAWS ARE PHYSICAL RESTRAINTS*, are universally present across languages, whereas others are shaped by legal systems and societal norms.

The role of both collocators and bases has emerged as crucial in understanding metaphorical collocations. A particularly valuable insight into metaphorical processes is provided by the etymological analysis of collocators, as some collocators have undergone diachronic changes that are no longer evident in synchrony but explain the development of specific metaphorical collocations.

The conducted studies confirm that metaphor and metonymy play a fundamental role in collocation formation, demonstrating that the same semantic field can be structured by specific conceptual metaphors, with similar metaphorization processes identified across languages.

A key contribution of the MetaKol project to metaphorical collocation research lies in the establishment of criteria for the identification and classification of metaphorical collocations.

Since automated tools have not yet reached the precision needed to differentiate idiomatic, metaphorical, and free word combinations, manual verification remains essential. Future research should focus on refining automatic extraction methods and further analyzing semantic and pragmatic factors influencing the emergence and development of metaphorical collocations across languages.

Finally, the dissemination of results through scientific conferences and publications has significantly contributed to the visibility of the research. The organized international conferences brought together leading scholars in phraseology and semantics, while the published studies in internationally recognized journals facilitated ongoing scientific discourse on metaphorical collocations, thereby establishing a solid foundation for further research and practical applications across various linguistic disciplines.

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Putovanje kroz projekt MetaKol: Uvidi u proučavanje metaforičkih kolokacija

Svrha je ovoga rada dati uvid u istraživanja metaforičkih kolokacija u okviru projekta *Metaforičke kolokacije u hrvatskome jeziku – sintagmatske sveze između semantike i pragmatike (MetaKol)* koji je financirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost (IP-2020-02-6319).

Metaforičke se kolokacije smatraju posebnom semantičkom podskupinom leksičkih kolokacija sastavljenih od minimalno dvaju leksema u kojima se jedna sastavnica rabi u prenesenome značenju. Dosadašnja istraživanja kolokacija pokazuju kako iz sinkronijske perspektive kolokacijsku svezu percipiramo kao uobičajenu i zadanu svezu riječi zbog semantičke kohezivnosti među njezinim sastavnicama i selekcijskih ograničenja u kolokacijskome slaganju. Novija istraživanja u tom području ukazuju na to kako postoji povezanost između stupnja semantičke kohezivnosti među sastavnicama i prijenosa značenja jedne od sastavnica sveze te upućuju na to kako se uz pomoć teorije konceptualne metafore može steći uvid u obrasce na kojima počiva kolokiranje. Upravo se navedeno istraživalo gore spomenutim projektom.

U ovome se radu stoga daje pregled postignuća u okviru projekta *MetaKol* s osobitim obzirom na rezultate predstavljene u okviru 20-ak znanstvenih radova proizašlih iz projekta. Cilj je ovoga rada kategorizirati nove spoznaje o metaforičkim kolokacijama u skladu ciljevima definiranim u sklopu projekta te ih smjestiti u kontekst dosadašnjih istraživanja o kolokacijama. Riječ je o sljedećim kategorijama: izrada inventara metaforičkih kolokacija na temelju korpusnog istraživanja, opis metaforičkih kolokacija s leksičko-semantičkog, pragmatičkog i kontrastivnog aspekta te popis kriterija za tipologiziranje metaforičkih kolokacija.

Ključne riječi: kolokacije, metaforičke kolokacije, korpusno istraživanje, leksičko-semantički aspekt, pragmatički aspekt, kontrastivni aspekt, konceptualizacija

Burning and Threatening Waves – Collocations of the Pandemic in Croatian Media Discourse

Ksenija Benčina
Ivana Moritz

During the coronavirus pandemic, media discourse played a crucial role in shaping public perceptions and the understanding of crisis. One of the prominent features of this discourse was the use of figurative language and collocations to convey complex ideas and capture the attention of the public. Apart from common collocations such as *spread the virus* or *contain the outbreak*, the media in Croatia employed a range of creative collocations to represent the pandemic. Some examples include *burning waves*, which evokes the notion of uncontrollable and rapid transmission, and *tails of waves*, suggesting the enduring effects and consequences of the pandemic. This chapter aims to record and analyse figurative collocations containing the lexeme *val* 'wave' used in the Croatian media during the pandemic. The research focuses on the creative use of the mentioned collocations in the discourse surrounding the pandemic and examines their impact on public understanding from a cognitive linguistics perspective. The corpus consists of newspaper articles from the online editions of *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list* published from March 1, 2020 to March 1, 2021.

Keywords: *val*, COVID-19, collocations, metaphor, framing.

1. Introduction

The coronavirus pandemic has considerably shaped global media discourse, creating a unique lexicon to describe the crisis. Media outlets shared vital information and influenced public perceptions through strategic use of metaphors, collocations, and figurative expressions in order to express urgency and concern (Charteris-Black 2021; Semino 2021).

Media coverage changed drastically during the COVID-19 pandemic as the press struggled to make complex scientific information engaging and accessible to the public. Media portrayals of concepts like *social distancing* significantly impacted public understanding and response to the pandemic, according to Nerlich and Jaspal (2021). Their UK media discourse study emphasises the significance of metaphorical language in crisis communication, framing new social practices and public health measures.

War metaphors are common in pandemic discourse. Flusberg et al. (2018) found that war metaphors are also common in public discourse in general, particularly

when discussing complex social issues. During the COVID-19 pandemic, terms like *battling the virus* and *frontline workers* became common, stressing urgency and solidarity (Charteris-Black 2021). Other metaphors like *tsunamis* (Semino 2021) and *waves* (Benčina 2023) compared the virus spread to natural disasters, highlighting its unpredictability and overwhelming nature.

In Croatian media, as in many other countries, metaphorical language has been prevalent in describing the pandemic. The Croatian press used diverse metaphorical expressions drawing from the source domains of natural disasters, sports, personification, etc. However, research indicates that the COVID-19 pandemic was mainly depicted as *borba protiv virusa* ‘fight against the virus’ (Štrkalj Despot and Ostroški Anić 2021; Pavić Pintarić 2022) aligning with war metaphors found in other countries. Certain culturally specific collocations also emerged, reflecting local values and concerns. For instance, references to *nacionalna sigurnost* ‘national security’ and *zdravstveni sustav na rubu* ‘healthcare system on the edge’ emphasised the stress on public services and the fear of system collapse (Benčina 2023).

This chapter explores the creative figurative expressions, particularly collocations containing the noun *val* ‘wave’, used in media discourse about the COVID-19 pandemic in Croatian as well as the cognitive mechanisms behind these expressions and their impact on public understanding, emotions, and behaviour. Metaphorical framing, especially through natural disaster metaphors, plays a key role in public health communication. It can simplify scientific concepts, shape moral perspectives, and influence policy decisions as well as public engagement during various stages of a crisis, which will also be addressed in the chapter.

2. Collocations

2.1. Definition and Characteristics of Collocations

Collocations refer to word combinations that commonly appear together, acting as standard partnerships within a language. This is a prevalent linguistic phenomenon in which two or more words are routinely placed together based on convention rather than explicit grammatical or semantic links. Native speakers favour the term *strong tea* rather than *powerful tea*, despite both adjectives being synonymous in different contexts (Hill 2000; Lewis 2000; Benson et al. 2010; Sinclair 1991).

Collocations can be categorised based on the strength of their association:

Strong collocations – pairs of words that almost always occur together, such as *commit a crime*. They are fixed expressions, where substituting one word for a synonym would sound unnatural.

Weak collocations – pairs of words that can appear with a broader range of other words, like *big* or *small*, which can collocate with various nouns such as *problem*, *house*, or *difference*.

Medium-strength collocations – less fixed combinations where the words often appear together but not exclusively, such as *fast food*, which conveys a common idea but allows for substitution with terms like *quick meal* in some contexts (Hill 2000; Nation 2013).

According to Hill (2000), collocations can be further divided into two main types based on their structure:

Grammatical collocations – they involve a dominant word (noun, verb, adjective) and a grammatical word (such as a preposition). Examples include phrases like *interested in*, *depend on*, and *afraid of*, where the grammatical word establishes a specific syntactic relationship with the dominant word.

Lexical collocations – they consist of combinations of nouns, adjectives, verbs, or adverbs without involving grammatical function words. Examples include *make a decision*, *heavy rain*, and *deeply concerned*, where the combination of content words creates a conventional meaning (Hill 2000; Sinclair 1991). Research indicates that lexical collocations are particularly important in language learning and teaching because they involve meaning-carrying words, making them central to understanding and producing fluent speech (Lewis 2000).

Philip (2011) extends the discussion by examining how collocations contribute to connotative meaning and figurative language. She argues that collocations do not merely represent fixed expressions but add layers of meaning through cultural and contextual associations. Phrases like *golden opportunity* and *black sheep*, for instance, have meanings that go beyond their literal meanings and are influenced by idiomatic usage and cultural perceptions. This concept is consistent with Sinclair's (1991) "idiom principle", which holds that collocations are a crucial point along a continuum that connects free combinations and fixed expressions in language.

Collocations are frequently used in media discourse to convey ideas concisely and clearly. They can effectively convey complicated ideas in news articles, TV reports, social media posts, and commercials. Words that are frequently used together help audiences understand and remember messages (Fairclough 1995; Philip 2011; Baker 2016).

Language use was drastically changed by the COVID-19 pandemic, leading to the development of new collocations or the modification of existing ones. Novel expressions that captured the experiences, difficulties, and innovations of the era appeared as societies dealt with previously unheard-of circumstances.

The following are some instances of English collocations related to pandemics:

Social distancing was not often used before the pandemic. It became a commonly used term to describe the steps taken to stop the spread of viruses.

Flatten the curve became a key phrase in public health messaging, highlighting initiatives to lower infection rates in order to prevent overburdening healthcare systems.

Zoom fatigue (Gustilo et al. 2021; Bailenson 2021) is a term that has emerged to describe the weariness that comes with extended video conferencing³³.

These collocations allowed for clear communication across various media as language changed to reflect the changing circumstances, aiding in crisis processing and response (Philip 2011).

In his discussion of how language changes as society does, Philip (2011) points out that new collocations can catch on fast when new ideas or customs are accepted. The ease with which language can adapt to new cultural phenomena is demonstrated by the quick emergence and dissemination of phrases like “social distancing”. Gagne and Spalding (2020), who contend that innovative word combinations were crucial in communicating important public health information, provide additional support for the phenomenon.

3. Conceptual metaphor in pandemic discourse

Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) introduction of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) transformed our knowledge of metaphors in human communication and cognition. CMT argues that metaphors are crucial to thought, contrary to the traditional view of them as mere language ornaments. The theory suggests that abstract concepts are understood through metaphorical mappings, where we use a source domain (a concrete, familiar experience) to understand a target domain (an abstract, unfamiliar concept). In the *TIME IS MONEY* metaphor, time is viewed as a valuable resource that can be spent, saved, or wasted (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Ritchie 2013).

Metaphors affect language, perception, behaviour, and culture, according to CMT. Lakoff and Turner (1989) propose that metaphor is part of human thought essential for understanding and engaging with the world. It is a cognitive mechanism that structures everyday reality, not just a linguistic tool (Gibbs 2016). Sontag (2001), Charteris-Black (2014), Mussolff (2022), and Zeng et al. (2021) have examined how metaphors affect public discourse, particularly during crises.

3.1. Innovative Linguistic Metaphors in Pandemic Discourse

Public discourse often portrays the pandemic as a war (*frontline workers, fighting the virus*, etc.) against an unseen foe, inspiring action and defending emergency protocols. Public health campaigns like the war on drugs and cancer have used

33 <https://www.oed.com/information/using-the-oed/oed-event-recordings/language-updates-and-words-of-special-interest/the-language-of-covid-19-a-special-oed-update/the-language-of-covid19-special-oed-update-qa/>

similar terminology (Sabucedo et al. 2020). War metaphors can stigmatise groups or evoke fear, which can weaken social cohesion (Semino 2021; Musolff 2022; Charteris-Black 2021).

Metaphorical expressions such as *flattening the curve*, *road to recovery*, or *navigating uncharted waters* offer an alternative perspective, highlighting the gradual and ongoing nature of the crisis. They suggest a collective effort to overcome challenges over time rather than a decisive battle (Kövecses 2002; Wicke and Bolognesi 2020; Reuchamps et al. 2018).

Alternatively, terms like *scoring points against the virus* or *playing defence* depict the pandemic as a competitive game where strategies are formulated, and goals are pursued incrementally. Such metaphors may have an effect on those familiar with teamwork and strategic planning, conveying the idea of tackling the crisis in phases (Semino 2021).

3.2. Mixed Metaphors

Mixed metaphors occur when multiple metaphorical frameworks are combined within a single expression or discourse. While some mixed metaphors might seem confusing due to the blending of incompatible images (e.g., *We need to step up to the plate and put the brakes on this issue*), they can still serve valuable communicative purposes, especially in complex discourse (Kimmel 2010). Stanojević (2009) notes that mixed metaphors can enrich communication by invoking multiple dimensions, allowing speakers to address different facets simultaneously.

Deliberate use of mixed metaphors in crisis communication can enhance the discourse by layering various frames of reference. This blending helps highlight the diverse nature of crises such as pandemics, where health, social, and economic factors intertwine. For instance, pandemic discourse often combines war metaphors (*fighting the virus*) with natural disaster metaphors (*tsunami of cases*) or journey metaphors (*navigating the new normal*), thereby addressing diverse aspects of the crisis and appealing to a broader audience (Charteris-Black 2021; Semino 2021; Musolff 2022; Stanojević 2020).

Another function of mixed metaphors is encouraging a balanced perspective. Mixed metaphors can help manage public expectations by presenting different aspects of the crisis response. While war metaphors may evoke a sense of urgency, journey metaphors can balance this by suggesting a long-term effort. This is important for maintaining public morale over time (Stanojević 2020; Ritchie 2013). Catering to diverse audiences suggests that different demographic groups may resonate with different metaphorical frames. While some individuals find war metaphors motivating, others may relate better to journey or natural disaster metaphors, viewing the crisis as a gradual process requiring resilience (Charteris-Black 2021; Wicke and Bolognesi, 2020; Demjén and Semino 2020).

However, Kimmel (2010) cautions that inconsistent use of mixed metaphors may lead to confusion, making it challenging for the public to grasp the basic message. To avoid this, communicators should thoughtfully select and combine metaphors to ensure that they complement rather than contradict one another.

3.3. Function of Metaphors in Crisis Communication

Metaphors play a significant role in shaping how the public perceives and responds to crises by framing complex phenomena in accessible terms. According to Gibbs (2016), metaphorical language is deeply embedded in cognitive processes, influencing how people conceptualise abstract domains such as disease, risk, and policy. In pandemic discourse, metaphors can perform several crucial functions including simplifying complex information. Pandemics often involve intricate scientific concepts where metaphors like *flattening the curve* or *herd immunity* make these concepts more comprehensible and relatable for the general public (Ritchie 2013; Reuchamps et al. 2018), framing moral and ethical dimensions. Beyond framing crisis facts, metaphors can have moral implications. WAR metaphors may suggest that taking health precautions is moral, while JOURNEY metaphors emphasise teamwork to overcome obstacles (Semino 2021; Sabucedo et al. 2020). Metaphors can influence public and policymaker perceptions of appropriate responses: WAR metaphors may justify aggression, while JOURNEY metaphors promote long-term resilience and adaptation (Charteris-Black 2021; Musolff 2022; Wicke and Bolognesi 2020).

During crises, metaphors shape perceptions, behaviour, and public discourse. They are not just words, but their strategic use in pandemic communication shows their ability to redefine reality, influence behaviour, and engage diverse audiences.

4. Research

4.1. Aim

This study examines the cognitive processes and complex functions of creative figurative expressions, specifically collocations, in media discourse on the COVID-19 pandemic in Croatian. It focusses on public perception, emotional reactions, and behavioural outcomes. It examines how figurative expressions (e.g. the one with *wave*), simplify scientific concepts, frame moral dimensions, and impact policy responses and public engagement during crises. Furthermore, the chapter analyses the dynamic interaction between metaphorical framing, such as natural disaster metaphors, and their implications for public health communication.

4.2. Corpus

A corpus of articles from the online versions of two well-known Croatian newspapers, *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*, published between March 2020 and March 2021, was analysed in this study. Examining media discourse during a major health crisis was made easier by the chosen timeframe, which includes the

COVID-19 pandemic's initial outbreak and its subsequent developments.

4.3. Methodology

The study employs a qualitative approach to analyse the use of metaphorical collocations containing the noun *val* 'wave' in media discourse surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic in Croatia. Figurative expressions within the articles were manually extracted and identified, employing the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The extracted figurative expressions were categorised into thematic groups based on their conceptual underpinnings. The final step involved analysing the cognitive mechanisms underlying the categorised figurative expressions, collocations containing *val* 'wave', namely, conceptual metaphors.

5. Results and discussion

The largest group of figurative expressions in the corpus contains 3,194 isolated expressions and eight extended metaphors that belong to the source frame of NATURAL DISASTERS AND NATURAL PHENOMENA. Types of natural disasters that served as source domains are natural events such as fires, floods, earthquakes, stormy winds, and biological events such as the plague (Figure 1.). The analysis of linguistic metaphors suggests that they mostly derive from conceptual metaphors PANDEMIC IS A WAVE/FLOOD/LIQUID, PANDEMIC IS AN EARTHQUAKE, PANDEMIC IS A STORM AND PANDEMIC IS A PLAGUE, which aligns with the broader trends in pandemic discourse worldwide, where metaphors serve as cognitive tools to simplify complex phenomena.

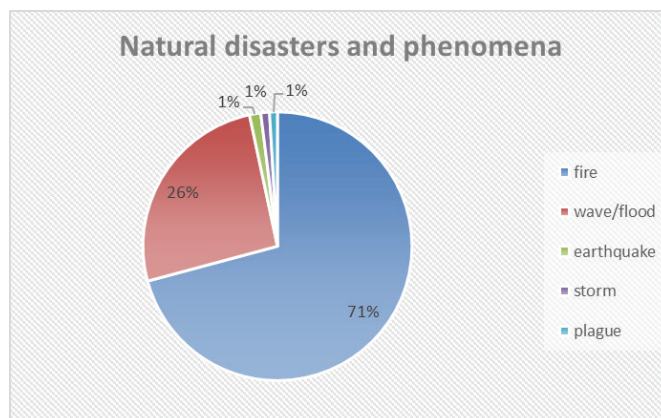


Figure 1. NATURAL DISASTERS AND PHENOMENA frame

The Cambridge Dictionary Online provides several definitions of the noun *wave* illustrating its multifaceted nature. The primary definition describes a wave as a “raised line of water that moves across the surface of an area of water, especially the sea”. This literal interpretation highlights its physical characteristics. However, the term extends beyond this concrete meaning, it also encompasses a figurative

dimension. For instance, it is defined as “the pattern in which some types of energy, such as sound, light, and heat, are spared and carried”. This usage indicates a broader conceptual application of the term, emphasising its role in representing various forms of energy transfer. Furthermore, the dictionary notes a third definition: “a larger than usual number of events of a similar, often bad, type, happening within the same period”. This figurative expression illustrates how wave can signify collective occurrences, often related to negative phenomena, such as a *wave of crime or a wave of illness*³⁴.

The noun *wave* not only captures a literal meaning associated with physical movement but also encompasses significant figurative interpretations that enrich its use in various contexts, including pandemic discourse.

After the FIRE metaphor, the next most represented conceptual metaphor is PANDEMIC IS A WAVE/FLOOD/LIQUID, for which 818 figurative expressions were recorded in the corpus. Table 1 shows that the most frequent lexeme in that group is *val* ‘wave’ with 673 occurrences. This metaphor suggests an inherent association between the unpredictable nature of a pandemic and the uncontrollable force of water.

Table 1. The most prevalent figurative expressions related to flooding and liquid

Flood/liquid – figurative expressions	Number of examples
<i>val zaraze/epidemije</i> ‘wave of infection/pandemic’	673
<i>izvor/izvorište zaraze/pandemije</i> ‘source/origin of infection/pandemic’	43
<i>kolati/kolanje virusa</i> ‘circulate/virus circulation’	17
<i>preliti/prelivanje zaraze</i> ‘overflow/infection overflow’	9
<i>priljev bolesnika</i> ‘influx of patients’	9

The most common collocation is *drugi val* ‘second wave’, which appears 292 times. This frequency is likely due to the corpus being collected during the peak of the second wave.

Apart from the ordinal numbers of the waves, the seasonal names of the waves were also recorded, so we have *jesenski*, *proljetni* and *siječanjski val* ‘autumn, spring and January wave’, and the strength of the virus is also manifested through *tsunamis of infection*. These waves of infection appear in collocations such as *val će nas zapljusnuti* ‘the wave will wash over us’, *val se prelijeva* ‘the wave overflows’, *kreće* ‘moves’ and *povlači* ‘recedes’. We also recorded 12 examples that contain certain peculiarities, so we consider it important to highlight them. One of the phenomena is the personification of the wave (and the virus), so we note examples such as *drugi val vreba iza ugla* ‘second wave is lurking around the

34 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/wave>

corner' and *val nam prijeti* 'the wave threatens us', but also *mjere će ugušiti drugi val* 'the measures will strangle the new wave'.

Furthermore, the appearance of new word combinations or collocations that reveal the mixing of metaphors is noticeable, for example VATRA 'FIRE' and TEKUĆINA 'LIQUID': *novi val bukti/razbuktava se/izbio je* 'a new wave flares up/breaks out' and POTRES (EARTHQUAKE) AND LIQUID (TEKUĆINA): *epicentar drugog vala* 'the epicentre of the second wave'. *Val zaraze* 'the wave of infection' is also understood as an object, so we can *slomiti ga* 'break it', and the infected can *donositi ga* 'bring it' or we can *uvoziti ga* 'import it'. The CONTAINER metaphor also appears when a certain stage of the pandemic is described with the expressions *zašli smo duboko u novi val* 'we have entered deep into a new wave' and *izašli smo iz vala* 'we have come out of the wave'.

The emergence of the mentioned mixed metaphors adds layers of meanings to discourse. Personifying the wave and the virus gives them agency, and can intensify the perceived threat, motivating public obedience to the health measures, a concept discussed by Charteris-Black (2021), who studied metaphors shaping attitudes towards health policies. Also, depicting the wave as an object that can be broken or imported can highlight personal responsibility in virus transmission and containment. Additionally, the blending of metaphors, such as describing a wave as flaring up (combining WAVE and FIRE metaphors), enhances the richness of the figurative language, allowing for more detailed descriptions that address different aspects of crisis. Stanojević (2009) suggests that mixed metaphors in crisis communication can be useful in addressing multiple dimensions simultaneously, such as the sudden impact of outbreaks (EARTHQUAKE metaphor) alongside their fluid spread (LIQUID metaphors).

The remaining hundred figurative expressions are based on the metaphors of FLOOD and LIQUID, and the most frequent expressions are *izvor zaraze/epidemije* 'the source of infection/epidemic', *kolanje virusa* 'circulation of virus' and *prelijevanje zaraze* 'overflow of infection'. In addition to the fact that the epidemic is understood as a liquid, the same is transmitted to sick people who *slijevaju se u bolnice* 'pour into the hospitals', *preplavljaju ili mogu zaštopati zdravstveni sustav* 'overwhelm or can block the health system', and there is also a *rezervoar zaraze* 'reservoir of infection' and *bazen zaraženih kontakata* 'a pool of infected contacts'. These examples show that the original domain of FLOOD/LIQUID does not have only one target domain, but infected persons appear as a target domain in addition to the virus and the epidemic itself. In that group we also noticed a new combination of the words *niče izvor korone* 'a source of corona is sprouting', whose transferred meaning is based on the source domain of PLANT and LIQUID.

The wave metaphor carries significant implications for how the public perceives the pandemic. By comparing the virus's spread to waves, the metaphor highlights the pandemic's episodic character, which includes distinct peaks and flats, and presents it as a phenomenon that may eventually fade and reappear. Additionally, by emphasising motion and fluidity, the water metaphor presents the virus as

something that spreads and moves through communities similarly to water (Baker and McEnery 2015).

6. Conclusion

Figurative expressions are crucial in influencing public perception, emotional reactions, and crisis-related behaviour, according to an analysis of collocations and metaphors in Croatian media's coverage of COVID-19. The study discovered that the main way the pandemic was framed involved metaphors with the source domain in natural phenomena, especially waves. These collocations emphasised the episodic character of the crisis by implying a pattern of highs and lows that expressed both optimism and wisdom about its course.

A richer depiction of the complex effects of the pandemic was made possible by the use of mixed metaphors, such as fusing the word *wave* with images of fire or earthquake. This ability of metaphors to combine helped to frame public health measures as urgent, necessary, and morally significant actions in addition to making scientific information easier to understand. The virus and waves were personified, which increased the perceived threat and might have encouraged adherence to health precautions.

The study shows how language is a potent cognitive tool that affects how societies react to crises, in addition to being a tool for communicating information. The results highlight the necessity of giving metaphorical framing in public health communication considerable thought because it has the potential to gradually affect public engagement and policy acceptance.

The research results highlight the potential for strategic language use to direct both policy and individual behaviour during emergencies, thereby advancing our understanding of how collocations in media discourse impact the public's perception of health crises.

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Gorući i prijeteci valovi – kolokacije o pandemiji u hrvatskom medijskom diskursu

Tijekom pandemije koronavirusa medijski diskurs odigrao je presudnu ulogu u oblikovanju javne percepcije i razumijevanja krize. Jedna od istaknutih značajki ovog diskursa bila je upotreba figurativnog jezika i kolokacija za prenošenje složenih ideja. Osim uobičajenih predvidljivih kolokacija poput *širenja virusa* ili *suzbijanja pandemije* mediji u Hrvatskoj koristili su se nizom kreativnih kolokacija za opisivanje pandemije. Neki primjeri uključuju *goruće valove*, koji opisuju nekontroliran i brz prijenos, i *repove valova*, koji upozoravaju na trajne učinke i posljedice pandemije. Rad ima za cilj zabilježiti i analizirati metaforičke kolokacije koje sadrže leksem *val* zabilježene u hrvatskim medijima tijekom pandemije. Istraživanje se fokusira na kreativnu upotrebu navedenih kolokacija u diskursu pandemije i ispituje njihov utjecaj na razumijevanje javnosti iz perspektive kognitivne lingvistike. Korpus se sastoji od novinskih članaka iz internetski izdanja *Jutarnjeg lista* i *Večernjeg lista* objavljenih od 1. ožujka 2020. do 1. ožujka 2021. godine.

Ključne riječi: val, COVID-19, kolokacije, metafora, uokvirivanje

Metaphor in Croatian and Polish Verbal Collocations

Magdalena Baer
Goranka Blagus Bartolec

Although verbal collocations are less well-defined than noun collocations in linguistic literature, their frequent use and collocational potential certainly suggest that they constitute an important group of multiword expressions. This research focuses on examples of about a hundred verbal collocations extracted from the Croatian and Polish spoken corpora ParlaMint-HR 2.0 (Croatian Parliament) and ParlaMint-PL 2.0 (Polish Parliament), which contain transcripts of parliamentary sessions, and on examples taken from the Croatian Collocation Database (URL: <http://ihjj.hr/kolokacije/>). The chapter analyzes the metaphorical potential of verbs that are components of such collocations (e.g. *snositi odgovornost, stupiti na snagu, podignuti optužnicu, udružiti snage, ući u raspravu, uhvatiti se posla, odbaciti prijedlog*). Our initial hypothesis proposes that the analyzed collocations are based on expressing processuality as a reference to the dynamics of changes realized in language through verbs as a grammatical category. This analysis is related to the design of a multilingual dictionary of verbal collocations (Croatian, Polish, German and English) and, within the framework of this research, Croatian verbal collocations are compared with their equivalents in Polish (e.g. *ponosić odpowiedzialność, wchodzić w życie, wniesić akt oskarżenia, połączyć siły, przystąpić do dyskusji, zabrać się do pracy, odrzucić propozycję*).

Keywords: Croatian, metaphor, multiword expressions, Polish, ParlaMint, spoken corpus, verbal collocations

1. Introduction: The GLAKOL project³⁵

Collocations with the verb as the dominant component³⁶ in Croatian (and in other European languages), with their morphosyntactic structure, as well as semantic and stylistic features, stand out as a fruitful group of multiword units that have not yet received much attention in Croatian lexicographic sources. This chapter will analyze one aspect of verbal collocations, using examples of Croatian and

35 This work was supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project number HRZZ-IP-2022-10-7697, and under the project VIBA - Database of Croatian MWEs funded by the EU - NextGenerationEU. Author(s) opinions do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Commission. Neither the EU nor the EC can be held responsible for them.

36 We use Benson's classification of collocations into grammatical and lexical types, where grammatical collocations are determined by the type of word that dominates the collocation (Benson 1985).

Polish collocations, focusing on the metaphorical potential of verbs that primarily denote a physical action or state. Such collocations are common in journalism, administration, and law, and are semantically interesting because they are based on metaphorical concepts in which physical actions as source domains are transferred to abstract contents as target domains.

This research is the result of the GLAKOL project based on creating a multilingual database of Croatian, Polish, German and English (CPGE) verbal collocations. The GLAKOL project forms part of a larger four-year project (2023–2027) supported by the Croatian Science Foundation: *Multiword Expressions in Croatian - Lexicological, Computational Linguistic and Glottodidactic Approach* (MWE-Cro), which aims to build a publicly accessible online platform for multiword expressions in Croatian, including idioms, proverbs, collocations, verbal collocations and MWEs in Croatian as a foreign and second language. In general, the development of the GLAKOL database will contribute to the research and understanding of verbal collocations within the framework of comparative linguistics and the teaching of Croatian as a second and foreign language. The GLAKOL database will contain 4,000 verbal collocations with a total of 500 verbs in Croatian, the source language, with their equivalents in Polish, German, and English as the target languages. The result of the GLAKOL project will be a publicly available and searchable multilingual database of verbs (see Figure 1).

GLAKOL – frontend(s)

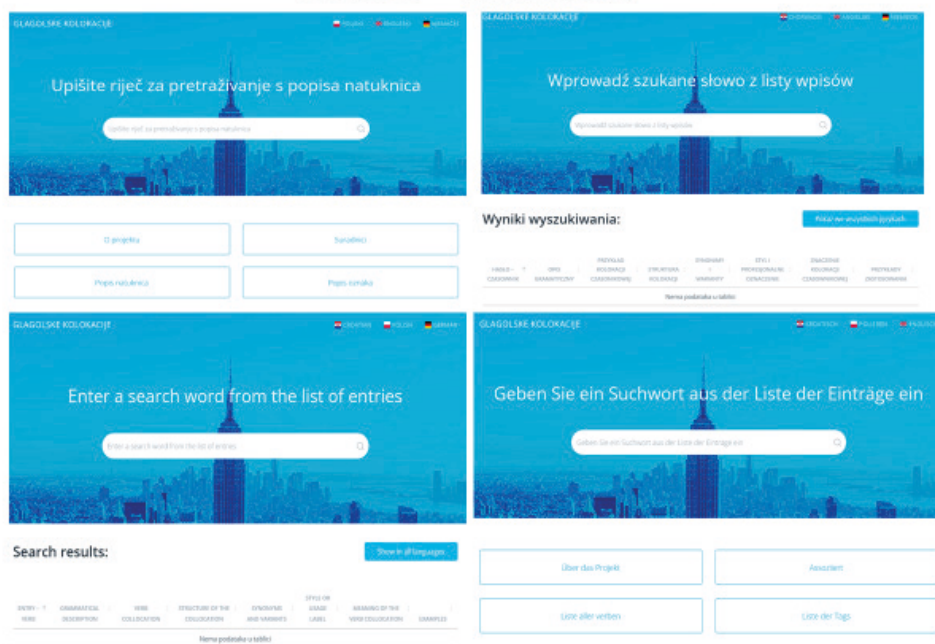


Figure 1: GLAKOL interface (working version)

Data will be entered into a customized backend system (Figure 2) throughout the duration of the project. The backend interface contains eight fields in each language (1 Entry – verb, 2 Grammatical description, 3 verbal collocation, 4 Structure of the collocation, 5 Synonyms and variants, 6 Style or usage label, 7 Meaning of the verbal collocation, 8 Examples), where we enter data about the verb entry and verbal collocations. All examples of verbal collocations for each language are corpus-driven³⁷, which contributes to the credibility and verification of their use in language practice.

Figure 2: GLAKOL backend (Croatian interface)

2. Metaphorical verbal collocations in spoken parliamentary discourse: Goals and Methodology

Based on the comparison (contrastive analysis) of Croatian and Polish verbs in parliamentary speeches, the focus is on the verbs that, given the noun component in the collocation, are realized in their secondary, metaphorical meaning. The main goals of the analysis are: 1) to present a larger group of Croatian and Polish verbal collocations with metaphorical potential, and 2) to determine which metaphorical concepts are represented by these verbs in both languages, as genetically related Slavic languages. We begin with the thesis that these verbs can be considered universal and conventional in different languages and cultures (Kövecses 2002; Stanojević 2009), and their primary (prototypical) meanings of concrete (physical) actions as a source domain, e.g. *to give*, *to fight*, *to open*, *to put*, are realized

³⁷ The examples are mainly extracted from the following corpora: MaCoCu Croatian Web v2 and hrWaC for Croatian, NKJP for Polish; DeReKo for German, enTenTen21 for English, but, depending on some verbal collocations, other corpora (e.g. ParlaMint), dictionaries and other online sources are also included.

metaphorically when they denote abstract contents as a target domain³⁸ (Cro: *snositi odgovornost, stupiti na snagu, podignuti optužnicu, udružiti snage, ući u raspravu, uhvatiti se posla, odbaciti prijedlog*; Pl: *ponosić odpowiedzialność, wchodzić w życie, wnieść akt oskarżenia, połączyć siły, przystąpić do dyskusji, zabrać się do pracy, odrzucić propozycję*; Eng: *bear responsibility, come into force, file an indictment, join forces, enter into a discussion, get to work, reject the proposal*).

A contrastive analysis of translation equivalents was conducted to analyze the similarities and differences in the use of Croatian and Polish verbs that denote the same content, especially since finding an appropriate equivalent at the structural level is a common problem in translation practice (Baer 2021: 14).³⁹

The analysis includes 100 Croatian verbal collocations (Table 1) extracted from the Croatian Collocation Database (<http://ihjj.hr/kolokacije/>) that were confirmed in the Croatian ParlaMint (2.1) corpus and Polish ParlaMint (2.1) corpus.⁴⁰ Among the selected collocations: 1) 62 collocations are based on the same metaphorical concepts in Croatian and Polish, realized by verbs that belong to the same semantic fields⁴¹ in Croatian and Polish: *biti/być* 'to be'; *bježati/uciekać* 'run away'; *boriti se/walczyć* 'fight'; *dobiti/otrzymać/dostać* 'get'; *doći/dojść* 'come'; *dovesti/doprowadzić* 'lead, bring'; *držati se/trzymać się* 'stick to'; *gasiti/gasić* 'extinguishes'; *goniti/ścigać* 'chase'; *gubiti/stracić* 'lose'; *ići/iść* 'go'; *imati/mieć* 'have'; *istaknuti/podkreślić* 'highlight'; *izvrtati/zniekształcać* 'distort'; *napraviti/popelniti* 'make'; *nemati/nie mieć* 'not have'; *odnijeti/odnieść* 'take'; *odrżati/przeprowadzić, odbyć* 'hold'; *osloboditi/zwolnić* 'exempt'; *otići/odejść* 'go to'; *otvoriti/otworzyć* 'open'; *pobjeći/uciec* 'run away'; *prijeći/przejsć* 'cross; move on'; *pokriti/pokryć* 'cover'; *prebaciti/przerzucić* 'switch, shift'; *prenijeti/przenieść* 'transfer'; *preuzeti/przejść* 'take'; *provesti/prowadzić, przeprowadzić* 'conduct'; *raspisati/rozpisać* 'call, announce'; *snositi/ponosić* 'bear'; *stupiti/wejść* 'come, enter'; *ući/wstąpić* 'enter, join'; *ubirati/zbierać, pobierać* 'collect'; *upasti/wpaść* 'fall'; *uzeti/brać, wziąć* 'take'; *zamrznuti/zamrozić* 'freeze'; *zauzeti/zająć* 'take' (e.g. *upasti u zamku/wpaść w pułapkę* 'to fall into a trap'; *pokriti troškove/pokryć koszty* 'to cover the costs');

38 Here we remain within the framework of the conventional metaphor, although, considering that these collocations are widespread in use, so speakers do not perceive them as figurative units; this problem could also be interpreted in the context of demetaphorization (Špiranec 2012), which can be a topic of special research.

39 As Baer (2021: 14) explains, this is especially evident in analytical verbal collocations that do not have the same grammatical structure in the other language, where a synthetic verb appears as the equivalent (e.g. Cro. *nadati se* / Pl. *mieć nadzieję* 'to hope', Cro. *tuširati se* / Pl. *brać prysznic* 'to take a shower').

40 ParlaMint-HR and ParlaMint-PL are spoken corpora within a larger group of ParlaMint corpora (cf. Erjavec et al. 2023) that contain transcripts of debates from the sessions of 16 European parliaments (Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Croatia, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey).

41 For the classification of verbs into semantic fields according see Brač and Bošnjak Botica 2015, Levin 1993, and Mikelić Preradović 2014.

2) 34 collocations are based on different metaphorical concepts in Croatian and Polish realized through verbs that belong to different semantic fields in Croatian and Polish (*biti* 'be' / *mieć* 'have'; *dati* 'give' / *wydać* 'issue', *wyrazić* 'express', *poddać* 'submit', *złożyć* 'submit'; *dignuti* 'lift' / *wnieść* 'bring in', *zgłosić* 'report'; *dirati* 'touch' / *mieszać (się)* 'interfere', *grzebać* 'poke, scratch'; *dobiti* 'get' / *wygrać* 'win'; *doći u* 'come to' / *wchodzić* 'enter'; *donijeti* 'bring' / *podjąć* 'undertake'; *dovesti* 'bring, lead' / *poddawać* 'undermine'; *držati* 'hold' / *odbyć* 'take place'; *oteti se* 'escape' / *wymknąć się* 'slip away'; *podignuti* 'raise' / *wnieść* 'bring'; *pokrenuti* 'start' / *wszcząć* 'initiate', *rozpocząć* 'start'; *postaviti* 'set' / *mianować* 'appoint'; *preuzeti* 'take over' / *wziąć* 'take'; *stajati* 'stand' / *pozostawać* 'remain', *być* 'be'; *stati* 'stand' / *położyć* 'put, lay'; *staviti* 'put' / *poddać* 'give', *umieścić* 'place', *oddać* 'hand over'; *stupiti* 'come, enter' / *iść* 'go'; *ući* 'enter' / *przystąpić* 'join', *włączyć się* 'get involved'; *ulożyć* 'file' / *złożyć* 'submit'; *uručiti* 'hand' / *wręczyć* 'deliver') (e.g. Cro. *staviti* ('put') *na popis* / Pl. *umieścić* ('place') *na liście* 'put on the list'; *postaviti* ('set') *za predsjednika* / *mianować* ('nominate') *na prezydenta* 'to appoint as president'); and 3) 5 collocations include both the same and different metaphorical concepts with two verb equivalents in Polish that belong to the same and different semantic fields (e.g. Cro. *skinuti* ('take off') *s dnevnog reda* / Pl. *zdyć* ('take off') *z porządku obrad* / *usunąć* ('remove') *z porządku obrad* 'remove from agenda'). Among the selected collocations, only four Croatian and Polish verbs have no metaphorical meaning and retain their prototypical meanings, as shown in Table 1: Pl. *mianować* 'nominate' in line 65), 66), 67); Cro. *ići* / Pl. *iść* 'go' in line 32), 33), 34), 35); Cro. *nastaviti* / Pl. *kontynuować* 'continue' in line 48); and Cro. *raspisati* / Pl. *rozpisać* 'announce' in line 77), 78).

Table 1 Croatian and Polish metaphorical verbal collocations

(√ = same Croatian and Polish verbs; * = same and different Polish verb equivalents; no label = different Polish verb(s))

Croatian verbal collocations	Polish verbal collocations	English equivalents
1) baciti se na posao	zabrać się do pracy	'to get to work'
2) biti na snazi √	być obowiązujące	'to be in force'
3) biti u interesu √	być zainteresowany	'to be in the interest of somebody'
4) biti u pravu	mieć rację	'to be right'
5) biti u radnom odnosu √	być zatrudniony / być w stosunku pracy;	'to be employed'
6) biti u stanju √	być w stanie	'to be able to'
7) bježati od istine √	uciekać od prawdy	'to run away from the truth'
8) bježati od odgovornosti √	uciekać od odpowiedzialności	'to run away from responsibilities'

Croatian verbal collocations		Polish verbal collocations	English equivalents
9)	boriti se s administracijom ✓	walczyć z administracją	'to fight with the administration'
10)	dati mišljenje	wydać opinię / wyrazić opinię	'to give an opinion'
11)	dati na glasanje/ glasovanje	poddąć pod głosowanie	'to put /something/ to a vote'
12)	dati ostavku	złożyć rezygnację	'to resign'
13)	dati priopćenje	złożyć oświadczenie	'to make a statement'
14)	dignuti parnicu	wnieść pozew (adm.) / złożyć pozew (coll.)	'to file a lawsuit'
15)	dignuti povredu poslovnika	zgłosić naruszenie regulaminu	'to report the violation of regulations'
16)	dirati u čiju obitelj	mieszać się w sprawy rodzinne	'to interfere with someone's family'
17)	dirati u mirovinski sustav	mieszać/grzebać w systemie emerytalnym	'to interfere with the pension system'
18)	dobiti mandat ✓	otrzymać mandat (adm.) / dostać mandat (coll.)	'to get a mandate'
19)	dobiti opomenu ✓	dostać ostrzeżenie (coll.) otrzymać ostrzeżenie (adm.)	'to get a warning'
20)	dobiti parnicu	wygrać proces	'to win a lawsuit'
21)	doći do zaključka ✓	dojść do wniosku / wnioskować	'to come to a conclusion'
22)	doći u sukob s	wchodzić w konflikt z	'to come into conflict'
23)	donijeti odluku	podjąć decyzję	'to make a decision'
24)	došlo je do povrede zakona ✓	dojść do naruszenia prawa	'there was a violation of the law'
25)	dovesti do bankrota ✓	doprowadzić do bankructwa	'to lead to bankruptcy'
26)	dovesti u pitanje	poddawać w wątpliwość	'to call into question'
27)	držati se roka ✓	trzymać się terminu	'to stick to the deadline'
28)	držati se teme ✓	trzymać się tematu	'to stick to the subject'
29)	držati sjednicu	odbyć sesję, odbyć posiedzenie	'to hold a meeting'
30)	gasiti požar ✓	gasić pożar	'to put out the fire'
31)	gubiti pravo na ✓	stracić prawo do	'to lose the right to something'
32)	ići na glasanje/ glasovanje ✓	iść głosować	'to go to vote'

Croatian verbal collocations	Polish verbal collocations	English equivalents
33) ići na ruku ✓	iść na rękę	'to go to someone's hand'
34) ići u dobrom smjeru ✓	iść w dobrym kierunku	'to go in the right direction'
35) ići u korist ✓	iść na korzyść	'to go in favor'
36) imati (zakonsko) pravo na što ✓	mieć prawnie zasądzone	'to have a (legal) right to something'
37) imati na umu ✓	mieć na myśli	'to keep in mind'
38) imati ovlasti ✓	mieć upoważnienie, być upoważnionym do	'to have authority'
39) imati pravo na ✓	mieć prawo do	'to have the right to something'
40) imati pretenzije na što ✓	mieć pretensje do	'to have pretensions to something'
41) imati u vidu ✓	mieć na względzie	'keep/bear in mind'
42) istaknuti kandidaturu *	wyróżnić kandydaturę / podkreślić kandydaturę	'to highlight the candidacy'
43) izgubiti bitku (s) ✓	przegrać bitwę	'to lose the battle'
44) izvrtati činjenice ✓	zniekształcać fakty	'to distort the facts'
45) kazneno goniti ✓	ścigać listem gończym	'to prosecute'
46) napraviti pogrešku / pogriješiti (decomposed verbal collocation with verb <i>napraviti</i>) ✓	popęlnić błąd / pomylić się	'to make a mistake'
47) nastaviti s radom ✓	kontynuować pracę	'to continue working'
48) ne biti u interesu ✓	nie być w interesie	'not to be in interest'
49) nemati utjecaja ✓	nie mieć wpływu	'(not) to have an influence on something'
50) odbaciti prijedlog ✓	odrzuć propozycję	'to reject the proposal'
51) odnijeti pobjedu ✓	odnieść zwycięstwo	'to take victory / to win'
52) održati izbore ✓	przeprowadzić wybory	'to hold elections'
53) održati konferenciju ✓	odbyć konferencję	'to hold a conference'
54) osloboditi (koga) plaćanja poreza ✓	zwolnić kogoś z płacenia podatków	'to exempt someone from paying taxes'
55) oteći se kontroli	wymknąć się spod kontroli	'to get out of control'
56) otići u mirovinu *	odejść na emeryturę. (adm./publ.) / przejść na emeryturę	'to retire'
57) otvoriti istragu ✓	otworzyć śledztwo	'to open an investigation'

Croatian verbal collocations		Polish verbal collocations	English equivalents
58)	otvoriti (nova) radna mjesta ✓	otworzyć (nowe) miejsca pracy	'to open/create (new) jobs'
59)	otvoriti račun ✓	otworzyć konto	'to open/create an account'
60)	pobjeći od činjenice ✓	uciec od faktu	'to run away from the fact'
61)	podignuti optužnicu	wnieść akt oskarżenia	'to bring / to file an indictment'
62)	pokrenuti istragu	wszczęć śledztwo	'to open/launch an investigation'
63)	pokrenuti posao	rozpocząć pracę	'to start a business'
64)	pokriti troškove ✓	pokryć koszty	'to cover the costs'
65)	postaviti za predsjednika	mianować na prezydenta	'to appoint as president'
66)	postaviti za premijera	mianować na premiera	'to appoint as prime minister'
67)	postaviti za ravnatelja	mianować na stanowisko dyrektora	'to appoint as director'
68)	prebaciti krivnju na ✓	przerzucić winę na	'to shift the blame to someone'
69)	prebaciti odgovornost na ✓	przerzucić odpowiedzialność na	'to shift the responsibility to someone'
70)	prenijeti vlasništvo na (koga) ✓	przenieść własność na (kogo)	'to transfer ownership to someone'
71)	preuzeti odgovornost za (što)	wziąć odpowiedzialność za	'to take responsibility for'
72)	preuzeti vlast ✓	przejąć władzę	'to take power'
73)	prijeći na amandman ✓	przejsć do poprawki	'to move on to the amendment'
74)	prijeći na glasovanje ✓	przejsć do głosowania	'to proceed to vote'
75)	prijeći na raspravu ✓	przejsć do dyskusji	'to move on to the discussion'
76)	provesti istragu ✓	przeprowadzić śledztwo	'to conduct an investigation'
77)	raspisati izbore ✓	rozpisać wybory (adm.)	'to call for elections'
78)	raspisati natječaj ✓	rozpisać przetarg	'to announce vacancies'
79)	skinuti s dnevnog reda *	zdyć z porządku obrad / usunąć z porządku obrad	'to remove from the agenda'
80)	snositi odgovornost ✓	ponosić odpowiedzialność	'to bear responsibility'

Croatian verbal collocations	Polish verbal collocations	English equivalents
81) stajati na raspolaganju	pozostawać/być do dyspozycji	'to be available'
82) stati na kraj	położyć kres	'to put an end to'
83) staviti na glasanje/ glasovanje	poddać pod głosowanie	'to put to a vote'
84) staviti na popis	umieścić na liście (adm.)	'to put on the list'
85) staviti pod nadzor	oddać pod nadzór / umieścić pod nadzorem	'to put under supervision'
86) stupiti na dužnost *	wstąpić na stanowisko / objąć urząd/stanowisko	'to take office'
87) stupiti na snagu √	wejść w życie	'to come into force'
88) stupiti u štrajk	przystąpić do strajku	'to go on strike'
89) ubirati porez √	pobierać podatek / zbierać podatek (coll.)	'to collect taxes'
90) ući u raspravu	przystąpić do dyskusji	'to enter into a discussion'
91) ući u razgovor	włączyć się do rozmowy	'to enter into a conversation'
92) ući u stranku √	wstąpić do partii	'to join the party'
93) uložiti prigovor *	zgłosić sprzeciw, złożyć odwołanie	'to file a complaint'
94) uložiti žalbu	złożyć skargę adm.	'to file an appeal'
95) upasti u zamku √	wpaść w pułapkę	'to fall into a trap'
96) uručiti komu otkaz	wręczyć /komuś/ wypowiedzenie	'to dismiss someone'
97) uzeti u obzir/razmatranje √	brać / wziąć pod uwagę	'take into consideration; to consider'
98) zamrznuti cijene √	zamrozić ceny	'to freeze prices'
99) zamrznuti plaće √	zamrozić płace/ wynagrodzenia	'to freeze wages'
100) zauzeti stav √	zająć stanowisko	'to take a stand'

3. Features of the parliamentary discourse

Parliamentary speeches belong to the administrative-legal discourse that is typical for the language of state administration, politics and a wide area of legislation and law. In addition to legal terminology, it is characterized by fixed multi-word expressions that are also common in parliamentary speeches. In general, instead of neutral and simple forms (single-word verbs), political speeches contain analytical (decomposed) verbal collocations with nouns or prepositional-noun phrases (e.g. Cro. *dati priopćenje* / Pl. *złożyć oświadczenie* 'make a statement' instead of

priopćiti/ogłosić ‘to announce’; Cro. *ući u raspravu* / Pl. *przystąpić do dyskusji* ‘to enter into a discussion’ instead of *raspravljati/dyskutować* ‘to discuss’). The role of verbal collocations is to express processuality and resultativity as a reference to the dynamics of changes in time, which is categorically denoted in language by action verbs, especially the verbs of physical action, such as *give, hold, enter*, etc. Silić (2006: 65–66) attributes the use of verbal collocations to the nominalization of the administrative style, characterized by the noun as the dominant component and the verb emphasizing the meaning of the noun. Żmigrodzki (2000: 14) also agrees with this claim, explaining that a verbal collocation consists of a verb that gives form and a nominal component that gives content (meaning) to the entire collocation as a process or as an action: *to make a decision, to come to a conclusion/solution, to take into consideration*. In this way, the main information is transferred from the verb to the noun (*decision, solution, conclusion, consideration*), whereby the metaphoricity of the verb in its combination with the noun contributes to the connotativeness and persuasiveness of parliamentary speeches with the intention of having a stronger effect on the recipient.

4. Metaphorical concepts in verbal collocations

A total of 66 Croatian and 70 Polish verbs are components of the analyzed collocations (Table 2), and the following provides a semantic analysis of these collocations, based on metaphorical concepts proposed by Lakoff et al. 1991, which extend the primary meanings of verbs to the abstract domains prevailing in verbal collocations.

Table 2. The alphabetical list of Croatian and Polish verbs in the analyzed collocations⁴²

Croatian verbs		Polish verbs	
1.	baciti	1.	brać
2.	bježati	2.	być
3.	boriti se	3.	doći
4.	dati	4.	doprowadzić
5.	dignuti	5.	dostać
6.	dirati	6.	gasić
7.	dizati	7.	grzebać
8.	dobiti	8.	iść
9.	doći do	9.	kontynuować
10.	donijeti	10.	mianować
11.	dovesti u	11.	mieć
12.	držati se	12.	mieszać

42 Since the meanings of individual verbs differ from their meanings in collocations, English equivalents are not given for Croatian and Polish verbs. Therefore, they are given only for collocations.

Croatian verbs		Polish verbs	
13.	gasiti	13.	nie mieć
14.	goniti	14.	objąć
15.	gubiti	15.	odbyć (się)
16.	ići	16.	oddać
17.	imati	17.	odejść
18.	istaknuti	18.	odnieść
19.	izvrtati	19.	otrzymać
20.	javiti se	20.	otworzyć
21.	nastaviti	21.	otworzyć
22.	napraviti	22.	pobierać
23.	nemati	23.	poddać
24.	odbaciti	24.	poddawać
25.	odnijeti	25.	podjąć
26.	održati	26.	podkreślić
27.	ležati	27.	pokryć
28.	osloboditi	28.	położyć
29.	oteti se	29.	ponosić
30.	otići	30.	popęlnić
31.	otvoriti	31.	pozostawać
32.	pasti	32.	prowadzić
33.	pobjeći	33.	przejąć
34.	podignuti	34.	przejsć
35.	pokrenuti	35.	przeprowadzić
36.	prijeći	36.	przerzucić
37.	pokriti	37.	przyjsć
38.	postaviti	38.	przystąpić
39.	potegnuti	39.	rozpisać
40.	povesti	40.	rozpocząć
41.	povući iz	41.	stracić
42.	povrijediti	42.	ścigać
43.	pozdraviti	43.	trzymać się
44.	prebaciti	44.	uciec
45.	prenijeti	45.	uciekać
46.	preuzeti	46.	umieścić
47.	proglasiti	47.	usunąć
48.	provesti	48.	walczyć
49.	raspisati	49.	wchodzić

Croatian verbs		Polish verbs	
50.	skinuti	50.	wejść
51.	snositi	51.	włączyć
52.	stajati na	52.	wnieść
53.	stati na	53.	wpaść
54.	staviti na	54.	wręczyć
55.	stupiti na	55.	wstąpić
56.	stupiti u	56.	wszczać
57.	ući u	57.	wydać
58.	ubirati	58.	wygrać
59.	udružiti	59.	wymknąć
60.	uložiti	60.	wyróżnić
61.	uručiti	61.	wziąć
62.	uzeti	62.	zabrać
63.	uživati	63.	zająć
64.	voditi	64.	zamrażać
65.	zamrznuti	65.	zbierać
66.	zauzeti	66.	zdjąć
		67.	zgłosić
		68.	złożyć
		69.	zniekształcić
		70.	zwolnić

4.1. Croatian and Polish collocations with verbs that belong to the same semantic fields

This group of collocations includes verb equivalents (synonyms) that express the same metaphorical concepts and that belong to the same semantic fields in Croatian and Polish. In their primary meaning, these verbs denote a physical action, process, or state. According to the verb classification given by Levin 1993, Brač and Bošnjak Botica 2015 and Mikelić Preradović 2014, we distinguish between the following types of verbs:

4.1.1. *Existential verbs (+ prep.)*⁴³

Collocations with the existential verb *biti/być* 'to be' in Croatian and Polish express the metaphorical concept MIND IS A CONTAINER that refers to the involvement in the mental process through the image of a container. With the verb *to be*, the

43 The abbreviation *prep.* is given in brackets with verbs that have an obligatory prepositional complement in both languages or in at least one language.

image of inner space is realized with the preposition *u* 'in':

- 1) *biti u interesu* / *być zainteresowany* 'be in the interest'
- 2) *biti u stanju* / *być w stanie* 'to be able to'.

4.1.2. Verbs of battle (+ prep.)

Collocations with the verbs of battle express the metaphorical concept WORK IS A BATTLE that refers to putting in a lot of effort to achieve something (especially an individual in the state/administrative apparatus):

- 3) *boriti se s administracijom* / *walczyć z administracją* 'to fight with the administration'
- 4) *izgubiti bitku s administracijom* / *przegrać bitwę z administracją* 'to lose the battle with administration'
- 5) *gasiti požar* / *gasić pożar* 'to put out the fire'.

4.1.3. Verbs of possession and getting

Collocations with the verbs of possession and getting express the metaphorical concept SUCCESS IS POSSESSION / SUCCESS IS GAIN that refers to career progress:

- 6) *dobiti mandat* / *otrzymać mandat* 'to get a mandate'
- 7) *imati ovlasti* / *mieć upoważnienie* 'to have authority'.

4.1.4. Verbs of motion (+/- prep.)

In the analyzed collocations, verbs of motion are the most frequent group of verbs. Collocations with the verbs of motion denote various non-physical or abstract processes, and the following metaphorical concepts stand out:

- AVOIDING IS MOVING AWAY (physical escape in space is a metaphor for avoiding an obligation or something unpleasant):
- 8) *bježati od istine* / *uciekać od prawdy* 'to run away from the truth'
 - 9) *bježati od odgovornosti* / *uciekać od odpowiedzialności* 'to run away from responsibilities'
 - 10) *pobjeći od činjenice* / *uciec od faktu* 'to run away from the fact'
- RESULT OF AN ACTION IS ARRIVAL AT THE DESTINATION (physical action of coming or approaching is a metaphor for causing a certain state or mental

process)

11) *doći do zaključka / dojsć do wniosku* 'to come to a conclusion'

12) *došlo je do povrede zakona / dojsć do naruszenia prawa* 'there was a violation of the law'

13) *dovesti do bankrota / doprowadzić do bankructwa* 'to lead to bankruptcy'

- SEEKING IS HUNTING (physical hunting/chasing is a metaphor for legal prosecution)

14) *kazneno goniti (koga) / ścigać listem gończym* 'to prosecute'

- BENEFITS ARE FORWARD MOTIONS (verbs of physical movement are a metaphor for achieving progress or benefit)

15) *ići u korist / iść na korzyść* 'to go in favor'

16) *ići u dobrom smjeru / iść w dobrym kierunku* 'to go in the right direction'

- LIFE IS A JOURNEY / LONGTERM PURPOSES ARE JOURNEY DESTINATIONS (physical departure is a metaphor for life changes)

17) *otići u mirovinu / odejsć na emeryturę* 'lit. to go to pension / to retire'

- CHANGE IS MOTION (physical crossing or transfer from one side to another is a metaphor for the beginning of something new)

18) *prijeći na raspravu / przejść do dyskusji* 'lit. to cross to / to move on to the discussion'

19) *prijeći na glasovanje / przejść do głosowania* 'lit. to cross to vote / to proceed to vote'

- CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION (physical change of location is a metaphor for giving something (positive or negative) to someone else)

20) *prebaciti odgovornost na / przerwucić odpowiedzialność na* 'to transfer/shift responsibility to'

21) *prebaciti krivnju na / przerwucić winę na* 'to transfer/shift the blame to'

22) *prenijeti vlasništvo na (koga) / przenieść własność na (kogo)* 'to transfer ownership to someone'

- EXISTENCE IS A LOCATION⁴⁴ (physical entering into some space is a metaphor for becoming official or legal)

23) *stupiti na snagu / wejść w życie* 'to come/enter into effect'

24) *stupiti na dužnost / wstąpić na stanowsko* 'lit. to come/enter into duty / to take office'.

4.1.5. Verbs of physical appearance or change of state⁴⁵

Collocations with the verbs of appearance or physical change of form or state express the metaphorical concept STARTING AN ACTION IS OPENING AN OBJECT that refers to the beginning of an activity:

25) *otvoriti istragu / otworzyć śledztwo* 'to open an investigation'

26) *otvoriti radna mjesta / otworzyć miejsca pracy* 'to open jobs'

27) *otvoriti račun / otvorzyć konto* 'to open/create an account'.

4.1.6. Verbs of governing

Collocations with the verbs of physical governing express the metaphorical concepts:

- CONTROLLING IS TAKING POSSESSIONS that refers to taking mental control over something:

28) *preuzeti vlast / przejąć władzę* 'to take the power'

29) *zauzeti stav / zająć stanowisko* 'to take a stand'

- MONEY WHICH CANNOT BE ACCESSED IS FROZEN that refers to taking control over financial situation:

30) *zamrznuti plaće/cijene / zamrozić płace/ceny* 'to freeze wages/prices'.

4.2. Croatian and Polish collocations with verbs that belong to different semantic fields

These collocations include verb equivalents that express the same metaphorical concepts but are not synonymous, i.e. they do not belong to the same semantic

44 The metaphorical concept EXISTENCE IS A LOCATION resembles the concept RESULT OF AN ACTION IS ARRIVAL AT THE DESTINATION (examples 11, 12, 13), but this motion does not necessarily include legality, while the concept EXISTENCE IS A LOCATION is based on legal validity.

45 Levin (1993: 18, 258)

field in Croatian and Polish. Like the verbs in 4.1., these verbs, in their primary meaning, denote a physical action, process, or state.

4.2.1. Verbs of moving or putting (+ prep.)

Collocations with the verbs of physical moving or putting express the metaphorical concept CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF MOTION that refer to the dynamics of performing a duty:

- 31) *baciti se* 'to throw oneself' *na posao* / *zabrac się* 'to take' *do pracy* 'lit. to throw oneself at work, get down to work'
- 32) *postaviti* 'to set, to put' *za premijera* / *mianować*⁴⁶ 'to appoint' *na premiera* 'lit. set for prime minister, to appoint as prime minister'
- 33) *podignuti optužnicu* / *wnieść akt oskarżenia* 'to bring / to file an indictment'
- 34) *pokrenuti* 'to move' *istragu* / *wszcząć* 'to start' *śledztwo* 'lit. to move an investigation; to open/launch an investigation'
- 35) *pokrenuti* 'to move' *posao* / *rozpocząć* 'to start' *pracę* 'lit. to move a business; to start a business'.

4.2.2. Existential verbs (+/- prep.)

Collocations with the existential verbs to be and to have express the metaphorical concept MIND IS A CONTAINER that refers to the involvement in the mental process:

- 36) *biti* 'to be' *u pravu* / *mieć* 'to have' *rację* 'lit. to be in the right; to be right.'

4.2.3. Verbs of taking and changing possessors

Collocations with the verbs of physical taking and changing possessors express the metaphorical concept CONTROLLING IS TAKING POSSESSIONS that refers to the transfer of a mental process (or duty) from one subject (possessor) to another:

- 37) *preuzeti* 'to take over' *odgovornost za (što)* / *wziąć* 'to take' *odpowiedzialność za* 'to take responsibility'.

4.2.4. Verbs of the change of position

Collocations with the verbs of physical change of position express the metaphorical concept EXISTENCE IS UP that refers to the beginning of an activity:

- 38) *podignuti* 'to lift, to raise' *optužnicu* / *wnieść* 'to bring' *akt oskarżenia* 'to

46 Pl. *mianować* – no metaphorical meaning

bring / to file an indictment’.

4.2.5. Verbs of removing (+ prep.)

Collocations with the verbs of physical removing express the metaphorical concept EXPIRATION IS REMOVAL that refers to the withdrawal from an official procedure:

- 39) *skinuti* ‘to take off’ *s dnevnog reda* / *usunąć* ‘to remove’ *z porządku obrad* ‘to remove from the agenda’.

4.2.6. Verbs of physical position

Collocations with the verbs of physical position (stand, put) express the metaphorical concept THE END OF ACTION IS THE END OF PATH that refers to the interruption or stopping of something unpleasant or bad:

- 40) *stati* ‘stand’ *na kraj glasinama* / *położyć* ‘to put’ *kres plotkom* ‘lit. to stand on an end; to put an end to rumours’.

5. Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to give an overview of Croatian and Polish metaphorical verbal collocations that are part of parliamentary discourse. About 40 examples of some prototypical models of metaphorical concepts that prevail in such collocations are presented. Most Croatian and Polish collocation equivalents in parliamentary discourse are based on conventional metaphors and involve several groups of verbs as dominant elements: existential verbs, verbs of physical/body action (carrying, moving away, approaching, running away, placing, changing position, removing), verbs of battle/struggle, verbs of governing.

Parliamentary corpora that include both spoken language and administrative-legislative terminology, are a representative source of metaphorical collocations that 1) denote processuality as a reference to the dynamics of extralinguistic changes that are categorically realized in language by verbs (e.g. appointment, law enforcement, career progress, prosecution, taking power, hard work), and 2) contribute to the rhetoric of parliamentary speeches. The analyzed collocations show that Croatian and Polish represent the same metaphorical concepts regardless of whether they belong to the same or different semantic fields.

A broader contrastive analysis of verbal collocations would include other languages, revealing similarities and differences in the metaphorical mapping between the source and target domains in individual languages or entire language families.

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Metafora u glagolskim kolokacijama u hrvatskom i poljskom jeziku

Iako su u jezikoslovnoj literaturi glagolske kolokacije u odnosu na imeničke kolokacije znatno slabije opisane, njihova potvrđenost u upotrebi te kolokacijski potencijal svakako ih svrstava u važnu skupinu višerječnih izraza. U ovom se istraživanju na primjerima stotinjak glagolskih kolokacija preuzetih iz hrvatskog i poljskog govornoga korpusa ParlaMint-HR 2.0 (Croatian parliament) i ParlaMint-PL 2.0 (Polish parliament), koji sadržavaju transkripte parlamentarnih sjednica, te na primjerima preuzetima iz *Kolokacijske baze hrvatskoga jezika* (<http://ihj.hr/kolokacije/>) analizira metaforički potencijal glagola koji su nositelji takvih kolokacija (npr. *snositi odgovornost, stupiti na snagu, podignuti optužnicu, udružiti snage, ući u raspravu, uhvatiti se posla, odbaciti prijedlog*). Polazimo od hipoteze da je u podlozi istraženih kolokacija izražavanje procesualnosti kao referencija dinamike promjena u vremenu, koja se u jeziku kategorijski izražava glagolima. Preliminarna analiza upućuje na glagole koji pripadaju glagolima kretanja, fizičke radnje ili fizičkoga kontakta koji u takvim kolokacijama metaforički ili metonimijski označavaju apstraktne, najčešće mentalne ili komunikacijske odnose. Ova se analiza provodi za potrebe izrade višejezičnoga rječnika glagolskih kolokacija (hrvatskoga, poljskoga, njemačkoga i engleskoga), a u okviru ovoga istraživanja hrvatske glagolske kolokacije uspoređuju se s njihovim ekvivalentima u poljskom jeziku (npr. *ponosić odpowiedzialność, wchodzić w życie, wnieść akt oskarżenia, połączyć siły, przystąpić do dyskusji, zabrać się do pracy, odrzucić propozycję*).

Ključne riječi: hrvatski jezik, poljski jezik, glagolske kolokacije, govorni korpus, metafora, ParlaMint

Metaphor in Verbal Collocations Expressing Emotions. Examples from Croatian and French

Barbara Vodanović

In order to identify certain properties of collocations beyond final categorization, this chapter focuses on verbal collocations based on metaphors in the semantic representation of basic emotions (fear, sadness, anger, happiness) in Croatian and French. The research will be based on the corpus of collocations in the Croatian language (*Kolokacijska baza hrvatskog jezika*, ihji.hr/kolokacije) and the French web corpus *frTenTen* (2017). Considering the complexity of verbal collocations (verb/light verb constructions as a special type of verbal collocations) and the difficulty of identifying collocations, the chapter tends to propose, reflecting on Guillaume's *signifié de puissance*, some insights into the structural and/or functional equivalence between Croatian and French in order to enhance phraseological competence in students of French as a foreign language.

Keywords: verbal collocations, Croatian, French

1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the inventory of collocations from the semantic field of “emotions,” with the noun bases *tuga* (sadness), *ljutnja* (anger), *strah* (fear), and *sreća* (happiness) in Croatian, and *tristesse*, *colère*, *peur*, and *bonheur* in French, including their verbal collocates.

According to the American psychologist Paul Ekman, these four emotions are part of a group of seven so-called basic emotions:⁴⁷ anger, disgust, enjoyment, fear, sadness, surprise, and contempt. These four terms were selected as prototypical expressions of feelings in both languages based on the experience with the representations of emotions in books and dictionaries for children up to the age of eight⁴⁸. The goal of this chapter is to examine the conceptualisation of emotions within collocations with metaphorical verbal collocates and to give a comparative

47 For much more elaborate study, the definition of primary emotions, and classification of expression with emotional motivation in Croatian phraseology see Kovačević and Ramadanović 2016.

48 However, the lexical field for these emotions includes other partially synonymous terms in both languages (e.g., for happiness: *sreća/radost/veselje* or *bonheur/joye/satisfaction*; for anger: *ljutnja/bijes/srdžba* or *colère/fureur/rage*; for sadness: *tuga/žalost/jad* or *tristesse/chagrin/angoisse*; *strah/srepnja/bojazan* or *peur/craite/effroi*, etc.) which were not considered in this study.

analysis of French and Croatian collocations expressing emotions.

In order to investigate the conceptualisation of emotions in the lexicon of the two languages, the chapter follows the idea of an invariant in the semantic organisation of the nucleus meaning of the collocational base. The chapter proposes that the semantic nucleus contains a “signifié de puissance”, which can be realised according to the user’s need to produce speech (see Gautier and Vejans; 2012; Guillaume 2003). Since conceptualisation is, as claimed by Gaudin (1996: 608), a construction of the public character which Mel’čuk (2013) translates as “une description symbolique d’un état des choses dans le monde dont le Locuteur veut parler”,⁴⁹ the chapter claims that all and only those possibilities which are included in the *signifié de puissance* can enable a selection of the collocate in the complex lexical construction, that is, that they can be lexicalised. The collocation, being an essentially binary association⁵⁰ defined by the predicate-argument relation, presents a dissymmetric structure. The base is represented by its usual meaning whereas the collocate is semantically dependent and chosen according to the base (Hausmann, 2007: 122-123). This secondary element is more idiomatic and can be subjected to some semantic or lexical restriction. Consequently, for Tutin (2013), this dissymmetry is not accidental; it is due to the semantic structure of a collocation. The collocation is an association of a predicate and an argument, where the base is the lexically and semantically stable argument and the collocate is the predicate, such as in *heavy* (pred) *smoker* (arg), *la tristesse* (arg) *envahit* (pred), *mourir* (pred) *de tristesse* (arg), etc.

2. Methodology overview

The preliminary research extracts collocations associated with the aforementioned noun bases from hrwac2.2 and frTenTen23 corpus by means of the Sketch Engine tool. In this context, the noun functions as both the syntactic and semantic object to the verb collocate.

The noun base is regarded as the object because emotions are conceptualised as events⁵¹ (Wierzbicka 1999; Kövecses 2001) responding to the question “what?”,

49 A symbolic description of a situation in the world that the Speaker wants to talk about (my comment).

50 It is possible that these expressions present more than two constituents, that is, that the “two elements are not necessarily simple words” as in to *pay close attention* (Tutin 2008). Nevertheless, their status from the semantic point of view is binary in nature: base + (plurilexical) collocate. It is important to note that a great number of lexical collocations considered as ternary (e.g., *pay close attention*, *fall in love*) can be analysed as collocations that are superordinate to their binary counterparts, e.g. *pay attention* + *close attention* → *pay close attention*; it thus seems that “two collocations have the same base and can be syntactically combined” or they represent recursive collocations *fall (in/love)* or *(freshly baked) bread* where the base or the collocate assume the role of a collocation (Tutin 2008).

51 However, we support the idea that figurative meaning of (any) expression refers to its literal meaning in the sense that they share some common semantics. Figurative meanings are

which, when paired with a collocating verb, become dynamic events or events in some stage of motion.

Furthermore, emotions are events within the communication process (Bamberg 1997; Mougín 2017), a notion which is consistent with the [MetaNet.HR](#) database (Despot et al. 2019). This database of conceptual and linguistic metaphors and metonymies, cognitive primitives, image schemas and semantic frames of the Croatian language, with the corresponding lexical items, states that in Croatian and other languages emotions in general are conceptualised as objects in motion and are as such linked to other specific emotional states. Thus, EMOTION IS AN OBJECT (in motion) is linked to metaphors of anger: ANGER IS AN OBJECT THAT IS SHOT / IS THROWN (OUT); joy/happiness: JOY IS AN OBJECT THAT IS FOUND / THAT IS GIVEN / A GIFT, and sadness: SADNESS IS AN OBJECT THAT IS CARRIED / SHARED / A DESIGNATION THAT CAN BE ERASED. Fear, on the other hand, is a container, which is linked to the cognitive metaphor EMOTION IS A CONTAINER / A MOVING BEING / AN AGENT THAT GETS X.

Emotions are universal, rooted in the common biological substrate; however, they are also culturally codified in their expressions and usages (Mougín 2017). In this sense, emotions serve as a mode of communication, deriving meaning from interactions with others, much like speech acts (Bamberg 1997).

Emotions are events that communicate the emotion itself. The event may be triggered either by an external agent or circumstance that gives rise to the emotion, or by the emotion arising internally within the subject – making the subject's own emotional state the locus of the event.

Building upon the prototypical script for the emotion of anger (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987) which conceptualises emotions as events, we divided the verbs into four categories:

1. Cause
2. State (e.g., “anger exists”)
3. Reaction (further subdivided into)
 - 3.1. Controlling emotions (passive reaction)
 - 3.2. Expressing emotions (active reaction)
4. Retribution

associated with our knowledge of them, precisely with respective cultural models; for example, the heart was long considered the centre of the human body, and this model is therefore associated with the following expressions: *the heart of the city*, *the heart of the problem*.

It was assumed that this categorization would yield clusters of verbs that serve as foundational conceptual domains for constructing metaphorical collocations. Within these clusters, the aim is to distinguish between verbs exclusively associated with a particular noun base and those that are used with all the searched noun bases.

The verbal collocate, due to its predicate nature, is “selected based on the meaning to be expressed and the first component” (Mel’čuk 2013). Mel’čuk illustrates his point using the French expression *prendre une décision*. He argues that the noun *décision* is chosen freely because the Speaker wants to talk about the decision. However, the verb *prendre* ‘to take’ is not freely chosen, which becomes evident when we compare it with the English expression “to make a decision” or the Croatian *donijeti odluku* ‘to bring a decision’ where the Speaker is supposed to select another verb instead, in order to express the same concept of ‘beginning the process of deciding’. The verbal collocates used in these expressions are metaphorical, considering the fact that verbs possess a polysemic potential. Lakoff (1987) states that meaning, as well as human cognition in general, function according to the prototypical principle. Just as one member of a category may be more prototypical than the others, one sense of a word may be more prototypical than the other senses. Lakoff (1987: 416) illustrates this by arguing that the verb *to attack* can represent the group of objects, i.e. the category TO ATTACK in different ways. If we compare sentences *The army attacks the city* - *The opposition attacks political right* – *The illness attacks the body*, it is evident that the first sentence is more typical than the last one. This shows, as suggested by Dilks (2011), that polysemy is a gradual phenomenon as we encounter usages that are at unequal distances from the prototype. This represents the case of polysemous usage, or according to the prototypical theory, a conventional metaphor.

It is thus argued that the verbal collocate has a polysemous and metaphorical potential that affects the subject's emotion/event. Consequently, the action expressed by the verb influences the subject. The subject may experience the emotion, externalize it, or remain unaffected, while the event may have consequences for the subject or for others involved in the process. Therefore, according to Lakoff and Kövecses, if the subject experiences an emotion, we can relate it to the category of state. If the subject conveys the emotion, it is related to the category of cause. If the subject reacts to it actively or passively, they are expressing or internalizing it. And finally, if the emotion is reflected onto the object, it is considered a retribution. Accordingly, the verbs are categorized into the clusters following the prototypical script indicating the base: sadness, anger, fear, and happiness.

One of the challenges in this categorization is the aspect of verbs. The aspectual distinctions in Croatian demonstrate how actions are realized: for example, the imperfect form *vladati* ‘to rule’ denotes a state, while the perfect inchoative *zavladati* is a cause, and the perfect cessative *nadvladati* is a consequence. The same problem occurs with verb tenses in French, which also, as is known, express aspect. It must be noted, however, that only the forms recorded in the corpus analysis were included in the cluster. The analysis therefore concentrates

on approximately 420 tokens representing verbal collocates, of which 200 are Croatian and 220 are French.

3. Deconstructing the emotional script

We can generally perceive some analogies in both languages in the organization of verbal collocations expressing emotions. For example, in the category cause, we find verbs that refer to giving or providing, invoking or encouraging an action aimed at achieving a result: *proizvesti, stvarati, uzrokovati, izazvati, buditi, donijeti, prizvati, potaknuti* / *porter, offrir, repandre, semer, causer, créer, faire, inspirer, provoquer, susciter*, etc.⁵² In the category of state, there are verbs expressing possession and perception: *osjećati, podnositi, simbolizirati, postojati / ressentir, connaître, symboliser, signifier, être, vouloir, avoir, sentir, vivre*, etc.⁵³ While the category of active response includes verbs expressing release or removal, displaying or showing, changing of intensity and state or ending: *iskaliti, ispoljiti, izraziti, osloboditi, pojačati, pokazati, smanjiti, istjerati, otkloniti, pobijediti, preboljeti, prevladati, ukloniti, ublažiti, osloboditi, otpustiti, pojačati, umiriti* / *avouer, calmer, crier, dissiper, dire, effacer, répondre, épancher, hurler, raconter, manifester, soulager, surmonter, exterioriser, transformer, vaincr*, etc.,⁵⁴ in the category of passive response, there are verbs expressing suppression: *suzbiti, prikriti, potisnuti, gutati, prikriti, zatomiti* / *catcher, dissimuler, entraver, refouler*.⁵⁵

However, there are some category-specific collocators, such as the French *agiter* 'agitate' + *peur* 'fear'; *emmaner* 'emanate', *feindre* 'pretend', *noyer* 'drown' + *tristesse* 'sadness'; *piquer* 'sting' + *colère* 'anger' and the Croatian *posijati* 'sow', *rađati* 'give birth' + *strah* 'fear'; *krojiti* 'tailor' + *sreću* 'happiness' and *utopiti* 'drown', *zalijevati* 'to water' + *tugu* 'sadness'.

3.1. Representations corresponding to the distribution of verbal collocates and noun bases expressing emotions

As evidenced by corpus data, the emotional script is represented from two different perspectives. The first two tables indicate the number of verbal collocates that are involved in expressing emotions, while the last two offer a different perspective to the script listing the number of base emotions linked to the expressed verbal script.

52 'produce', 'create', 'cause', 'induce', 'awake', 'bring', 'invoke', 'stimulate' / 'bring', 'offer', 'spread', 'sow', 'cause', 'make', 'do', 'inspire', 'prorogue', 'spark'

53 'feel', 'endure', 'symbolize', 'exist' / 'feel', 'know', 'symbolize', 'mean', 'be', 'want', 'have', 'feel', 'live'

54 'bring out', 'manifest', 'express', 'release', 'enhance', 'show', 'reduce', 'exorcise', 'remove', 'defeat', 'overcome', 'overcome', 'remove', 'mitigate', 'free', 'release', 'amplify', 'appease' / 'confess', 'calm', 'shout', 'dissipate', 'say', 'erase', 'respond', 'pour out', 'howl', 'tell', 'manifest', 'relieve', 'overcome', 'exteriorize', 'transform', 'conquer'

55 'repress', 'cover up', 'suppress', 'swallow up', 'cover up', 'shut up' / 'hide', 'conceal', 'hinder', 'repress'

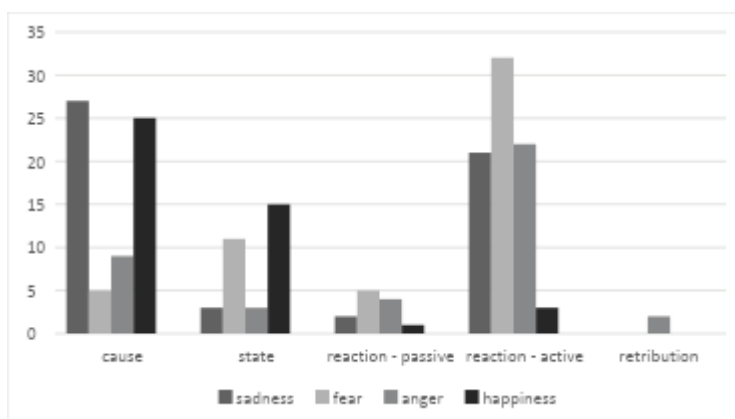


Figure 1. Verbal collocates linked to noun bases expressing emotions in Croatian

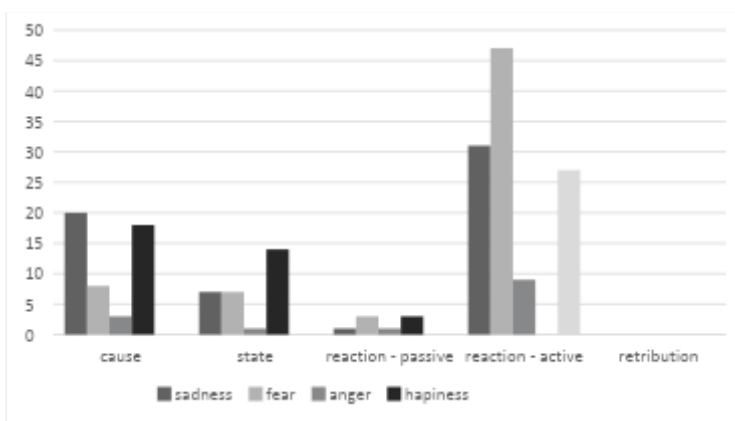


Figure 2. Verbal collocates linked to noun bases expressing emotions in French

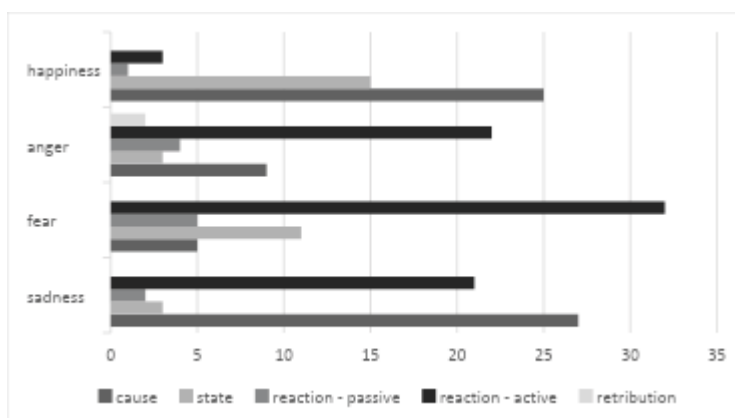


Figure 3. Noun bases expressing emotions linked to the verbal collocates in Croatian

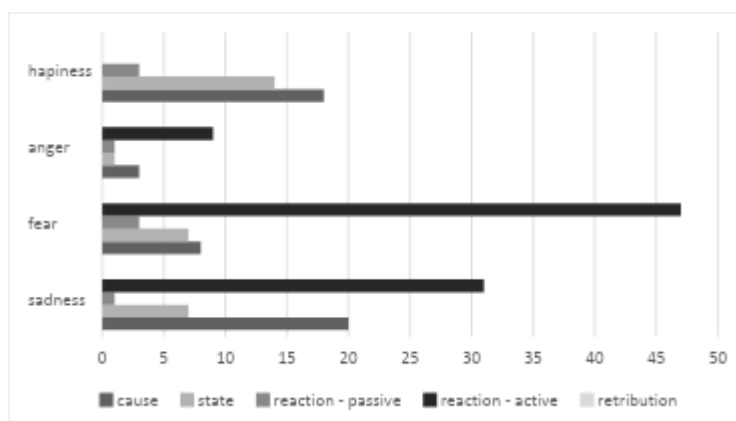


Figure 4. Noun bases expressing emotions linked to the verbal collocates in French

Consequently, the two sets of graphs show us the following. In the Croatian corpus, sadness and happiness are mostly linked to the prototypical cause, while fear and anger are mostly active reactions. We observe that anger and sadness are also well represented as active reactions. Happiness and fear are represented in the script of state, while other scripts are less represented. In the French corpus, fear is dominantly linked to an active reaction, followed by sadness and happiness. Sadness and happiness are also linked to the cause. Regarding states, French speakers are, according to this corpus, mostly happy rather than sad or scared. Retribution is linked only to the emotion of fear but is very weakly represented or non-existent in the chosen corpora.

4. Conclusion

This chapter deals with the first of several phases in the formation of verbal metaphorical collocations. This phase is the one in which the inherent *signifié de puissance* which exists in the noun base argument is linked to the collocate predicating or actualizing the meaning.

The chapter suggests that emotions are cognitively regarded as objects in motion, anger is “thrown”, happiness is “found”, sadness is “carried”, and fear is “a container” or “a being in motion”, so the verbal collocates in both French and Croatian have been clustered according to Lakoff’s and Kövecses’s prototypical script which predicates that motion describes the trajectory of the object in motion throughout the stages of its development. Both languages use mostly the same verbal collocates for a specific emotion, which is not surprising due to the similarities in the conceptualisation of emotions, but there are some differences in the script between the two languages, mostly in the selection of the dominant representation and in the number of occurrences. One can conclude that Croatian, considering the choice of predicates, views sadness and happiness as a cause, although happiness can also be a state. On the other hand, anger and fear are mostly active reactions. Although the differences lie in the choice of some very picturesque collocates in Croatian, such as ‘to sow’ or ‘to give birth to a fear’ or ‘to

tailor happiness', we find that identical script in French as well.

This may suggest that the metaphorical expressions referring to expressing emotions should also mostly match in the two languages. However, this supposition can only be confirmed after further research.

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Metafore za izražavanje emocija u glagolskim kolokacijama na primjerima iz hrvatskog i francuskog jezika

U cilju identifikacije određenih obilježja kolokacija, ali bez namjere za njihovom konačnom kategorizacijom, naš interes u ovom radu usmjeren je na proučavanje metaforičkih glagolskih kolokata koje koristimo uz imenice za osnovne emocije (strah, tugu, ljutnju, sreću) u hrvatskome i u francuskome jeziku. Istraživanje je rađeno na temelju korpusa kolokacija hrvatskoga jezika (*Kolokacijska baza hrvatskog jezika*, ihjj.hr/kolokacije) i francuskog mrežnog korpusa *frTenTen* (2017). S obzirom na složenost glagolskih kolokacija i poteškoća u prepoznavanju same kolokacije, nastojimo na temelju Guillaumeove ideje o *signifié de puissance* predložiti neke uvide u strukturnu i/ili funkcionalnu istovrijednost između hrvatskog i francuskog jezika kako bismo ojačali frazeološku kompetenciju studenata francuskog kao stranog jezika.

Glavne riječi: glagolske kolokacije, hrvatski, francuski

Metaphorical Collocations from a Specialised Text-Typological Perspective

Alessandra Zurolo

The chapter outlines the methodology and preliminary results of a pilot study designed to provide a structural and functional account of conceptual metaphors and their significance for the description and classification of specialised text types. The study focuses on the language of medicine, but the results can be applied to other specialized languages as well. The data presented in this chapter form part of a larger study that aims to uncover text type-specific uses of conceptual metaphors in specialised and scientific communication. The chapter starts with a brief introduction to the theoretical foundations of the study, which are rooted in both specialised text-type linguistics (German *Textsortenlinguistik*) and metaphor research. It then illustrates some of the results, before outlining possible directions for further research.

Keywords: metaphorical collocations, medicine, text-linguistics, Language for Specific Purposes, Deliberate-Metaphor-Theory

1. Theoretical background

1.1. The text(type) as a scientific object of study

The description and analysis of texts represents one of the most complex and controversial fields of study in the history of modern linguistics. In his introduction to text linguistics, Adamzik (2016) provides a comprehensive overview of the intricate history of the field's development, tracing its evolution in linguistics from the structuralist perspective of its early stages to the cognitivist approaches that currently define much of text linguistics. In addition, she highlights the manifold still debated issues that continue to shape the field. The variety of analytical models and definitions of text that have emerged over time makes it essential to begin any analysis of textual studies with a clear delimitation of the approach being used, as this is directly related to the specific perspectives on the phenomenon under investigation. This study is grounded in the following definition of text types, as articulated by Brinker et al.:

Textsorten sind konventionell geltende Muster für komplexe sprachliche Handlungen und lassen sich als jeweils typische Verbindungen von kontextuellen (situativen), kommunikativ-funktionalen und strukturellen (grammatischen und thematischen) Merkmalen beschreiben. Sie haben sich in der Sprachgemeinschaft historisch entwickelt und gehören zum Alltagswissen der Sprachteilhaber; sie besitzen zwar

eine normierende Wirkung, erleichtern aber zugleich den kommunikativen Umgang, indem sie den Kommunizierenden mehr oder weniger feste Orientierungen für die Produktion und Rezeption von Texten geben. (Brinker et al. 2014.: 139)⁵⁶

The definition illustrates the intricate and multidimensional nature of the text type as an object of linguistic study. This complexity is a consequence of the observation that the interrelated extra-linguistic factors of context and, above all, function play an essential role in the linguistic structure. Furthermore, these factors have a significant impact on the connection between linguistic elements, which appears synchronically rather fixed and static. However, this connection has in fact developed historically. A comparable level of complexity characterises the notion of a specialised text. This is typically identified in accordance with Lothar Hoffmann's traditional definition, which remains valid today. It is described as an instrument and outcome of communicative activity in specialised contexts. It is a complex linguistic and structural entity, reflecting the inherent complexity of both mental and extra-linguistic reality:

Instrument und Resultat der im Zusammenhang mit einer spezialisierten gesellschaftlich-produktiven Tätigkeit ausgeübten sprachlich-kommunikativen Tätigkeit; er besteht aus einer endlichen, geordneten Menge logisch, semantisch und syntaktisch kohärenten Sätze (Texteme) oder satzwertiger Einheiten, die als komplexe sprachliche Zeichen komplexe Propositionen im Bewusstsein des Menschen und komplexen Sachverhalten in der objektiven Realität entsprechen. (Hoffmann 1985: 233f)⁵⁷

Pragmatically oriented approaches present a variety of models for the description and classification of specialised text types. In the field of German LSP research, they have been traditionally classified according to the socio-functional categories of 'internal' and 'external' communication (see Gläser 1990; Göpferich 1995). These categories are based on the different hierarchically structured levels of specialised communication. Consequently, texts employed for the communication between experts are classified as 'internal', while texts intended for the communication between experts and laypersons are designated as 'external'. Regarding metaphor analysis, the implication of such categorisation is that the use of metaphors may also serve as an indicator of group membership (for investigations aiming at highlighting the link between metaphors and specialised discourse; see Herrmann and Sardinha 2015). However, an analysis of textbooks

56 "Text types are conventionally valid patterns for complex linguistic actions and can be described as typical combinations of contextual (situational), communicative-functional and structural (grammatical and thematic) features. They have developed historically in the language community and are part of the everyday knowledge of language participants; although they have a standardising effect, they also facilitate communicative interaction by providing communicators with more or less fixed orientations for the production and reception of texts."

57 "Instrument and result of the linguistic-communicative activity carried out in the context of a specialised social-productive activity [conceived]; it consists of a finite, ordered set of logically, semantically and syntactically coherent sentences (textme) or sentential units which, as complex linguistic signs, correspond to complex propositions in human consciousness and complex facts in objective reality".

and popular science texts reveals the problematic nature of such categorisation. Both text types are functionally quite complex, and this complexity is reflected in their structural features. Academic textbooks serve as an introduction to new scientific fields, presenting and, where necessary, clarifying the established state of research in the respective subject area (see Bongo 2008; Zurolo 2022). They employ subject-specific terminology and facilitate learners' acquisition of the required knowledge and scientific, i.e. specialised language proficiency by highlighting the distinctive features of such linguistic field (i.e. terminology regarding its specific meaning, internal relations and contexts of use). In accordance with the typology outlined above, these texts can be situated at an intermediate level of specialised communication, occupying a position that bridges the gap between internal and external communication. There are numerous similarities between the characteristics of academic textbooks and those of popularisation texts. Consequently, Göpferich (1995) categorised both types of text under the same class at the initial levels of abstraction, differentiating them solely on the basis of the manner in which they present knowledge. However, popularisation does not provide a systematic overview of the established state of research. Instead, it typically selects one or more scientific phenomena and transforms them into knowledge accessible to the public and, in some cases, into news. As a result, research knowledge is reformulated and recontextualised (see Bongo and Caliendo 2014; Gotti 2014). It also exhibits a high degree of interdiscursivity, as the knowledge is transformed into a press release that can appeal to and interest a very general audience with the most differentiated educational backgrounds. In addition to their descriptive and explanatory functions, popular science texts display a range of other characteristics, the specifics of which may vary according to context and historical circumstances. The press plays a significant role in the formation of public opinion. It is also evident that this must be reflected in the use of metaphors. Therefore, it is crucial to integrate metaphor analysis with the functional description of text types in the context of specialised communication. This entails not only the identification of conceptual patterns and their linguistic manifestations, but also the determination of their communicative contribution.

1.2. (Metaphorical) collocations and textual analysis

As words that are frequently co-occurring and ubiquitous in both oral and written usage (Targońska 2014: 128), collocations, among other structural linguistic elements, could be associated with specific characteristics of text types that are functionally determined. Despite their pervasive presence, the precise definition of this phenomenon has not always been clear. In the view of Burger (2010: 38, 52), collocation is regarded as a non-idiomatic or weakly idiomatic phraseological unit. The fact that it exhibits a lower degree of idiomaticity in comparison to other phraseological phenomena has resulted in a certain degree of neglect of such linguistic phenomena in phraseological research. Following an initial period of marginalisation, collocations have now become a central focus of phraseological interest. Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that they are integral to foreign language proficiency. A systematic analysis of metaphorical collocations from a contrastive perspective could, therefore, elucidate differences in the linguistic

structure and facilitate the use of such knowledge in the domain of foreign language learning for various communicative purposes. From a methodological standpoint, the incorporation of computational linguistic tools into qualitative analysis is a valuable approach. Nevertheless, this does not imply that qualitative analysis should be entirely disregarded. Since, according to the Duden dictionary, collocations ultimately represent the “content-related combinability of linguistic units”⁵⁸, qualitative analysis facilitates the investigation of semantic connections or affinities between word combinations. It is evident that collocations emerge within the context of established grammatical and semantic connection rules. These can be in fact also defined as “characteristic, frequently occurring word combinations whose common occurrence is based on a regularity of mutual expectability, i.e. is primarily semantically justified” (Bußmann, 2008: 345). However, the definitive proof that a particular word combination is indeed a collocation is the frequency of its occurrence, which can only be accurately discerned through rigorous corpus linguistic analysis. Lemnizer and Zinsmeister define collocation in the context of corpus linguistics as “the repeated co-occurrence of two words in a structurally interesting unit,” whereby “in a collocation, one word influences the selection of another word in favour of words with the same or similar meaning” (2006: 196). The concept of content-related combinability is also connected to the concept of metaphorical collocation, which requires further clarification. The definitions of metaphorical collocations are multifaceted and not always convergent, as Patekar (2022) observes in his review of relevant literature on the subject. He defines metaphorical collocations as “a specific type of collocations, in which one component, the collocate, is used figuratively, thus resulting in the metaphorical meaning of the whole collocation” (2022: 44). While this definition applies to most of the cases identified in this work, there are also examples of collocations in which the base itself is derived from a conceptual metaphor. For instance, the term “Killerzellen” in the collocation “natürliche Killerzellen” can be interpreted as a linguistic manifestation of the military metaphor (see 2.1. and 2.1.1.). Therefore, a broader definition of metaphorical collocations is required. In this work, metaphorical collocations are understood as fixed (metaphorically connoted) word combinations that are typically based on pre-existing conceptual patterns. It is, in fact, assumed that new metaphors would not be recognisable in conventional structures, such as collocations. However, the data collected indicate that such conventional patterns, which in literature are occasionally also referred to as *dead*, are still in use and are being reinterpreted in creative ways, particularly in popularisation. The determination of metaphorical collocation is closely linked to the question of word combination or the semantic compatibility of two words. Such compatibility can be established metaphorically, that is to say, through a targeted and systematic transfer between two semantic domains. In the case of metaphorical collocations, this entails that one part of the word unit reveals the properties (or the semantic elements projected into the target domain) of the other part, characterised metaphorically. To exemplify this, we may consider the very common phrase “Zellen / Viren angreifen”. The verb *angreifen*

58 “inhaltliche Kombinierbarkeit sprachlicher Einheiten” (definition 2a) <https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Kollokation>, last visited 26/11/2024

(to *attack*), which evokes the underlying schema of cells or viruses as either aggressors or victims (i.e. the war metaphor), reveals contextual elements of the other component, namely that cells can be capable of action and aggressive. The projection of semantic elements is metaphorically determined, and the fact that such a metaphorical basis is not perceived as such at first glance shows that it is an established or consolidated part of language use. In conclusion, a metaphorical collocation can be defined as a fixed, partially idiomatic word combination with a collocater that exhibits different variants of meaning. To identify metaphorical collocations, it is therefore necessary to determine whether the collocater exhibits different variants of meaning and to identify the specific meaning it conveys in a given context, whether lexicalised or contextual.

2. The study

To determine possible collocations, a small sample corpus consisting of two textbooks on virology and selected popular science articles on the new coronavirus from the weekly magazines *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* has been used. The following textbooks on Virology have been analysed:

- Modrow et al. (2010): *Molekulare Virologie*. Spektrum. Heidelberg.
- Mims et al. (2004): *Medizinische Mikrobiologie Infektiologie. Mit Virologie und Immunologie*. Elsevier GmbH, Urban & Fischer Verlag. München.

Due to the extraordinary event and the particularly difficult situation, purely medical concepts (such as *infection and vaccination*) required during the pandemic a targeted explanation for the public. To obtain thematically coherent results, keywords related to the topic of vaccination, which has received a lot of attention in popularisation, have been selected from the corpus of popularised texts containing circa 37000 words: *Virus; Immunsystem; immunologisch; Impfung; Antikörper; Protein; Zelle; mRNA, (Krankheits-)Erreger* (i.e. *virus; immune system; immunological; vaccine; antibody; proteins; cells; mRNA, disease agent*). The repeated use of such words with specific other words whose semantic connection is metaphorical have been noted as (possible) metaphorical collocations. Those combinations were then compared to the frequency of their occurrence in deTenTen23 to see if they are indeed common in language use in this form. The linguistic metaphors have been identified following the guidelines of the Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group 2007 and Steen et al. 2010, as well as Hermann et al. 2019, who adapted the procedure to German). The detected domains of origin largely correspond to the domains already identified in the literature: in addition to *space* and *personification*, above all *war*, *communication* and *machine*.

2.1. Results

In LSP communication, collocations might appear in different forms, thereby also showing different linguistic behaviours (cfr. e.g. L'Homme 2009; 2000; L'Homme & Bertrand 2000). L'Homme (2009: 15) moves from a general definition of collocation as an “unpredictable combination of lexical units” and reflects on the specific forms they display in LSP communication, as a starting point to suggest possible organisation criteria in specialised dictionaries. Particularly relevant to the description of the results of this study is her suggestion that in specialised contexts the keyword (i.e. the base) might be a term, which directly imposes the choice of the collocate (L'Homme 2009: 16). L'Homme & Bertrand (2000) had in fact highlighted how such specialised lexical combinations should be treated differently than general collocations, since “collocations are conventional within a given linguistic community; [while] SLCs are conventional within a group of specialists” (L'Homme & Bertrand 2000: 498). Contrary to general collocations, in specialised lexical combinations “many lexemes defined as co-occurents can combine with groups of semantically related terms” (L'Homme & Bertrand 2000: 498). In this regard, their behaviour seems to reflect a group of combinations found in this study, that needs to be distinguished from the strictly terminological word combinations. In this chapter, two kind of recurrent word combinations have been found. The group named “terminological units” refers to the ones that have been lexicalised as a whole and are to be regarded as part of technical language in the narrower sense: the co-occurrence of the adjective *natürlich* with the compound *Killerzellen* in the unity “*natürliche Killerzellen*”⁵⁹ (natural killer cells), for example, denote in the medical field specific cell types that can not be named otherwise: their designation is part of the terminology. The term *Killerzellen* is not used in other contexts and imposes the choice of the adjective *natürlich*. The same applies to “*programmierter Zelltod*”⁶⁰ (programmed cell death) and partially to “*virale Immunevasion*” (viral immune evasion), even if the process of immune evasion can also apply to other micro-organisms and tumour cells⁶¹. In some cases, such as in “*natürliche Killerzellen*”, the reference to English must also be considered for such collocations. Many collocations contain, in fact, English elements, so that the unit also involves cases of code-switching and is lexicalised in the language system as such, or they are structurally based on semantically equivalent English collocations. A systematic comparison of English and German teaching texts could be of great benefit in this respect for the academic communication and the training in foreign language contexts. In purely theoretical terms, this could also clarify the extent to which the German language still uses its structural potential for innovation in an increasingly English-dominated academic world. Other types of collocations have been classified as “Specialised Lexical Combination” following L'Homme & Bertrand (2000): they show a high frequency of co-occurrence in the medical field, where they have acquired a specific meaning, but the combination itself does not represent a terminological unit. For example, even if the base

59 <https://flexikon.doccheck.com/de/NK-Zelle>

60 https://flexikon.doccheck.com/de/Programmierter_Zelltod

61 <https://flexikon.doccheck.com/de/Immunevasion>

“Abwehr” most frequently appear with the collocate “immunologisch” in textbooks, this kind of collocation cannot be defined as terminological: firstly, because the word “Abwehr” (contrary to “Killerzellen”) itself is not a term, but rather a general word used in different medical contexts to denote also slightly diverse medical processes (from an anatomical, physiological and microbiological perspective). Moreover, “Abwehr” does not always occur in combination with „immunologisch“: “körperliche / körpereigene, interferonvermittelte, angeborene, humorale, wirkungsvolle / effective, extrazelluläre, spezifische / unspezifische, oberflächliche Abwehr” are among the combinations also attested in the textbooks. However, they show a clear lower frequency (in most cases the combination only appears once) than “immunologische Abwehr”. Since the frequency of co-occurrence with “immunologisch” is clearly higher, this kind of word combination has been classified as collocation, and since the co-occurrence is not required by the terminological system of the field, the collocation has been termed in this chapter “Specialised Lexical Combinations”, following the terminology introduced by Homme & Bertrand (2000), thereby implying that the co-occurrence is typical for the medical communication, even if it does not belong to its specific terminology. Despite the fact that these two categories have been explicitly delineated to categorise the findings of this analysis, they could potentially be integrated into the existing pertinent literature on the subject. It can be hypothesised that collocations in LSP communication can be classified in a similar way to the (pragmatic) classification of terms, which varies according to different semantic and textual parameters, in particular the degree of semantic (i.e. terminological) specificity and the context of use (Roelcke 2010: 56).

2.1.1. The WAR metaphor

The war metaphor is particularly well-known in medical communication research and was criticised for its psychological implications even before the pandemic (see the famous non-linguistic but groundbreaking work by Sontag 1990). During the pandemic, however, it acquired a new relevance from a collective point of view (Semino 2021). It is probably one of the oldest patterns of medical communication. Its roots lie in ancient classical medicine of Greek origin (Bauer 2006). Regarding the topic selected for this study, traces of this conventional metaphor can be found in linguistic metaphors that depict the immune system as a protective force, viruses (or pathogens) as enemies to be fought and, where appropriate, attackers and vaccines as weapons. There are collocation instantiating these patterns:

Specialised Lexical Combination	Terminological units
Immunologische Abwehr (SE = 62; P = 0; L = 5) ⁶² Eindringende Erreger (SE = 83; P = 0; L = 8) Virus angreifen (SE = 276; P = 2; L = 0)	Natürliche Killerzellen (S = 584; P = 0; L = 35)

The metaphorical scheme also serves as the basis for terminological collocations,

62 The abbreviations SE, L and P stand for Sketch Engine; Lehre (teaching) and Popularisation

i.e. word combinations that have a terminological value, whose meaning has been established in this form, such as “natürliche Killerzellen”, i.e. natural killer cells. From the quantitative data, it appears that the sample corpus of popularisation was not of great importance in determining the collocations, as they were not statistically significant. Indeed, such a corpus, consisting of approximately 37,000 words, is too small to provide representative data in quantitative terms. Nevertheless, these articles do appear to be relevant from a qualitative point of view, particularly regarding functional and text-type contrastive description. In popularisation, however, the war metaphor does not occur frequently in collocation. It is rather used in various unconventional ways:

1. So lernen sie [d.h. Immunzellen], mit welchen **Waffen** sie dagegen ankommen. Der Körper legt gewissermaßen **ein Arsenal** an für den Fall einer künftigen Ansteckung (Zeit Online 04/2021).⁶³

The underlying cognitive schema is not shown here in the form of collocations, i.e. established and conventional word combinations, but in a new, creative way, as the example shows, in which the functioning of the immune system is equated with an arsenal. The aggressiveness of the virus as an enemy was strongly emphasised in popularisation, especially in the first phase of the pandemic. A further development of this metaphor can be found on the cover of Der Spiegel 15/20. The issue is entitled “Das Pleitevirus. Wie Corona unsere Wirtschaft infiziert, Jobs und Wohlstand frisst”⁶⁴. The front cover displays a series of banknotes, which metonymically refer to the economy being progressively devoured by the virus, thereby presenting the economy as the victim of the virus’s aggressiveness. The same domains are re-used verbally in the same issue to express similar ideas:

2. Und wer entscheidet eigentlich, wie lange wir **Zombies am Leben halten**: Unternehmen, die auch vor Corona schon kriselten [...] und nun dank Staatshilfe eine **künstliche Lebensverlängerung** erhalten?⁶⁵ (Der Spiegel 15/20: 15)

In such a framework, where health and political and financial issues are metaphorically combined, the cost-benefit analysis that tragically governs military operations can be applied to the health system, thus to the economy and ultimately to life itself.

63 ‘In this way, they [i.e. immune cells] learn which weapons they can use to fight back. The body builds up an arsenal, so to speak, in case of a future infection’. (<https://www.zeit.de/wissen/gesundheit/2021-04/funktionsweise-corona-impfstoff-mrna-impfung-immunitaet-immunsystem-vektor-proteinbasiert>), last visited 29/11/24.

64 <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/index-2020-15.html>. „The bankrupt virus. How corona is infecting our economy, devouring jobs and prosperity“

65 ‘And who actually decides how long we keep zombies alive? Companies that were already in crisis before coronavirus [...] and are now being given an artificial extension of life thanks to state aid?’

2.1.2. The MACHINE metaphor

Another schema that is historically deeply rooted is the machine metaphor: its roots go back to the Enlightenment. The best-known form of this metaphor is used to describe the brain, which is depicted as a computer (s. Goschler 2008). The parts that can be considered defective can be not only organs or tissues, but also the smallest living units of the organism, the cells, as in this corpus, which consists of textbooks on virology, thus focussing on the smallest organic units. These small units are regarded as technical elements that serve to programme devices:

Specialised Lexical Combination	Terminological units
Defekte Viren (SE = 2; L= 4; P= 0) Zelle programmieren (SE = 19; P = 2; L = 4)	Programmierter Zelltod (SE= 335 P= 0; L= 19)

However, the machine metaphor is also particularly well suited to describing the relationship between the parts and the whole of the body: If a part is defective, it can be healed or repaired in isolation. This metaphor therefore focuses not on holistic, but on selective representation of the body. Consequently, this has advantages from a therapeutic-surgical perspective, but also some limitations. Viewing organic phenomena as isolated units sometimes makes it difficult to recognise connections, as this example from popularisation shows, in which an established conventional metaphor is reinterpreted. The underlying idea that the body is a machine can, in fact, be recognised in this example of the treatment of Long Covid and the associated symptoms, the connection between which has not yet been explained:

3. Mein Kollege David Putrino und ich haben diese Prozesse deshalb mit Zahnrädern verglichen. Bei manchen Patienten drehen sich vielleicht zwei oder drei **Zahnräder** – Autoimmunität, eine anhaltende Virusinfektion und chronische Schäden der akuten Infektion – und sorgen für Folgeprobleme. Bei anderen dreht sich nur ein Zahnrad, mit der Konsequenz, dass es andere Folgeprobleme gibt. Wir sind bisher aber noch nicht vollends in der Lage, zu sagen, bei welchem Patienten sich welche Zahnräder drehen (Die Zeit 23/2023)⁶⁶.

This shows the potential, but also the limits of such metaphors: the impossibility of recognising the processes behind the movement of the cogwheels also results in the difficulty of treating the disease. Such processes could be probably visualised from a comprehensive, i.e. holistic, perspective.

66 'My colleague David Putrino and I have therefore compared these processes to cogwheels. Some patients may have two or three gears turning - autoimmunity, a persistent viral infection and chronic damage from the acute infection - causing secondary problems. In others, only one cogwheel is turning, with the consequence that there are other secondary problems. However, we are not yet fully able to say which cogwheels are turning in which patients'.

2.1.3. The (technical) COMMUNICATION metaphor

A metaphor constellation specifically linked to the representation of abstract concepts as living organism concerns communication metaphors: microbiological elements (such as cells, proteins, but also viruses and bacteria) are not only personified, but also endowed with the ability to communicate with each other. This metaphor is already hidden in some medical terms: the abbreviation mRNA stands, for example, for messenger ribonucleic acid (also known as messenger RNA or messenger RNA), because it carries genetic information and must “communicate” such information to produce proteins correctly. These proteins are then transcribed or translated. The information to be transferred serves the metaphorical structure of the proteins, which are therefore depicted as buildings, among other things. The explanation of how mRNA works is also provided by the re-emergence of this metaphor in popularisation, in the context of the production of vaccines based on mRNA. The two schemes (MACHINE and COMMUNICATION) are often combined, especially in popularisation. Here there are two examples from *Der Spiegel*, where the (not yet manufactured) vaccine is presented as a technical product:

4. Die Wissenschaftler des Unternehmens glauben, mit der mRNA den Schlüssel gefunden zu haben, um »**die Software des Lebens**« umschreiben zu können.⁶⁷ (*Der Spiegel* 44/2020: 15)
5. »Der Biontech-Impfstoff ist vergleichbar mit einem **iPhone von Apple**«, sagt Analyst Kraus. »Er ist ein Produkt, das viele Menschen unbedingt haben wollen und für das sie auch bereit sind, entsprechend mehr zu bezahlen«.⁶⁸ (*Der Spiegel* 25/2021: 100)

Instead of mRNA or DNA (as in the collocations), the software of life is rewritten here and the vaccine in the second example is presented as a technical-communicative luxury product. This unconventional use of an otherwise very conventional metaphorical pattern does not have a purely descriptive function, but it serves to create a positive representation of the vaccination, which was necessary at the time of the pandemic (to convince society of the importance and necessity of the vaccination despite fears and doubts). We can therefore claim that popularisation articles have a persuasive function.

2.1.4. The SPACE metaphor scheme

In the collocations identified, further metaphorical schemes can be recognised that are particularly productive in everyday communication, such as the already mentioned personifications and the so-called spatial metaphor, which is responsible

67 “The company's scientists believe that with mRNA they have found the key to rewriting ‘the software of life’”.

68 “The Biontech vaccine is comparable to an iPhone from Apple,” says analyst Kraus. “It is a product that many people really want and for which they are prepared to pay more”.

for equating abstract processes with movements in space. The latter is especially productive and has specific characteristics in medical communication. For example, viruses can escape the immune system or the immune response, and terms such as ‘Virale Immunevasion’, a process that enables viruses to escape the immune response, are based on this metaphor:

Specialised Lexical Combination	Terminological units
Verlauf der Infektion (L = 25; SE = 526; P = 0) Immunantwort entgehen (L = 16; SE = 9; P = 0) Immunsystem entgehen (L = 3; SE = 23; P = 0)	Virale Immunevasion (SE = 1; P = 0; L = 2)

Linked to this immunological phenomenon is also the process of viral mutation (as viruses mutate to escape the immune system), and popularisation shows how this conventional metaphor is also being reopened and used creatively to explain this process:

6. Das Virus **kann** an vielen Stellen **in seiner Evolution nicht mehr ohne Weiteres zurück**. [...] ZEIT: Das Virus **ist in eine Sackgasse geraten**? [...] Drostén: Ja, genau, oder es bräuchte eine Art Revolution, durch erneute massive Verbreitung irgendwo auf der Welt, wo das jetzt noch möglich ist (Die Zeit 48/2022: 36)⁶⁹.

3. Discussion

The sample corpus shows that certain collocations are favoured in educational (con)texts. However, when comparing them with the data from Sketch Engine (Killgarif et al. 2004), it should be noted that their use in the press is not excluded. The sample therefore cannot be interpreted as a direct correlation in the sense that certain collocations (can) only occur in one type of text, but that they are more likely to occur in certain types of text or at certain specialised communicative levels. However, as deTenTen23 is primarily based on internet sources, these findings should be checked in the context of a larger corpus of educational texts. Naturally, this paves the way for further future research. Nevertheless, the data used in this study indicate that a possible connection between the analysis of specialised text types and metaphor research could be traced in the form and function of metaphorical units: Since university textbooks are intended to convey canonical knowledge, established conventional linguistic patterns are more frequently used there, which in most cases are used in an equally conventional linguistic form and are only rarely changed for didactic purposes. Such conventional forms often occur in the form of collocations, i.e. as fixed word combinations. Following Steen (2008; 2015), these forms of use can be labelled “non-deliberate”.

69 “At many points in its evolution, the virus can no longer go back. [...] ZEIT: Has the virus reached a dead end? [...] Drostén: Yes, exactly, otherwise it would need a kind of revolution by spreading again on a massive scale somewhere in the world where it is still possible”.

In popularisation, research knowledge is communicated for different, sometimes historically varying purposes: Knowledge transfer is not a mere simplification, but a reformulation and re-contextualisation of research knowledge (Gotti 2014). In this context, even highly conventionalised (i.e. “closed” following Camus 2015: 251) metaphors can be “reopened” (ibid.) and, in some cases, reinterpreted for specific purposes. The function is partly informative, but also partly persuasive. It therefore contains “deliberate uses” (Steen 2015) of metaphors: Speakers consciously choose a particular metaphorical schema and signal its use to fulfil a specific function. This is particularly evident when analysing the vaccination debate during the pandemic, which, not surprisingly, features many creative uses of conventional metaphorical schemata that have also been identified as the basis of collocations in learning contexts. Indeed, when the vaccines were produced, it was necessary to run a sort of vaccination campaign in the press as well, to convince the society of the importance of vaccination as a way out of the pandemic. Positive representations of vaccines that could be interpreted in such a framework include the depiction of the vaccine as a butterfly on the cover of *Die Zeit* 11/2021 entitled “Freiheit für Geimpfte?”⁷⁰ – i.e. freedom for vaccinated? – and the role implicitly assigned to vaccination by the depiction of the pandemic as a labyrinth on the cover of *Die Zeit* 03/2022, entitled “Zurück in die Freiheit?”⁷¹ – i.e. back to Freedom. The concept of the body as a machine and the processes as communication or technical communication is linked to the creative representation of the vaccine as a technology and as a technical programme. The fact that vaccination is depicted as a technology is also reflected in the common compound term ‘Impftechnologie’, i.e. ‘vaccination technology’. A further development of this metaphor can be found in the examples 3 and 4 in which the vaccine is presented as a technical luxury product. To present the vaccination in a positive light, the conventional metaphor is used creatively and reinterpreted for a specific communicative goal, namely in this case persuasion. To summarise, it can be noticed that the functional differences between the text types correlate with the creativity of established metaphorical schemata: The lexicalisation of historically established schemata, which manifests itself in the use of metaphorical collocations, does not lead to the disappearance of creative potential. On the contrary, this potential is in a sense “revived” to fulfil certain functional purposes, such as the persuasive function that can occur in the field of popularisation. However, the same schemata are also used creatively for didactic purposes, both in educational texts and in popularisation. At a broader level, therefore, the conclusions can be formulated in line with the pragmatically orientated work of Gerard Steen (2008, 2015), who distinguishes between the “deliberate” and “non-deliberate” use of metaphors. The metaphorical collocations can be interpreted as signs of “non-deliberateness”, since the metaphorical associations are nonintentional, conveyed in conventional fixed forms and based on historically established patterns. However, it cannot be excluded that the same metaphorical schemes are also used deliberately for a specific communicative function: when this occurs, their linguistic form is rather unconventional. Indeed, this use seems

70 <https://epaper.zeit.de/abo/diezeit/2021/11>

71 <https://epaper.zeit.de/abo/diezeit/2022/03>

to directly correlate with the text type analysis on a genuinely functional base. In addition, general language collocations can be reinterpreted in the context of medical concepts and in turn linked to specific authorial intentions and text type functions. To conclude, certain forms of metaphor use correlate with the characteristics of the respective text types. The communication of 'established scientific knowledge', which is partly metaphorically characterised, takes place through established or consolidated linguistic forms that are also metaphorically characterised, such as collocations. The same metaphorical domain is used creatively in popularisation, and this use correlates with two functional aspects of this text type class, namely interdiscursivity (or the interrelation between different disciplinary domains or discourses), which is also a form of re-contextualisation, and the reformulation of disciplinary knowledge into a press release. The analysis of textbooks in German, a language that is not dominant in international communication, also reveals the importance of systematising metaphorical collocation belonging to the so-called "AWS" ("Alltägliche Wissenschaftssprache" see Ehlich 1999), i.e. general scientific language. The structural (lexical and grammatical) components of the general scientific language are not discourse or field-specific, but rather define the common ground of the scientific communication as such; they derive from everyday communication but acquire specific functions in scientific communication, given that they portray the intrinsic nature of the scientific process itself. Such process is inherently abstract and therefore necessitates metaphorical representation (see Graefen 2009). The most prevalent metaphors in general scientific communication include the notion that ideas are solid entities (e.g. *die Studie basiert auf eine Theorie*, i.e. the study is based on a theory) or that knowledge is a form of perception (e.g. *die wissenschaftlichen Gegenstände erkennen*, i.e. to recognize the scientific objects), as well as the already-mentioned spatial metaphors (e.g. *die gesammelten Daten führen zu Schlussfolgerungen*, i.e. the data collected lead to conclusions). A systematic comparative description of these phraseological units between national non-dominant languages and English as the lingua franca of the international scientific communication has yet to be undertaken, and this would be of great importance for both scientific communication and foreign language acquisition. The acquisition of scientific textual competences, i.e. the skills necessary to understand and produce scientific texts, is in fact one of the most challenging aspects of language acquisition. Considering the issues outlined above, future research should also endeavour to expand the sample corpus for qualitative and quantitative analysis, extend the diachronic perspective to encompass popularisation and other fields of research, and consider the focus on the language-contrastive perspective and the relationship between German as a scientific language and English.

3.1. Final remarks

In terms of (pragmatic approaches to) conceptual metaphor theory, the results contribute to the analysis and classification of text typologies in specialised communication by tracing possible links between the use of metaphorical collocations and other types of word combinations, such as terminological units, which may themselves be based on established metaphorical patterns, e.g. in the

domains of WAR, MACHINE, COMMUNICATION and SPACE. Unfortunately, the sample corpus on popularisation is too small to produce quantitatively significant results at this level. Specifically, only the collocations “Virus angreifen” and “Zelle programmieren” were found in the popularisation sample corpus. However, the sample is highly relevant with regard to the use of “deliberate metaphors” (Steen 2008, 2015). In this sense, metaphorical collocations that rank higher in textbooks and in deTenTen23, which is based on different internet sources – possibly reflecting different levels of specialisation – can be interpreted as signs of “non-deliberateness” (Steen 2015; 2023) of metaphor use and functionally linked to genre classification; they would in fact reflect the routinised use of language specifically required in the higher levels of LSP communication. A creative reformulation of these metaphorical fixed forms can be avoided at the higher levels of abstraction, as partially needed in academic textbooks, because of the need to make communication as precise as possible. Such reflections and creative uses seem to correlate, on the contrary, with the functional features of popularisation. The functionally determined reinterpretation of the metaphorical schemes that underlie such conventionalised forms, in fact, proves that the influence of their creative potential is still alive. On the other hand, it also suggests there is a need to integrate the analysis of metaphorical collocations in LSP communication into a multilevel and multimodal analytical framework. More specifically, the data suggest that metaphorical collocations in specialised (con) texts need to be analysed according to the combination of parameters arising from their communicative behaviour, the established terminological system and their relationship with already established metaphorical schemes.

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Metaphorische Kollokationen aus Fachtextsortenperspektive

Dieses Kapitel skizziert die Methodik und die vorläufigen Ergebnisse einer Pilotstudie, die darauf abzielt, eine strukturelle und funktionale Darstellung von konzeptuellen Metaphern und ihrer Bedeutung für die Beschreibung und Klassifizierung von Fachtextsorten zu liefern. Die Studie nimmt die Medizin als Fallbeispiel, aber die Ergebnisse sollen in die Analyse anderer Wissenschaftsbereiche integriert werden. Die in diesem Kapitel vorgestellten Daten sind Teil einer Studie, die darauf abzielt, die textsortenspezifische Verwendung konzeptueller Metaphern in der fachlichen und wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation aufzudecken. Das Kapitel beginnt mit einer kurzen Einführung in die theoretischen Grundlagen der Studie, die sowohl in der Textsortenlinguistik als auch in der Metaphernforschung verwurzelt sind. Anschließend werden einige der Ergebnisse dargestellt, bevor mögliche Richtungen für die weitere Forschung skizziert werden.

Schlüsselwörter: metaphorische Kollokationen, Medizin, Textlinguistik, Fachsprache, Beabsichtigter Metaphern-Gebrauch

Metaforičke kolokacije iz perspektive specijaliziranih tekstova

Ovo poglavlje prikazuje metodologiju i preliminarne rezultate pilot-studije osmišljene kako bi se pružio strukturni i funkcionalni prikaz konceptualnih metafora te njihove uloge u opisu i klasifikaciji specijaliziranih tekstova. Rezultati analize izneseni u ovome poglavlju odnose se na jezik medicine, a predstavljaju dio širega istraživanja kojim se nastoji otkriti specifičnost uporabe konceptualnih metafora u pojedinim tipovima tekstova u specijaliziranoj i znanstvenoj komunikaciji. Poglavlje započinje kratkim uvodom u teorijske temelje istraživanja koje se oslanja na lingvistiku specijaliziranih tekstova i istraživanje metafore, potom se iznose rezultati te se naposljetku navode mogući smjerovi budućih istraživanja.

Ključne riječi: metaforičke kolokacije, medicina, tekstna lingvistika, jezik struke, teorija namjerne metafore

Metaphorische Kollokationen mit der Konstituente *Ohr* im Lettischen

Ilga Migla

Dieses Kapitel konzentriert sich auf metaphorische Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* 'Ohr' in den ältesten Texten in lettischer Sprache (seit dem 16. Jahrhundert) und historischen zweisprachigen und modernen erklärenden Wörterbüchern. Da somatische Bestandteile in der Sprache seit der Antike üblich sind und in der Sprache existieren, schien es wichtig, die Gruppen metaphorischer Kollokationen und ihre Entwicklung bis heute im Lettischen festzuhalten.

Der theoretische Teil des Kapitels fasst die Ansichten mehrerer Linguistinnen und Linguisten zum Thema Kollokationen zusammen. Der praktische Teil des Kapitels stellt Strukturtypen mit der Komponente *auss* 'Ohr' zusammen und analysiert sie.

Metaphorische Kollokationen sind bereits in Quellen des 16. Jahrhunderts und Wörterbüchern vom 17. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart überliefert. Insgesamt wurden 30 Kollokationen bis zum 20. Jahrhundert festgestellt. Im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert werden nach unseren Korpusdaten nur 12 Kollokationen mit der Konstituente *auss* 'Ohr' aktiv verwendet. Als Ergebnis der Studie muss der Schluss gezogen werden, dass Kollokationen mit dieser somatischen Komponente die Jahrhunderte überdauert haben und einige von ihnen auch heute noch wichtig und gebräuchlich sind. Die Studie bestätigt, dass die dominierenden Strukturtypen zu den untersuchenden Substantiv+Verb und Substantiv+Adjektiv Kollokationen gehören. Einige Kollokationen davon sind im 20. Jahrhundert zu Redewendungen geworden.

Schlüsselwörter: metaphorische Kollokationen, Kollokationstypen, somatische Komponenten, die lettische Sprache, *auss* 'Ohr'.

1. Einführung

Die vorliegende Untersuchung befasst sich mit metaphorischen Kollokationen der lettischen Sprache, die die somatische Komponente *auss* ('Ohr') enthalten. Diese Lexemeinheit ist bereits in Texten des 16. Jahrhunderts dokumentiert und erscheint auch in den ersten deutsch-lettischen Wörterbüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts. Für das Lemma *auss* lässt sich ein breites Spektrum an Wortverbindungen nachweisen, die auf unterschiedliche Weise semantisch und syntagmatisch gebunden sind. In Fällen, in denen bestimmte Sachverhalte durch typische Wortkombinationen ausgedrückt werden, ist davon auszugehen, dass ein Teil dieser Kollokationen

auch metaphorisches Potenzial aufweist.

Ziel dieser Studie ist es, die diachrone Entwicklung sowie die synchronen Erscheinungsformen metaphorischer Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* zu erfassen und linguistisch zu analysieren. Im Zentrum der Analyse stehen folgende Fragestellungen:

1. Welche Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* sind in historischen Quellen und Wörterbüchern – insbesondere in einsprachigen erklärenden Wörterbüchern – dokumentiert, und welche davon treten besonders häufig auf?
2. Lassen sich diachrone Veränderungen feststellen, d. h. eine Zunahme oder Abnahme bestimmter Kollokationen im Sprachgebrauch über die Jahrhunderte hinweg?
3. Welche Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* sind im heutigen Lettisch weiterhin gebräuchlich, und in welchem Umfang?

Die Untersuchung verfolgt das übergeordnete Ziel, gebräuchliche und potenziell metaphorische Wortverbindungen mit *auss* im Lettischen systematisch zu erfassen und zu analysieren, um auf dieser Grundlage Rückschlüsse auf semantische Erweiterungen und Veränderungen im Kollokationsverhalten dieses Lexems im historischen und gegenwärtigen Sprachgebrauch zu ziehen.

In Lettland liegt bislang nur eine begrenzte Anzahl an Studien im Bereich der festen Wortverbindungen vor, da das Interesse an Kollokationen als eigenständigem Forschungsgegenstand erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten zugenommen hat. Dennoch steht mit dem Lettischen Nationalkorpus (*Latvijas Nacionālais korpus*) eine umfangreiche Ressource zur Verfügung, die sowohl Textkorpora aus verschiedenen Jahrhunderten als auch Sprachkorpora umfasst. Diese Korpora bieten eine wertvolle Grundlage zur Identifikation von Kollokationskomponenten sowie zur quantitativen Analyse ihrer Verteilung und Verwendungshäufigkeit.

2. Kollokationen in der Sprache

In der deutschen Sprachwissenschaft werden Kollokationen traditionell als Teilbereich der Phraseologie betrachtet (vgl. Burger 2010: 57). Im Zentrum der Kollokationsanalyse steht die Beobachtung, dass bestimmte Wörter mit einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit gemeinsam auftreten, ohne dass zwischen ihnen eine unmittelbar erkennbare semantische Verbindung besteht. Dieses wiederkehrende Nebeneinander von Wörtern weist über die bloße Kombination ihrer wörtlichen Bedeutungen hinaus und gilt daher als bedeutungstragendes Phänomen innerhalb sprachlicher Strukturen.

Sinclair definiert Kollokation als das regelmäßige gemeinsame Auftreten zweier Elemente innerhalb eines bestimmten textuellen Umfelds (Sinclair 2004: 10).

Wesentlich dabei ist, dass die Beziehung zwischen diesen lexikalischen Einheiten nicht offensichtlich oder semantisch transparent ist. Nach dieser Auffassung genügt die bloße Häufung zweier Wörter nicht, um von einer Kollokation zu sprechen – entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass ihre kombinierte Bedeutung spezifischer als die bloße Summe ihrer Teile ist.

Sinclair (2004: 10) stellt zudem fest, dass „Unterschiede in der grammatischen Funktion die Kollokationsmuster von Substantiven stärker beeinflussen als die von Verben“. Daraus lässt sich ableiten, dass Substantive im Singular und Plural häufig unterschiedliche Kollokationsprofile aufweisen. Hoey (2005: 15) betont, dass dieses Phänomen insbesondere dann auftritt, wenn Substantive als terminologisch spezifische Einheiten oder Bestandteile komplexer Begriffe fungieren. Laut Sinclair wird in solchen Fällen der Plural bevorzugt verwendet, während der weniger gebräuchliche Singular häufig eine abstraktere Bedeutung trägt.

Mit dem Fortschritt der Rechentechnologie haben sich auch die Möglichkeiten der Kollokationsforschung erheblich erweitert. Sinclair (2004) weist in einem OSTI-Bericht darauf hin, dass viele der in den 1970er Jahren eingesetzten Programme zur Kollokationsanalyse manuell entwickelt wurden und lange Rechenzeiten erforderten. Heutzutage ermöglichen moderne Werkzeuge wie das *Sketch Engine*-Toolkit (Kilgarriff et al. 2004) eine wesentlich schnellere und präzisere Analyse kollokativer Strukturen.

In der lettischen Sprachwissenschaft haben sich einige Linguistinnen und Linguisten mit stabilen Wortverbindungen (Kollokationen) befasst. So betont Bušs (2014: 360) in seinen Analysen, dass feste Wortverbindungen eine bedeutende Rolle für die Bewahrung und Weiterentwicklung des sprachlichen Reichtums spielen. Die Sprachwissenschaftlerin Zuicena (2009: 176) konzentriert sich in ihren Untersuchungen auf die Analyse von Komposita und den entsprechenden Wortverbindungen im lexikographischen Kontext.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass Kollokationen als das häufiger als erwartete gemeinsame Auftreten zweier lexikalischer Einheiten definiert werden, basierend auf deren Einzelhäufigkeiten. Dabei ist hervorzuheben, dass zwischen den beteiligten Wörtern kein offensichtlicher semantischer Zusammenhang bestehen muss. Vielmehr handelt es sich um psychologisch verankerte Assoziationen, die Muttersprachlerinnen und Muttersprachler im Verlauf des Spracherwerbs internalisieren. Während einige Forschungsansätze eine engere Definition bevorzugen und sich auf idiomatische oder stark frequentierte Einheiten konzentrieren, beziehen andere auch semantisch weniger bedeutungsvolle oder freie Wortkombinationen mit ein. Vollständig feste Wortverbindungen, wie beispielsweise Sprichwörter oder feste Redewendungen, werden üblicherweise von der Definition der Kollokation ausgeschlossen.

3. Methodologie der Untersuchung

Diese Untersuchung stützt sich auf die verfügbaren Quellen der Webseite des Korpus altlettischer Texte (senie.korpuss.lv). Das Korpus wird seit 2002 vom Institut für Lettische Sprache der Universität Lettland in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut für Mathematik und Informatik sowie der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Lettland entwickelt und kontinuierlich erweitert. Es umfasst Texte aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert sowie ausgewählte frühe Texte aus dem 18. Jahrhundert. Das renommierte Korpus enthält 74 Quellen – darunter das Vaterunser, umfangreichere religiöse Schriften und Wörterbücher – und stellt sowohl eine digitale Bibliothek (Textfassungen und Faksimiles) als auch korpuslinguistische Werkzeuge wie Konkordanzen, Indizes und Suchfunktionen zur Verfügung.

Das Suchsystem der Plattform *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al. 2004), mit der das Altlettische Korpus untersucht wurde, erlaubte die Eingabe von Suchbegriffen in moderner Rechtschreibung, was die Recherche erheblich beschleunigte. Allerdings lieferte das System lediglich eine begrenzte Anzahl von Kollokationen. Aus diesem Grund wurden zusätzlich zweisprachige Wörterbücher aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (Deutsch–Lettisch–Deutsch) manuell konsultiert. Ergänzend kamen elektronische erklärende Wörterbücher der lettischen Sprache aus dem 20. und 21. Jahrhundert zum Einsatz.

Um hingegen festzustellen, welche Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* im heutigen Sprachgebrauch relevant sind und wie häufig sie auftreten, wurde die Plattform korpuss.lv genutzt, die die Sammlung des Lettischen Nationalkorpus (LNK) darstellt. Der LNK ist eine Sammlung vielfältiger Text- und Sprachkorpora, die von verschiedenen Institutionen entwickelt und gepflegt werden und der linguistischen Analyse sowie der Entwicklung sprachtechnologischer Anwendungen dienen. Die langfristige Wartung der NKK-Plattform und der Korpusdaten sowie deren internationale Zugänglichkeit werden durch das lettische Zentrum von CLARIN (CLARIN-LV), dem Knotenpunkt der europäischen Infrastruktur für Sprachressourcen und -technologien, gewährleistet.

Derzeit umfasst der LNK 41 Korpora, an deren Erstellung 13 Institutionen beteiligt waren. Die Sammlung wird regelmäßig erweitert. Ein Teil der Korpora ist grammatikalisch annotiert und in ein einheitliches Suchsystem integriert. Der Großteil der Korpora ist morphologisch annotiert und über die Plattform *NoSketch Engine* zugänglich, die eine Analyse großer Textmengen ermöglicht. *NoSketch Engine* erlaubt verschiedene Suchanfragen, darunter reguläre Ausdrücke sowie die Suche nach morphologischen Merkmalen. In dieser Untersuchung wurden die Suchfunktionen dieser Plattform genutzt, um den Gebrauch von Kollokationen in der heutigen Sprache zu analysieren.

4. Einblick in den Metaphorisierungsprozess der Kollokationen mit der Konstituente auss 'Ohr'

Volungevičienė (2008: 296) betont zu Recht, dass sich metaphorische Kollokationen in einer Übergangszone zwischen Kollokationen und Idiomen befinden und dass ihre Kollokatoren polysem sind. Hervorzuheben ist, dass wörtlich übersetzte metaphorische Kollokationen ungewohnt, aber nicht unnatürlich klingen, wie es bei wörtlich übersetzten Idiomen der Fall ist (Marcinkevičienė 1995: 48).

Es ist möglich, mehrere kollokatorische Strukturtypen mit der Komponente *auss* 'Ohr' auszugliedern:

I. Substantiv + Adjektiv oder Adjektiv + Substantiv:

Viele dieser Kollokationen drücken aus, dass jemand ein gutes Gehör hat: *skaļas ausis*, *schalle Ohren* (Fürecker 1650: 397), *skaņas ausis*, *skanīgas ausis* 'laute Ohren' (Mancelium 1638b: 321), *kam platas ausis ir* (Stender I 1789: 11), *plattas ausis*, *Ohren, die viel hören können* 'breite Ohren' (Stender II 1789: 444), *labas ausis* 'gute Ohren' (LLVV_e; tezaurs_e). Es ist offensichtlich, dass das Substantiv *auss* 'Ohr' mit den Adjektiven *skaļš* 'laut', *skanīgs* 'klangvoll', *plats* 'breit', *labs* 'gut' verwendet wird. Betrachtet man die Gruppe der Kollokationen, die die Fähigkeit, gut zu hören, ausdrücken, so stellt man fest, dass von den vielen in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten gebräuchlichen bedeutungsgleichen Kollokationen nur die Kollokation *labas ausis* 'gute Ohren' in den Wörterbüchern des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts verzeichnet ist (LLVV_e; tezaurs_e; MLVV_e). Das ausgewertete Korpus moderner lettischer Texte 2022 zeigt nur zwei weitere Verwendungen der Kollokation *labas ausis* 'gute Ohren' als hörende Ohren, reaktionsfähige Ohren. LLVV_e und MLVV_e geben auch *smalkas (arī plānas) ausis* 'feine (auch dünne) Ohren' als Synonyme an, um zu betonen, dass jemand ein gutes Gehör, eine gute akustische Wahrnehmung hat. Obwohl diese Kollokationen in modernen Wörterbüchern verzeichnet sind, wird ihre Verwendungshäufigkeit heute im Allgemeinen als vernachlässigbar erachtet.

In dieser Gruppe gibt es auch Wortverbindungen, die ausdrücken, dass jemand schlecht hört: *plānas ausis* 'dünne Ohren' (Mancelium 1638a: 134; LLVV_e), *biezas ausis* 'dicke/dichte Ohren'; *Šinīs laikos tiems cilvēkiem biezas ausis gir, ka tie Dieva vārdu nei dzirdēt, nei saņemt grib; in diesen Zeiten haben die Menschen dicke Ohren, dass sie Gotteswort wollen weder hören noch fassen* (Mancelium 1638b: 250), *biezas ausis* 'dicke Ohren' (Langijs 1685: 20), *ta Kunga Auss ne ir bieza tapusi* 'das Ohr des Herrn ist nicht dick gemacht' (Gliks 1698: 24), *vājas ausis* (LLVV_e; tezaurs_e; MLVV_e), *švakas ausis* 'schwache Ohren' (tezaurs_e).

Die Adjektive *plāns* 'dünn', *biezs* 'dick, dicht', *vājš*, *švaks* 'schwach, schlaff' haben eine negative Konnotation; sie zeigen an, dass jemand oder etwas nicht gut funktioniert, nicht gut genug entwickelt oder schwach ist. In Wörterbüchern des 20. Jahrhunderts finden sich zwei Varianten, um zu betonen, dass jemand schlecht hört: *vājas ausis* 'schwache Ohren' und *švakas ausis* 'schlafe

Ohren'. Die Kollokation *švakas ausis* 'schwache Ohren' wird heutzutage nur umgangssprachlich verwendet und dieses sollte im Wörterbuch vermerkt werden.

Die Analyse der Lettischen Nationalen Korpora-Sammlung bestätigt, dass diese Kollokationen heutzutage wenig gebraucht werden.

Daneben gibt es metaphorische Kollokationen *kaunīgas ausis*, *zärtliche*, *züchtige Ohren* (Stender II 1789: 444), die an einem Ort, bzw. in einem speziellen Wortschatz verzeichnet wurden. Eine solche Kollokation findet sich in den Korpora der gegenwärtigen Sprache nicht mehr.

II. Substantiv + Verb:

1) Substantiv + Partizipform des Verbs/ Partizipform des Verbs + Substantiv

Schlecht hören, *taub sein* kann durch eine Struktur ausgedrückt werden, die aus einem Substantiv und einer Partizipform des Verbs besteht: *aizkurtušas ausis*, *aiskurtuschas aussis*, *aiskurtuschas aussis*, *betäubte Ohren* (Mancelium 1654: 68; Mancelium 1638b: 70) *aiskurlušas ausis*, *betäubte Ohren* (Fürecker 1650: 193).

In den folgenden Jahrhunderten sind weder die Partizipform *aizkurtis* 'taub' noch die Adjektive *kurls*, *kurns* mit gleicher Bedeutung in Texten zu finden. Nur die Wortverbindung *kurlas ausis* 'betäubte, taube Ohren' (Mīlenbahs I 1923: 227) ist in Wörterbüchern verzeichnet. Im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert wird *kurlas ausis* 'betäubte, taube Ohren' verwendet, um jemanden zu beschreiben, der vorübergehend oder dauerhaft schwerhörig ist (LLVV_e; tezaurs_e), aber es ist auch zu beachten, dass diese Wortverbindung in nur 28 Beispielen aus 34 Sprachkorpora vorkommt. Am häufigsten wird sie in Texten mit religiösem Bezug oder in Texten aus dem 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert verwendet.

Das nächst häufigste Modell in dieser Gruppe ist:

2) Substantiv + Verb oder Verb + Substantiv

Diese Struktur drückt am meisten eine Bereitschaft zum Zuhören aus: *atdarīt ausis* 'die Ohren öffnen', *ausis atveras* 'die Ohren öffnen sich' (Mīlenbahs I 1923: 53). In der Kollokation kommen die Verben *atdarīt* oder *atvērt* 'zurücklegen, öffnen' oder *griezt* 'richten, wenden' vor: *ausis uz putnu balstiņām griezt* (Mīlenbahs I 1923: 662) 'die Ohren auf die Vogelstimmen richten'. Diese Wortverbindungen sind nur in historischen Wörterbüchern erhalten und finden sich in belletristischen Texten, besonders in historischen Romanen. Mit dem homonymen Verb *griezt* 'schneiden' ist die vorherrschende Formulierung *griež (arī griežas) ausis* 'es schneidet in die Ohren' (tezaurs-e; LLVV_e) - sagt man über unangenehme Geräusche, eine unangenehme Stimme, auch über Worte mit unangenehmen Inhalt. Die lettischen Korpora belegen eine starke Verwendung dieser Wortverbindung in der Belletristik der 1960er Jahre und in der Umgangssprache des 21. Jahrhunderts, besonders

in Kommentaren in sozialen Netzwerken und Zeitungen.

Die Bedeutung - aufmerksam zuhören - wird auch durch die Verbindung des Substantivs *ausis* (Plural von *auss*) mit anderen Verben ausgedrückt: *pacelt* 'hochheben', *sacelt* 'verdrehen', *griezt* 'richten, wenden' in folgenden Wortverbindungen: *ausis pacelt* 'die Ohren heben' (Lange 1777: 412, Stenders II, 1789: 444), *ausis sacelt* 'die Ohren spitzen' (Milenbahs I 1923: 227), (...) *puiši sacel ausis kā lemešu* 'die Jungen heben ihre Ohren wie Pflugscharen' (Milenbahs I 1923: 227), (...) *ne ausi nepagrieza* 'man drehte kein Ohr zu' (Milenbahs I 1923: 227). In späteren Jahrhunderten wird diese Kollokation eher in der Negationsform verwendet: *necelt ne ausu (ausis)* (Milenbahs I 1923: 227; Milenbahs III 1925: 11; tezaurs-e; LLVV_e), *ne(pa)celt (auch ne(pa)kustināt, seltener necilāt) ne ausis (auch ne ausu)* 'kein Ohr heben, bewegen' (LLVV_e) was soviel bedeutet wie jemand nicht beachten oder auf etwas nicht reagieren. Dieser Gedanke kann auch auf andere Weise mit dem Verb *laist* ausgedrückt werden: *laist gar ausīm* 'an den Ohren vorbeilaufen lassen' (LLVV_e; MLVV_e) d.h., bewusst das ignorieren, was man hört. Die Sprachkorpora bestätigen eine vollständige Dominanz der Wortverbindung *laist gar ausīm* mit 349 Beispielen, die hauptsächlich in der Lettischen Nationalen Korpora-Sammlung verzeichnet sind.

Die Kollokation *ausis aizbāzt* 'die Ohren verstopfen' (Fürecker I 1685: 31; Milenbahs I 1923: 18; LLVV_e; MLVV_e) wird sowohl in historischen als auch in Wörterbüchern der Gegenwartssprache angeführt. Im Nationalen Sprachkorpus findet sie sich sowohl in Werken des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als auch in zeitgenössischen Internetkommentaren.

Die Wortverbindung *ausis kārnīt* 'die Ohren reinigen, rein machen' (Fürecker I 1685: 31; Mancelium II 1654: 37; LLVV_e; tezaurs_e). Da das Verb *kārnīt* nur in einer bestimmten Gegend in Lettland verwendet wird, wird das Wort in den Wörterbüchern des 20. Jahrhunderts als ein Dialektwort markiert. Es ist daher verständlich, dass die Wortverbindung nicht weit verbreitet ist: sie wird in allen Sprachkorpora nur 16 Mal erwähnt.

3) Verb + Präposition + Substantiv

Die Kollokation *klausīties ar ausīm/ausiem* 'mit den Ohren hören', d.h., aufmerksam hören (Enchiridion 1586), *Klausies ar ausīm!* 'Hör mit den Ohren!' (tezaurs_e) besteht aus einem Verb, der Präposition *ar* 'mit' und dem zu behandelnden Substantiv. Aus der Kollokation hat sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte die Redewendung *klausīties ar abām ausīm* 'mit beiden Ohren hören' (LLVV_e; tezaurs_e) und auch *klausīties ar vienu ausi (arī pusausi)* 'mit einem Ohr hören (auch mit einem halben) Ohr hören' (tezaurs_e) entwickelt.

III. Substantiv + Substantiv:

Historische Texte erwähnen einige Kollokationen mit einer Struktur aus zwei Substantiven: *ausu kārnījamais, Ohrlöffel* (Lange 1777: 412), *auss/ausu skriptiņš,*

Ohrknörpel (Fürecker 1650: 38; Lange 1777: 413).

Alle aufgelisteten Wortverbindungen sind veraltet und wurden durch die Wortverbindung *ausu tirāmā karotīte* 'Ohrreinigungslöffel' ersetzt. Das ist die Bezeichnung eines uralten hygienischen und medizinischen Instruments, das auch als Schmuck verwendet wurde und seinen Ursprung in Mesopotamien um das 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hat. Zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung war es auch in Nordeuropa bekannt. Bei archäologischen Ausgrabungen auf dem Territorium des heutigen Lettland wurden auch in Siedlungen der Liven vom 11. bis 12. Jahrhundert Ohrreinigungslöffel gefunden.

Zu dieser Gruppe können auch Vergleichskonstruktionen gezählt werden. Bereits in lettischen Volksliedern, die vor dem 16. Jahrhundert gesungen wurden, werden die Ohren mit Pflugscharen verglichen:

*Pieci vilki danci veda
Ap to lielu siena kaudzi;
Citam aste kā kodaļa,
Citam ausis kā lemeši.*

(dainuskapis.lv Nr. 2381-0)

*(Fünf Wölfe führten einen Tanz auf
Um den großen Heuhaufen herum;
Ein Wolf hatte einen Schwanz wie ein zusammengewickelter Päckchen,
Ein anderer hatte Ohren wie Pflugscharen.*

(Wörtliche Übersetzung von I. Migla)

In Wörterbüchern späterer Jahrhunderte wird der Vergleich von Ohren mit Pflugscharen (Mīlenbahs II 1924: 449) ebenfalls beibehalten, um zu betonen, dass jemand große Ohren hat. Im Nationalen Sprachkorpus begegnet der Ausdruck *ausis kā lemeši* 'Ohren wie Pflugscharen' nur in lettischen Volksliedern. Das tezaurs_e-Wörterbuch fixiert den Vergleich *ausis kā zaķim* 'Ohren wie bei einem Hasen', das Nationale Sprachkorpus enthält nur zwei Verwendungsbeispiele dieses Vergleichs: einmal in der Belletristik und einmal im Journalismus. Ein strukturell ähnlicher Vergleich *ausis kā peleī* 'Ohren wie bei einer Maus' (tezaurs_e) ist im Nationalen Sprachkorpus nicht belegt.

5. Schlussfolgerungen

In der vorliegenden Studie wurde das Korpus senie.korpuss.lv verwendet, in dem ein vorhandener Datensatz mit dem Lexem *auss* analysiert wurde. Das Korpus wurde mit dem Tool *Sketch Engine* untersucht. Ergänzend wurden manuell Wörterbücher aus dem 17. bis 21. Jahrhundert in Papier- und elektronischer Form analysiert. Anschließend wurden die ermittelten Kollokationen mithilfe der *Sketch Engine*-Plattform in der Sammlung des Nationalkorpus überprüft.

Die Untersuchung bestätigt, dass metaphorische Kollokationen mit der Komponente

auss 'Ohr' bereits in Quellen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert sowie in Wörterbüchern ab dem 17. Jahrhundert nachweisbar sind. Im Untersuchungskorpus bis zum 20. Jahrhundert konnten insgesamt 30 Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* 'Ohr' identifiziert werden.

Zahlreiche Kollokationen, die in älteren lettischsprachigen Texten und historischen Wörterbüchern dokumentiert sind, finden heute keine Verwendung mehr und fehlen folglich in gegenwärtig gebräuchlichen Wörterbüchern. Die einsprachigen erklärenden Wörterbücher zeigen, dass im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert zwölf Kollokationen mit der Komponente *auss* 'Ohr' verwendet werden.

Kollokationen mit dem Lexem *auss* 'Ohr' charakterisieren die Qualität der auditiven Wahrnehmung sowie die Bereitschaft, jemandem zuzuhören oder nicht zuzuhören. Darüber hinaus spiegeln sie die Bereitschaft wider, jemanden zu unterstützen oder nicht zu unterstützen.

Im Rahmen der manuellen statistischen Auswertung der 30 Kollokationsstrukturtypen lässt sich feststellen, dass zwei Strukturmodelle deutlich dominieren: Substantiv + Verb mit zwölf Beispielen und Substantiv + Adjektiv mit zehn Beispielen.

Von den Kollokationen mit dem Element *auss* 'Ohr' sind sieben Kollokationen bis heute unverändert in derselben Form erhalten geblieben, davon zwei Kollokationen vom Typ Adjektiv + Substantiv, zwei Kollokationen vom Typ Verb + Substantiv sowie drei Kollokationen vom Typ Substantiv + Substantiv.

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Metaphorical collocations with the component *auss* in Latvian

The chapter focuses on metaphorical collocations with the component *auss* 'ear' in the oldest texts in Latvian (since the 16th century) and historical bilingual and modern explanatory dictionaries. Since somatic components have been common in language since ancient times and exist in language, it seemed important to record groups of metaphorical collocations and their development in Latvian to this day. The theoretical part of the chapter summarizes the views of several linguists on collocations. The practical part of the chapter summarizes and analyses structural types with the component *auss* 'ear'. Metaphorical collocations have been preserved in the 16th century sources and dictionaries from the 17th century to the present. A total of 30 collocations were identified up to the 20th century. According to corpus data, 12 of these are actively used in the 20th and 21st centuries. The study concludes that collocations with this somatic component have persisted through the centuries and that some of them remain relevant and commonly used today. It further confirms that the dominant structural types are *noun+verb* and *noun+adjective*. Some of the collocations have developed into idioms in the 20th century.

Keywords: metaphorical collocations, collocation types, somatic components, Latvian, ear

Metaforičke kolokacije sa sastavnicom *auss* u latvijskom jeziku

Ovo poglavlje usredotočuje se na metaforičke kolokacije sa sastavnicom *auss* ('uho') u najstarijim tekstovima na latvijskom jeziku (od 16. stoljeća nadalje), kao i u dvojezičnim povijesnim i suvremenim rječnicima. Budući da su leksemi koji se odnose na dijelove tijela česti u jeziku, cilj je ovoga istraživanja bio odrediti skupine metaforičkih kolokacija i pratiti njihov razvoj u latvijskom jeziku. Teorijski dio poglavlja sažima stavove jezikoslovaca o temi kolokacija, dok praktični dio sadrži tipologiju kolokacija sa sastavnicom *auss* 'uho'. Metaforičke kolokacije potvrđene su u izvorima iz 16. stoljeća, u rječnicima iz 17. stoljeća, kao i u suvremenom jeziku. Utvrđeno je da se do 20. stoljeća pojavljuje 30 takvih kolokacija. Prema podacima iz korpusa, u 20. i 21. stoljeću aktivno se koristi samo 12 kolokacija sa sastavnicom *auss* 'uho'. Rezultati istraživanja dakle pokazuju da se uporaba metaforičkih kolokacija s tom somatskom sastavnicom održala tijekom stoljeća te da se određeni broj njih upotrebljava i danas. Istraživanje također potvrđuje da te kolokacije strukturno pripadaju tipu *imenica + glagol* i *imenica + pridjev*. Neke su od njih u 20. stoljeću stekle status frazema.

Ključne riječi: metaforičke kolokacije, tipovi kolokacija, somatska komponenta, latvijski jezik, uho

Translating Metaphorical Collocations of the Type ADJ+N on the Example of English to Croatian Translation

Goran Schmidt

The present chapter is concerned with translating metaphorical collocations of the type ADJ+N (e.g. *biting wind*, *juicy gossip*). The first part of the chapter gives an overview of options in translation. More specifically, the translation solution types are determined, both with regard to semantics (how metaphor is rendered) and syntax (what type of construction is used). The second part of the chapter zooms in on some concrete examples of translation. Here the distinction between formal correspondence and translation equivalence is used as a principle for analysis. The third part of the chapter is dedicated to theoretical questions. One of the key questions is whether there is a preferred option for translating ADJ+N metaphorical collocations, both with regard to rendering metaphor and to the construction type of the translation solution.

Keywords: metaphorical collocation, translation, formal correspondence, translation equivalence

1. Defining a “metaphorical collocation”

A metaphorical collocation is not an unproblematic term. There are many different takes on it, which is well presented in Patekar (2022). In my analysis I follow Reder (2006: 161, as cited in Patekar 2022: 36 ff.), who defines a metaphorical collocation as the one in which the collocate has a figurative (metaphorical) meaning and the base has a literal meaning. I therefore examined examples such as: *biting wind*, *juicy gossip*, *hot love*, *burning ambition*, *sunny smile* etc. I restricted my research to a particular syntactic form, namely ADJ+N. This type of metaphorical collocation is pervasive, although there are other types (e.g. *a window of opportunity*, *to reach a verdict* etc.). We should also mention a slightly different view on metaphorical collocations, which states that *one of* the constituents has to have a figurative meaning (Stojić and Košuta 2012, as cited in Patekar 2022: 34; italics mine), and it is not specified which one. Examples include units in which the collocate is literal and the base is figurative: *old goat* (insult for an old man), *old wounds* (upsetting experience from the past), *old flame* (your ex-lover), *old bat* (insult for an old person, usu. female). However, this chapter focuses on the prototypical type in which the collocate is figurative and the base is literal (e.g. *biting wind*).

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the translation of metaphorical collocations. The chapter attempts to give an overview of options in translating metaphorical collocations, determine the translation solution types, both with regard to semantics

(how metaphor is rendered) and syntax (what type of construction is used), examine whether the distinction between formal correspondence and translation equivalence can be helpful in this context, and determine whether there is a preferred option for translating ADJ+N metaphorical collocations. Finally, some theoretical implications of the findings are discussed.

2. Methodology

These are the main research questions:

- How are metaphorical collocations of the type ADJ+N translated? Specifically, which types of translation solutions can be found, both with regard to semantics and syntax?
- Is it useful to differentiate between formal correspondence and translation equivalence in this context?
- Is there a preferred option for translating metaphorical collocations of the type ADJ+N?
- What can we learn from the analysis of translation of metaphorical collocations regarding the nature of metaphorical collocations, metaphor and/or translation?

The methodology in this research is qualitative. I chose some random examples of English metaphorical collocations of the type ADJ+N and I looked for Croatian translation solutions in parallel (translated) texts. For this purpose, I used *Glosbe* (the online “dictionary” which provides in-context translations from a large translation memory built from various sources), the *OpenSubtitles 2018* parallel corpus via the *Sketch Engine* corpus query system (Kilgarriff et al. 2004), and the printed dictionaries by Filipović (*English-Croatian Dictionary*) and Bendow (*English-Croatian Phraseological Dictionary*). The translation solutions were classified with regard to semantics (the typology developed by the author in previous studies was used, e.g. Schmidt (2012; 2021)) and with regard to syntax. Then I considered whether the theoretical distinction between formal correspondence and translation equivalence can be used to account for the observed translation solutions. Using provisional quantification (for no representative sample was used in the analysis), I tried to establish whether there are preferred options in my sample in terms of semantics and/or syntax. Finally, I used the results of translation analysis as an input for a general discussion of metaphorical collocations, of linguistic metaphorical expressions in general, and of translation in general.

3. Translation solutions

3.1. Examples

This section presents some representative examples of English ADJ+N metaphorical collocations and the Croatian translation solutions. Example (1) shows some of the translation solutions found for the collocation *biting wind*:

(1) biting wind

a. *oštar vjetar* 'sharp wind'

b. *snažan / jak vjetar* 'strong wind'

c. *ledeni vjetar* 'icy wind'

d. *vjetar* 'wind'

e. *strašan vjetar* 'terrible wind'

f. „unaware of the biting winds” –

ne osjećajući hladne ujede vjetra

not feeling cold bites wind-GEN

'not feeling the cold bites of the wind'

As can be seen in Example (1a-f), translation solutions vary and include translation by a collocation based on a different metaphor (1a, c), translation by the same metaphor while freely changing the syntax (1f), translation by a non-metaphorical collocation (1b, e) and translation by omission (1d). Examples of translation solutions in (1b) and (1e), although by their etymology metaphorical, can nowadays in the contemporary Croatian language be considered dead metaphors, and were therefore classified as non-metaphorical paraphrases.

For the purpose of the analysis, I discuss translation solution types from two separate points of view – semantics and syntax.

3.2. Translation solution types – semantics

From the aspect of semantics, metaphorical collocations are metaphorical linguistic expressions. This fact raises an important question for the analysis of translation solutions: Is metaphoricity retained? In other words, are translation solutions metaphorical? If they are, do they use the same metaphorical expression and the same conceptual metaphor (= CM) as the SL collocations? In the analysis I use my own typology of translation solutions for translating metaphorical linguistic

expressions (e.g. Schmidt 2021). A metaphorical expression can be translated in one of four basic ways: (i) by a metaphorical expression of the same CM, (ii) by a metaphorical expression of a different CM with a similar meaning, (iii) by a non-metaphorical paraphrase, and (iv) by omission. The typology is based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). It was first presented, in a similar though not identical form, in Schmidt (2012). The following are the definitions of the basic types of translation solutions for translating metaphorical expressions. Examples are presented further below.

1a. $m \rightarrow m$

An SL metaphorical expression m is translated by a TL metaphorical expression m which is either the literal equivalent of the SL one or is very similar to it (frequently a word-for-word match, in some cases with slight variation).

1b. $m \rightarrow m'$

A metaphorical expression m is translated by a metaphorical expression m' (read: “em dash” or “em prime”) which is different than m , but is based on the same CM.

2. $m \rightarrow m1$

A metaphorical expression m is translated by a metaphorical expression $m1$ which is different than m , and which is based on a different CM. The figurative meaning of m and $m1$ is approximately the same.

3. $m \rightarrow non-m$

A metaphorical expression m is translated by a non-metaphorical expression $non-m$. This solution results in a loss of figurativeness.

4. $m \rightarrow \emptyset$

A metaphorical expression m is translated by a zero-element $\emptyset$; in other words, it is omitted or deleted. This also means a loss of figurativeness.

3.2.1. Examples

Let us start with examples of the types 1a and 1b:

(2)

a. hot love $\rightarrow$ *vruća ljubav* ‘hot love’ (1a. $m \rightarrow m$)

The English metaphorical collocation is based on the CM LOVE IS HEAT. It has been translated word-for-word, keeping the same CM.

b. hot love → *topla ljubav* 'warm love' (1b. $m \rightarrow m$)

In this solution, 'hot' has been replaced by 'warm', which can still be seen as based on the CM LOVE IS HEAT.

(3) biting wind → *oštar vjetar* 'sharp wind' (2. $m \rightarrow m1$)

The SL expression is based on the CM THE SENSATION FELT ON THE SKIN CAUSED BY AN EXTREMELY COLD WIND IS BITING, and less specifically WIND IS AN ANIMAL. The TL expression is based on a different CM, COLD IS SHARP. The meaning of the SL and the TL expression is similar, because the two CMs that these expressions are based on share some components of meaning. BITING as a concept implies sharp teeth, rather than blunt ones. It could be argued that these two CMs are metonymically related, in that SHARPNESS is a part of the concept of BITING (the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy).

(4) crushing defeat → *definitivan poraz* 'definite defeat' (3. $m \rightarrow non-m$)

The SL expression is based on the CM HARM IS DESTRUCTION. It has been translated by a non-metaphorical expression meaning 'definite'. If something is definite, there is no return to the previous state. An object that has been crushed is altered permanently. The intended meaning has been transferred, but with a loss of figurativeness. The powerful image of 'crushing' has been lost in translation.

(5) juicy gossip → *tračevi* 'gossip' (4. $m \rightarrow \emptyset$)

The metaphorical word *juicy* has been omitted in translation. This could be an instance of *implication* – it could be argued that it is implied that gossip is juicy, so there is no need to explicitly state it. In any event, the TL solution is characterised by a loss in figurativeness, if not in overall meaning.

The above examples (2-5) show that all of the theoretical solution types for translating metaphorical expressions (as presented in 3.2) are used in the translation of ADJ+N metaphorical collocations. The following section discusses the syntactic aspect of the translation solutions used.

3.3. Translation solution types – syntax

A widely accepted principle in translation is to render "sense for sense" (vs "word for word"), so the syntactic form of the translation solutions may depart from the ADJ+N pattern of the SL. To put it simply, ADJ+N can be translated as ADJ+N, but it can also be translated by a different syntactic construction. Thus, the key question here is: Is the construction type retained? Let us examine several representative examples.

(6) biting wind → *oštar vjetar* 'sharp wind'

The original pattern ADJ+N is replicated in the TL.

(7) biting wind → *vjetar* 'wind'

The adjective collocate has been omitted in the TL, which is clearly a change of the SL construction.

(8) Holcroft walked along the concrete bank of the Seine, unaware of the biting winds [...]

Holcroft je šetao betoniranom obalom Seine ne osjećajući hladne ujede vjetra [...]

not feeling cold bites wind-GEN

'not feeling the cold bites of the wind'

The first part of the sentence was translated literally, so I did not add glosses. The second part is more interesting, the ST contains the collocation *biting winds*, which was considerably altered in the TT. The translator elaborated on the CM here, freely changing syntax⁷² and *explicitating* (the adjective *hladne* 'cold' is explicitly stated in the TT, while in the SL expression *biting winds* it is only implicit). Examples such as this show the potential in translating metaphorical collocations, if these are understood as linguistic expressions of a CM. Namely, CMs are not tied to any particular syntactic form, which makes it possible to change the form and keep the meaning. The only potential drawback in cases such as this, is that the metaphor, which may not have been meant to be highlighted, draws too much attention to itself, which may distort the intended meaning of the sender. What was a mere cliché in the ST, may become a vivid image, a live metaphor in the TT. Perhaps it would be safer to use just another such run-of-the-mill collocation frequent in the TL (e.g. *oštar vjetar* 'sharp wind').

(9) make hot, passionate love → *strastveno voditi ljubav* 'passionately make love'

Here we can also observe a change of syntactic form. In the SL expression, the collocation *hot love* is embedded into another collocation (*to make love*) and the collocate *hot* is coordinated with another collocate, *passionate*. The TL solution omits the first collocate (*hot*) and translates only the second one (*passionate*), and in the process transposes the adjective to an adverb.

72 Syntactic changes in translation, where e.g. an adjective (*biting*) is changed into a noun (*ujede* 'bites') are in literature on translation referred to as *transposition* (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995).

- (10) There's some burning ambition inside you, isn't there?

U tebi izgara ambicija, zar ne?

in you burn ambition, INT NEG

3SG-

CONT

'There is some ambition burning inside you, isn't there?'

Here we observe a kind of reversal – *burning* is transposed from a verbal adjective to a participle.

- (11) crushing defeat → *potpuni slom* 'total crush'

Here the translator kept the same ADJ+N construction and the same CM, but what was originally the collocate (*crushing*) in translation became the base of the collocation (*slom* 'crush').

The above examples (6-11) show a wide range of solutions from the syntactic aspect. The question whether there is a preferred solution will be taken up further below.

4. Formal correspondence vs translation equivalence

The idea of *formal correspondence* can be found as early as in Nida (1964: 159): "Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in *both form and content* [O]ne is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language" (*italics mine*). Formal equivalence was later called *formal correspondence* (Nida and Taber 1969: 22–8). As the most typical kind they mention gloss translations. Clearly, for Nida and Taber, the formal correspondent of e.g. *hot love* could only be *vruća ljubav* 'hot love', a word-for-word match.

Catford (1965: 27) takes a different view, stating that a formal correspondent is "any TL category (unit, class, element of structure etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL". The *function* of an item has to be approximately the same in the two languages, which is a criterion not found in Nida and Taber. Following Catford (*ib.*), given the typological similarity between English and Croatian, we can assume that, syntactically, a formal correspondent of the English ADJ+N is Croatian ADJ+N; however, whether metaphor is retained will depend on the 'place' of the given collocation in the 'economy' of the TL. Observe the following examples:

(12)

- a. juicy gossip = *sočan trač* 'juicy gossip'
- b. biting wind ≠ *grizući vjetar* 'biting wind'
- c. biting wind = *oštar* 'sharp' / *snažan* 'strong' / *jak* 'strong' / *leden* 'icy' / *strašan* 'terrible' vjetar 'wind'

In Catford's view, the SL and the TL expressions in (12a) would be formal correspondents, because the TL expression is current, but the expressions in (12b) would not be formal correspondents, because the TL expression is neither current nor natural (the verbal adjective *grizući* 'biting' is not commonly used as a determiner). All of the TL collocations in (12c) may be called formal correspondents of *biting wind*.

Catford (ib.) also introduces the term *textual equivalent* [more commonly known as: *translation equivalent*] defining it as "any TL text or portion of text which is observed on a particular occasion ... to be the equivalent of a given SL text or portion of text". Thus, in the example (13) below, *the crushing defeat* and *je teško porazio* 'did heavily defeat' are textual/translation equivalents, although they are not formal correspondents:

- (13) before the crushing defeat = *prije nego što je teško porazio*
- before AUX heavily defeated-3SG
- 'before he heavily defeated'

In the translation of (metaphorical) collocations, as far as I can tell from my random sample, most often a formal correspondent is used, but not necessarily (cf. Ex. (13)). The best place to look for formal correspondents is a monolingual corpus or a monolingual or bilingual dictionary, while the best place to look for translation equivalents is a parallel (translation) corpus.

5. A preferred option – semantics?

Judging by the examples I examined, there is no preferred option, all of the solution types listed in Section 3.2. are used. The solution type (following Catford 1965: 27) depends on the 'place' of the given CM and the collocation in the system of the TL and also on the importance of keeping the metaphor. Even if the CM is shared between the SL and the TL, direct translation may not be preferred if the collocation is not common in the TL. And if the metaphor is not particularly important, a non-metaphorical collocation with a similar meaning may be used, or the collocate may be omitted in translation.

6. A preferred option – syntax?

In translation, the decision to keep the SL syntax or to change it depends on the translator's approach. Translators are usually more concerned with meaning than form. Thus, transposition (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995), a translation procedure of changing the word class is a staple in translation. However, when we look at parallel texts, it is clear that the default is translating a collocation with a collocation (ADJ+N→ADJ+N). Still, it is possible to translate collocations using other constructions. Perhaps in some cases a change in the syntactic pattern could be the way to retain the metaphor, if it is important to keep. In (14 a,b) below, the metaphorical collocation *sunny smile* is translated differently in different contexts:

(14)

a. I missed your sunny smile, Hetty.

Nedostajao mi je tvoj predivni smiješak, Hetty.

missed-3SG me-DAT AUX your beautiful smile

'I missed your beautiful smile, Hetty'

b. When he walked back to the table, Quinn gave him a sunny smile.

Kad se vratio za stol, Quinn mu se ozareno nasmiješila.

when REFL returned-3MSG at table, Quinn him REFL radiantly smiled-3FSG

'When he returned to the table, Quinn radiantly smiled at him'

In (14a) (example from subtitle translation), *sunny smile* was translated as *predivni smiješak* 'beautiful smile'. The syntactic form was kept, but the metaphorical collocate was rendered as a non-metaphorical one. In (14b) (example from literary translation), we observe almost the reverse of (14a); namely, the metaphor is kept (*m* → *m'* solution; *ozareno* 'radiantly' or 'beamingly' is based on the same CM as *sunny*) and the syntax is changed (ADJ+N → ADV+V). The change of noun to verb might have been due to the fact that the SL phrase to give a smile corresponds to the TL *nasmiješiti se nekome* 'to smile at someone', and then it is logical to change the adjective to an adverb as well. Interestingly, the choice of adverb in (14b) as well as the choice of adjective in (14a) seem to depend on the respective syntactic constructions. The 'beautiful smile' *predivni smiješak* in (14a) seems to be a better fit than *ozareni smiješak* 'radiant/beaming smile', and also 'radiantly smiled' *ozareno nasmiješila* (14b) seems to work better than *predivno nasmiješila* 'beautifully smiled'. This points to the conclusion that the choice of collocate depends, among other things, on the syntactic context in which the collocation is used.

7. Collocation – a syntactic and semantic phenomenon

In this section I discuss the concept of *collocation* and some basic approaches to it.

J. R. Firth (1957) is commonly credited with introducing the concept of collocation. According to Firth, “collocations are to be defined as the habitual and recurrent juxtaposition of semantically related words” (Bartsch and Evert 2014: 48). His approach may be called *frequency-based* (cf. Nesselhauf 2004) because the words have to be frequently used together. Accordingly, a formal-correspondent of an SL collocation may be any frequent TL collocation with the same or a similar meaning. An easy way to establish frequent collocations in a certain language is by using large electronic monolingual corpora (or even a Google search). Observe the following example:

(15) biting wind = Croatian?

=> Croatian Web (hrWaC 2.2, ReLDI): suitable collocates with the base *vjetar* ‘wind’: *jak* ‘strong’, *snažan* ‘strong’, *hladan* ‘cold’, *leden* ‘icy’, *silan* ‘mighty’, *neugodan* ‘unpleasant’ etc. (N.B. there are no hits for *grizući vjetar* ‘biting wind’)

Example (15) shows the procedure of finding a suitable translation equivalent (or rather a formal correspondent) in a monolingual corpus. From a long list of collocates (produced automatically in a matter of seconds) the translator can pick one which will suit the context.

The problem with the frequency-based approach is determining what is to be considered as frequent enough (1000 hits in a corpus or 100 or 10 or?), and the answer is necessarily arbitrary.

Another approach to collocations is the so-called *phraseological approach* (Nesselhauf 2004). In this view, a collocation is a natural co-occurrence of two words in which we can clearly identify a base and a collocate (Hausmann 1984), with the base being semantically autonomous and determining the meaning of the collocate. A formal correspondent according to this approach would be a *natural* collocation in the TL with the same or a similar meaning, which does not necessarily have to be a frequent collocation.

The problem with this approach is to determine what is to be considered as natural. Native speakers should be able to feel it intuitively; non-native speakers can use corpora (perhaps Google would suffice?) to validate their translation candidates (searching for instances of use by native speakers, regardless of the frequency), or ask a native speaker for validation.

To sum up, both the frequency-based approach and the phraseological approach are problematic, but if the translator opts for one of these approaches, it will most

certainly have an effect on the choice of translation solution. However, as shown above, a collocation can also be translated by a different syntactic construction.

8. Conclusion

ADJ+N metaphorical collocations are most frequently translated by an ADJ+N collocation, but not necessarily a metaphorical one. This could be due to the influence of the formal correspondence approach to translation and the frequency-based approach to collocations. However, in some cases the syntactic pattern is changed. These cases are not based on formal correspondence and may be termed textual or translation equivalence, which is context-based. The findings of this study, apart from the obvious contribution to our knowledge on translating metaphorical collocations, may also have implications for the discussion of metaphorical collocations, or of metaphorical expressions and the phenomenon of translation in general.

8.1. Implications for the discussion of metaphorical collocations

In the discussion on the translation of metaphorical collocations it is most important to realise that metaphorical collocations have two mutually depending facets – the syntactic one (they are *collocations* with a distinct syntactic form), and the semantic one (they are *metaphorical expressions*). Therefore, any discussion of metaphorical collocations has to consider both their conceptual nature and their syntactic form.

8.2. Implications for the discussion of metaphorical expressions

Metaphorical expressions are *linguistic* realisations of CMs, and as such they assume a certain syntactic form, which is relevant for the full description of such linguistic expressions. The fact that the CM is a cognitive phenomenon, and as such is not tied to any specific syntactic form has often led to the disregard for the syntactic aspect of metaphorical linguistic expressions.

The fact that metaphorical collocations are often translated by a non-metaphorical expression suggests that not all metaphorical expressions are equally important in the functional sense. I would suggest that in most cases only the *deliberate metaphors*, i.e. those that are intentionally used as metaphors (Steen 2015: 1), are important to transfer in translation. We may look at this as the pragmatic aspect of the metaphorical expressions.

8.3. Implications for translation

The syntactic, the semantic and the pragmatic aspects together determine the way metaphorical collocations will be translated in a specific communicative situation. It seems that in the case of ADJ+N metaphorical collocations the syntactic aspect (their specific form) in many translation solutions has precedence over the other two. In other words, metaphorical collocations are in many cases

first seen as collocations, and only then as metaphorical expressions with a specific communicative function. This could be due to the fact that collocations are formed by habitual, recurrent use, and over time they lose their „deliberateness“ (by the process of lexicalisation), and translators understand this, perhaps even unconsciously. We do not only translate meaning but also, more often than not, we translate form. Or, perhaps, we try to do both, and only if we fail, do we resort to changing the form, which is why cases of translating metaphorical collocations using different syntactic patterns are comparatively rare.

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Zur Übersetzung metaphorischer Kollokationen des Typs Adjektiv + Substantiv (ADJ+SUB) vom Englischen ins Kroatische

Das vorliegende Kapitel befasst sich mit der Übersetzung metaphorischer Kollokationen des Typs ADJ+SUB (z. B. *biting wind* 'beißender Wind', *juicy gossip* 'saftiger Klatsch'). Der erste Teil des Aufsatzes gibt einen Überblick über Übersetzungsoptionen. Genauer gesagt werden die Übersetzungslösungstypen bestimmt, sowohl im Hinblick auf die Semantik (wie die Metapher wiedergegeben wird) als auch auf die Syntax (welche Art von Konstruktion verwendet wird). Der zweite Teil des Aufsatzes konzentriert sich auf einige konkrete Übersetzungsbeispiele. Dabei wird die Unterscheidung zwischen formaler Korrespondenz und Übersetzungsäquivalenz als Analyseprinzip verwendet. Der dritte Teil des Aufsatzes ist theoretischen Fragen gewidmet. Eine der Schlüsselfragen ist, ob es eine bevorzugte Option für die Übersetzung metaphorischer Kollokationen des Typs ADJ+SUB gibt, sowohl im Hinblick auf die Wiedergabe der Metapher als auch auf den Konstruktionstyp der Übersetzungslösung.

Schlüsselwörter: metaphorische Kollokation, Übersetzung, formale Korrespondenz, Übersetzungsäquivalenz

Prevođenje metaforičkih kolokacija tipa pridjev + imenica (PRIDJ. + IM.) s engleskoga na hrvatski jezik

U radu se istražuje prevođenje metaforičkih kolokacija tipa PRIDJ. + IM. (npr. *biting wind*, *juicy gossip*). U prvom dijelu rada daje se pregled opcija za prevođenje. Preciznije rečeno, utvrđuju se tipovi prijevodnih rješenja, kako u pogledu semantike (kako je prevedena metafora) tako i sintakse (koji je tip konstrukcije upotrijebljen). Drugi dio rada fokusira se na određene konkretne primjere prijevoda. Ovdje se kao princip za analizu upotrebljava razlikovanje između formalne korespondencije i prijevodne ekvivalencije. Treći je dio rada posvećen teorijskim pitanjima. Jedno od ključnih pitanja jest postoji li opcija koja se preferira za prevođenje metaforičkih kolokacija tipa PRIDJ.+IM., kako u pogledu prevođenja metafore tako i u pogledu sintaktičke konstrukcije prijevodnog rješenja.

Ključne riječi: metaforičke kolokacije, prevođenje, formalna korespondencija, prijevodna ekvivalencija

Part II: Beyond Metaphors and Metaphorical Collocations

Metonymische Phrasemkonstruktionen⁷³

Vladimir Karabalić

Im vorliegenden Kapitel werden metonymische Phrasemkonstruktionen in Form von Identitätsaussagen mit zwei gleichen lexikalischen Füllungen X untersucht: *X ist/sind (kein/e) X* (*Kind ist Kind; dieses Buch ist kein Buch*); *X ist nicht gleich X* (*Wein ist nicht gleich Wein*); *X und X ist ein Unterschied* (*Neu und neu ist ein Unterschied*); *X und X sind zweierlei* (*Geschenke und Geschenke sind zweierlei*); *X bleibt X* (*hassen bleibt hassen*); *Es gibt X und X* (*Es gibt Kinder und Kinder*). Ihr metonymischer Charakter besteht darin, dass die beiden X-Füllungen trotz der lexikalischen Gleichheit Unterschiedliches bezeichnen. Es wird ihre Stellung im System anderer Phrasemkonstruktionen loziert: Die nächsten Nachbarn sparen entweder eine der identischen lexikalischen Füllungen ein – X, d- *kein- ist/sind* (*ein Fest, das keines ist*), – oder ersetzen sie durch eine unterschiedliche Füllung – *X ist nicht/kein Y* (*Deutschland ist nicht USA*), *X ist/sind d- neu- Y* (*Vegan ist das neue Vegetarisch*). Anschließend wird am Beispiel ausgewählter metonymischer Phrasemkonstruktionen ihre lexikographische Beschreibung demonstriert, wie sie im Rahmen des seit 2023 laufenden vierjährigen COST-Projektes CA 22115 “A Multilingual Repository of Phraseme Constructions in Central and Eastern European Languages” (PhraConRep) praktiziert wird.

Schlüsselwörter: Metonymie, Phrasemkonstruktion, Identitätsaussage, Tautologie

1. Zum metonymischen Charakter der ausgewählten Gruppe von Phrasemkonstruktionen

Phrasemkonstruktionen⁷⁴ (im weiteren Text: PhK) sind Phraseme, die neben dem lexikalisch fixierten Teil, dem sog. Anker, auch einen lexikalisch freien Teil enthalten, der lediglich grammatisch und ggf. semantisch bestimmt ist und vom Sprecher im konkreten kommunikativen Kontext gefüllt wird. Diese freien Slots machen auch den wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen PhK und anderen Phrasemarten aus, wie Sprichwörtern (*Viele Köche verderben den Brei*), idiomatischen Wortverbindungen (*die Flinte ins Korn werfen*), Funktionsverbgefügen (*zur Einsicht gelangen*), Kollokationen (*[eine/die] Aufgabe/n erledigen*) usw.

73 Dieser Beitrag ist im Rahmen des COST-Projektes CA 22115 “A Multilingual Repository of Phraseme Constructions in Central and Eastern European Languages (PhraConRep)” entstanden.

74 Die Bezeichnung stammt von Dobrovol'skij (2011; 2022). Weitere Bezeichnungen sind u. a. Phrasioschablonen (Fleischer 1982), *constructional idioms* ‘konstruktive Idiome’ (Booij 2002; Taylor 2002), *frazeosxemy* (Šmel'ev 1977) / *frazeoscheme* (Menac 2007) ‘Phrasioschemata’.

In dem vorliegenden Kapitel wird eine besondere Gruppe der PhK untersucht, die sich durch bestimmte gemeinsame Merkmale von anderen PhK unterscheiden:

1. *X' und X' sind/ist zweierlei*
2. *(zwischen) X' und X' ist (noch) ein Unterschied*
3. *Es gibt N' und N'*
4. *X' ist/sind nicht gleich X'*
5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'*
6. *X' (ist/sind und) bleibt/-en X'*
7. *(Pron/N) lass- X' X' sein*
8. *X ist nicht Y*

Die genannten PhK bestehen im Anker aus dem Kopulaverb, auch modalisiert durch das Verb *lass-* in 7, oder dem synonymen *es gibt* in 3, und einem oder zwei weiteren obligatorischen oder durch Klammern gekennzeichneten fakultativen lexikalischen Komponenten. Freie Slots sind in den PhK 1.-7. zwei lexikalisch identische Elemente X' bzw. N'. Diese Identität wird durch den Apostroph ' gekennzeichnet. Vergleichsweise ist auch die PhK 8. hinzugezogen, in der die beiden freien Slots durch zwei unterschiedliche lexikalische Elemente X und Y gefüllt werden. Die Symbole X und Y bedeuten, dass die Wortart der Füllungen nicht vorgegeben ist, während N für nominale Füllung steht.

Im Folgenden ist für jede PhK eine authentische Verwendung mit konkreten Füllungen der freien Slots X, N und Y angeführt. Die PhK ist jeweils fett hervorgehoben.

- (1) »Herr Blumenthal«, sagte ich, »sehen Sie sich den Wagen noch einmal an...« »Nicht nötig«, unterbrach er mich, »ich habe ihn mir ja neulich genau angesehen...« »**Sehen und Sehen ist zweierlei**«, erklärte ich. »Sie sollen Details sehen.« (A. M. Remarque, *Drei Kameraden*)
- (2) **Rauchen und Rauchen ist ein Unterschied**. Mein Mann raucht nicht wie andere Männer, der dampft. (Karl Johann Braun, *Donna Quixote*)
- (3) **Es gibt Menschen und Menschen**. Es gibt Menschen, die für Spontanität geboren worden sind und es gibt Menschen, die alles planen müssen. (Marcel Fischer, *Ein Jahr in Schweden*)
- (4) Warum **Wasser nicht gleich Wasser ist**: Para- und Ortho-Wasser zeigen deutlich unterschiedliche Reaktivität. <<https://pro-physik.de/nachrichten/>>

[warum-wasser-nicht-gleich-wasser-ist](#)> Zugriff am 19.10.2024

- (5) **Falsch ist falsch, egal wer es tut oder sagt.** <https://beruhmte-zitate.de/zitate/2079210-malcolm-x-falsch-ist-falsch-egal-wer-es-tut-oder-sagt/#google_vignette> Zugriff am 19.10.2024
- (6) **Meister bleibe Meister, ob jetzt Schneider oder Schach.** (Alexander Schüller, *Die Blendung*)
- (7) **Lass die Arbeit Arbeit sein** (Titel eines Songs, <<https://youtu.be/I0vMkq75dTk>> Zugriff am 19.10.2024
- (8) **Deutschland ist nicht USA. Wir haben hier kein Rassismusproblem in der Polizei.** (Der Spiegel)

Wörtlich wird in den PhK 1.-6. die Gleichheit bzw. (in 4. sowie in einer Variante von 5.) Verschiedenheit von zwei gleichen Objekten bzw. in 8. Verschiedenheit von zwei verschiedenen Objekten behauptet und in der PhK 7., die meist in der Imperativform verwendet wird, wird Gleichheit von zwei gleichen Objekten gefordert. In all diesen Fällen liegen aus Sicht der formalen Logik tautologische Aussagen vor. Doch die Referenz der beiden X-Füller in 1.-6. ist trotz der gleichen lexikalischen Besetzungen nicht identisch: zumindest eine dieser Besetzungen ist nämlich **metonymisch**, indem ihre Referenz auf einen bestimmten Aspekt des von X bezeichneten Begriffs abhebt und nicht auf den Begriff an sich. So referiert der Sprecher von (1) mit dem ersten *Sehen* auf den Begriff des Sehens an sich und mit dem zweiten, metonymischen *Sehen* auf einen Aspekt dieses Begriffs, nämlich ‚Detailsehen‘, wie aus dem oben zitierten Kontext zu erschließen ist. So auch im Beispiel (2), wo der Sprecher mit dem zweiten *Rauchen* auf das Dampfen referiert,⁷⁵ wie aus dem oben zitierten Kontext erschließbar, während mit dem ersten *Rauchen* auf den Begriff des Rauchens an sich referiert wird. Das Besondere an der besagten Metonymie ist offensichtlich, dass das metonymische Wort (das zweite Sehen) gleich ist wie das nicht-metonymische (das erste *Sehen*). Beide X-Füllungen in der PhK bezeichnen denselben Begriff, ihre Referenz jedoch ist unterschiedlich. In den Beispielen (1) und (2) sind *Detailsehen* und *Dampfen* also jeweils die Aspekte, unter denen die Konzeptbereiche⁷⁶ des Sehens bzw. des Rauchens in diesen konkreten Verwendungen der PhK präsentiert werden. Kern (2011) spricht hier vom „Quellkonzept“ (in den Beispielen: Sehen bzw. Rauchen) und „Zielkonzept“ (in den Beispielen: Detailsehen bzw. Dampfen).

75 „Dampfen“ wird in diesem Fall sowohl metaphorisch als auch metonymisch gebraucht. Es wird nicht der Dampf an sich gemeint, sondern das Rauchen wird mit Dampf verglichen (metaphorisch), wobei Dampf(en) selbst metonymisch ist. Die Dichte des Dampfes (also somit eine Eigenschaft, die Dampf innehat) wird mit Dampf gleichgestellt. Das ist nach Goossens (2003) eine Metaphonymie (eine Metapher geht aus einer Metonymie hervor oder umgekehrt). – Für diesen Hinweis bedankt sich der Autor bei Dr. Snježana Babić, Lektorin des vorliegenden Aufsatzes.

76 „Frames“ in der Terminologie von Spieß (2015: 332).

Die spezifische Metonymisierung in diesen und ähnlichen Beispielen mit nur einem metonymischen X besteht erstens darin, dass ein und dasselbe Wort einmal metonymisch (das zweite X) und einmal nicht metonymisch (das erste X) verwendet wird, wie schon erwähnt, und zweitens darin, dass neben dem Zielkonzept, also der eigentlichen Metonymie, auch der ganze Konzeptbereich (das Quellkonzept in Kerns Terminologie) thematisiert wird, nämlich durch das nicht-metonymische erste X.

Während also der Konzeptbereich (das Quellkonzept) durch beide X-Füllungen explizit benannt wird, muss das Zielkonzept, das mit dem zweiten X gemeint ist, vom Rezipienten aus dem Kontext erst erschlossen werden bzw. vom Sprecher präzisiert werden, wie in den Beispielen (1) und (2) oben.

In den Beispielen (3) und (4) sind beide X-Slots metonymisch besetzt: Sie referieren beide auf verschiedene Zielkonzepte ein und desselben durch X bezeichneten Quellkonzepts. Hier wird ein und dasselbe Wort X im selben Satz zweimal unterschiedlich metonymisiert, wobei der Sprecher davon ausgeht, dass die von ihm gemeinten Zielkonzepte für den Rezipienten der Äußerung aus dem Kontext erschließbar sind. Wie entscheidend der Kontext für die jeweilige X-Referenz ist, sei an den folgenden Verwendungsbeispielen (4.a)-(4.d) für die PhK (4) *X ist nicht gleich X* gezeigt. In den Beispielen ist die X-Füllung immer das Wort *Wasser*, aber die beiden Zielkonzepte, auf die der Sprecher mit diesem Wort jeweils referiert, sind je nach dem Kontext unterschiedlich. Zwischen den einfachen Anführungsstrichen ‚...‘ sind die jeweils aus dem Kontext erschlossenen Referenzen aus der PhK *Wasser ist nicht gleich Wasser* explizit angegeben.

(4.a) *Wasser ist nicht gleich Wasser, es bildet bis in unsere Tiefe herab Schichten wie sedimentäre Lagerungen. Der Salzgehalt und die physikalischen Eigenschaften der einzelnen Wasserschichten sind nicht gleich.* (L.-G. Buchheim, *Das Boot*) → ‚Der Salzgehalt und die physikalischen Eigenschaften einer Wasserschicht ist nicht gleich Salzgehalt und die physikalischen Eigenschaften einer anderen Wasserschicht‘

(4.b) *Warum Wasser nicht gleich Wasser ist: Para- und Ortho-Wasser zeigen deutlich unterschiedliche Reaktivität.* ‚Para-Wasser ist nicht gleich Ortho-Wasser‘

(4.c) *Wasser ist nicht gleich Wasser. Künftig muss zwischen Schmutz- und Niederschlagswasser unterschieden werden.* (donaukurier.de) ‚Schmutzwasser ist nicht gleich Niederschlagswasser‘

(4.d) *Denn: In der Tat ist Wasser nicht gleich Wasser. Es gibt einige Unterschiede, die Sie kennen sollten, um mit Ihrem Trinkverhalten ganz bewusst Krankheiten vorzubeugen und Ihr Wohlbefinden zu steigern. Dabei sollten Sie vor allem zwischen basischem, saurem und molekular mit Wasserstoff angereichertem Wasser unterscheiden.* <<https://www.echo-h2.de/ratgeber/ist-wasser-nicht-gleich-wasser>> ‚Basisches Wasser ist nicht gleich saures Wasser ist nicht gleich molekular mit Wasserstoff angereichertes Wasser‘

Ähnliches gilt für die Besetzungen von X und Y in der PhK 8. *X ist nicht Y*. Interessanterweise können also auch lexikalisch unterschiedliche Slotfüller in der gleichen syntaktischen Konstruktion einer Identitätsaussage in gleicher Weise metonymisch verwendet werden wie in den PhK 1.-6. Wie die beiden X in 3. und 4. sind X und Y in 8. beide metonymisch: weder mit X noch mit Y wird auf die bezeichneten Begriffe an sich referiert, sondern auf bestimmte Aspekte derselben, wie die folgenden Verwendungsbeispiele (8.a)-(8.c) zeigen:

(8.a) *Deutschland ist nicht USA. Wir haben hier kein Rassismusproblem in der Polizei.* (Der Spiegel)

(8.b) *Mellern war kein Dachau, kein Oranienburg, kein Buchenwald – von den Vernichtungslagern gar nicht zu reden.* (E. M. Remarque, *Der Funke Leben*)

(8.c) *Aber ich bin nicht er, und ich führe nicht seine Art von Leben, sondern das meine, ein kleines und bürgerliches, aber gesichertes und von Pflichten erfülltes.* (H. Hesse, *Steppenwolf*)

In (8.1) wird mit *Deutschland* (Quellkonzept) auf die deutsche Polizei (Zielkonzept) und mit *USA* (Quellkonzept) auf die US-amerikanische Polizei (Zielkonzept), referiert und zwar unter dem Teilaspekt des Rassismus, deshalb die Paraphrase: ‚Deutsche Polizei ist nicht wie rassistische US-amerikanische Polizei.‘

In (8.2) wird mit den Ortsbezeichnungen (Quellkonzepte Mellern, Dachau, Oranienburg und Buchenwald) auf die jeweiligen Konzentrationslager während des 2. Weltkriegs (Zielkonzept) referiert.

In (8.3) referiert der Sprecher mit *ich* und *er* (Quellkonzepte) auf die jeweilige Art von Leben (Zielkonzepte).

Der einzige Unterschied zur Metonymie in den PhK 1.-6. mit identischen lexikalischen Slotfüllungen besteht darin, dass in der PhK mit unterschiedlichen Slotfüllungen (8) zwei verschiedene Quellkonzepte X und Y benannt werden.

Zu den übrigen PhK ist zu sagen, dass unter 1.-8. nur die PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* nicht metonymisch ist, wovon im Abschnitt 4. die Rede sein wird. Auch die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* und 6. *X' (ist/sind und) bleibt-en X'* haben im Hinblick auf die Metonymie spezifische Merkmale, wovon im Abschnitt 3. die Rede sein wird.

2. Das Beschreibungsinstrumentarium

Eine Metonymie besonderer Art steckt in den PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- X'* und (6) *X' (ist/sind und) bleib- X'*. Die beiden PhK kann man als synonym betrachten. Am Beispiel dieser PhK wird im Folgenden das Beschreibungsinstrumentarium gezeigt, das im Rahmen des eingangs erwähnten COST-Projekts auf jede einzelne der insgesamt ca. 250 PhK angewandt wird, die im Projektrepositorium

z. Z. enthalten sind (mit ständig wachsender Zahl).

Die PhK werden unter z. Z. 20 Tags oder Aspekten beschrieben:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1.<kommunikative Funktion> | 12.<Stil> |
| 2.<Lemma> | 13.<Prosodie> |
| 3.<verwandte Lemmata> | 14.<Übersetzungsbeispiele> |
| 4.<Standardform> | 15. <zusammenfassende
Übersetzungskommentare> |
| 5.<Bedeutung> | 16.<Varianten> |
| 6.<Beispiele für das Lemma> | 17.<Synonyme> |
| 7.<literarische Beispiele> | 18.<Homonyme> |
| 8.<Morphologie> | 19.<idiomatische und formelhafte Ausdrücke auf
der Basis der PhK> |
| 9.<semantische Einschränkungen> | 20.<Publikationen> |
| 10.<Syntax> | |
| 11.<Gebrauch> | |

Das <Lemma> schreiben wir in formalisierter Form, in der die frei zu füllenden Slots durch Symbole repräsentiert sind (X'), während im Anker auch die Varianten zwischen Schrägstrichen (grammatische Varianten) bzw. Klammern (fakultative lexikalische Elemente) verzeichnet werden – in den PhK 5. und 6. sind es die grammatischen Formen des Verbs *sein* bzw. *bleiben* und die Negation bzw. (*ist/sind und*) als fakultative lexikalische Elemente. Diese Varianten werden dann noch einmal unter dem o. g. Tag 16. einzeln angeführt.

Unter dem Tag 4. <Standardform> wird die häufigste Realisierungsform der PhK angeführt, die durch Korpusrecherchen ermittelt wird – in den PhK 5. und 6. sind es X' *ist* X' bzw. X' *bleibt* X', also die Variante mit dem Verb im Präsens Singular und ohne fakultative lexikalische Elemente.

Unter dem Tag 3. <verwandte Lemmata> werden PhK angeführt, die in einer zu spezifizierenden Verwandtschaft mit der PhK stehen. So wären Kandidaten für mit den PhK 5. und 6. verwandten Lemmata die PhK, die im vorliegenden Kapitel vorgestellt werden.

Unter den Tags 6. <Beispiele für das Lemma> und 7. <literarische Beispiele> werden charakteristische Verwendungsbeispiele für die PhK angeführt.⁷⁷ Für die PhK 5. X' *ist/sind/war-* (*kein-/nicht*) X' sind es etwa folgende Beispiele:

(5.a) *Weil ich versprochen habe, sie zum Einkaufen mitzunehmen, und **versprochen ist versprochen**.* (Sketch Engine, OpenSubtitles 2018 parallel – German)

(5.b) **Falsch ist falsch, egal wer es tut oder sagt.** (beruhmte-zitate.de)

⁷⁷ Die Abgrenzung zwischen den Tags 6. und 7. ist dadurch motiviert, dass das genannte COST-Projekt auch einen Beitrag zur Translationswissenschaft leisten will, in der traditionellerweise zwischen Übersetzen von literarischen und nichtfiktionalen Texten unterschieden wird.

(5.c) - Zara, bitte den Pudding rühren und das Popcorn ausschalten. - **Was ist was?** - Endlich ist jemand ein noch schlechterer Koch als ich. (Sketch Engine, OpenSubtitles 2018 parallel – German)

(5.d) Und **wer ist wer** bei den Solisten? Wer gehört zu welcher Generation? Wer singt bei welchem Lied? (Sketch Engine, deTenTen2020)

(5.e) Elite weiß nicht, was das Proletariat denkt. **Elite ist Elite**. Man kann sich nicht selbst zur Elite zählen, man kann nicht Elite sein wollen. **Elite bleibt Elite**. Elite respektiert nur Elite. (Demian Varth, Brainstorming)

(5.f) Es war eine Illusion zu glauben, man könne den Job bei der Sitte ganz ohne Schusswaffe erledigen. **Polizei war Polizei**. (Volker Kutscher, Der nasse Fisch)

(5.g) “Seien Sie vernünftig, Mann”, sagte er. “**Vermißte sind Vermissste**. Was helfen da Listen?” (E. M. Remarque, Zeit zu leben und Zeit zu sterben)

(5.h) Man sieht ihm an, daß es ihn mit Gewalt rückwärts zieht, aber **Adolf ist Adolf** - er bleibt bis zum letzten Augenblick bei uns stehen. (E. M. Remarque, Der Weg zurück)

(5i) **Dieses Buch ist kein Buch** (Titel eines Artikels in der FAZ)

Die Verwendungsbeispiele sind charakteristisch, weil sie das Spektrum der Wortarten der X-Füllungen sowie die Varianten im Anker *ist/sind/war-* und (*kein-/nicht*) illustrieren.

Unter dem Tag 8. <Morphologie> wird für die PhK 5. X' *ist/sind/war-* (*kein-/nicht*) X' geschrieben: X ist meist ein Substantiv, vereinzelt kommen auch andere Wortarten vor (s. Beispiele 5.a-5.d).⁷⁸ Das Kopulaverb steht meist im Präsens, seltener im Präteritum (Beispiel 5.f).

Eines der zentralen Tags ist 5. <Bedeutung>: Das Objekt, dass im ersten Slotfüller genannt wird, wird durch die Konstruktion in eine Klasse gleichartiger und gleichnamiger Objekte mit einbezogen, bezeichnet durch den zweiten Slotfüller, und gleichzeitig wird darüber ausgesagt, dass all diese Objekte durch eine bestimmte Eigenschaft vereint sind. Außerdem wird mitgeteilt, dass diese Eigenschaft über einen hohen Grad an Beständigkeit verfügt, sie bleibt über eine längere Zeit unverändert. Die Eigenschaft selbst wird dabei nicht benannt; der Adressat muss selbst darauf kommen. Die PhK enthält für den Adressaten eine Art Rätsel. Doch im Kontext ist manchmal die Lösung dieses Rätsels enthalten: Die Eigenschaften von Elite, die in (5.e) apostrophiert werden, sind „Elite weiß nicht, was das Proletariat denkt“ und „Elite respektiert nur Elite“. Die Eigenschaft von Polizei, die im Beispiel (5.6) apostrophiert wird, ist, dass sie ihren Job mit Schusswaffe erledigt. Die Eigenschaft von Vermissten, die in (5.f) apostrophiert

78 Zur adjektivisch-adverbialen X-Besetzung *sicher ist sicher* s. Brunetti et al. (2015).

wird, ist, dass bei deren Auffindung keine Listen helfen. Die Eigenschaft von Versprechen, die in (5.a) apostrophiert wird, ist, dass es eingehalten werden muss. Die Eigenschaft von Falschsein, die in (5.b) apostrophiert wird, ist, dass es egal ist, wer falsch tut oder sagt.

Unter dem Tag 1. <kommunikative Funktion> wird das Illokutionspotenzial der PhK angegeben: Das Konstrukt wird oft als Abmahnung verwendet – jemand will etwas rechtfertigen, kleinreden oder vergessen, was aus Sicht des Sprechers nicht gerechtfertigt, kleingeredet oder vergessen werden darf, da das im Slotfüller genannte Objekt über bestimmte Eigenschaften verfügt, die es nicht erlauben. Das Konstrukt kann aber auch zum Trost verwendet oder mit anderen Illokutionen versehen werden.

Was das Tag 9. <semantische Einschränkungen> angeht, so gibt es für die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* keine semantischen Restriktionen bei der Wahl der X-Füllungen. Der Slotfüller muss lediglich so gewählt werden, dass der Rezipient versteht, welche Eigenschaften des entsprechenden Objektes gemeint sind.

Zum Tag 10. <Syntax> wird festgestellt, dass die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* als selbständiger Satz verwendet wird. Der erste Slotfüller ist Subjekt des Satzes, der zweite ist ein Prädikativ.

Zum Tag 11. <Gebrauch> ergeben die Korpusrecherchen, dass die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* im Narrativ oder im Dialog, im mündlichen oder schriftlichen Diskurs, in fast allen Textsorten außer denen verwendet wird, die solche philosophisch anmutenden Sentenzen nicht zulassen (z. B. technische Doku oder juristische Dokumente).

Zum Tag 12. <Stil> kann festgestellt werden, dass die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* neutral bis gehoben, rhetorisch und philosophisch geprägt ist.

Im Hinblick auf das Tag 13. <Prosodie> ist die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* ein Doppel-Akzent-Konstrukt: ein starker Akzent markiert beide Slotfüller.

Unter dem Tag 14. <Übersetzungsbeispiele> werden ausgewählte Verwendungsbeispiele für die deutsche PhK in andere Projektsprachen (z. Z. 13) übersetzt. Diese Übersetzungen werden dann unter dem Tag 15. <zusammenfassende Übersetzungskommentare> insbesondere im Hinblick darauf kommentiert, ob in den Übersetzungen das zielsprachliche Äquivalent der deutschen PhK auf der langue-Ebene verwendet wird, also der zielsprachliche Ausdruck, dessen Form und Lexik der Struktur der deutschen PhK entsprechen.⁷⁹

79 Es wurden verschiedene Grade der Entsprechung festgestellt: von der Volläquivalenz, bei der sich die Strukturen der ausgangs- und zielsprachlichen Phk formal und lexikalisch vollständig decken, über verschiedene Grade der Teiläquivalenz, bis hin zur Nulläquivalenz, bei der die ausgangssprachliche PhK keine Entsprechung in der Zielsprache hat, sondern mit anderen Mitteln wiedergegeben wird. An dieser Stelle kann die Äquivalenzfrage, die im Projekt CA 22115

Gleich unten werden in der Tabelle 1 einige Übersetzungsbeispiele für die deutsche PhK 6. X' *bleibt* X' angeführt, die im Repositorium unter dem Tag 14. <Übersetzungsbeispiele> stehen.

Unter dem Tag 16. <Varianten> werden grammatische und lexikalische Varianten im Anker noch einmal einzeln festgehalten, nachdem sie bereits im Tag 2. <Lemma> durch Schrägstriche und zwischen Klammern X' *ist/sind/war-* (*kein-/nicht*) X' aufgezählt wurden. In der PhK 5. gibt es grammatische Varianten in Numerus und Tempus des Verbs X' *sind* X' und X' *war-* X' sowie lexikalische Varianten mit fakultativen Negationswörtern X' *ist/sind/war-* *kein-* X' und X' *ist/sind/war-* *nicht* X'.

Das Synonym (Tag 17.) der PhK 5. in deren affirmativer Variante X' *ist/sind/war-* X' ist die PhK 6. X' *bleib-* X'. Dass die beiden PhK synonym sind, wird auch durch die Parallele mit anderen Sprachen nahegelegt. Im Folgenden seien einige Übersetzungsbeispiele aus dem PhK-Repositorium angegeben, das im Rahmen des Projekts CA22115 entwickelt wird. Die Beispiele zeigen, dass obwohl in den Zielsprachen eine volläquivalente PhK mit dem Verb *bleiben* existiert (X' *остаётся* X', X' *zůst-* X', X' *ostaj-* X', a(z) X' X' *marad*), in den Übersetzungen das Verb *sein* verwendet wird. In der Übersetzung wird also die PhK 5. und nicht 6. realisiert:

Tabelle 1: Deutsche PhK X' *bleib-* X' und ihre Übersetzungen in Projektsprachen der CA22115

Deutsches Original	Übersetzung
<i>Stefan Grigoleit wischte sich den Schweiß von der Stirn. »Beethoven bleibt Beethoven«, erklärte er. Niemand widersprach. (E. M. Remarque, Drei Kameraden)</i>	RUSSISCH: <i>Стефан Григоляйт вытер пот со лба. “Бетховен есть Бетховен”, – заявил он. Никто не возразил ему. (Üb. Исаак Шрайбер, Лев Яковенко, 1958)</i>
<i>Meister bleibe Meister, ob jetzt Schneider oder Schach. (E. Canatti, Die Blendung)</i>	TSCHECHISCH: <i>Mistr je mistr, v krejčovství i v šachu. (Üb. Jiří Stromšík, 1998)</i>
<i>Wahrheit bleibt Wahrheit, und sie ist eine bittere Pille. (Sketch Engine)</i>	KROATISCH: <i>Istina je istina. I ostavlja gorak okus u ustima. (Sketch Engine)</i>
<i>- Wie ist das denn passiert? - Um das herauszubekommen, bin ich hier. Er hat Ihnen Übel mitgespielt. Sie hätten allen Grund dazu gehabt, - aber Mord bleibt Mord. - Ich war's nicht. (Sketch Engine)</i>	UNGARISCH: <i>- Hogy történt? - Ezért vagyok itt, hogy kiderítsem. Hallottam, mit tett önnel Dave, és talán jó oka is volt rá, - de a gyilkosság az gyilkosság. - Nem én tettem. (Sketch Engine)</i>

Homonyme (Tag 18.) hat PhK 5. X' *ist/sind/war-* (*kein-/nicht*) X' keine.

Zum Tag 19. <idiomatische und formelhafte Ausdrücke auf der Basis der PhK> zeigen die Korpusrecherchen folgende auffällig häufige lexikalische Slotfüllungen: *Dienst ist Dienst, und Schnaps ist Schnaps; Sicher ist sicher*. In diesem Fall handelt es sich um halb- oder vollidiomatisierte Ausdrücke.

Und schließlich unter dem Tag 20. <Publikationen> werden Veröffentlichungen angegeben, in denen die betreffende PhK behandelt wird. Diese Angaben werden regelmäßig aktualisiert, da das Repositorium online im freien Zugang angeboten wird.

3. Besondere Quell- und Zielkonzepte

Im Hinblick auf die Metonymie weist die PhK 5. *X' ist/sind/war- (kein-/nicht) X'* gewisse Besonderheiten auf, wenn X mit Fragepronomen *was* oder *wer* gefüllt wird, wie in den oben bereits zitierten Beispielen (5.c) und (5.d):

(5.c) - *Zara, bitte den Pudding rühren und das Popcorn ausschalten. - **Was ist was?** - Endlich ist jemand ein noch schlechterer Koch als ich.*

(5.d) *Und **wer ist wer** bei den Solisten? Wer gehört zu welcher Generation? Wer singt bei welchem Lied?*

Im Beispiel (5.c) wird mit einem, nichtmetonymischen X auf ein konkretes Objekt referiert und mit dem anderen, metonymischen X auf die Klasse, zu der das Objekt gehört. Deshalb lautet die Paraphrase hier: 'Welches von den beiden ist Pudding und welches Popcorn?' oder 'Pudding ist welches und Popcorn ist welches?'. Da hier beim nichtmetonymischen X von einem konkreten Objekt die Rede ist, sagen wir statt Quellkonzept besser Frame (im Sinne von 'Deutungsrahmen') und statt Zielkonzept Aspekt.

Ähnlich ist es bei den Füllungen *wer ist wer* im Beispiel (5.d). Mit einem *wer*, das nicht metonymisch ist, wird auf einzelne Solisten als Frame referiert und mit dem anderen, metonymischen *wer* auf eine ihrer Eigenschaften (Generationzugehörigkeit) und ihre Aktivität beim Konzert (bestimmte Lieder singen) als Aspekte.

Ein ähnlicher Fall liegt vor, wenn X durch einen Eigennamen wie im oben bereits zitierten Beispiel (5.h) gefüllt wird:

(5.h) *Man sieht ihm an, daß es ihn mit Gewalt rückwärts zieht, aber **Adolf ist Adolf** - er bleibt bis zum letzten Augenblick bei uns stehen.*

Das erste, nichtmetonymische X bezeichnet ein konkretes Denotat, hier die Person namens Adolf, und das zweite, metonymische X bezeichnet eine Eigenschaft des Denotats. In diesem Fall handelt es sich aber, im Unterschied zu *was ist was* und *wer ist wer*, nicht um die Einbeziehung in eine Klasse von ähnlichen Gegenständen, sondern lediglich darum, dass die durch das zweite

X bezeichnete Eigenschaft über eine längere Zeit konstant bleibt – man dürfte hierfür keine Veränderungen erwarten.

4. Eine nichtmetonymische PhK mit ähnlicher Struktur

(7.a) (...) *hör ein Weilchen auf, dich mit Frauen zu beschäftigen. Kümmere dich jetzt erst einmal um dich und **lass die Frauen Frauen sein*** <<https://frauen-verstehen.com/spielchen-einer-frau/>> Zugriff am 21.10.2024

(7.b) ***Lass die Familie, Familie sein** und breche für dich den Kontakt ab, wenn sie dir so weh tun* <<https://www.urbia.de/forum/16-partnerschaft/5744052-er-verzichtet-auf-seine-kinder-wegen-mir>> Zugriff am 21.10.2024

(7.c) ***Ich lasse jetzt die Arbeit Arbeit sein*** (Duden)

Als interessanter Vergleich zu den PhK 1.-6. sei zum Schluss die PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* herangezogen. Diese PhK hat mit den übrigen drei Bestandteilen das Kopulaverb und zwei gleiche X'-Slots gemeinsam, den Unterschied macht das Verb *lassen* als vierter obligatorischer Bestandteil in der PhK 7. Doch schaut man genauer hin, sind die Unterschiede größer. Trotz zweier X'-Slots gibt es in der PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* nicht zwei Referenten, die durch X' jeweils bezeichnet würden, sondern bedingt durch die idiomatische Bedeutung der PhK nur einen Referenten: 'sich von X abwenden, X nicht mehr beachten' (nach Duden). Und dieses X ist nicht metonymisch. Hier wird sozusagen die formale Metonymie durch die Bedeutung aufgehoben.

Die PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* ist auch im System der deutschen PhK ein Grenzfall, wenn man Kriterien für PhK heranzieht (hervorgehoben von V. K.):

Tabelle 2: Formale und semantische Kriterien für PhK (aus Rada 2024)

FORM	MEANING
1. Polylexicity (multi-word construction) 2. Syntactic fixedness 3. Semi-schematic, i.e. there are fixed constituents (anchors) and slots 4. Productivity in slot filling, i.e. there must be a certain type frequency present, which can only be determined from corpora 5. PhraCons must be distinguished from idioms with lexical variants	1. Meaning as a whole 2. Non-compositional, i.e. the constructional meaning does not result directly from the sum of the meanings of the individual constituents 3. Unpredictable from literal meaning of constituents 4. Abstract meaning, i.e., the constructional meaning can be described before the slots in the text are actually filled 5. Strongly integrated into the text; in the text, they acquire additional nuances of meaning depending on the specific slot fillers. The additional features do not contradict the main meaning, but rather enrich it 6. Pragmatic and/or discursive functions 7. Often multifunctional on a pragmatic level, the exact pragmatic function (illocutionary act) can only be determined in context 8. Productivity in slot filling

Die PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* erfüllt ein wichtiges formales Kriterium für PhK nicht: syntaktische Fixiertheit (Kriterium 2 in der Spalte FORM der Tabelle 2). Die PhK kann nämlich als Imperativsatz, aber auch als Aussagesatz verwendet werden – vgl. die Beispiele (7.a) und (7.b) gegenüber (7.c). Deshalb kann sie auch, im Unterschied zu anderen PhK, in der Infinitivform formuliert werden: *X' X' sein lassen*. Dies kann man mit anderen PhK nicht machen, weil sie auf eine ganz bestimmte, nicht-infinitive morphosyntaktische Form reduziert sind.

Auch ein semantisches Kriterium erfüllt die PhK 7. eher nicht: Das Kriterium 5 in der Spalte MEANING der Tabelle 2 besagt, dass eine PhK stark in den Verwendungskontext integriert wird in dem Sinne, dass sie durch die Verwendung in einem konkreten Kontext ihre Bedeutung zwar nicht ändert, aber typischerweise „bereichert“, also modifiziert. Dies trifft auf die PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* wenig zu: sie verhält sich vielmehr in jedem Verwendungskontext wie klassische Redewendungen oder Sprichwörter, bei deren Verwendung der Kontext kaum einen modifizierenden Einfluss auf ihre Bedeutung hat. Mit anderen Worten ist die Bedeutung der PhK 7. (Pron/N) *lass- X' X' sein* kontextresistenter, petrifizierter sozusagen, als die Bedeutung typischer PhK.

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Metonymic Phraseme Constructions

The chapter explores German metonymic Phraseme Constructions in the form of identity statements with two equal slot fillers X: *X ist/sind (kein/e) X* 'X is/are (not) X' (*Kind ist Kind* 'a child is a child'; *dieses Buch ist kein Buch* 'this book is not a book'); *X ist nicht gleich X* 'X is not necessarily X' (*Wein ist nicht gleich Wein* 'Wine is not necessarily wine'); *X und X ist ein Unterschied* 'X and X is the difference' (*Neu und neu ist ein Unterschied* 'the new and the new is the difference'); *X und X sind zweierlei* 'X and X are twofold' (*Geschenke und Geschenke sind zweierlei* 'gifts and gifts are two different things'); *X bleibt X* 'X remains X' (*hassen bleibt hassen* 'hate remains hate'); *Es gibt X und X* 'there is/are X and X' (*Es gibt Kinder und Kinder* 'there are children and children'). Their metonymic character lies in the fact that the two slot fillers X have different denotations. The chapter locates their place in the system of other German Phrasem Constructions: in similar constructions either there is no one of the identical fillers X, such as in the construction *X, d- kein- ist/sind* 'a(n) X that it is not' (*ein Fest, das keines ist* 'holiday that it is not'), – or it is replaced by a different filler Y, as in the constructions *X ist nicht/kein Y* 'X is not Y' (*Deutschland ist nicht USA* 'Germany is not the USA') or *X ist/sind d- neu- Y* 'X is/are the new Y' (*Vegan ist das neue Vegetarisch* 'vegan is the new vegetarian'). In the central part of the chapter, an example of a phraseological construction serves to illustrate the process of the lexicographic description used in the four-year COST action CA 22115 "A Multilingual Repository of Phraseme Constructions in Central and Eastern European Languages" (PhraConRep) (2023-2027).

Keywords: metonymy, Phraseme Construction, identity statement, tautology

Metonimijske frazemske konstrukcije

U članku su istražene njemačke metonimijske frazemske konstrukcije u obliku izjava o identičnosti s dvije jednake leksičke popune X: *X ist/sind (kein/e) X* 'X (ni)je X' (*Kind ist Kind* 'dijete je dijete'; *dieses Buch ist kein Buch* 'ova knjiga nije knjiga'); *X ist nicht gleich X* 'X nije odmah X' (*Wein ist nicht gleich Wein* 'vino nije odmah vino'); *X und X ist ein Unterschied* 'X i X je razlika' (*Neu und neu ist ein Unterschied* 'novo i novo je razlika'); *X und X sind zweierlei* 'X i X su dvojako' (*Geschenke und Geschenke sind zweierlei* 'darovi i darovi su dvojako'); *X bleibt X* 'X ostaje X' (*hassen bleibt hassen* 'mržnja ostaje mržnja'); *Es gibt X und X* 'postoje X i X' (*Es gibt Kinder und Kinder* 'postoje djeca i djeca'). Njihov metonimijski karakter je u tome što dvije leksičke popune X imaju različite denotate. U članku je locirano njihovo mjesto u sustavu drugih njemačkih frazemskih konstrukcija: u sličnim konstrukcijama ili nema jedne od identičnih popuna X, kao npr. u konstrukciji *X, d- kein- ist/sind* 'X koj- to nije' (*ein Fest, das keines ist* 'praznik koji to nije'), – ili je zamijenjena različitom popunom Y, kao npr. u konstrukcijama *X ist nicht/kein Y* 'X nije Y' (*Deutschland ist nicht USA* 'Njemačka nije SAD')

ili X *ist/sind d- neu-* Y 'X je/su nov- Y' (*Vegan ist das neue Vegetarisch* 'vegansko je novo vegetarijansko'). U središnjem je dijelu članka na primjeru jedne frazemske konstrukcije prikazan leksikografski opis kakav se koristi u okviru četverogodišnjeg COST-projekta CA 22115 "A Multilingual Repository of Phraseme Constructions in Central and Eastern European Languages" (PhraConRep) (2023-2027).

Ključne riječi: metonimija, frazemska konstrukcija, izjava o identičnosti, tautologija

Modell der doppelten Signifikation bei usualisierten präpositionalen Wortverbindungen in epistemischer modaler Bedeutung

Monika Hornáček Banášová

Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit präpositionalen Wortverbindungen aus der Perspektive der Kollokationsforschung. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Analyse der präpositionalen Wortverbindungen *ohne Frage* und *mit Abstand*, die modale Bedeutungen ausdrücken – darunter auch die epistemische Bedeutung im Sinne der Sprechereinstellung. Als Ausdrucksmittel der Modalität sind sie in der Linguistik bislang jedoch kaum berücksichtigt worden. Daher soll in diesem Beitrag die Problematik der epistemischen Modalität sowie die Rolle präpositionaler Wortverbindungen als deren Ausdrucksmittel untersucht werden. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gilt dabei den semantischen Eigenschaften der analysierten Wortverbindungen. Die These, dass Formulierungen nicht bloß Anwendungen sprachlicher Zeichen und Regeln sind, wird im Hinblick auf die Semantik präpositionaler Wortverbindungen anhand des Konzepts der „doppelten Signifikation“ nach Feilke (2004) näher ausgeführt und am Beispiel modaler präpositionaler Wortverbindungen veranschaulicht. Die Notwendigkeit, die Kombinatorik von Präpositionen zu untersuchen, ergibt sich aus der empirischen Beobachtung, dass auch Funktionswörter hinsichtlich ihrer lexikalisch-syntagmatischen Kombinatorik in der Verwendung Einschränkungen unterliegen.

Schlüsselwörter: Kollokationen, Usualität, Modalität, Semantik, Wortverbindungen

1. Einführung

Zur sprachlichen Darstellung der epistemischen Sprechereinstellung dienen verschiedene lexikalische Ausdrucksmittel (Modalverben, Modaladverbien, Modalpartikeln). Dazu zählen unbestritten auch usualisierte präpositionale Wortverbindungen (auch Präposition-Nomen-Verbindungen genannt), deren semantische Eigenschaften im Mittelpunkt dieses Beitrags stehen, die jedoch in der Sprachwissenschaft bislang kaum reflektiert wurden. Die Konstruktionen *ohne Frage* und *mit Abstand* werden dabei näher untersucht. Dieser Typ binärer präpositionaler Wortverbindungen wird in der Phraseologie erst seit Kurzem thematisiert, im Bereich der Modalität jedoch kaum berücksichtigt. Es handelt sich um binäre, verfestigte Wortverbindungen mit Lexemstatus. Die Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Thema stellt zugleich ein klares Desiderat der bisherigen (kontrastiven) Kollokationsforschung dar.

2. Sprechereinstellung

Epistemische Modalität bezeichnet Hansen (2001) – wie auch die meisten anderen Autoren – als Ausdruck der Sprechereinstellung. Gemeint ist damit der Bereich der Überzeugungen des Sprechers, mit denen er zum Ausdruck bringt, ob die Proposition seiner Meinung nach mit der Realität übereinstimmt bzw. ob er daran zweifelt. Auch van der Auwera, Schalley und Nuyts (2005: 201) definieren epistemische Möglichkeit (epistemic possibility) als „speaker's degree of uncertainty about the truth-value of his/her assertion“. Die epistemische Modalität bezieht sich also auf das Verhältnis des Sprechers (seiner Einstellung) zum Satzinhalt bzw. auf seinen Glauben an die Wahrheit seiner Äußerung.

Wie Dietrich (1992: 50) erläutert, gibt es jedoch auch Fälle, „in denen es von Bedeutung ist, dem Sprachnutzer zu verstehen zu geben, dass die Bezugswelt aus einer spezifischen Sicht betrachtet wird. Dies kann wichtig für die richtige Interpretation der aktuellen Äußerung sein. Mit einer Sicht ist hier die Gesamtheit der Sachverhalte und Konstellationen in der Bezugswelt gemeint, wie sie sich einer bestimmten Person zur fraglichen Zeit darstellt“.

Nach Zifonun et al. (1997: 1885) besteht „zwischen epistemischen und nicht-epistemischen Redehintergründen eine relativ klare Zäsur. Bei epistemischen Redehintergründen handeln wir, als bezögen wir all unser Wissen, das im Zusammenhang mit dem Sachverhaltsentwurf relevant werden kann, schlussfolgernd ein (daher auch ‚inferentielle‘ Verwendung im Sinne von epistemischer Verwendung). Bei nicht-epistemischen Redehintergründen hingegen vernachlässigen wir (bewusst oder unbewusst) bestimmte Fakten oder Wissensbestandteile“.

Die Sprechereinstellung bildet somit den eigentlichen Kern der Modalität als grammatisch und lexikalisch-syntaktisch ausgedrückte Haltung zur Realität der Aussage. Gegenüber allen Modalisationen nimmt der reine Aussagemodus dabei eine merkmallöse Position ein. Auf Grundlage einer modallogischen Fassung der „Sicherheit“ erläutert Fritz (2000: 114) die Gegenstände der Modalisation: Modale Zeichen repräsentieren in dieser Perspektive stets die „Unsicherheit“ des Sprechers, von der sich die merkmallöse Finitheit abgrenzt. Aus der Hierarchie merkmallhafter Zeichen über dem merkmallösen Aussagemodus ergibt sich folgende Regel, nach der die „It-is-so“-Komponente „Sicherheit“ anzunehmen ist:

Nur das Null-Zeichen der Modalisation wird verwendet → „Sicherheit“

Weitere Zeichen der Modalisation werden verwendet → „Unsicherheit“

Fritz spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von Sprechersicherheit, wenn ein Sachverhalt als geltend betrachtet wird (nicht epistemisch). Wo laut Dietrich (1992) „Geltung“ als offen erkennbar wird, verwendet Fritz (2000) den Terminus Sprecherunsicherheit (epistemische Verwendung). Hier zeigt sich, dass das logische Erklären der epistemischen Modalität grundsätzlich auf derselben Basis

beruht – lediglich die Terminologie unterscheidet sich je nach Autor: Faktizität vs. Nicht-Faktizität, Geltung vs. Offenheit, Modifikation vs. Modalisation, Sprechersicherheit vs. Sprecherunsicherheit.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten: Die epistemische Modalität wird als Sprechereinstellung zur Wahrheit der Proposition verstanden, wobei der Sprecher seinen subjektiven Gewissheitsgrad zum Ausdruck bringt. Der gemeinsame Nenner der unterschiedlichen Modalitätsbegriffe liegt somit im Grad der Überzeugung des Sprechers von der Wahrheit der Aussage.

3. Lexikalische Mittel der Modalität

In der Sprache gibt es stets mehrere Variationen, mit denen man die gleichen Inhalte ausdrücken kann. Sprachliche Variation ist von mehreren sprachlichen und außersprachlichen Faktoren abhängig. Es sind vor allem die vergleichbare Semantik oder die äquivalente pragmatische Funktion, in denen die jeweiligen Variationen übereinstimmen.

Vorerst werden die lexikalischen Mittel der epistemischen Modalität analysiert. Mehrere Autoren weisen darauf hin, dass es in der Linguistik an umfassenden, systematischen Klassifikationen der Ausdrucksmittel der Modalität fehlt, ihre Abgrenzung sei schwierig und wahrscheinlich trennscharf nicht möglich (vgl. Hirschmann 2015). Es fehlt also eine systematische und einheitliche Beschreibung der Ausdrucksmittel der Modalität. Die Modalität selbst wird nicht einheitlich beschrieben. Abraham (2009: 251) weist darauf hin, dass manche Grammatiken unter Modalität entweder nichts verstehen oder jenen Propositionsmodus, der sich im Unterschied zum Faktizitätsmodus nicht auf Tatsächliches bezieht: „Im Deutschen [...] sind die Begriffe durch Listenelemente erfasst, tragen damit, dabei bestenfalls mehr als weniger erschöpfend verlistend, bloß implizit – und im schlechteren Falle gar nicht – zu einem begrifflichen Gesamtverständnis bei.“

Das wohl objektivste und kontextunabhängigste Kriterium der Klassifizierung einzelner Ausdrucksmittel der Modalität ist die formale Definierbarkeit. So werden im Rahmen der einzelnen Wortarten bzw. Wortklassen spezifische Eigenschaften auf der Ebene von Morphologie, Syntax und/oder Semantik beschrieben. Im Prinzip werden zu den Mitteln der Modalität zentrale Wortarten wie Modalverb, Modaladverb und Modalpartikel gezählt. Im Rahmen der Beschreibung der einzelnen Wortarten werden modale Bedeutungen behandelt, es geht aber eher um eine Auflistung der formalen und inhaltlichen Eigenschaften, ohne auf den Zusammenhang mit anderen modalen Ausdrucksmitteln zu verweisen. Dabei herrscht weitgehend terminologische Uneinigkeit. So wird beispielsweise ein und dasselbe Wort zu verschiedenen Wortarten gegliedert, der Unterschied beruht aber bloß auf der Terminologie der jeweiligen Konzeption. Die Wörter *zweifellos* und *fraglos* zählt die Grammatik von Zifonun et al. (1997: 1126 ff.) zu den modalen Satzadverbialia, die in Form von Adjektiv (*fraglos*) und Modalpartikel (*zweifellos*) ausgedrückt werden müssen. Die Grammatik von Helbig/Buscha (1998: 500 ff.) ordnet dagegen beide den Modalwörtern zu.

Zur Analyse modaler Ausdrucksmittel habe ich drei Grammatiken ausgewählt, die in der germanistischen Forschung relevant sind: *Deutsche Grammatik* von G. Helbig und J. Buscha (1998) (weiter nur HB), *Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* von P. Eisenberg (1998) (weiter nur DG (Dudengrammatik)) und *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache* von G. Zifonun, L. Hoffmann, B. Strecker et al. (1997) (weiter nur ZG).

Um einen Überblick zu den lexikalischen Mitteln der Modalität zu verschaffen, werden in der folgenden Tabelle die einzelnen lexikalischen Mittel der Modalität übersichtlich dargestellt:

Abb. 1: Lexikalische Mittel der Modalität in Grammatiken

HB	Modalverben	Partikeln	Modalwörter	Adverbien
DG	Modalverben	Gradpartikeln Fokuspartikeln Gesprächspartikeln Modalpartikeln	←	Modaladverbien Kommentaradverbien
ZG	Modalverben	Modalpartikeln Abtönungspartikeln	→ ←	Satzadverbialia: - kontextspezifische - modale: - Modalabschwächende - (negative) - assertive: - rein-assertive - bewertend-assertive - evidenz-betonend

Die Analyse der einzelnen Mittel der Modalität zeigt die unterschiedliche Darstellungsweise in den Grammatiken. Die mit Pfeilen markierten Ausdrucksmittel können nach der Grammatik von Helbig/Buscha als Modalwörter bezeichnet werden. Sie erfüllen dieselbe Funktion, werden jedoch nur in dieser Grammatik als eigene Wortart abgegrenzt. Es lässt sich also feststellen, dass die Grammatiken terminologisch deutlich voneinander abweichen, wobei die grundlegende Einteilung in Hauptkategorien (Modalverben, Partikeln und Adverbien) im Prinzip übereinstimmt.

4. Präpositionale Wortverbindungen als lexikalische Mittel der Modalität

Im Folgenden konzentrieren wir uns auf präpositionale Wortverbindungen (PWV), die in der usualisierten Form – Präposition + Nullartikel + Nomen – auftreten. Ihre Form ist lexikalisiert, was sich in der Verwendung des Nullartikels als rekurrenter Leerstelle innerhalb der Verbindung manifestiert.

Die untersuchten PWV – *mit Abstand* und *ohne Frage* – werden in epistemischer Bedeutung als Ausdruck der Sprechereinstellung verwendet. Sie können als Gewissheitsindikatoren oder subjektive Ausdrucksformen der Einstellung

des Sprechers bzw. der Sprecherin bezeichnet werden. Dieser Typ binärer präpositionaler Verbindungen wird in der Phraseologieforschung erst seit Kurzem thematisiert, im Bereich der Modalität jedoch bislang kaum berücksichtigt. Es handelt sich dabei um binäre, verfestigte Wortverbindungen mit Lexemstatus. Eine systematische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Phänomen PWV stellt in der bisherigen deutsch-slowakischen kontrastiven Kollokationsforschung ein deutliches Desiderat dar.

Wie bereits in Kapitel 3 ausgeführt, besteht in den Grammatiken einerseits terminologische Uneinigkeit; andererseits zeigt sich, dass PWV dort entweder gar nicht oder lediglich am Rande erwähnt werden – ohne nähere Beschreibung oder Analyse.

In der *Deutschen Grammatik* von Peter Eisenberg (1998) finden sich keine Hinweise auf PWV im Kontext der Modalität. Auch Helbig/Buscha (1998: 512) erwähnen sie nicht explizit, sondern führen unter den Konkurrenzformen zu Modalwörtern sogenannte „Präpositionalgruppen“ an. Neben Beispielen wie *dem Anschein nach* oder *ohne Zweifel* nennen sie auch solche Gruppen, die keine direkten lexikalischen Entsprechungen in Modalwörtern haben (*meinem Erachten nach*, *nach meiner Ansicht*). Eine detaillierte Auseinandersetzung mit diesen Gruppen fehlt jedoch. Interessant ist, dass die Autoren zur Paraphrasierung des Modalworts *zweifellos* auf die PWV *ohne Zweifel* zurückgreifen und so indirekt auf die funktionale Nähe von Modalwörtern und PWV hinweisen – ohne dies explizit zu machen.

Die Analyse wurde um weitere Grammatiken ergänzt. Sommerfeld/Starke (1998: 74) zählen zu den sprachlichen Mitteln der Modalität neben Modalverben, Modalwörtern, Partikeln und Adjektiven auch „Modalwendungen“ wie *in der Tat*, *aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach*, *meines Erachtens*. Dabei werden unterschiedliche Typen präpositionaler Wortverbindungen berücksichtigt – unabhängig davon, ob sie eine lexikalische Entsprechung in Modalwörtern haben oder nicht. Diese Grammatik erkennt den besonderen Status solcher Verbindungen an und verweist auf deren spezifische semantische Leistung, ohne sie jedoch explizit dem modalen Feld zuzuordnen.

Weinrich (2007: 683) behandelt PWV im Rahmen der Präpositionen und weist damit indirekt auf ihren adverbialen Charakter hin. Die Präposition *ohne* steht häufig mit einem folgenden Nullartikel, was auf eine besonders enge Zusammengehörigkeit von Basis und Adjunkt hinweist. Dies zeigt sich auch an den folgenden *ohne*-Adjunkten, die zu adverbialen Ausdrücken lexikalisiert sind und teilweise den Adjektivableitungen mit dem Suffix *-los* entsprechen: *ohne Zweifel* (= *zweifellos*), *ohne Mühe* (= *müheless*). In dieser Grammatik liegt der Fokus jedoch nicht auf der Funktion der PWV als Ausdrucksformen der Modalität, sondern eher auf ihrer strukturellen Form.

Die Grammatik von Zifonun et al. bietet die ausführlichste Behandlung lexikalischer Mittel der Modalität, verwendet jedoch den Terminus *PWV* kein

einziges Mal. Im Abschnitt zu modalen Satzadverbialia werden neben Adjektiven und Modalpartikeln auch „Präpositionalgruppen“ wie *zum Glück*, *mit Sicherheit*, *ohne Zweifel*, *mit Notwendigkeit* aufgeführt. Diese assertiven Satzadverbialia – als Unterkategorie der modalen Satzadverbialia – lassen sich formal durch Adjektive (z. B. *fraglos*, *unzweifelhaft*), Modalpartikeln (*notwendigerweise*, *sicherlich*, *zweifellos*), Präpositionalgruppen (*mit Sicherheit*, *ohne Zweifel*, *mit Notwendigkeit*) oder Nebensätze (*wie zu vermuten ist*, *wie erwartet*) realisieren (vgl. ZG: 1127). Die Präpositionalgruppen werden hier erstmals systematisch als mögliche Ausdrucksmittel der Modalität genannt – im Gegensatz zu den zuvor behandelten Grammatiken.

Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass PWV mit modaler Bedeutung in einigen Grammatiken zwar erwähnt werden, jedoch meist nur als Hinweis auf stilistische Varianten. Ihrer besonderen Rolle innerhalb der Modalität wird bislang keine ausreichende Beachtung geschenkt. Insgesamt bleibt dieser Typ binärer Struktur in den Grammatiken weitgehend unbeachtet. Damit eröffnet sich ein bislang wenig erforschter Aspekt der lexikalischen Modalität. Die gängige Beschreibung modaler lexikalischer Mittel beschränkt sich meist auf etablierte Wortarten wie Modalverben, Modalitätsverben, Modalwörter, Partikeln und Adverbien – und das bei bereits bestehender terminologischer und systematischer Uneinigkeit (vgl. Kap. 3).

Die Analyse zeigt jedoch, dass die Existenz von PWV indirekt bestätigt wird – insbesondere durch ihre Nähe zu Modalwörtern, mit denen sie funktional vielfach übereinstimmen.

Daraus ergibt sich die Frage: Wie lassen sich PWV linguistisch charakterisieren? Diese Frage betrifft in erster Linie ihre Einbettung in die Phraseologie bzw. ihre Stellung im Rahmen der Kollokationsforschung.

Burger (2007: 54) schlägt den Terminus *Kollokationen* als Sammelbegriff für feste Wortverbindungen vor, die nicht oder nur schwach idiomatisiert sind. Ďurčo et al. (2010: 6) betonen, dass die Abgrenzung zwischen Kookkurrenzen, Kollokationen, usuellen, typischen, lexikalisierten und phraseologisierten Wortverbindungen in der Theorie nicht eindeutig ist. *Kookkurrenz* bezeichnet im Allgemeinen das quantitativ signifikante gemeinsame Auftreten von Zeichenketten (gemessen an statistischen Größen). *Kollokationen* hingegen sind durch eine Basis-Kollokator-Beziehung auf der lexikalischen Ebene gekennzeichnet.

Hierbei spielt die semantische Festigkeit eine zentrale Rolle: Zwischen Basis und Kollokator besteht eine gewisse semantische Affinität. Während die Basis semantisch unabhängig ist, ist der Kollokator in seiner Bedeutungsbestimmung oft auf die Basis angewiesen. Entsprechend ist der Kollokator als semantisch von der Basis abhängig zu betrachten (vgl. Konecny 2010: 58). Ďurčo et al. (2010: 7) schlagen ein funktionales Kriterium zur Beschreibung fester Wortverbindungen vor, das sie gemeinsam mit dem statistischen Signifikanzmaß ihrem lexikographischen Modell zugrunde legen. Letzteres ist nur durch einen korpusbasierten Zugang zur

Kollokationsanalyse bestimmbar.

An dieser Stelle wird eine Schnittstelle zwischen Kollokationsforschung und PWV-Problematik deutlich: PWV lassen sich als lexikalisierte, phraseologische Minimaleinheiten auffassen. Sie sind kognitiv verankert, lexikalisch eigenständig und treten in typischen syntagmatischen Mustern mit rekurrenten Kollokationspartnern auf. Steyer (2018: 229) betont, dass sich die Lexemqualität nicht allein aus semantischer Idiomatizität ergibt, sondern vor allem aus funktionalen Verfestigungsprozessen aufgrund rekurrenten Gebrauchs. Auch semantisch transparente Wortgruppen können dadurch zu sprachlichen Bausteinen erstarren.

Steyer (2018) thematisiert als Erste systematisch die Eigenschaften von PWV. Ihr Fokus liegt vornehmlich auf PWV mit temporaler Bedeutung (vgl. Steyer 2019), was mit den Zielen des von ihr geleiteten Projekts PREPCON (n.d.) zusammenhängt. In Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Lehrstuhl für Germanistik an der Universität der hl. Cyrill und Method in Trnava (Slowakei), der Universität Santiago de Compostela (Spanien) und dem IDS Mannheim entstanden mehrere Studien, insbesondere kontrastive Analysen: Mellado Blanco – Steyer (2018), Ďurčo (2018, 2019) sowie Ďurčo – Hornáček Banášová – Fraščíková – Tabačková (2019). Die Sammelstudie von Hein – Ďurčo – Mellado Blanco – Steyer (2018) veranschaulicht Ansätze zur Äquivalenzsuche am Beispiel temporaler PWV in drei Sprachen. Der Band *Präposition-Nomen-Verbindungen* (Ďurčo – Tabačková, 2019) widmet sich vollständig der PWV-Problematik.

Die bisherigen Beiträge zeigen deutlich, wie notwendig eine systematische Untersuchung und Beschreibung der PWV ist – ebenso wie eine intensivere sprachwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit usualisierten Wortverbindungen.

5. Semantische Eigenschaften der PWV – kontextuelle Einbettung

Die breitere Konzeption der Phraseologie betrachtet usualisierte Wortverbindungen als teilweise idiomatisch geprägte Ausdrücke. Sie sind grammatisch und syntaktisch regulär strukturierte Einheiten, fungieren aber in ihrem Wesen bereits als interpretierte Einheiten im Lexikon. Das Lexikon besteht nicht nur aus einzelnen Lexemen, denn diese werden nicht nur als grammatische oder idiomatisch geprägte Konstruktionen betrachtet. Vielmehr liegen ihnen im Lexikon nach gewissen Regularitäten strukturierte und nach bestimmten Methoden interpretierte Ausdrücke zugrunde.

Auf der lexikalisch-semantischen Ebene bedeutet das, dass lexikalische Bedeutung als ein komplexer Wortinhalt verstanden wird, der alle aktuellen Bedeutungen einschließt. Die lexikalische Bedeutung ist folglich potenziell in Bezug auf die aktuelle Bedeutung, also auf ihre Realisierung in der Aussage (vgl. Dolník 1990: 58). Die aktuelle Bedeutung bzw. die Summe aller möglichen Bedeutungen einer Wortverbindung kann man anhand der kontextuellen Einbettung einer PWV näher analysieren.

An diesem Punkt überschneiden sich Kollokationsforschung und Korpuslinguistik. Erst die Untersuchung einer PWV in unterschiedlichen Kontexten und ihre formale Definition ermöglichen es, bestimmte Gebrauchsaspekte der PWV festzulegen, mit deren Hilfe sich die Bedeutung der PWV genauer erklären lässt. Die Informationen über das typische Vorkommen der einzelnen Kollokatoren der untersuchten PWV erlauben es, festzustellen, in welchen Kontexten und mit welchen konkreten Bedeutungen die PWV verwendet wird, und auf diese Weise – auch anhand der semantischen Eigenschaften der Kollokatoren – ihre semantischen Eigenschaften zu beschreiben. Dies ist wichtig, da die lexikografische Beschreibung häufig unvollständig ist.

Deshalb stützt sich die Forschung zu PWV auf Methoden der Korpuslinguistik, denn nur durch die Auswertung großer Datenmengen können klare Tendenzen aufgezeigt werden, wie sich einzelne Wörter zu usualisierten Wortverbindungen verbinden. Quantitative statistische Daten aus umfangreichen Online-Korpora werden qualitativ ausgewertet und zeigen deutlich, welche Kollokationen PWV bilden können.

Durch die Analyse typischer Kollokate lassen sich die typischen Gebrauchsaspekte der PWV sowie ihr typisches Auftreten in bestimmten Kontexten und ihren aktuellen Sprachgebrauch untersuchen. Als erster Schritt werden die PWV im Online-Portal PREPCON untersucht, das im Rahmen des Projekts „Usuelle Wortverbindungen“ unter der Leitung von Kathrin Steyer (IDS Mannheim) erarbeitet wurde. PREPCON behandelt das Phänomen präpositionaler Wortverbindungen auf unterschiedlichen Beschreibungsebenen und macht damit den Weg von der korpusempirischen Datenerhebung bis hin zur didaktisch aufbereiteten lexikografischen Beschreibung nachvollziehbar.

Im PREPCON-Modul ist eine vollautomatische Datenbank in OWIDplus abrufbar, die Vorkommenshäufigkeiten und -proportionen deutscher PWV mit interner Nullstelle dokumentiert. Die Datenbank erfüllt die Funktion einer exhaustiven Inventarisierung eines Sprachausschnitts und besitzt damit primär sprachdokumentarischen Wert. Sie liefert somit grundlegende Informationen zum usualen Gebrauch der PWV.

Als eigentliche Korpusbasis dient der Korpus „deTenTen20“ in Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2014). Mithilfe von Word Sketch und CQL-Suchen werden Konkordanzen der untersuchten Nomina gewonnen, wodurch das rekurrente Vorkommen der PWV analysiert werden kann. Es wird untersucht, in welchen Bedeutungen die jeweilige PWV auftritt und welche formalen Restriktionen bzw. typischen Kollokatoren sie dabei aufweist. So lässt sich ein komplexes Bild der formalen sowie syntaktisch-semantischen Eigenschaften der PWV erstellen.

Auf diese Weise wurde bestätigt, dass die untersuchten PWV nicht nur keine modale Bedeutung aufweisen, sondern zum Großteil dem Ausdruck der Sprechereinstellung dienen. Im Folgenden konzentriere ich mich daher auf die semantischen Eigenschaften der untersuchten PWV.

6. Modell der doppelten Signifikation

Vor diesem Hintergrund wird auch die enorme Flexibilität des phraseologischen Bereichs im engeren Sinne verständlich. Jede Sprachhandlung schafft potenziell Verbindlichkeiten für zukünftige Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten. Sowohl das Einzelwort als auch die idiomatische Wendung besitzen Zeichencharakter. In ihrer Funktionsweise sind sie als lexikalische Einheiten komplementär aufeinander bezogen: Das Wort sichert – auf der Ebene des Ausdrucks – die innere Passung des Sprechens an die Syntax und positioniert es grammatisch. Der Ausdruck hingegen gewährleistet die externe Passung des Sprechers an bereits etablierte und kommunikativ bewährte semantische Orientierungsmuster (vgl. Feilke 2004: 59).

Die von Feilke (2004) formulierte These, dass Formulierungen nicht bloß Anwendungen sprachlicher Zeichen und Regeln sind, lässt sich im Rückgriff auf die Semantik phraseologischer Wortverbindungen mithilfe des Konzepts der „doppelten Signifikation“ präzisieren.

Die erste Signifikationsebene ist die konventionelle, arbiträre Zuordnung von *signifiant* und *signifié* – im typischen Fall verkörpert durch das Wortzeichen. Das Zeichen als Einheit von Ausdrucksseite (*signifiant*) und Inhaltsseite (*signifié*) fungiert auf dieser Ebene als Mittel der Bedeutungsvermittlung.

Darüber hinaus – und das gilt besonders für strukturell motivierte und semantisch kompositionelle Zeichenkombinationen – kann ein Zeichen infolge seines wiederholten Gebrauchs zum Träger eines erweiterten Bedeutungszusammenhangs werden: Es wird zum Zeichen des jeweiligen Gebrauchskontextes selbst. Auf dieser zweiten Ebene der Signifikation entsteht ein komplexes *signifiant* – ein sogenanntes Redezeichen – das durch seinen spezifischen Gebrauch geprägt ist.

Abb. 2: Modell der doppelten Signifikation

Ebene der ersten Signifikation	signifiant	Signifié	
Ebene der zweiten Signifikation	Signifiant		signifié

Das Modell der doppelten Signifikation lässt sich gewinnbringend auf die Analyse modaler phraseologischer Wortverbindungen (PWV) anwenden. Exemplarisch sollen hier die PWV *ohne Frage* und *mit Abstand* betrachtet werden:

- **ohne Frage**
 - a. *Der Verkäufer muss ohne ausdrückliche Frage auf die Mängel hinweisen.*
 - b. *Es gibt ohne Frage weitere Alternativen.*

- **mit Abstand**

- a. *Darüber wurde mit Abstand ein Wellblech montiert, das vor heftigen Regenfällen schützt.*
- b. *Das Ende des vierten Teils ist mit Abstand das gemeinste Ende aller Bücher, die ich je gelesen habe.*

Alle genannten Beispiele sind syntaktisch und semantisch reguläre Sätze. Betrachtet man zunächst die a)-Beispiele, so zeigt sich, dass die PWV hier auf der primären semiotischen Ebene funktionieren: Ihre konstitutiven Elemente (*Frage, Abstand*) treten in ihrer Grundbedeutung auf. Die PWV fungieren somit als Wortzeichen im Sinne der ersten Signifikationsebene: als konventionelle Einheiten der Bedeutungsvermittlung, in denen *signifiant* und *signifié* auf der Ebene der sprachlichen Systematik zusammenfallen.

In den b)-Beispielen hingegen sind die PWV an spezifische Verwendungszusammenhänge gebunden und konnotieren über ihre Grundbedeutung hinaus eine zweite Bedeutungsebene. Die erste Signifikation fungiert hier als Grundlage für eine sekundäre, durch Gebrauch geprägte Signifikation, in der die PWV als sogenannte Redezeichen erscheinen.

Im Fall von *ohne Frage* lässt sich auf der primären Ebene feststellen, dass damit ausgesagt wird, dass eine Handlung – etwa das Hinweisen auf Mängel – auch ohne explizite Nachfrage erfolgen muss. Auf der sekundären Ebene hingegen verschiebt sich die Bedeutung in den Bereich der epistemischen Modalität: Der Sprecher bringt durch die PWV *ohne Frage* seine starke Überzeugung über die Richtigkeit der Aussage zum Ausdruck – es besteht für ihn kein Zweifel an der Existenz weiterer Alternativen.

Analog verhält es sich bei der PWV *mit Abstand*. Im Satz a) verweist sie auf einen konkreten physischen Abstand zwischen zwei Objekten – sie ist semantisch kompositionell und räumlich motiviert. Im Satz b) hingegen ist die räumliche Bedeutung vollständig verblasst. Stattdessen wird auf der sekundären Signifikationsebene eine wertende, epistemisch modale Bedeutung aktiviert: Der Sprecher bringt unmissverständlich seine subjektive Einschätzung zum Ausdruck, dass das Ende des vierten Teils *eindeutig* das gemeinste sei – es gibt keinen Vergleich, der diesem gleichkommt.

Diese Bedeutungsverschiebung – von der primären Zeichenfunktion hin zur sekundären, pragmatisch konnotierten Gebrauchsfunktion – zeigt, wie PWV im Sprachgebrauch zu Trägern stabilisierter Bedeutungsschemata werden können, die über die semantische Komposition hinausgehen. Die Analyse solcher Redezeichen erlaubt es, modale PWV nicht nur als lexikalisch-semantische Einheiten, sondern auch als Ausdruck typisierter Sprechereinstellungen zu erfassen.

7. Das Modell kontrastiv

Das Konzept der doppelten Signifikation bietet eine theoretische Grundlage für die kontrastive Analyse von phraseologischen Wortverbindungen (PWV), insbesondere im Hinblick auf semantische Divergenzen innerhalb scheinbarer Äquivalenzen. Das Modell lässt sich interlingual anwenden und kann helfen zu erklären, warum bestimmte PWV in einer Sprache keine direkten Entsprechungen in einer anderen haben – insbesondere dann, wenn sie auf der zweiten Signifikationsebene funktionalisierte, pragmatisch gebundene Bedeutungsspezifika aufweisen.

Ein weiterer zu berücksichtigender Aspekt ist die mögliche Polysemie des Substantivs innerhalb einer PWV, die sich in unterschiedlichen Kollokationsmöglichkeiten und in einer variierenden Anzahl prototypischer Äquivalente widerspiegeln kann. Bei der sogenannten Polyfunktionalität handelt es sich um die usualisierte Benennungsfähigkeit eines Lexems, das sich an spezifische Denotate bindet. Erst auf der Grundlage einer detaillierten semantischen Analyse lassen sich zuverlässige Äquivalenzbeziehungen zwischen den Sprachen identifizieren.

Zur Veranschaulichung werden erneut die PWV ohne Frage und mit Abstand kontrastiv betrachtet:

- **ohne Frage**

- a. *Danach fängt direkt ohne weitere Frage das Schreiben der Daten auf den Stick an.*

SK: *Údaje sa potom okamžite a bez ďalších otázok zapíšu na pamäťovú kartu.*

→ *bez ďalších otázok* [ohne weitere Fragen]

- b. Es gibt ohne Frage weitere Alternativen.

SK: *Nepochybne existujú aj iné alternatívy.*

→ *nepochybne / iste* [zweifellos / sicherlich]

- **mit Abstand**

- a. *Darüber wurde mit Abstand ein Wellenblech montiert, das vor heftigen Regenfällen schützt.*

SK: *V určitej vzdialenosti nad ním bol namontovaný vlnitý plech na ochranu pred silnými dažďovými zrážkami.*

→ *v určitej vzdialenosti* [in gewisser Entfernung]

- h. *Das Ende des vierten Teils ist mit Abstand das gemeinste Ende aller Bücher, die ich je gelesen habe.*

SK: *Koniec štvrtého dielu je jednoznačne najhorším koncom zo všetkých kníh, ktoré som kedy čítal.*

→ *jednoznačne / určite* [eindeutig / sicher]

Die unterstrichenen PWV in den a)-Beispielen bezeichnen die primäre semiotische Relation. Sie treten als Wortzeichen auf, die – im Sinne der ersten Signifikation – eine Einheit aus *signifiant* und *signifié* darstellen. Bemerkenswert ist, dass die deutschen PWV auf dieser Ebene fast wortwörtliche Entsprechungen im Slowakischen haben (*ohne weitere Frage* = *bez d'alších otázok*, *mit Abstand* = *v určitej vzdialenosti*). Man kann daher davon ausgehen, dass auf der primären Signifikationsebene die Äquivalenz weitgehend symmetrisch verläuft: Die PWV weisen bei identischer Bedeutung eine vergleichbare Komponentenstruktur und semantische Motivation auf.

Anders verhält es sich auf der zweiten Signifikationsebene: Die PWV in den b)-Sätzen sind an spezifische Gebrauchszusammenhänge gebunden. Ihre semantische Verfestigung geht über die kompositionelle Bedeutung hinaus und verhindert eine reguläre Erweiterung durch kontextuelle Attribute, wie sie in den a)-Sätzen möglich ist. In *ohne Frage* etwa drückt die PWV epistemische Modalität aus – ein Ausdruck subjektiver Gewissheit –, obwohl *Frage* auf der ersten Ebene nichts mit dieser Bedeutung teilt.

Gleiches gilt für *mit Abstand*: Während auf der primären Ebene eine räumliche Entfernung bezeichnet wird, dient die PWV in der sekundären Signifikationsebene der Betonung subjektiver Wertung. Der Sprecher schließt jede Relativierung aus – *das gemeinste Ende aller Bücher* wird eindeutig als solches hervorgehoben.

Diese sekundäre Bedeutungsebene ist idiomatisch geprägt und stark einzelsprachlich motiviert. Während sich auf der ersten Ebene interlinguale Konvergenzen zeigen, herrschen auf der zweiten Ebene klare Divergenzen. Die slowakischen Übersetzungen müssen auf lexikalische Ersatzstrategien zurückgreifen: *nepochybne*, *iste*, *jednoznačne* usw. – also auf Adverbien oder Modalpartikeln, die in der Zielsprache die gleiche epistemische Funktion übernehmen. Eine wörtliche Übersetzung (*bez otázok*, *s odstupom*) würde hingegen die primäre Bedeutungsebene evozieren und wäre semantisch unpassend.

Daraus lässt sich schließen: PWV auf der zweiten Signifikationsebene entstehen durch die idiomatische Verfestigung sprachlicher Mittel, die eng mit konkreten Gebrauchsbedingungen und kommunikativen Routinen einer Einzelsprache verknüpft sind. Diese Verfestigung führt zu einer *extensionalen Divergenz partiell äquivalenter Einheiten* (vgl. Ďurčo 2018c: 288). Für eine adäquate Äquivalenz ist daher stets die kontextuelle Einbettung der PWV entscheidend, da die situative Gebundenheit semantische Verschiebungen und Einschränkungen bedingt.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen: Die zweite Signifikationsebene ist eine Folge der ersten, aber sie bildet eine eigenständige, sprachspezifische Bedeutungsdimension aus, die interlingual nicht systematisch korreliert. Während PWV auf der ersten Ebene sprachübergreifend strukturell und semantisch vergleichbar sind, sind sie auf der zweiten Ebene idiomatisch stabilisiert, pragmatisch funktionalisiert und daher selten konvergent. Sie sind zwar

grammatisch und syntaktisch regulär gebildet, fungieren aber semantisch bereits als interpretierte, nicht überzeitlich und nicht überregional stabile Einheiten des mentalen Lexikons.

8. Fazit

Jedes Wort verfügt über feste und variable Bindemöglichkeiten, von denen jede eine spezifische Kollokationsbedeutung entfaltet. Im Unterschied zu Phraseologismen ist die Bedeutung von Kollokationen in der Regel kompositionell – das heißt, die Gesamtbedeutung ergibt sich aus den Bedeutungen ihrer Bestandteile. Kollokationen sind daher lediglich schwach idiomatisiert und im kommunikativen Kontext in der Regel unmittelbar verständlich. Ein kontrastiver Vergleich zeigt jedoch, dass zwischen den Sprachen sowohl formale als auch semantische Unterschiede in der Kollokationsbildung bestehen.

Dies verdeutlicht die Notwendigkeit, sich in der Linguistik kontinuierlich mit dem aktuellen Sprachgebrauch auseinanderzusetzen und diesen empirisch zu analysieren. Im Fokus dieses Kapitels stand die semantische Analyse der präpositionalen Wortverbindungen (PWV) *ohne Frage* und *mit Abstand*. Die Problematik wurde in den Rahmen der Kollokationsforschung eingeordnet und mithilfe korpuslinguistischer Methoden untersucht.

Zentrales Analyseinstrument war dabei das Modell der doppelten Signifikation, das erklären soll, warum sowohl intra- als auch interlingual häufig erhebliche Divergenzen in der Äquivalenz auftreten. Gerade hier liegt ein großes Potenzial für die kontrastive Forschung, insbesondere unter Einbeziehung korpuslinguistischer Methoden, da der lexikalische Charakter sprachlicher Einheiten in jeder Sprache einzigartig geprägt ist.

Das Kapitel versuchte, die Ursachen für Äquivalenzdifferenzen linguistisch zu fundieren und auf diese Tendenzen auch aus sprachpraktischer Perspektive aufmerksam zu machen.

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The Model of Double Signification for Common Prepositional Phrases Expressing Epistemic Modality

In this chapter we focus on the problem of prepositional phrases, which are analysed in the field of collocation research. The prepositional phrases analysed in the chapter express modality, including the epistemic one, which refers to the speaker's attitude. However, as a means of expressing modality, they are hardly reflected upon linguistically. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the problem of epistemic modality and prepositional phrases as its means of expression. Attention is focussed on the semantic properties of investigated word combinations. The thesis that formulations are not simply applications of linguistic signs and rules is explained in more detail in the chapter by looking back at the semantics of prepositional phrases using the concept of 'double signification' by Feilke (2004) and applied to the problem of modal prepositional phrases.

The word combinations analysed in the chapter are at the interface of lexicology, phraseology, construction research, corpus linguistics and lexicography. The necessity to analyse the combinatorics of prepositions results from the empirical experience that function words are also restricted in use with regard to their syntagmatic combinatorics.

Keywords: collocations, usuality, modality, semantics, word phrases

Model dvostrukog označivanja ustaljenih prijedložnih izraza koji znače epistemološku modalnost

U ovom se poglavlju prijedložni višerječni izrazi koji služe kao sredstva za izražavanje epistemološke modalnosti promatraju s aspekta kolokacija. Posebna se pozornost posvećuje semantičkim svojstvima analiziranih višerječnih izraza. Semantici prijedložnih izraza prilazi se s osloncem na tzv. „dvostruko označivanje“ (Feilke 2004) koje se primjenjuje na modalne prijedložne izraze. Analizirane višerječne jedinice na susretništu su leksikologije, frazeologije, konstrukcijskih istraživanja, korpusne lingvistike i leksikografije. Potreba za istraživanjem kombinatorike prijedloga proizlazi iz empirijskog opažanja da su i funkcionalne riječi podložne ograničenjima u uporabi s obzirom na svoju leksičko-sintagmatsku kombinatoriku.

Ključne riječi: kolokacije, ustaljivanje, modalnost, semantika, višerječni izrazi

Conceptual Characteristics of *Time* in English, Finnish and Hungarian

Zsuzsa Máthé

Such an abstract concept as time shows variation in metaphorical language in English, Finnish and Hungarian. This research focuses on metaphors within the framework of the cognitive theory, investigating time metaphors from a contrastive, cross-linguistic approach in the three languages. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, this chapter identifies how time passes in language in a metaphorical context, through an empirical corpus-based study. The aim is to investigate how the spatialization and the transience of time surfaces in time metaphors through verbs with a focus on motion as well as transience (Galton 2011: 701). Differences such as the preference of spatialization or transience without the spatial aspect are expected to be found.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, motion event, time metaphors, time, space, transience.

1. Introduction

Time is an abstract concept, and is frequently conceptualized through metaphorical or metonymic associations with more tangible domains. When discussing the actions or processes associated with time, we often rely on these figurative constructs, as it is inherently challenging to articulate the notion of time without connecting it to more familiar, concrete domains. The conceptualization of time intersects with both concrete and abstract domains. Lakoff and Johnson compare time to a moving object (1980: 42), while Evans likens it to a process (2004: 253). This chapter explores time as an entity that undergoes change or performs actions.

Although time has been the subject of considerable exploration within cognitive linguistics, this study distinguishes itself by its choice of languages and specific focus on the contrast between spatialization and transience. The central hypothesis is that the conceptualization of the passing of time differs across languages – specifically English, Finnish, and Hungarian. While spatialization and transience are anticipated to manifest in all three languages, this chapter seeks to identify differences, particularly in the preference for either spatialization or transience in certain metaphorical expressions denoting time.

Unlike broader studies that analyze temporal expressions in their entirety – such as those encompassing all temporal nouns, tense, and related grammatical

structures (e.g., Huumo 2017) – this research is constrained to an analysis of the lexeme *time* and the verbs with which it co-occurs. This approach deliberately excludes extensively researched metaphors, such as *We are approaching Christmas* or *Christmas is coming*, as well as the distinction between Moving Ego and Moving Time metaphors, which have been comprehensively examined in prior studies (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1993; Kövecses 2005; Huumo 2017; Evans 2013a, 2013b).

It is anticipated that similar conceptual metaphors will emerge across English, Finnish, and Hungarian, albeit with variations influenced by the source domain. According to Kövecses (2005: 68), for a conceptual metaphor to be considered unique to a specific language, both its source and target domains must exhibit uniqueness. While many metaphors are universal or near-universal in nature, considerable cross-linguistic variation also exists (Kövecses 2005: 88). The present study does not aim to identify uniquely conceptual metaphors; instead, it focuses on examining linguistic metaphors for distinctiveness and assessing the extent to which conceptual metaphors exhibit language-specific characteristics.

2. Research Objectives

The primary objective of this research is to investigate metaphorical expressions extracted from the corpus, as well as the conceptual metaphors underlying these expressions. This investigation follows several key steps: identifying verbs that metaphorically express the passing of time, establishing both the raw and normalized frequencies of these metaphors, identifying the cognitive mechanisms upon which they are based, and interpreting the observed differences and similarities based on the theories of cognitive linguistics.

3. Methodology

This study employs methods for identifying linguistic and conceptual metaphors by gathering empirical data through corpus-based research. The metaphor identification method follows the procedures outlined by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The corpus research involves searching for finite verbs that collocate with the node 'time', in each of the three languages. Initially, the node 'time' and its frequent verb collocates are extracted from the corpus for both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The next step involves grouping the selected material according to the normalized frequency, the underlying conceptual metaphor, and the type of motion verb. The quantitative analysis is centered on the contrastive comparison of the normalized frequencies of specific motion verb types.

The metaphorical expressions – specifically, verbs collocating with 'time' – consist of a limited set of novel metaphors, idioms, and other phraseological expressions that range from transparent to semi-transparent. Idioms are particularly significant as figurative phraseological units, with several of the expressions motivated by the conceptual metaphors presented in this study. According to the traditional perspective, idioms are defined as "combinations of two or more words whose

overall meaning cannot be predicted from the meanings of the individual constituent words” (Kövecses 2002: 199), and it is often asserted that “the meaning of idioms is arbitrary” (Lakoff 1987: 448). However, from a cognitive linguistic standpoint, idioms are not merely linguistic constructs but cognitive tools, and their meanings are not necessarily arbitrary (Lakoff 1987: 448).

4. Corpus Description

The three corpora utilized in this study share several similarities, although they differ in terms of language and genre composition. For the English corpus, the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) is employed. COCA comprises approximately 900 million words⁸⁰ and is a balanced corpus that includes texts from various genres, such as magazines, newspapers, academic journals, spoken language, fiction, and web-based texts, including blogs.

The Hungarian portion of the research utilizes the *Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár* (The Hungarian National Corpus), a well-balanced, up-to-date corpus of over 1000 million words. While it encompasses similar genres to COCA, the distribution of genres in the Hungarian corpus is somewhat uneven, with newspapers, magazines, and online conversations representing the largest proportion. Other genres, such as scientific texts, spoken language, fiction, and official documents, each contain between 70 and 100 million words.

Finally, the Finnish corpus, *Kielipankki* (The Language Bank of Finland), is also a well-balanced corpus with a size comparable to the previously described corpora, containing over 800 million words. This corpus includes genres such as newspapers, magazines, academic papers, fiction, and web-based texts, but notably does not include a spoken corpus, differentiating it from the other two corpora.

5. Summary of results

5.1. Spatialization

The initial step of this study involves the collection of all motion verbs that are used metaphorically with time, specifically those that convey the spatial dimension of time. In this context, time is conceptualized as an object moving between two distinct points, implying that the nature of the motion can be identified.

The study categorizes motion into three types based on speed: slow, fast, and steady motion. Examples (1) to (5) illustrate these different categories. It is important to note that the majority of these examples are not novel occurrences, but rather recurrent expressions that are frequently observed within the corpus.

80 During the time of research, 2019 - 2021

(1) *Time sped by.* (newspaper; *New York Times*, 1999)

(2) *Time has gone in a flash.* (spoken; CBS, 2011)

(3) *Aika pysähty-y hetke-ksi.* (web; *Länsi-Savo* no. 111, 1999)

time.NOM stop-3SG.PRS moment-TRANSL

'Time stops for a second.'

(4) *Time grinds to a total halt.* (magazine; *Astronomy*, 2013)

(5) *Lassan cammog az idő.* (web; blog)

slowly shamble.3SG.PRS the time.NOM

'Time shambles by slowly.'

(6) *As time went on, though, I did feel better.* (web; blog: ic-network.com, 2012)

(7) *Aika on men-nyt ohitse.* (newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 67, 1993)

time.NOM be.3SG.PRS go-PTCP.NOM by

'Time has gone by.'

(8) *Az idő meg, mi áll-unk.* (press; *Kultúra*)

the time.NOM go.3SG.PRS we stand-1PL.PRS

'Time goes on, we stay.'

The raw frequencies (rf) of verbs are standardized on a frequency scale that quantifies the prevalence of conceptual metaphors across the three languages. This scale is derived from the raw frequencies of linguistic expressions that are grounded in one of the primary conceptual metaphors examined in this study: TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY. The scale provides a measure of how frequently this conceptual metaphor occurs and the extent to which time is linked to motion in each language. Consequently, it offers insights into the frequency of spatialization of time in the three languages, drawing on Galton's (2011) model.

The data used to make this scale is calculated in the following way: for the conceptual metaphor (TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY) the tokens are added up, which are the raw frequencies of the linguistic metaphorical expressions. Using the total number of tokens, or raw frequency (rf), and taking into consideration the size of each corpus, the normalized frequency (nf) of the metaphors is calculated. The results are calculated in the following way: the number of occurrences is divided

by the corpus size and multiplied by 1 million, for instance in the case of English, the number of motion verbs that appear in time metaphors, in which time is a figure moving between two points is 6478, which is then divided by the corpus size, 873597604, and multiplied by 1 million, resulting in 7.41, as the example shows: $6478 \div 873597604 \times 1000000 = 7.41$ or $6478 \times 1000000 \div 873597604 = 7.41$.

Table 1: Raw and normalized frequency of motion in time metaphors where TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY

Moving time in metaphors	English	Finnish	Hungarian
Total number of occurrences (rf)	6478	2603	3549
Total number per 1 million words (nf)	7.41	3.10	3.41

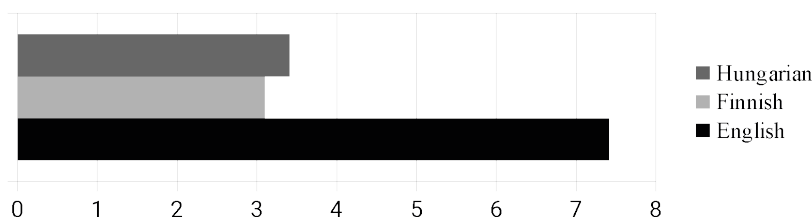


Chart 1: Frequency scale based on the normalized frequency of time metaphors where TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY

The data reveal several notable differences, with the most significant being the higher frequency of moving time metaphors in English, where time is conceptualized as the Figure of motion. The number of such metaphors in English substantially exceeds those in both Hungarian and Finnish. Specifically, the normalized frequency of the TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY metaphor per one million words is approximately twice as high in English compared to Finnish, and nearly double as compared to Hungarian. This considerable discrepancy warrants further investigation.

5.2. Transience and the spatial aspect of verbs

While time and space share several conceptual characteristics, there are distinct differences in how these manifest. According to Galton (2011: 696), the fundamental properties of time are extension, linearity, directionality, and transience. The extended nature of time pertains to its duration or magnitude (Galton 2011: 696). Linearity refers to the conceptualization of the future as ahead and the past as behind (Galton 2011: 700). Directedness is associated with the Moving Time/Moving Ego metaphor (Galton 2011: 700). Several of these characteristics are also shared by space, which similarly possesses properties

such as extension, linearity, and directionality (Galton 2011: 698). However, linearity in this context does not refer to a three-dimensional space, but rather to our experiential understanding of space, such as the spatial axis or a loop (Galton 2011: 698), both of which are linear. Directedness, in this case, pertains to the differentiation between up and down (Galton 2011: 698).

The one aspect that time and space do not share is transience. Transience reflects the ephemeral nature of time (Bender and Beller 2014: 345) and is not considered a characteristic of space unless it is conceptually linked with time: “achieved through motion, the transience of space thereby created is exemplified by the landscape rushing past as viewed from a moving train” (Galton 2011: 699). Thus, transience is considered one of the most essential and distinct properties of time, independent from space (Galton 2011). The transience of time is not merely rooted in motion but rather in the change that occurs as a result of positional shifts through motion (Galton, 2011: 702). In other words, the transience of time can be captured either through motion occurring in space (Galton 2011: 702) or through the concept of change itself (Galton 2011: 702).

In English, time is frequently metaphorically linked with motion: expressions such as *time passes* and *time goes by* are common, and in addition to these high-frequency linguistic metaphors, there are other prevalent expressions conveying this concept. In fact, the normalized frequency of *time passes* and *time goes by* in English is considerably higher than any motion verb used in conjunction with time in either Finnish or Hungarian. As demonstrated in example (9), this metaphorical association with motion is also present in novel expressions. However, in Finnish and Hungarian, the conceptualization of the passing of time is expressed differently, as indicated by the frequency scale: in these languages, the passage of time is primarily lexicalized through verbs denoting transience rather than motion. Additionally, the passing of time is sometimes expressed through the container metaphor in Hungarian. Examples of such verbs in Finnish include *kuluu* (“wear on”) and in Hungarian *múlik* (“elapse”), *telik* (“fill”), and the rarer *fogy* (*el*) (“dwindle, (away)”); none of these verbs are motion-related.

(9) *Time passes in heartbeats.* (fiction; Flynn, Michael F: *Nexus*)

In Hungarian, the verb *telik* (rf 3962) emerges as the most frequent verb used in linguistic time metaphors to express the passing of time, as exemplified in expressions such as *tel-ik az idő* (“time fills/time gets filled”) ⁸¹. The Finnish verb *kuluu* exhibits a similarly high frequency, while *múlik* also exceeds 1000 occurrences in the corpus when used in time metaphors. These verbs are not only frequent but also demonstrate high co-occurrence with time. For example, in Finnish, the phrase *aika kuluu* (log2 6.18) (“time wears on”), in Hungarian *múlik*

81 The verb ‘fill’ appears in the context of time in English and Finnish differently: *to fill time* refers to an activity and is generally expressed through non-finite verb constructions (e.g., *a time filled with hopes*). In Finnish *aika täytty-y*, (time-NOM fill-3SG.PRS) is rare and means that ‘time is up’, similarly to the Hungarian *le-telik* (‘time is up’, ‘time runs out’).

az idő (log2 6.59) (“time elapses”), and *telik az idő* (log2 8.04) (“time fills up”) all illustrate this trend.

The Hungarian verb *múlik* is similar to the English verbs *elapse* and *lapse*, conveying the process of cessation, termination, and ending. It is derived from *múlik*, *múlandó*, meaning “transient”, and *múlt*, meaning “past”. The Hungarian verb *telik* (“fill”), on the other hand, emphasizes change in terms of quantity and is derived from the noun *teljes*, which means “entire” or “whole”. The Finnish verb *kuluu* and the expression “wear on” both refer to a process of wearing out, thus conveying a type of temporal change in terms of quality, which diminishes over time.

These verbs are employed in contexts similar to motion verbs, frequently accompanied by references to the speed of the process, such as “fast” or “slow”. Lexically, *telik* (“fill”) is comparable to verbs that express three-dimensional motion, as it conceptualizes time as a container that “fills up”, representing a distinct form of three-dimensional motion. Moreover, in the expression *telik az idő* (“time fills up”), time is conceptualized as a meta-Figure, as is the case with other verbs mentioned. The primary distinction between *telik* and other verbs where time functions as a meta-Figure lies in the fact that *telik* marks the most frequent and conventional expression used to express the passage of time in Hungarian, whereas the other verbs are less commonly encountered.

These expressions bear conceptual similarities to the English metaphorical expression *time runs out*, particularly from the figurative and conceptual perspective. Both are grounded in the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A FINITE ENTITY and convey the notion of time having a diminishing quantity. Alternatively, they can be interpreted as instances of fictive motion.

From the conceptual perspective, there are notable distinctions among the verbs under consideration. The verb *telik* differs from verbs such as *múlik*, *kuluu*, *elapse*, and similar terms, as it is grounded in the container schema, or the full-empty schema (as discussed by Evans 2006: 190). The pervasiveness of this schema can be elucidated as follows: “the time container is filled with actions; hence, actions are substances that enter the time container”⁸² (Kövecses 2005: 135). This conceptual connection between time and substance is evident in other metaphorical expressions as well, such as TIME IS A BODY OF WATER (e.g., the river of time, the ocean of time). In these metaphors, time is associated with the Matrix sense (Evans 2004: 142), representing a vast space within which all events occur and where one can become disoriented. This stands in contrast to other time metaphors in which time is conceptualized as a Figure in motion across space, reflecting a conceptual distinction between TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT and TIME IS A MASS ENTITY OR SUBSTANCE (Kövecses 2005: 51). *Telik* is the only verb in this group to incorporate a spatial aspect, a feature attributed to its reliance on the container schema. However, it still fundamentally diverges from motion verbs

82 This conceptualization, however, may also be interpreted as the container becoming empty.

commonly used in relation to time, such as *pass* or *fly*.

In comparison to the motion verbs previously discussed, a significant distinction is that linguistic metaphors such as *time passes* and *time goes by* place time in the role of an agent that moves autonomously, without the assistance of another entity. In this sense, time is metaphorically portrayed as an agent. This is not the case with the Finnish verb *kuluu*, the Hungarian verbs *múlik* or *telik*, nor with verbs like *elapse* and *wear on*. As mentioned earlier, in these metaphors, time is not depicted as an agent but rather as an incremental theme. Thus, the linguistic metaphors involving *kuluu* and *múlik* are grounded in the TIME IS A FINITE ENTITY conceptual metaphor. In these expressions, time is conceptualized as an entity undergoing a process in which its quantity or quality changes, rendering it finite and transient. The only spatial association of *kuluu* and *múlik* arises through the change implied by motion: “motion and change cannot exist without time, and indeed they cannot exist without a time that possesses the attribute of transience” (Galton 2011: 702). Furthermore, these verbs conceptualize time as transition in different ways. According to Mani and Pustejovsky (2012: 80), transitions are defined by two states: the initial state (s1) and the final state (s2). In the case of the verb *múlik* (‘elapse’), it is challenging to clearly identify the initial state of the entity denoted by the verb, but the final state corresponds to cessation or termination. Similarly, for *kuluu* (‘wear on’), the initial state (s1) is not readily identifiable, while the final state (s2) signifies a qualitatively diminished state. In contrast, for *telik*, s1 represents an empty container, while s2 denotes a full container. Whereas in motion verbs, such as *pass*, time progresses from one point to another along a path, the state of time at these points remains constant. This is distinct from the framework proposed by Mani and Pustejovsky, in which two divergent states are contrasted. This difference further highlights the distinction between how motion verbs, as well as *kuluu*, *múlik*, and *telik*, represent the transience of time.

(10) *Some time elapsed between the liturgical and the ecclesiological debates.*
(academic; *Theological Studies* vol. 71, 2010)

(11) *So much time had lapsed.* (academic; *Journal of Drug Issues* vol. 38, 2008)

(12) *But as time wore on, the luster wore off.* (spoken; ABC20/20 2009)

(13) *Aika kulu-i nopeasti.* (web; *Suomi24*, 2001–2017: 2015)

‘time wear-3SG.PST fast’

‘Time wears on fast’.

(14) *Az idő csak múl-ik, szép lassan.* (web; *Facebook*)

‘the time.NOM only elapse.3SG.PRS nice.NOM slowly

‘Time just elapses, nice and slow.’

- (15) *Milyen gyorsan múl-ik* *az idő!* (scientific; Wiki)

how fast elapse.3SG.PRS the time.NOM

'How fast time elapses!

- (16) *De lassan tel-ik* *az idő.* (web; forum: *Törzsasztal: Szülés, terhesség 2.0*)

how slowly fill-3SG.PRS the time.NOM,

'How slowly time passes.' ('lit. fills up').

- (17) *Egyre fogy* *az idő.* (press; *Népszava, Gazdaság*)

still dwindle.3SG.PRS the time.NOM

'Time is dwindling still.'

Time and space, particularly time and motion, are frequently analyzed together; however, certain verbs in time metaphors emphasize a distinct aspect of time - transience - that is not inherently a characteristic of space (Galton 2011: 695). Verbs such as *kuluu*, *múlik*, and *telik* imply a change in quality or quantity, thereby focusing on the concept of change rather than motion. There is substantial evidence to suggest that transience is not a property of space, while transience constitutes a fundamental aspect of time (Galton 2011: 703). Consequently, "change-based metaphors", which are not "purely spatial" (Galton 2011: 703), are more likely to capture this essential trait of time. These observations are critical because, as Galton (2011: 695) asserts, "no purely spatial metaphor can capture the transience of time", and it is clear that *kuluu* and *múlik* do not exhibit a spatial aspect.

From the fundamental properties of time discussed elsewhere in this chapter - namely, extension, linearity, directedness, and transience (Galton 2011: 696) - *kuluu* and *múlik* primarily capture the non-spatial characteristic of transience, while they do not reflect the spatialized aspects of time as identified by Galton (2011: 698). *Telik*, when considering both the lexical and conceptual information it conveys, could be interpreted as capturing the spatial aspect of extension, particularly if we conceive of time "filling up" in varying amounts at different times. This interpretation aligns with the quantifiability of magnitude, a spatial quality discussed by Evans under a different terminology (2013b: 404). Nevertheless, even this expression, which emerges from a spatial schema (the container schema), exhibits fewer spatial properties compared to those grounded in motion verbs, where time is conceived as a path of motion.

6. Conclusion

Time in language frequently appears as a dynamic entity, a moving object, or an entity in motion, as suggested by the results of corpus analysis. These findings provide further evidence of “the propensity to represent an otherwise static concept in terms of action” (Talmy 2000: 15), or in our case, time. It becomes evident that this dynamic aspect of time is not consistently represented in the same manner, and it may manifest differently across languages, as further results indicate.

The significant difference in the most commonly used verbs in metaphorical expressions discussed in this chapter has implications not only at the lexical level but also at the conceptual one. English predominantly relies on the TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY conceptual metaphor, whereas languages such as Hungarian and Finnish more frequently employ other conceptual metaphors, such as TIME IS A FINITE ENTITY or TIME IS A CONTAINER. Qualitative analysis reveals that Hungarian and Finnish are more inclined to use verbs that express transience rather than the spatial characteristics of time, while English predominantly utilizes motion verbs, which, in addition to transience, also link time to space.

Another implication is that verbs like *kuluu* and *múlik* (meaning “wear on” or “elapse”) possess negative semantic prosody, whereas motion verbs such as *pass* or *go* do not carry the same connotation⁸³. However, in English, the expression *time runs out*, based on the motion verb *run*, is associated with negative connotations. This observation suggests that in all three languages, there is a conceptual metaphor that encapsulates a negative perspective towards the passage of time through specific verbs.

In conclusion, time metaphors reveal distinct profiles of time, represented through dichotomies such as dynamism versus staticism, and activity versus passivity. These findings are supported by corpus analysis results, which indicate that in English, time is frequently conceptualized with motion verbs, thus framing time within a dynamic context. In contrast, Hungarian and Finnish predominantly use non-motion verbs in time metaphors, emphasizing change rather than motion. This pattern appears to align with previous metaphorical comparisons between American English and Hungarian, which suggest a “more action-oriented versus a more passivity-oriented attitude to love and life in general” (Kövecses 2005: 158).

83 The Finnish *kuluu* means ‘wear out’, ‘wear down’, ‘get worn out’, or alternatively ‘to be used up’ (in Hungarian ‘elkopik’ ‘elhasználódik’). *Múlik* in Hungarian, ‘elapse’, often translated as ‘to pass’, has a similar meaning in the sense that it refers to a process of ending, ceasing.

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Konceptualizacija vremena u engleskom, finskom i mađarskom jeziku

Apstraktni pojmovi, kakvima pripada i 'vrijeme', različito se metaforički konceptualiziraju u različitim jezicima. U ovome poglavlju istražene su – u okviru kognitivne teorije – konceptualizacije u metaforama vremena, i to kontrastivno u engleskome, finskome i mađarskome jeziku. Istraživanje konceptualizacije prolaznosti vremena provedeno je korpusnom analizom metafora uz primjenu kvalitativnih i kvantitativnih metoda. Cilj je bio steći uvide u uporabu glagola u metaforama vremena, s posebnim naglaskom na prostornost i vrijeme, tj. na kretanje i prolaznost (Galton 2011: 701). Kontrastivna analiza pokazala je da u navedenim jezicima postoje razlike u preferenciji prostorne konceptualizacije ili konceptualizacija prolaznosti bez prostorne dimenzije.

Ključne riječi: teorija konceptualne metafore, metafore vremena, vrijeme, prostor, prolaznost

Part III: Teaching Metaphors and Metaphorical Expressions

Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects of Collocations as Grammatical Constructions in Early Language Discourse

Dunja Pavličević-Franić
Katarina Aladrović Slovaček

Collocations in early language discourse exhibit distinctive characteristics that set them apart from those typically used by adult speakers of the Croatian language. Accordingly, the primary aim of this research was to examine the extent of collocational acquisition and to explore the semantic and pragmatic interrelations among children of younger school age. This developmental stage is marked by concrete cognitive operations; therefore, when implementing exercises focused on collocations, it is essential to consider both their semantic and grammatical dimensions, given that collocations function as syntactic constructions. The interdependence of semantics, grammar, and pragmatics is most effectively resolved within authentic communicative contexts, wherein semantics tends to precede grammar, and pragmatics precedes standardisation (Pavličević-Franić 2011). The study was conducted among fourth-grade primary school students (N = 100), who were divided into two groups: an experimental group and a control group. In both groups, a communicative vocabulary test was administered at the beginning and at the end of the study. The experimental group additionally participated in targeted collocation exercises. Qualitative data were analysed using content analysis, while quantitative data were processed using the SPSS software. The findings revealed statistically significant differences in the comprehension and use of collocations between the two groups. These results underscore the need for greater emphasis on lexical and semantic activities within the teaching and learning of the Croatian language, particularly those involving collocations, due to their fundamental role in the development of students' lexical competence.

Keywords: collocations, collocation exercises, construction grammar, lexical competence, early language discourse

1. Introduction

A limited vocabulary has been consistently observed among preschool and early school-age children, a concern frequently noted by kindergarten and primary school teachers, as well as by parents. Despite the ease of access to information and the technological proficiency of younger generations, there is an observable decline in students' academic performance. Notably, delays in the enrolment of children into the first grade of primary school are increasingly attributed to insufficient phonological awareness, specifically the inability of preschool-aged children to perform phonological analysis and synthesis (Razum and Aladrović Slovaček

2023). Several factors contribute to this trend. Among the most prominent are the growing influence of media and heightened exposure to digital content from an early age, coupled with a general decline in reading habits among children (Pavličević-Franić 2011). Screens have increasingly displaced books, and children no longer exhibit the same enthusiasm for reading. Although they are surrounded by educational games, toys, didactic materials, and a variety of books and picture books, these resources are underutilised. This underuse is reflected in their limited vocabulary, manifesting as poor vocabulary comprehension and frequent misinterpretation of words. Vocabulary development, considered the most dynamic component of overall language development (Radić et al. 2010), is influenced by numerous linguistic and extralinguistic factors (Razum and Aladrović Slovaček 2023). It typically begins with the child's first meaningful word - often "mama" - around the age of one. By the age of three, when the foundation of the mother tongue is generally established, children's vocabularies are estimated to include approximately 1,000 words. This number grows to around 4,000 by the age of four, demonstrating a remarkable expansion at an early stage (Pavličević-Franić 2011). Upon entering school, a child's vocabulary is estimated at approximately 10,000 words. Over the course of formal education, schoolchildren acquire an additional 500 to 700 words annually through exposure to textbooks, listening activities, and required reading materials (Aladrović Slovaček and Magašić, 2023).

The linguistic features of individual words – such as length, orthographic complexity, grammatical properties, and existing collocational patterns – significantly influence the ease of their acquisition. Equally important are extralinguistic factors, including the child's social environment, the quality of interactions with adults, family structure, parents' educational background, and the habits promoted in the household with regard to media use, book reading, and literacy practices. These interconnected influences jointly shape the process of vocabulary development. Given that language is a dynamic, evolving system, the present study focuses on collocations as an essential yet underexplored component of vocabulary acquisition in younger school-aged children. Owing to the aforementioned factors, adults often assume that children understand certain words or collocations; however, in practice, their comprehension of entire texts is often hindered by limited reading habits and insufficient exposure to written language. This results in poor outcomes on reading comprehension assessments. Consequently, the primary objective of this research is to investigate the understanding of collocations among younger schoolchildren and to propose methodological adjustments in the teaching of Croatian as a mother tongue, based on the findings.

2. Theoretical framework of the research

Among the eight key competences for lifelong learning, literacy – understood as language competence, or communication in the mother tongue – is recognised as the first and most essential (Council of Europe, *Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning*, 2022). Language competence encompasses both communicative competence, which refers to the practical, context-dependent application of language knowledge in real-life communicative situations, and

linguistic competence, which denotes theoretical knowledge about language rules, definitions, and standard norms. Based on the process of acquisition, languages are generally categorised as either acquired or learned. The first language (L1) – typically the mother tongue – is acquired spontaneously during early developmental stages, whereas additional language varieties (L2, L3, etc.) are usually learned, either in parallel with or following the acquisition of L1, most commonly through formal instruction.

The Croatian standard language, as with all standardised language varieties, falls into the category of L2 and is systematically introduced and taught from the beginning of formal education. The initial phase of schooling, which lasts until approximately age 10 or 11, corresponds to Piaget's stage of concrete operations (Piaget 1950). During this developmental stage, it is crucial to foster communicative competence, particularly its lexical dimension, which includes the acquisition of collocations. This study draws upon two foundational theoretical frameworks to support the development of communicative competence at the lexical level: cognitive theory and social learning theory. The cognitive theory explores the interface between language and cognition, adopting a cognitive-linguistic paradigm that conceptualises learning as the mental processing of information. This perspective emphasises functional-cognitive and constructivist approaches in contrast to formal-generative models. Social learning theory, on the other hand, focuses on the interplay between language and the social environment, promoting communicative and integrative teaching approaches that encourage contextually grounded, applicable language use. By combining these theoretical perspectives – the cognitive-constructivist and integrative models of language acquisition – this research adopts a framework that integrates syntactic and semantic-pragmatic dimensions of language learning. Language structure is viewed as an inseparable unity of form and meaning, defined by structural, semantic, and functional characteristics (Tomasello 2005; Jackendoff 2009 cited in Pavličević-Franić 2024). Within this theoretical context, the present study investigates the development of students' lexical competence at the end of the first stage of primary education. Particular attention is given to identifying and analysing collocations and their influence on both lexico-semantic and grammatical development.

2.1. Collocations and relations between words in collocations

Collocations are commonly defined as word combinations that are not necessarily governed by strict grammatical rules (Šonje 2000). These lexical associations are based on semantic relationships between the constituent elements, whereby the meaning of individual components may remain intact or become desemanticised within the collocational unit (Blagus Bartolec 2014:61). Nonetheless, the absence of a universally accepted and unambiguous definition of collocations continues to hinder their systematic treatment from an applied linguistic perspective (Stojić and Murica 2010). In Croatian linguistics, collocations are primarily examined within the context of Croatian as a second language (e.g., Burić and Lasić 2012; Ordulj 2018; Ordulj and Cvikić 2017), although there are also comparative studies between Croatian and foreign languages (Stojić and Murica 2010; Turk 2010).

The complexity of defining collocations stems from their overlap with other types of lexical relations, which leads to variation in how scholars conceptualise them. Blagus Bartolec (2014:80) characterises collocations as ‘special syntagmatic relations based on semantic links between discrete lexical units in which their meanings become concrete’. She limits the scope of collocational relations to those between two content words, while acknowledging the existence of more complex multi-word units – for instance, those involving a noun and a preposition that requires a specific grammatical case. Formally, Blagus Bartolec also confines collocations to syntagmatic relations, excluding broader syntactic or textual connections. Her lexicological perspective foregrounds the semantic features of collocations, distinguishing between lexicalised and syntagmatised types. Lexicalised collocations, such as *cow* or *White House*, undergo semantic transformation to the extent that their overall meaning cannot be deduced from the meanings of their individual components. These result in new lexical units – either single-word or multi-word expressions – with fixed meanings (Blagus Bartolec 2014:82). In contrast, syntagmatised collocations, such as *business bag*, *school bag*, or *women’s purse*, do not form lexical units in the strict sense; although their elements experience a degree of semantic transformation, they retain their individual lexical identities.

Stojić and Murica (2010:117) provide an overview of Hausmann’s and Benson’s classifications of collocations. Hausmann’s model is based on grammatical structure, and includes common patterns such as:

- verb + noun (e.g., *poslati poruku* – send a message),
- adjective + noun (e.g., *zelena jabuka* – green apple),
- noun + verb (e.g., *zvono zvon* – the bell rings),
- noun + noun (e.g., *čaša vode* – a glass of water),
- adverb + adjective (e.g., *dobro odgojen* – well brought up),
- adverb + verb (e.g., *loše poslovati* – to perform poorly).

Benson, on the other hand, classifies collocations based on the dominant part of speech:

- noun collocations (*poklopac lonca* – pot lid),
- verb collocations (*ugasiti svjetlo* – turn off the light),
- adjective collocations (*teško bolestan* – severely ill),
- adverb collocations (*quite enough*).

The most comprehensive typology of collocations in Croatian is provided by Blagus Bartolec (2014), who identifies eight distinct types:

1. Basic collocations, where one element depends semantically or grammatically on the other (e.g., *beskvasni kruh* – unleavened bread; *aparāt za kavu* – coffee machine).
2. Collocations in which one element loses its original meaning (*crni humor* – dark humour; *slijepa ulica* – dead-end street).
3. Collocations with interchangeable elements, i.e., allowing synonym substitution without semantic disruption (*mračna/tamna komora* – darkroom; *divan/krasan glas* – beautiful voice).
4. Collocations with non-interchangeable elements, where synonym replacement alters or disrupts the meaning (*jaka kava* – strong coffee, not *moćna kava*; *blaga zima* – mild winter, not *nježna zima*).
5. Collocations involving elements with restricted combinatorial potential, often referring to specific extralinguistic referents (*trudna žena* – pregnant woman; *arteški bunar* – artesian well).
6. Complementary noun collocations, typical of specialised or professional terminology, where two nouns semantically complete each other (*anđeo čuvar* – guardian angel; *država članica* – member state).
7. Symbolic collocations, in which literal meanings convey culturally or socially symbolic connotations (*bijela kuta* – white coat = physician; *crna mačka* – black cat = bad luck).

These classifications provide a detailed framework for understanding the semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic dimensions of collocational structures, highlighting their pedagogical relevance and complexity in both first and second language acquisition.

2.2. Collocations in early language discourse

Collocational structures used by adult speakers are typically characterised by fixed, stable syntagmatic relations – closed constructions with minimal combinatorial flexibility. In contrast, collocations in early language discourse are more fluid, representing looser syntagmatic associations that allow for greater variability and lexical creativity. Language learning, fundamentally, is a process of acquiring linguistic structures that manifest as constructions – pairings of form and meaning. In this sense, collocations also represent constructions, suggesting that early language discourse encompasses more than mere expression and content. In everyday communication, the interplay between grammar, semantics, and pragmatics is resolved dynamically: semantics precedes grammar, and

pragmatics takes precedence over standardisation (Pavličević-Franić 2011). In early language development, collocations exhibit age-specific features that differentiate them from those used by adult speakers of Croatian. This is particularly evident at the semantic level, where the contextual meanings of words within collocational structures often diverge from their denotative meanings in standard language. Additionally, some collocational constructions in children's language undergo partial desemanticisation; while certain elements may retain their primary meanings, the overall construction does not align with normative lexical expectations (e.g., *domaće dijete* – domestic child, modelled after *divlje dijete* – wild child; *imati sudar* – to have a crash/date, where *sudar* may be misinterpreted depending on context). These deviations illustrate how collocational formations in early discourse often do not follow conventional lexical pairings. Instead, syntagmatic relations are established through the attraction of secondary collocates that do not necessarily co-occur in adult language use (e.g., *vruć doček* – hot welcome < warm welcome; *prljava jedinica* – crooked F < straight A) (Pavličević-Franić 2011; 2018). Such constructions, while reflecting the child's communicative needs, deviate from standard language on at least one level of the linguistic sign. Children often compensate for lexical gaps by generating individual constructions that serve their immediate communicative purposes. The driving force behind this process is the need for effective communication, suggesting that, in early stages, pragmatics outweighs linguistic norms. These age-conditioned collocational structures are typically transient – replaced over time by more efficient, conventionalised expressions that align with broader communicative norms. The concept of *overwriting* describes this phenomenon, wherein newly acquired lexical items or expressions supplant earlier, nonstandard forms – often without the child retaining any memory of their prior usage (Pavličević-Franić 2011:72).

The teacher's role in this developmental process is of paramount importance. The richness of children's vocabulary and their ability to form and comprehend collocational relations are significantly shaped by the linguistic stimuli encountered in the school setting. This environment is frequently plurilingual, as children enter school already familiar with their organic idiom and begin acquiring the standard language and, in many cases, a foreign language – while also potentially interacting with peers who speak other idioms or mother tongues (Pavličević-Franić and Aladrović Slovaček 2018). Consequently, the communicative and functional teaching of the mother tongue must integrate contemporary linguistic principles, adapted to suit the psycholinguistic and didactic needs of early language acquisition. Both grammatical and lexical collocations should be taught with an awareness of developmental appropriateness. The teacher's capacity to implement effective methods and activities is crucial for nurturing children's mother tongue acquisition and supporting their lexical development. The overarching goal of language instruction at this stage should be the enrichment of students' vocabulary and communicative competence – encompassing both pragmatic awareness and linguistic accuracy. In parallel, students should also acquire metalinguistic (theoretical) knowledge about the language system (Pavličević-Franić 2011:58).

3. Research methodology

3.1. Description of the research sample and research instruments

112 younger school children, fourth grade students from two primary schools in central Croatia, participated in the research. The students were divided into the control (N = 50) and the experimental group (N = 62). A test of understanding and using collocational relations prepared for the purpose of this research was conducted in the control group, whereas in the experimental group a test of understanding and using collocational relations was conducted before implementing the programme of motivating students for creating collocational relations and for better understanding of collocational relations in context as well as after the completion of the programme.

The test of understanding and using collocational relations consisted of five tasks: recognising the correct word combination, placing the correct word in collocational relations, i. e. pairs, inserting a collocational relation into a sentence, recognising the meaning of a collocation and establishing collocational relations. Two tests with the same type of tasks but with different examples were developed. One of them was conducted before the experimental programme and the other upon the completion of the programme.

The experimental programme consisted of five school lessons and was implemented in Croatian language classes in which students, divided into two classes, were encouraged to produce, recognise and understand collocational relations through various language games, as well as during listening and especially during speaking, reading and writing activities. Language games were used as a medium for encouraging students to produce collocations, and recognise them. Competitive spirit was, however, welcome, and the desired outcome was linking content from different subjects using the existing knowledge in order to create new language structures and broaden vocabulary. Some of the games that were used were: memory, bingo, dominos, I Love Croatia, Towns and Villages, A detective story (Aladrović Slovaček 2018).

Students were divided with regard to their mark in Croatian in the third grade as well, so 62% of them were excellent (5), 28% were very good (4), and 10% were good (3). Among the students participating in the research 53% were boys and 47% were girls⁸⁴.

3.2. Research goal, problems and hypotheses

The primary goal of the research was to examine the understanding and production

84 Within the framework of the institutional project "Linguistic and didactic research of communicative competence in early language discourse" (2021-2022), led by professor Dunja Pavličević-Franić, practical research about learning collocation at the end of the first educational period was carried out by student Martina Kožinec.

of collocational relations among younger school children and whether teaching methods affect the process of creating these relations and understanding them.

P1 – To investigate the level of recognition and the understanding of meaning and the specific use of collocations at the beginning and at the end of the research.

P2 - Determine whether there is a statistically significant difference in the results of the final test between the students from control and experimental groups.

P3 – Determine whether there is a statistically significant difference in the results on the final test between boys and girls and between students with different marks in Croatian .

In accordance with the primary goal and research problems, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H1 - It is expected that the respondents will have the best knowledge at the simplest level - recognition, and that they will have the lowest level of understanding of how to use collocations in a sentence.

H2 - It is expected that students from the experimental group will have statistically significantly better results than students from the control group in the final exam.

H3 - It is expected that girls will have better results than boys in the final exam and that students with better marks in Croatian language will perform better on collocation tasks at all levels.

3.3. Research results

The first objective of this research was to examine the participants' recognition, understanding of the meaning, and use of collocations at both the beginning and the end of the study. As previously mentioned, the test designed for the purposes of this research assessed the participants' success in recognizing collocations, combining words into collocations, creatively forming collocations, understanding metaphors, and constructing sentences using collocations. All participants underwent testing at both the initial and final stages, and a short experimental program was conducted in the experimental group. This program focused on practicing the use of collocations, understanding their meanings, and generating collocational word associations through lexical exercises mediated by language games.

In the initial testing, 64.5% of participants successfully completed the task of matching words into collocational associations (e.g., *learn by heart, cultivate the land, seafood, travel agency, plastic bag*). In the same task, 15.5% of students showed improved results in the final testing, and 80% of participants completed this task correctly. In the second task, participants were required to complete a text by inserting the appropriate component from a given collocation (e.g., *credit card,*

winter sport, go on foot). Initially, no student answered all questions correctly, but in the final test, 32% of participants answered all items correctly.

In the third task, participants were asked to create collocational relations from a set of provided words (e.g., *plane ticket, olive oil, tourist guide*). In the initial testing, only 7% of participants completed this task correctly, while 72% of participants did so in the final test. Similar results were observed in the understanding of metaphors or transferred meanings. Participants had to recognize the meaning of a collocational relation within a sentence (e.g., *pinch of salt, sharp tongue, old age*). In the first test, only 10% of participants fully solved this task, whereas in the final test, 72% of participants answered the task correctly.

Finally, in the last task, participants were asked to use collocations to form sentences, with examples such as *nature park, black bread*, and *send a package*. In the initial test, only 7% of participants completed this task correctly, while in the final test, 28% of participants solved it correctly (see Table 1).

Table 1. Presentation of the results of the Test of use and recognition of collocations - initial and final testing

TASKS	INITIAL TESTING - 100 % SOLVED	FINAL TESTING - 100 % SOLVED
recognition of collocations	64.5 %	80 %
completion of collocational relations	0 %	32 %
creating word combinations	7 %	72 %
understanding of metaphor	10 %	72 %
creating sentences using collocations	7 %	28 %

Considering the results obtained in the initial and final testing, it can be noted that students demonstrated the best knowledge in the initial testing with regard to recognising word associations, i.e. pairing words into collocational relations, and the worst results were obtained in the task of completing collocations with words that were not offered, but the respondents themselves had to supply the correct word to complete the collocation, which confirms the first hypothesis.

The second aim of the research was to examine whether there was a statistically significant difference in the results of the initial and final testing between the control and experimental groups. The results show that there is a statistically significant difference in the results between the control and experimental groups (Chart 1).

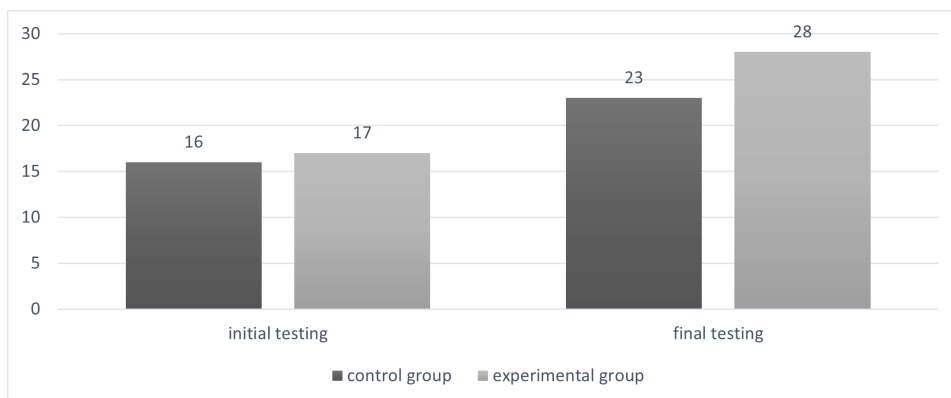


Chart 1. Students' results in the control and experimental groups at the initial and final testing

The Mann Whitney test shows that the students in the initial testing had similar results, i.e. results that were not statistically significantly different ($p > 0.05$, $df = 111$). However, in the final testing, the students in the experimental group, who repeated and practised word combinations through language games for four hours, showed significantly better results in the final testing, as shown by the Mann Whitney test ($p < 0.05$, $df = 111$) (Chart 2).

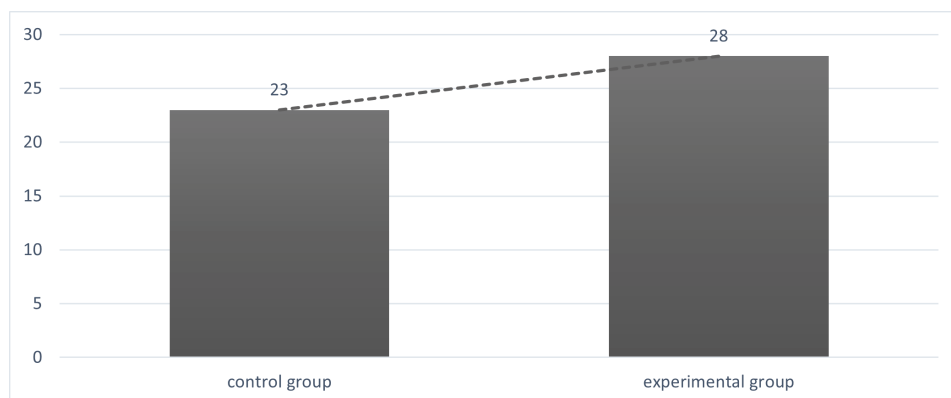


Chart 2. Students' results in the final testing of the control and experimental groups

The obtained results confirm the second hypothesis, which assumed that the experimental group with additional hours of exercise, would perform better on the final test.

The third aim of the research was to examine whether there is a statistically significant difference in the results of the final test with regard to the gender of the respondents and with regard to the final mark in Croatian language in the third grade of primary school. The results show that there is a statistically significant difference in the results with regard to gender ($p < 0.05$, $df = 111$), i.e. that girls

show statistically significantly better results than boys (Chart 3). This was expected due to the fact that girls are verbally more successful than boys at that age (Aladrović Slovaček 2019).

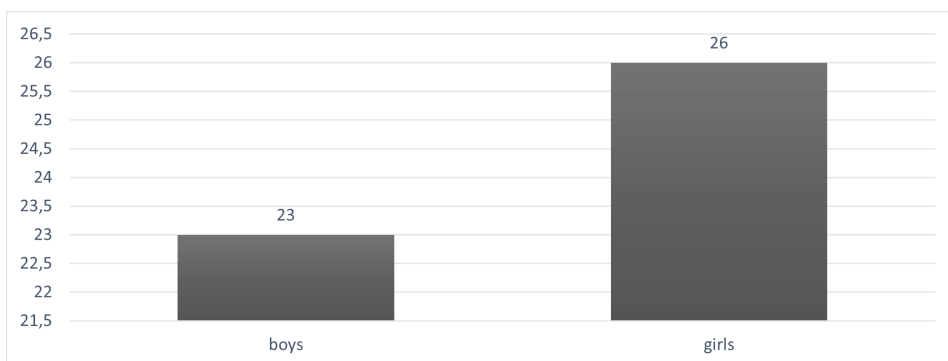


Chart 3. Final testing results – showing differences by gender

The results of the Pearson correlation coefficient ($r = 0.46$) show that marks in Croatian are related to success in solving the Collocation Recognition and Use Test. Namely, students who have better marks in Croatian also achieve better results on the knowledge test (Chart 4).

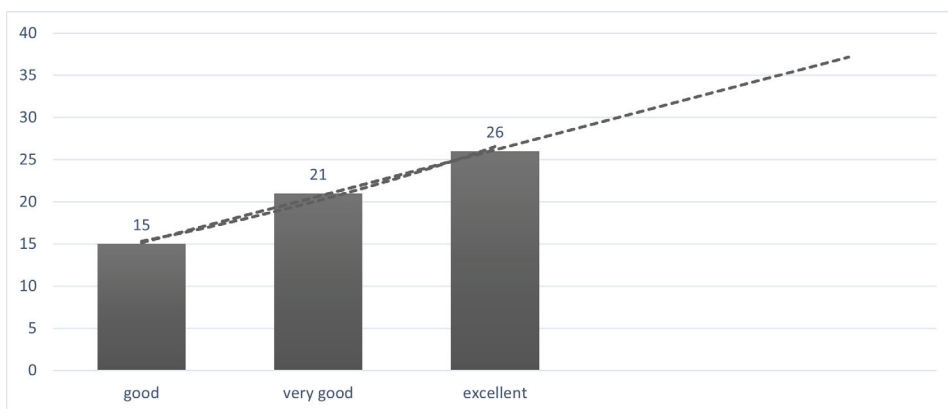


Chart 4. Results of the final test – showing the difference with respect to the mark in Croatian language in the third grade

As expected, the third hypothesis according to which girls achieve significantly better results than boys, and respondents who have a better mark in Croatian also show better knowledge of collocational connections and relationships, is also confirmed.

4. Discussion

The first objective of this research was to examine the understanding and use of word associations, or collocations, among fourth-grade students. Collocations

that appear in textbooks and readings were used as examples, and their level of recognition and use was assessed through a knowledge test. The test evaluated several aspects, including the recognition of collocational relations, the production of collocations, the use of collocations in sentences, the understanding of their meanings, and the practical application of collocations within sentences. As anticipated, students were generally able to combine collocations correctly, although they faced greater difficulty producing the missing word in a collocation and inserting the correct collocation into a specific text. The second aim of the study was to determine whether there were differences between the control and experimental groups of students. The results revealed that students in the experimental group achieved statistically significantly better outcomes. This finding supports the hypothesis that lexical exercises conducted through language games positively impact the production and recognition of characteristic word associations. The third aim was to explore whether there were differences in results based on gender and academic performance in Croatian language. As expected, girls demonstrated statistically significantly better results than boys, and students with higher grades in Croatian language outperformed their peers. This reinforces the idea that, in addition to linguistic and extralinguistic factors, individual characteristics – such as gender and academic performance – play a significant role in the process of language acquisition, and subsequently, in the acquisition of word combinations, or collocations.

5. Conclusion

As discussed in the theoretical framework of this paper, the understanding and use of collocations have not been sufficiently explored within early language discourse. Research in this area primarily focuses on the learning and teaching of Croatian as a second language. However, it is the correct understanding and application of collocations at both the lexical and grammatical levels that are essential for achieving communicative competence in its entirety. The majority of the surveyed students did not perceive or use collocations as single lexico-grammatical units, but rather understood them primarily through the denotative meanings of their individual components. It is the implementation of the integrative and cognitive-linguistic paradigm in the lower grades of primary school that significantly facilitates the acquisition and development of lexico-semantic competence - a component of communicative competence. The development of communicative competence is the fundamental goal of teaching Croatian as a school subject at this stage (Belaj and Tanacković 2013). This approach was applied in the experimental program of this research, and the results indicated that practicing collocations at the level of understanding, connecting, and using concrete examples from the students' immediate environment - through games, a method inherent to children of this age - significantly improved their comprehension and usage of collocations. The findings also emphasize the need for greater attention to lexico-semantic and lexico-grammatical exercises, particularly collocation exercises, in L1 language classrooms. Such practices are necessary to prevent situations in which a substantial number of ten-year-olds, native speakers of Croatian, struggle with connecting two-word collocational expressions into meaningful

wholes. Additionally, students face challenges in constructing communicatively appropriate sentences that effectively incorporate collocations by the end of the first educational period.

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Semantičko-pragmatički aspekti kolokacija kao gramatičkih konstrukcija u ranojezičnome diskursu

Kolokacije u ranojezičnome diskursu imaju specifična obilježja po kojima se razlikuju od kolokacija odraslih govornika hrvatskoga jezika. Stoga je cilj rada bio ispitati stupanj usvojenosti kolokacija i semantičko-pragmatičkog međuodnosa kod učenika mlađe školske dobi. To je razdoblje konkretnih misaonih operacija pa provedba kolokacijskih vježbi mora, uz značenjski, uvažavati i gramatički aspekt jer su kolokacije sintaktičke konstrukcije. Međuodnos između semantike, gramatike i pragmatike pritom se uspješno razrješava konkretnim komunikacijskim situacijama u kojima je semantika prije gramatike, a pragmatika prije normiranosti (Pavličević-Franić, 2011). Istraživanje je provedeno 2021. i 2023. godine u četvrtom razredu osnovne škole (N = 100) u Središnjoj Hrvatskoj (Zaprešić, Zagreb). Ispitanici su podijeljeni u dvije skupine: eksperimentalnu i kontrolnu te je u svakoj skupini proveden komunikacijski test rječnika na početku i na kraju istraživanja. U eksperimentalnoj skupini dodatno su se provodile kolokacijske vježbe. Podatci su obrađeni kvalitativno – analizom sadržaja te kvantitativno u SPSS programu za statistiku metodama neparametrijske statistike. Analizom rezultata utvrdilo se postojanje razlike u razumijevanju i uporabi kolokacijskih sklopova između eksperimentalne i kontrolne skupine. Dobiveni rezultati potvrđuju činjenicu da bi se u procesu učenja i poučavanja hrvatskoga jezika veća pozornost trebala posvetiti leksičko-semantičkim vježbama općenito, a u okviru njih i kolokacijskim vježbama jer uvelike potiču razvoj leksičke kompetencije učenika.

Ključne riječi: kolokacije, kolokacijske vježbe, konstrukcijska gramatika, leksička kompetencija, ranojezični diskurs

Korpusorientiertes Lernen zur Sprachförderung im Bereich der Phraseologie. Ein Bericht aus der Unterrichtspraxis

Marios Chrissou

Aufgrund der zentralen Stellung von festen Mehrworteinheiten im mündlichen und schriftlichen Diskurs sind solide Kenntnisse im Bereich der Phraseologie für die flüssige Kommunikation in der Fremdsprache unerlässlich. Dieses Kapitel fokussiert auf den Beitrag digitaler Sprachkorpora in der phraseologiebezogenen Wortschatzarbeit aus theoretischer und unterrichtspraktischer Sicht.

Schlüsselwörter: korpusorientiertes Lernen, Phraseodidaktik, Wortschatzarbeit, Mehrworteinheiten

1. Einleitung

Feste Mehrworteinheiten machen einen bedeutsamen Teil des lexikalischen Bestandes aus. Ihre fundamentale Stellung in der Kommunikation ist durch empirische Studien in umfangreichen Textkorpora zur Gewissheit geworden (Hallsteinsdóttir 2011: 4f.; Steyer 2013: 9; 280; Filatkina et al. 2020: 2). Da phraseologische Lexik, ähnlich wie Einwortlexik, die kommunikative Kompetenz in der Fremdsprache konstituiert und für kompetentes sprachliches Handeln unentbehrlich ist, muss die Sprachdidaktik „verstärkt ihr Augenmerk auf diesen Gegenstand richten und passende Vorschläge und Werkzeuge entwickeln“ (Breindl et al. 2023: 198). Die phraseologische Kompetenz ist Teil einer umfassenden lexikalischen Kompetenz, und ihre Förderung sollte im Sinne eines integrativen wortschatzdidaktischen Ansatzes verschiedene lexikalische Elemente und vielfältige methodische Zugänge einbeziehen (Hallsteinsdóttir und Chrissou 2024: 17-22). Ein methodischer Zugriff, der nach dem Aufschwung der Korpuslinguistik an Aktualität gewonnen hat, ist das korpusorientierte Lernen (s. Chrissou 2011; 2012: 89-93).

In diesem Kapitel wird anhand von Unterrichtsproben aus der DaF-Lehrpraxis der Frage nachgegangen, wie sich Korpusdaten und Korpusrecherchen in der phraseologiebezogenen Wortschatzarbeit im DaF-Unterricht implementieren lassen. Der didaktische Nutzen dieses methodischen Zugangs beim Initiieren von Sprachförderung im Bereich der Phraseologie wird anschließend aus der Sicht von DaF-Lehrenden reflektiert.

2. Phraseologie und Korpuslinguistik

Unter festen Mehrworteinheiten werden vorgeprägte Wendungen mit einem hohen Grad an Invarianz verstanden. Sie stellen konventionalisierte Wortverbindungen dar, die aufgrund wiederholten Gebrauchs in wiederkehrenden Kommunikationssituationen lexikalisiert werden und als Einheiten abrufbar sind.

Sprachkorpora stellen reiche Textressourcen unterschiedlicher Größe und Streuung dar, die den realen Sprachgebrauch je nach Umfang und Zusammensetzung in Bezug auf Medium, Thema und Textsorte repräsentativ widerspiegeln. Die Untersuchung sprachlicher Massendaten erweitert die Möglichkeiten der Sprachbeschreibung beträchtlich. „Der Fokus liegt“ nach Tschirner (2010: 118) „auf Performanzdaten, wobei quantitative Informationen eine zentrale Rolle spielen“. Diese Performanzperspektive „bewirkt eine Textfokussierung, eine Fokussierung auf die Bedeutung und Verwendung von Wörtern im Kontext“, die auf der Basis der Intuition nicht erfassbar wäre (ebd.). Auch in der Phraseologieforschung ist Korpusevidenz zur unabdingbaren Norm geworden. Ihre Leistung besteht darin, dass sie Einblicke in signifikante, wiederkehrende Sprachgebrauchsmuster gewährt und somit ein wichtiges Werkzeug für die differenzierte, gebrauchsorientierte Sprachbeschreibung im Bereich der Phraseologie bereitstellt.

3. Korpora und korpusorientiertes Lernen in der Wortschatzarbeit

Der Aufschwung der Korpuslinguistik eröffnet auch der Unterrichtsgestaltung neue Perspektiven. Grundtenor der gebrauchsbasierten Ansätze in der Sprachvermittlung ist, dass der Korpuseinsatz „aus der Sicht des Fremdsprachenlernens elementar und zuträglich ist“ (Ludewig 2005: 196f.), auch im Rahmen der Wortschatzarbeit (s. Gabrielatos 2005: 21; Gilquin und Granger 2010: 359; Wallner 2013: o.S.). Insbesondere erlaubt das Einbeziehen des realen Sprachgebrauchs die Verankerung authentischer Sprache im Unterricht und die *Bereicherung der Lehrwerkarbeit* anhand von Korpusdaten, in denen sich neben sprachlichen Formen laut Mollica und Steyer (2024: 3) kulturelle Werte, Traditionen und Denkmuster widerspiegeln. Authentisch ist neben dem Sprachgebrauch auch die Lernaktivität der Korpusrecherche, die nach Boulton (2009: 90) an sich eine authentische Lernaktivität darstellt. Zudem gewährt der situative Gebrauchskontext Einblick in die kommunikativen Faktoren ihrer Verwendung und leistet Hilfe bei der Semantisierung. Hingegen sind generalisierende Bedeutungsangaben oder das bloße Nennen interlingualer Äquivalente nach Kühn (1996: 11) keine Garantie dafür, dass sie in ihrer kommunikativen Verwendung verstanden, geschweige denn, adäquat gebraucht werden.

Geht man ferner vom *gedächtnispsychologisch* belastbaren Kerngedanken aus, dass die häufige Begegnung mit Mehrworteinheiten aufgrund ihrer Mehrdimensionalität komplexe Einträge im mentalen Lexikon erfordern und in mehrfacher Vernetzung abgespeichert werden (s. Pohl 2022: 177), schafft ihre Erarbeitung in textuellen und funktionalen Zusammenhängen günstige

Voraussetzungen für die vielseitige Verankerung im Gedächtnis (Fandrych und Tschirner 2007: 202; Jesenšek 2013: 81).

Ferner gibt es eine Affinität zwischen dem Einsatz korpusorientierter Arbeitsmethoden und dem *handlungsorientierten Lernen* (Finkbeiner und Knierrim 2008: 163). Nach der konstruktivistischen Didaktik, in der das aktive, explorative Lernen in authentischen Lernumgebungen einen zentralen Stellenwert hat (s. hierzu auch Chrissou 2012: 60-66), begünstigt die selbstständige Erschließung sprachlicher Regelhaftigkeit auf induktiver Basis die Konstruktionsprozesse der Lernenden, steigert die Einprägsamkeit und erhöht die Wahrscheinlichkeit von nachhaltigem Lernen.

Darüber hinaus wird in der einschlägigen Literatur auf die didaktische Relevanz der Aufmerksamkeitslenkung auf variierende Verwendungskontexte hingewiesen. Nach Aguado (2024: 10) „kann nichts gelernt oder erworben werden, wenn es nicht zuvor vom lernenden Individuum subjektiv bemerkt worden ist“ (Kriterium der Salienz). Laut Fandrych und Tschirner (2007: 202) und Rösch und Rotter (2010: 219) führt das gezielte Wahrnehmen und Beachten (noticing) von phraseologischer Lexik im Gebrauchskontext aufgrund der damit verbundenen Abstraktionsprozesse zu besseren Lernergebnissen als die rein implizite Sprachförderung. Es liegt empirische Evidenz dafür vor, dass die *sprachbewusst-reflektierende Aufmerksamkeit* auf phraseologische Lexik im Gebrauchskontext aufgrund der damit verbundenen Abstraktionsprozesse zu besseren Lernergebnissen führt als die rein implizite Sprachförderung (Fandrych und Tschirner 2007: 202). Die formfokussierende Aufmerksamkeitslenkung auf die phraseologische Form regt die Rekonstruktion ihrer formalen Einbettung in den Satzkontext und ihrer semantisch-pragmatischen Verwendungsbedingungen an (s. Schmitt 2008: 348; Tschirner 2021: 21).

Nicht zuletzt erlauben Korpusdaten das Einbeziehen von reichhaltigem sprachlichem Material in den Unterricht und somit die gezielte Auseinandersetzung mit phraseologischem Wortschatz anhand zahlreicher Korpusbelege. Es spricht viel dafür, dass die *Häufigkeit der Begegnung* das Lernen begünstigt. Nach Boulton (2009: 85f.) und Lindstromberg und Boers (2009: 17) erhöht die Formfokussierung anhand multipler Kontexte (Kriterium der Frequenz) die Wahrscheinlichkeit der dauerhaften Verankerung im Gedächtnis im Vergleich zur einmaligen Konfrontation mit dem sprachlichen Input. Webb et al. (2013: 91) belegen in einer empirischen Untersuchung einen positiven Lerneffekt bei einer etwa 15-maligen Begegnung mit der zu erlernenden phraseologischen Lexik.

4. Korpusorientiertes Lernen in der Unterrichtspraxis

Es folgen Praxisbeispiele, die exemplarisch zeigen, wie sich korpusorientiertes Lernen in der phraseologiebezogenen Wortschatzarbeit implementieren lässt. Es handelt sich um Unterrichtsproben, die Studierende des Masterstudiengangs „Schnittstellen zwischen Linguistik und Didaktik“ (im Folgenden „die Lehrpersonen“) im Fachbereich für deutsche Sprache und Literatur der Nationalen

und Kapodistrias-Universität Athen über zwei Studiensemester durchführten. Die Lehrpersonen haben ein Germanistik-Studium absolviert und sind in der DaF-Lehre tätig. Im Rahmen des Seminars „Lexikologie und Wortschatzdidaktik“ erarbeiteten die Lehrpersonen die Grundlagen der Phraseologie, Korpuslinguistik und Phraseodidaktik und stellten einen Bezug zur Unterrichtspraxis im Rahmen ihrer Lehrtätigkeit her.

Sie hatten die Aufgabe, jeweils drei Idiome, d. h. semantisch umgedeutete feste Mehrworteinheiten mit nicht kompositioneller Semantik, die sie vom phraseologischen Optimum von Hallsteinsdóttir et al. (2006) und dem onomasiologischen Lexikon von Ettinger (2019) auswählten,⁸⁵ durch den Einsatz korpusorientierter Arbeitsmethoden (hierfür wurden sie in DWDS⁸⁶ eingeführt) zu didaktisieren und den Unterrichtsverlauf kritisch zu reflektieren. Die Unterrichtsproben führten sie im Lernkontext von Sprachinstituten und Privatunterricht, in Gruppen von zwei bis sechzehn Lernenden im Alter von 15 bis 25 Jahren, die sich auf die B1-, B2- und C1-Sprachprüfungen vorbereiten. In Anbetracht der hohen sprachlichen Komplexität authentischer Sprachbelege, hauptsächlich für junge Lernende auf niedrigen Sprachniveaus, und zur Vermeidung von Überforderung hatten die Lehrpersonen freie Hand bei der sprachlichen Vereinfachung der Korpusbelege, etwa durch ihre Reduktion auf ihren „leicht überschaubaren Kern (zwei bis vier lexikalische Elemente)“ (Szita 2019: 257, 260). Die Beispiele aus den Unterrichtsproben werden im Folgenden nach dem Lernprinzip vorgestellt, das ihnen zugrunde liegt: Idiome a. im Text wahrnehmen, b. im Kontext semantisch erschließen und mit weiterem Wortschatz vernetzen, c. in Form und Semantik festigen und d. aktiv durch Transfer auf neue Kontexte aktiv gebrauchen (zur Modellierung dieser Lernprinzipien s. Kühn 1992: 178; Feilke 2009: 10; Hallsteinsdóttir und Chrissou 2024: 17f.).

4.1. Beispiele aus den Unterrichtsproben

Präsentiert haben die Lehrpersonen die Idiome in Kurztexten, wie Kommentare, Nachrichten, Horoskope. In einigen wenigen Fällen nutzten sie hierfür erweiterte Korpusbelegen, u. a. vom DWDS-Korpus „Blogs“ (s. Abb. 1).

85 Zur Diskussion über den Stellenwert von Idiomen im Fremdsprachenunterricht siehe Sulikowska und Chrissou (2024: 53ff.).

86 Dafür sprachen der geringe Einarbeitungsaufwand in die Korpusrecherche, der angemessene Umfang der Korpora und die breite Streuung der Korpusinhalte.

Das Problem der kleinen Königreiche Noch vor einem Dreivierteljahr, war die Mitarbeit in der <u>Bundespresse</u> relativ simpel. Wer ein Thema fand, zu dem er meinte, dass es eine PM geben sollte, ging zur SG-Presse und dann wurde ein Pad gemacht und in einer nächtlichen Arbeitssession mit allen die mitschreiben wollten wurde eine PM verfasst und wenn die gut war, gab die ein Verantwortlicher am nächsten Morgen frei. Das war so schön offen, dass ich bis heute nicht weiß, wer <u>mir</u> eigentlich <u>die ganzen Sätze</u>, für die ich heute noch kritisiert werde, <u>in den Mund gelegt hat</u>. Quelle: https://andipopp.wordpress.com/2012/06/05/das-problem-der-kleinen-konigreiche (25.1.2021)
UND ALLE SO: WOCHENENDE Puh, das war wirklich eine Arbeitswoche <u>directly from hell</u>. Nicht nur hatte sich ohnehin schon einiges über Disputationspanik etc. angestaut. Kaum war ich aus dem wohlverdienten Mini-Ski-Tag zurück, <u>hatten sich</u> auch noch alle <u>die Hände gerieben</u> und nagelneue Aufgaben für mich ausgedacht. Dazu noch 2 Klausuraufsichten in den Abendstunden (z.B. an Altweiberdonnerstag von 20-21.30. *cheerio*) und ein Haufen neue Formulare, die sich zwischen mich und meine Dr. stellen wollen sowie ungeahnte Deadlines und lächerliche zwei neu zu planende Veranstaltungen. Und <u>schwupps</u>, keinen Tag vor 9 zu Hause. Also doch, Montag, da <u>hab</u> ich ein Karnevals-kostüm für meine Schwester genäht. Aber sonst. Frau Siebenhundertsachen nur Büro und Bett. Der Mann Deadline vor Augen und eigentlich Bett im Büro. Und die Wohnung in Auflösung begriffen. Puh. Quelle: https://siebenhundertsachen.com/2012/02/18/und-alle-so-wochenende (25.1.2021)

Abb. 1: DWDS-Korpusbelege zur Präsentation der Idiome

Im folgenden Beispiel wurden den Lernenden drei Idiome anhand von auf das Sprachniveau der Lernenden (B1) adaptierten Korpusbelegen aus dem DWDS-Korpus „Filmuntertitel“ im Kontext präsentiert. Die Lehrpersonen nutzten häufig die DWDS-Korpora „Blogs“ und „Filmuntertitel“ in den Unterrichtsprüben mit der Begründung, dass sie einen Bezug zum Alter und zur Alltagswelt der Lernenden haben und somit leichter nachvollziehbar seien. Die Arbeitsanweisung lautete, die Idiome im Kontext zu identifizieren (s. Abb. 2):

Ich glaube, der Mann wird sich zeitlebens das hinter die Ohren schreiben, damit er nicht wieder ein solch ein Verbrechen begeht; denn er könnte vielleicht das nächste Mal bestraft werden!

Jeder Arzt sollte sich die Worte des Hippokrates hinter die Ohren schreiben.

Sehen Sie, das ist nun einmal unser aller Schicksal, und deshalb darf man nicht gleich die Flinte ins Korn werfen.

Du hast einen Versuch gemacht und deiner Ansicht nach kein Glück damit gehabt, und nun hast du gleich die Flinte ins Korn geworfen.

Du bist mein einiger Schatz, meines Herzens Trost und mein Ein und Alles.

Ja, er ist mein Ein und Alles, und ich freue mich von Herzen darauf, dass ich bald zu ihm komme.

Abb. 2: Adaptierte DWDS-Korpusbelege zur Präsentation der Idiome

Der Löwenanteil der korpusorientierten Lernaktivitäten entfiel auf das *Dekodieren* der Idiome. In einer hierfür vorgesehenen Lernaktivität wurden den Lernenden repräsentative Korpusbelege aus dem DWDS-Korpus „Berliner Zeitung“ in verschiedenen Verwendungskontexten mit der Arbeitsanweisung vorgelegt, die Idiome durch induktive Formfokussierung selbstständig zu semantisieren (s. Abb. 3). Nach Einweisung in die Korpusrecherche konnten sie die Plausibilität ihrer Hypothesen an weiteren Textbelegen überprüfen.

3. Lies die folgenden Sätze und beschreibe die Bedeutung der Phraseologismen!

a) jmdn unter Druck setzen

Berliner Zeitung, 07.12.2005

In seinem neuen Amt muss Jung nun viele Rollen auf einmal ausfüllen, und vielleicht ist es auch das, was ihn zu Beginn etwas **unter Druck setzt**:

Berliner Zeitung, 31.03.2005

"Wir werden uns nicht **unter Druck setzen** lassen und sorgfältig die nächsten Schritte planen."

Berliner Zeitung, 08.11.2005

Um die Arbeiter **unter Druck setzen** zu können, wurden Löhne oft monatelang nicht ausbezahlt.

Merian, Svende: Der Tod des Märchenprinzen, Hamburg: Buntbuch-Verl. 1980 [1980], S. 61

Jeden Morgen beim Frühstück das gleiche Tauziehen: Ihn nicht **unter Druck setzen** ... ich will doch, daß er sich freiwillig mit mir trifft.

Der Spiegel, 23.04.1990

DIESTEL: Mich kann niemand **unter Druck setzen**, nur meine Frau zu Hause und Herr de Maiziere als mein Chef.

b) jmdm in den Rücken fallen

Grimm, Hans: Volk ohne Raum, München: Langen 1932 [1926], S. 819

Du bist mein alter Kamerad, du wirst mir nicht **in den Rücken fallen**, ich weiß auch, daß du kein Schwätzer bist.

o. A.: E. In: Brockhaus' Kleines Konversations-Lexikon, Berlin: Directmedia Publ. 2001 [1906], S. 20782

Ephiálfes, Griechen aus Malis oder Trachis, zeigte 480 v. Chr. den vor den Thermopylen lagernden Persern einen Weg, auf dem sie den Griechen **in den Rücken fielen**.

Berliner Tageblatt (Abend-Ausgabe), 10.02.1902

Schlimm ist nur, wenn Leute, die sich als unsere Freunde bezeichnen, uns **in den Rücken fallen** (Sehr richtig!), wenn sie erst schöne Worte machen und dann allerlei Rücksichten vorschützen.

Langhoff, Wolfgang: Die Moorsoldaten, Stuttgart: Verl. Neuer Weg 1978 [1935], S. 54

Das, was Du jetzt machst, heißt uns **in den Rücken fallen**, verstehst Du!

Bodenreuth, Friedrich [d.i. Jaksch, Friedrich]: Alle Wasser Böhmens fließen nach Deutschland, Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg 1938 [1937], S. 271

Als ob wir ihm jetzt **in den Rücken fallen** wollten, indem wir ihn zuletzt noch allein lassen.

Abb. 3: DWDS-Korpusbelege zum Dekodieren der Idiome

Den Prozess der Bedeutungserschließung anhand von Verstehensstrategien erfassten die Lehrpersonen in einem Beobachtungsprotokoll (s. Abb. 4):

Wortverbindung	Bedeutung der Komponenten	Bedeutung im Griechischen	Kontext	Bedeutung
über den eigenen Schatten springen	der Schatten = oud springen = tréō	Εμπνέω τον εαυτό μου	Glück kommt nicht von alleine →	sich überwinden
mit sich (selbst) im Reinen sein				
jedes Wort auf die Goldwaage legen				
etwas läuft wie am Schnürchen				
...				
...				

Abb. 4: Protokoll zum Erfassen der eingesetzten Verstehensstrategien

Die Verstehensstrategien, die die Lernenden am häufigsten zur erfolgreichen Dekodierung führten, waren a. der Transfer von Kenntnissen aus der L1, b. das Erschließen aus dem Kontext und c. die Semantisierung anhand des metaphorischen Bildes.

In einer weiteren Lernaktivität zum Dekodieren der idiomatischen Bedeutung waren fortgeschrittene Lernende gefordert, a. ausgewählte Korpusbelege zum Gebrauch eines Idioms induktiv zu beobachten und seine Bedeutung in Partnerarbeit auszuhandeln, b. ihre Hypothesen im Online-Lexikon <https://www.redensarten-index.de> zu überprüfen und c. typische Gebrauchskontexte zu zwei weiteren Idioms in DWDS zu ermitteln. Zur Erleichterung der Korpusabfrage wurden ihnen Links zur Verfügung gestellt, die direkt zu den Suchergebnissen führten (s. Abb. 5), hier exemplarisch zum Idiom „jmdn. aus der Ruhe bringen“ (https://www.dwds.de/r/?q=aus+der+Ruhe+bringen&corpus=blogs&date-start=1995&date-end=2014&format=max&sort=date_asc&limit=100).

D W D S Der deutsche Wortschatz von 1600 bis heute.

Startseite Textkorpora Blogs Korpusbelege

Korpusbelege Blogs

aus der Ruhe bringen

Korpus: Blogs Start: 1995 Ende: 2014

Anzeige: ☐ KWIC ☐ voll ☒ maximal Sortierung: Datum aufsteigend Treffer pro Seite: 50

1–45 von 45 Treffern

- 1: Battle Without Honor or Humanity, Missus Notzblock, 2006-01-21
Die Goldenen Zitronen - Flimmern (3:23)
konnten mich auch nicht wirklich **aus der Ruhe bringen** aber ich konnt es mir nicht verkneifen:
Helge Schneider - Mörchen (3:58)
- 2: Einsen Kaffee bitte, Other Times, 2008-02-22
Die Liste liegt hier.
Ein einfacher Kaffee – schwarz, ohne Zucker – das wäre etwas, mit dem man Starbucks Mitarbeiter wohl gehörig **aus der Ruhe bringen** würde...
Und was zur Hölle ist eigentlich ein Frappuccino?
- 3: Abfahrt nach Krakau ... einen Gumbäckenbaum pflanzen..., 2008-09-08
Juhi!
Nur eine von uns viereen lies sich von all dem wenig **aus der Ruhe bringen** und schlief und schlief und schlief...
Nun ja, hätten wir sie nicht geweckt, hätte sie wohl auch noch das Umsteigen in den nächsten Bus verschlafen Und das Umsteigen in den Nächsten dann wohl auch ...
- 4: Ungipfelter Ischle-Wahlkampf nach IT-Experten, Zitronenbaum, 2008-10-15
„Eine abflauende Konjunktur kann den Expertenmangel nur vorübergehend abschwächen, da er strukturelle Ursachen hat“, sagte Scheer.
Junge Menschen sollten sich bei ihrer Berufswahl daher nicht **aus der Ruhe bringen** lassen.
Scheer: „Die Hightech-Branche hat einen hohen Arbeitskräftebedarf und sie bietet spannende, perspektivreiche Jobs.“
- 5: Gut Ding und Weile und so... Kirsas goodbyes, 2008-12-30
Ich nehme mir ja jeden Tag auf 's Neue vor, eine ganz wunderbare Mutter zu sein.
Ich finde es auch durchaus legitim, mir das immer wieder neu vorzunehmen und lasse mich durch die Streitereien des vergangenen Tages selten **aus der Ruhe bringen**: ein neuer Tag, ein neues Leben (deshalb steht es leider auch sehr schlecht um meinen Vorsatz, den Zucker aus meinem Le-

30°C
Phlegmema

Q Avoa(11711)

Belege in Korpora

- Metakorpora
 - Gegenwartskorpora mit freiem Zugang
 - Historische Korpora
 - DTA-Kern-Erweiterungen
- Referenzkorpora
 - DWDS-Kernkorpus (1900–1999)
 - DWDS-Kernkorpus 21 (2000–2010)
 - DTA-Kernkorpus (1598–1913)
- Zeitungskorpora
 - Berliner Zeitung (1994–2005)
 - Der Tagesspiegel (ab 1996)
- Wörterkorpora
 - Blogs
- Spezialkorpora
 - DTA-Erweiterungen (1465–1969)
 - Archiv der Gegenwart (1931–2000)
 - Polytechnisches Journal
 - Filmsuntertitel
 - Gesprochene Sprache
 - DDR
 - Politische Reden (1982–2020)
 - Bundestagskorpus (1949–2017)
 - Soldatenbriefe (1745–1872)
 - Korpus Patiententexte (1834–1957)
 - A. v. Humboldts Publizistik (dt., 1790–1859)
 - Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeinde (1819–1894)
 - Der Neue Pitaval (1842–1890)

Abb. 5: DWDS-Korpusbelege zum Idiom *jmdn. aus der Ruhe bringen*

d. Schließlich sollten die Lernenden die Idiome in ein strukturiertes Arbeitsblatt eintragen, in dem die Übersetzung in die L1 sowie eine Paraphrase und ein Beispiel im Deutschen erfasst wurden (s. Abb. 6), und die Ergebnisse in einem Google-Dokument mit ihren Mitschülern/innen teilen:

	Wie sagt man das auf Griechisch?	Wie kann man das anders auf Deutsch sagen?	Beispiel aus dem Internet/DWDS
Sich etwas hinter die Ohren schreiben	Βάλ' καλά στο μυαλό σου	Vergiss das nie	“Das machst du nie wieder, schreib dir das hinter die Ohren”
Die Flinte ins Korn werfen	Το βάζω κάτω	aufgeben	“Ich habe keine Lust mehr” sagte Tim. Doch Stefan ermutigt ihn: “Jetzt wird doch nicht gleich die Flinte ins Korn. Du schaffst das”
Jemandes Ein und Alles sein	Το παν	Sehr wichtig sein	“Du bist alle was ich habe, mein Schatz, mein Ein und Alles”

Abb. 6: Arbeitsblatt zur Systematisierung phraseologischer Kenntnisse

Zur *Festigung* der phraseologischen Form erstellten die Lehrpersonen geschlossene Übungen auf der Basis authentischer Korpusbelege mit der Arbeitsanweisung, die Struktur der Idiome zu berichtigen und die vorgegebenen Sätze zu vervollständigen (s. Abb. 7):

Festigen**Übung zur Form**

1. Wenn Sie die vertauschten Wörter berichtigen, bekommen Sie Ausdrücke, deren Verwendung an bestimmte Situationen gebunden ist:

1. Ich muss mir die Nacht um die Ohren setzen , weil _____.
2. Die Lehrer haben uns ständig unter Druck, wenn _____.
3. Es erhielt keine Rolle, ob _____.
4. Ich schlage viel um die Ohren, trotzdem _____.
5. Ich spielte Schläge jedes mal, wenn _____.
6. Als ich grünes Licht stehe , _____.
7. Alles ist mir leicht von der Hand gelassen dank _____.
8. Unser Mitarbeiter hat uns im Stich gegangen , _____.

Abb. 7: Lückentext zur Festigung der phraseologischen Form

Zur Festigung der Semantik erstellten sie Übungen zur Zuordnung von Idiom und Bedeutung (s. Abb. 8):

Übung zur Semantik

2. Welche Bedeutung haben die Phraseologismen. Ordnen Sie die Phraseologismen ihren Bedeutungen zu.

Phraseologismen		
viel um die Ohren haben	sich die Nacht um die Ohren schlagen	leicht von der Hand gehen
☐ ☐	☐ ☐	☐ ☐
Bedeutungen		

- Viel zu tun haben/ erledigen
- Die Nacht über wach bleiben (um zu arbeiten, lesen, feiern o.ä.)
- Sich um viele Dinge gleichzeitig kümmern müssen
- Jmdm. etwas problemlos, ohne Schwierigkeit gelingen
- Die Nacht über nicht schlafen (können)

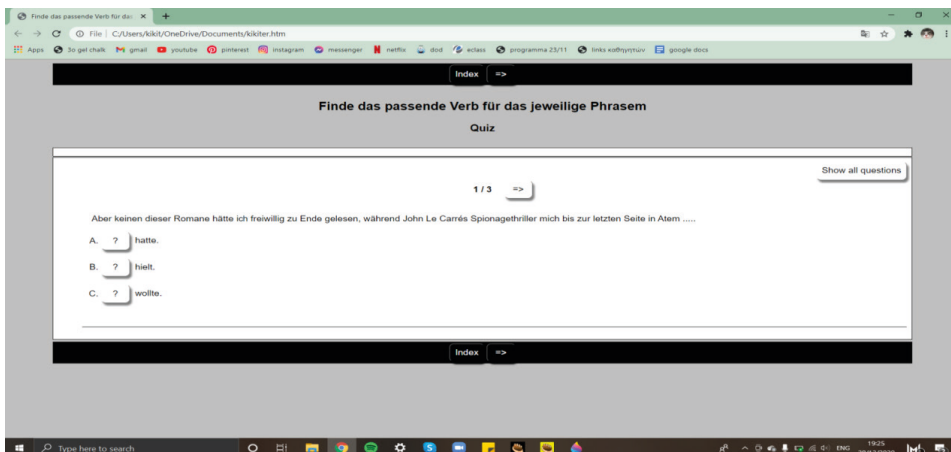
Abb. 8: Zuordnungsübung zur Festigung der phraseologischen Bedeutung

Zur Festigung der Relation zwischen wörtlicher und phraseologischer Bedeutung haben die Lernenden Bilder im WWW ermittelt, die die wörtliche Bedeutung der Idiome visualisieren, z.B. *über den eigenen Schatten springen* (s. Abb. 9).



Abb. 9: Bild zur Visualisierung der wörtlichen Bedeutung des Idioms *über den eigenen Schatten springen* (© Gerti G. / photocase)

In einem der Festigung dienenden, handlungsorientierten Szenario erstellten die Lernenden geschlossene Übungen zu Form oder Bedeutung von Idiomen mit der Autorensoftware *Hot Potatoes*. Hier ein Beispiel einfacher Quizübungen zur phraseologischen Form dreier Idiome (s. Abb. 10):



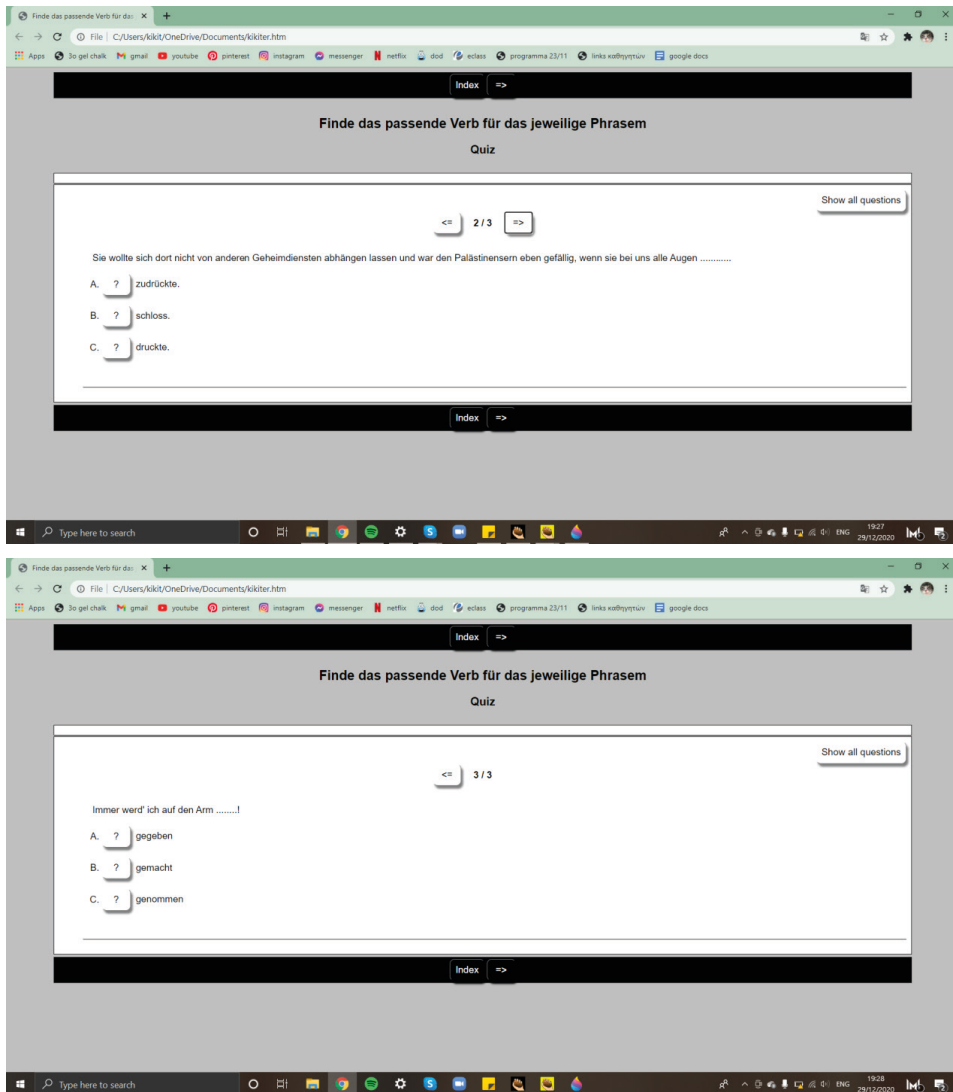


Abb. 10: Quizübungen zur phraseologischen Form dreier Idiome

In der folgenden systematisierenden Lernaktivität zur Festigung ergänzten die Lernenden Informationen in einem vorgegebenen phraseologischen Portfolio: u.a. das Äquivalent in der L1, einen Schlüsselbegriff, ein Synonym und drei repräsentative Beispielsätze (s. Abb. 11):

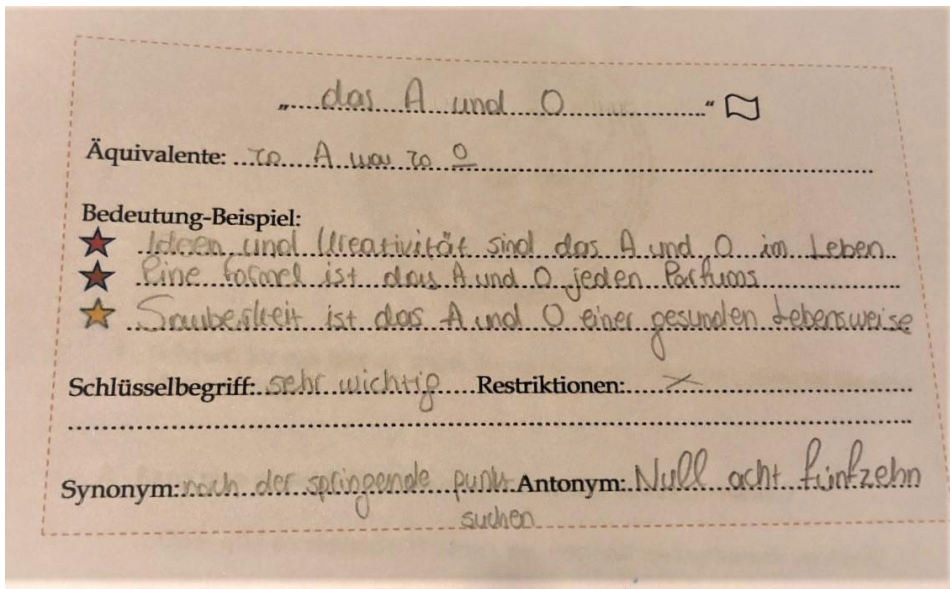


Abb. 11: Phraseologisches Portfolio

Ferner schlugen sie zur Erweiterung ihres mentalen Lexikons drei Idiome im onomasiologischen Lexikon von Ettinger (2019) nach, ermittelten bedeutungsähnliche lemmatisierte Idiome und notierten sie zusammen mit einem Beispiel. Dies gab Anlass zur *assoziativen Vernetzung* inhaltlich zusammengehörender Idiome und zur Bewusstmachung von Unterschieden in Konnotationen und Register. Im folgenden Beispiel ausgehend vom Idiom *Tag und Nacht* unter der onomasiologischen Kategorie „Zeitliche Relationen“ (<https://www.ettinger-phraseologie.de/pages/buchinhalt/g/g.3.php>) (s. Abb. 12):

Phraseologie und Phraseodidaktik

STARTSEITE | AUTOK | ARTIKEL | VORWORT | LINKS | DEUTSCHE REDUWERBUNDEN | BUCHINHALT | IMPRESSUM | DATENSCHUTZ | KONTAKT

Sie sind hier: » **Buchinhalt** » G » G.3

G.3 ZEITLICHE RELATIONEN

1. ab und zu (329 000 000)ab und an (143 000 000)

manchmal; von Zeit zu Zeit; gelegentlich (Duden - Redewendungen, 2008) < Die Zahlen beziehen sich auf die Angaben, die von der Internetsuchmaschine Google am 7.7. 2010 ermittelt wurden.>

(www.greenwheels.de/): < Werbung für Mietwagen. > - **Brauchen Sie ab und zu ein Auto?** Buchen und Fahren. Sie können 7 Tage die Woche, 24 Stunden täglich ein Fahrzeug bei uns buchen. Und das bis wenige Minuten bevor Sie es tatsächlich brauchen. Für Sie steht jederzeit ein Fahrzeug bereit. Ihr Auto um die Ecke. Sie finden Greenwheels-Fahrzeuge an 300 Stationen in über 20 Städten. Suchen Sie hier ganz einfach mittels Ihrer Anschrift nach der nächstgelegenen Stadt und Station. Los geht's. Mit der Greenwheels-Chipkarte öffnen Sie Ihr gebuchtes Fahrzeug. Nach der Fahrt stellen Sie dieses auf seinen reservierten Parkplatz zurück. Was kostet es? Ermitteln Sie in vier Schritten das für Sie günstigste Angebot. Sie erhalten dabei eine Übersicht über Zeit- und Kilometerpreise. Wünschen Sie einen Privat- oder Businesskunden-Vertrag?

(<http://de.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20080716103744AA5VoyJ>): < Sexualeklärung für dumbe Männer.> Offene Frage: Warum haben Frauen **ab und zu** eine Migräne vom Sex? Ich kann das einfach nicht verstehen. Was hat eine Migräne mit Sex zu tun. - (Antwort): Weil wir einfach keine Lust haben und nicht wollen, dass ihr sauer auf uns seid. Also einfach nur eine Ausrede. Pure Diplomatie.

(www.monstersandcritics.de/.../200825/article_87879.php?file=Kleinkinder-tabu-Schüler-dürfen-ab-und-zu-Cola): < Fragen der Kinderernährung. Das Phrasem im Titel soll das Interesse des Lesers wecken.> Für Kleinkinder **tabu - Schüler dürfen ab und zu Cola trinken**. 16. Jan 2008, 16:08. Dortmund (dpa/trn) - Kleinkinder unter drei Jahren sollten grundsätzlich keine Cola trinken. Denn das süße Getränk enthält neben sehr viel Zucker auch Koffein. Das Aufputschmittel ist aber nicht für Kinder geeignet. Das erläutert Mathilde Kersting, stellvertretende Leiterin des Forschungsinstitutes für Kinderernährung Dortmund. Bei Kindern im Schulanter können Eltern allerdings Ausnahmen machen. Einmal in der Woche ein Glas Cola sei akzeptabel. Bei Limonaden sollten Eltern grundsätzlich zurückhaltend sein. Denn Kinder, die viele süße Getränke zu sich nehmen, hätten ein höheres Risiko für Übergewicht. © 2008 dpa - Deutsche Presse-Agentur.

(www.focus.de/entertainment/boulevard/interviews_aid_134802.html): < Das Phrasem in der Überschrift eines Beitrages soll das Interesse des Lesers wecken.> **Harald Schmidt liegt ab und an**. TV-Entertainer Harald Schmidt: liegt lieber in Interviews als keine Antwort zu geben. Er will dadurch seine Ruhe haben - und jede Menge Geheimnisse bewahren. Der Programmzeitschrift „TV Spielfilm“ sagte er: „Ein Interview ist ja Teil des Business. Also gehe ich das professionell an.“ Bei Fragen nach seinem Privatleben finde er die Antwort: „Das ist mir zu privat“ nur „unglaublich langweilig“. Schmidt sagte weiter: „Frage mich jemand: ‚Wie geht's zu Hause?‘, dann antworte ich: ‚Keine Ahnung! Bin ausgezogen!‘ Schon hat der Kollege was zu schreiben und ich meine Ruhe.“ Als öffentliche Person habe er „jede Menge“ Geheimnisse. „Weil ich nie sage: ‚Darauf möchte ich nicht antworten!‘, sondern weil ich dann einfach eine Lüge raushaue.“ Zum derzeitigen „Pöbel-Boom“ unter Prominenten merkt der 50-Jährige an: „Wer da mitmacht, hat ein Marktwert-Problem. Pöbel ist die Kategorie ‚Hat's nicht mal auf's Eis geschafft‘ oder auch: Zu doof für den Dschungel?“. Ironisch meint er: „Doch warum bleiben wir beim Pöbel stehen? Warum eröffnen wir nicht den großen Promi-Scheiterhaufen? Eines der ganz großen Erfolgsmittel der Kirche für viele Jahrhunderte.“

(www.goeka.de/bermarkt/hunde/cat_48_5030_adressat_16947940.html): < Das Phrasem in der Überschrift eines Beitrages soll das Interesse des Lesers wecken.> **Wer hat Lust ab und an jungen Hund auszuführen?** Knapp 1-jähriger, sehr lieber und aktiver Australain Shepherd sucht eine nette Person die Lust hat sich wochentags **ab und an** mit ihm zu beschäftigen. Eine oder zwei Stunden Gassi gehen im Butza Park oder spielen/Hundesport wäre klasse. Montag bis Freitag nach Absprache, sehr flexibel. Bitte nur Hundefreunde, die Freude daran haben sich mit einem Hund zu beschäftigen, ohne einen zu besitzen. Alles weitere telefonisch oder per mail. Wo wohnen in der Messe-Stadt München-Rem.

Zurück .nach oben

2. den Anschluss verpasst haben (ugs.) < Die Umschreibung des Phrasems unter b) entspricht eher dem Sprachgebrauch früherer Zeiten. Im Internet fanden sich nur ganz vereinzelte Belege in dieser Bedeutung. > < Vgl. E.9.1 >

Abb. 12: Idiome zur onomasiologischen Kategorie „Zeitliche Relationen“

Es folgten Schreib- und Sprechanlässe zur *produktiven Verwendung* der Idiome im Kontext: Nach der Sichtung von Korpusbelegen zu den Idiomen, die die Lernenden anschließend als "Modell" für die Sprachproduktion nutzten, waren sie gefordert, ein Mindmap zu den Idiomen zu erstellen und es nach einer Diskussion im Plenum als Post auf der Instagram-Seite für Deutschlernende von „Deutsche Welle“ zu veröffentlichen (https://www.instagram.com/dw_deutschlernen/?hl=en) (s. Abb. 13).

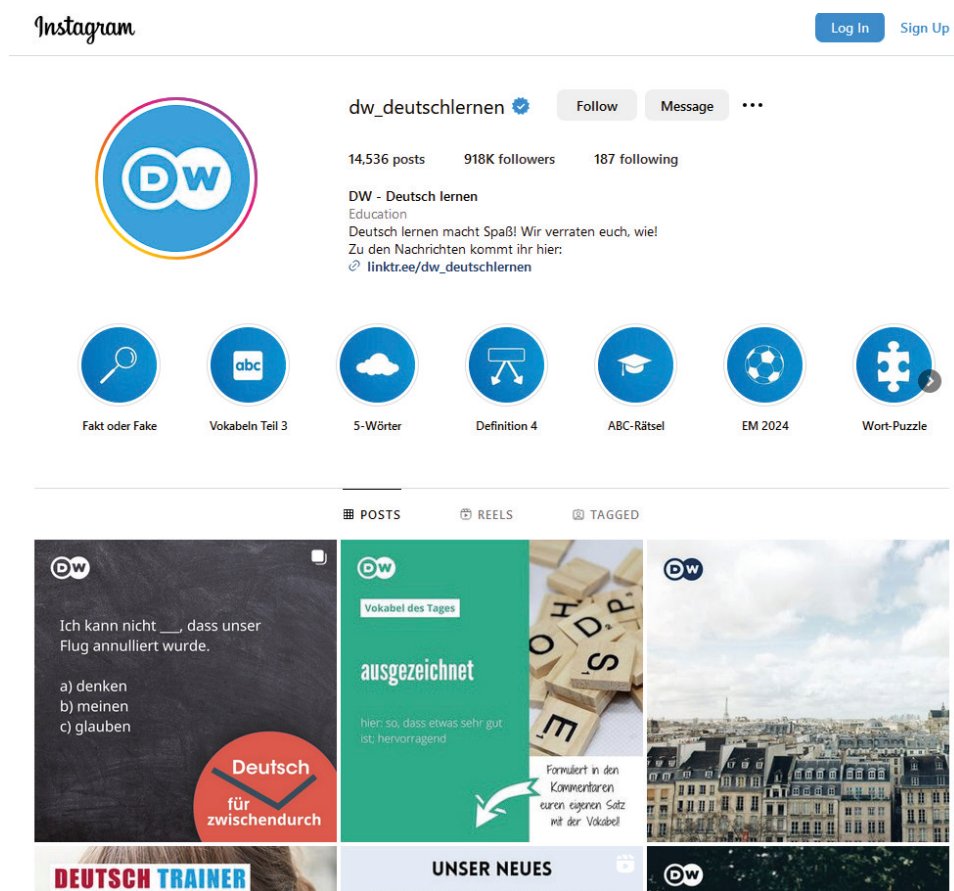


Abb. 13: Instagram-Seite für Deutschlernende von „Deutsche Welle“

In einer weiterführenden produktiven Aufgabe wurden fortgeschrittene Lernende dazu veranlasst, im Internetforum www.gutefrage.net, das ein kleineres recherchierbares Korpus darstellt und in dem Fragen zu verschiedenen Themen von Nutzern/innen gestellt und beantwortet werden, die Diskussionsbeiträge zu einem der angezeigten Themen (s. Abb. 14) mit dem Idiom (*immer*) *das letzte Wort haben* zu lesen (<https://www.gutefrage.net/home/suche?begriff=das%20letzte%20Wort%20haben>) und einen Forumsbeitrag zu einem subjektiv bedeutsamen Ereignis unter Verwendung der drei gelernten Idiome zu verfassen.

The screenshot shows the 'gute frage' forum interface. The header includes the logo, a search bar, and a 'Frage stellen' button. The main content area displays a grid of discussion threads, each with a user profile, a question, a brief answer, and a list of tags. The threads are as follows:

- Thread 1:** User 'jimmini' asks 'Was sagt's aus wenn man immer das letzte Wort haben muss?'. The answer mentions 'Tschüß' and 'NICHT das letzte Wort zu haben... was'. Tags: Verhalten, Psychologie. 9 Antworten.
- Thread 2:** User 'Miniquetsch' asks 'Wie gehe ich mit Leuten um, die immer das letzte Wort haben wollen?'. The answer is 'Hallo' and 'Das kann auch den friedliebsten'. Tags: Freundschaft, Menschen, Umgang, Hand... 16 Antworten.
- Thread 3:** User 'sexy1111' asks 'Führt bald nur noch Selbstgespräche, wer immer das letzte Wort haben will?'. The answer is 'Hermann Hesse sagte diesen klugen und ehrlichen Satz.'. Tags: Menschen, Literatur. 2 Antworten.
- Thread 4:** User 'Eidolon150' asks 'Warum müssen manche Menschen, sagen wir mal "Egomanen", immer das letzte Wort haben?'. The answer is 'Auch wenn sie offenbar im Unrecht sind - und das auch gegebenenfalls wissen - müssen manche Menschen...'. Tags: Kommunikation, Psychologie. 5 Antworten.
- Thread 5:** User 'xaxxx33' asks 'Wieso wird "das letzte Wort haben" als frech angesehen?'. The answer is 'Ich finde es überhaupt nicht frech aber die Leute sagen es wäre frech wenn ich immer das letzte Wort hätte. Was soll'. Tags: Freundschaft, Sprache, Psychologie, Lie... 9 Antworten.
- Thread 6:** User 'Arina555' asks 'Muss mir öfters anhören, du musst immer das Letzte Wort haben was bedeutet das genau?'. The answer is 'Freizeit, Menschen'. 7 Antworten.
- Thread 7:** User 'Lexiaqueen' asks 'Er will immer das letzte wort haben?'. The answer is 'Hey. Ich schreibe mit einem jungen. Er ist 16, ich bin 15. Er schreibt mich so gut wie immer an. Wir schreiben dann'. Tags: Liebe, Beziehung, Jungs, schüchtern, Tre... 7 Antworten.
- Thread 8:** User 'Timeoscillator' asks 'Das letzte Wort haben zu wollen - ist das ehrgeizig oder unklug?'. The answer is 'Man sagt ja, dass der Klügere nachgibt. Aber was ist denn wichtiger für Euch in dieser Situation?'. A poll shows: 'Andere Antwort' (92%), 'klug sein' (4%), 'ehrgeizig sein' (4%). Tags: Leben, Verhalten, Menschen, Diskussion,...

At the bottom left of the grid, there is a call to action: 'Was möchtest Du wissen?' with a button 'Deinen Beitrag erstellen' and an illustration of a person with a skateboard.

Abb. 14: Diskussionsbeiträge im Forum „gute Frage“ mit dem Idiom (*immer*) *das letzte Wort haben*

In der folgenden Lernaktivität bestand die Aufgabe darin, einen Comic mit Hilfe der Anwendung <https://www.canva.com> zu erstellen und, ausgehend von Beispielkontexten aus den DWDS-Korpora, eigenständig formulierte Sätze mit den Idiomem in die Sprechblasen des Comics zu ergänzen (s. Abb. 15):

5. Denken Sie an eine reale alltägliche Situation und erstellen Sie Ihren eigenen Comic. Verwenden Sie dabei die gelernten Phraseologismen



Abb. 15: Comic, erstellt mit der Anwendung Canva

In einer weiteren sprachproduktiven Lernaktivität setzten sich die Lernenden mit DWDS-Korpusbelegen zu den Idiomem *auf eigenen Beinen stehen* und *eine ruhige Kugel schieben* auseinander (s. Abb. 16) und verfassten unter Einsatz dieser Idiome einen Leserbrief an eine Jugend-Zeitschrift zur Frage: *Welche Form der Unterstützung durch die Eltern ist deiner Meinung nach am besten? Welche Erfahrungen hast du selbst gemacht?*

Korpusbelege Filmuntertitel

eigenen Beinen stehen 🔍 ⓘ ↺

Korpus: Filmuntertitel **Start:** 1916 **Ende:** 2014

Anzeige: ☐ KWIC ☒ voll ☐ maximal **Sortierung:** Datum absteigend **Treffer pro Seite:** 10

1–10 von 16 Treffern

- 1: "Hell on Wheels" Durant, Nebraska, 2012 (Filmuntertitel)
Etwas, das dir hinweghilft, bis du wieder auf **eigenen Beinen stehst**.
- 2: "Borgia" The Serpent Rises, 2011 (Filmuntertitel)
Ich muss auf meinen **eigenen Beinen stehen**.
- 3: "Dag" Dæden befrir de som ikke har levd, 2010 (Filmuntertitel)
Das Gepäck, das bewirkt, - dass man irgendwie das Gleichgewicht behält, wenn man auf **eigenen Beinen stehen** soll - und dafür nicht für zehn Jahre nach Goa fahren muss.
- 4: "Modern Family" Truth Be Told, 2010 (Filmuntertitel)
Okay, aber sobald ich wieder auf **eigenen Beinen stehe**, möchte ich es euch -- Oh.
- 5: "Cougar Town" What Are You Doin' in My Life?, 2010 (Filmuntertitel)
Hören Sie, Laurie ist so weit in ihrem Leben, dass sie auf **eigenen Beinen stehen** kann.
- 6: "Hung - Um Längen besser" Even Steven or Luckiest Kid in Detroit, 2010 (Filmuntertitel)
Ich muss für eine Weile auf meinen **eigenen Beinen stehen**.
- 7: Transformers: Revenge of the Fallen, 2009 (Filmuntertitel)
Das wird nichts, bis mein frisch entlassener kleiner Papa wieder auf **eigenen Beinen stehen** kann.
- 8: "Entourage" Drive, 2009 (Filmuntertitel)
Auf den kleinen E, der erwachsen wird und auf **eigenen Beinen stehen** will. - Danke.
- 9: "Two and a Half Men" He Smelled the Ham, He Got Excited, 2008 (Filmuntertitel)
Gut, gut, ich hab ein gutes Gefühl dabei auf **eigenen Beinen stehen**, selbst Lasten zu tragen.
- 10: Karakter, 1997 (Filmuntertitel)
Sie meint, ich soll auf **eigenen Beinen stehen**, etwas aufbauen.

Korpusbelege Filmuntertitel

Kugel schieben 🔍 ⓘ ↺

Korpus: Blogs **Start:** 1995 **Ende:** 2014

Anzeige: ☐ KWIC ☒ voll ☐ maximal **Sortierung:** Datum absteigend **Treffer pro Seite:** 10

1–9 von 9 Treffern

- 1: "Warehouse 13" What Matters Most, 2013 (Filmuntertitel)
Ähm ihr habt nur ihr habt nur hier gesessen, relaxt, ne ruhige **Kugel geschoben**?
- 2: Red Hill, 2010 (Filmuntertitel)
Entweder er ist faul und glaubt, hier kann er eine ruhige **Kugel schieben**.
- 3: "Sons of Anarchy" Fix, 2009 (Filmuntertitel)
Ich dachte, hier könnte ich eine ruhige **Kugel schieben**, aber Luanns Konten sind ein Sauhaufen.
- 4: "House M.D." Heavy, 2005 (Filmuntertitel)
Er will 'ne ruhige **Kugel schieben**, aber hier ist ganz sicher der falsche Ort dafür.
- 5: Le coeur des hommes, 2003 (Filmuntertitel)
Wir verschulden uns, damit er ein ruhige **Kugel schieben** kann?
- 6: Trainspotting, 1996 (Filmuntertitel)
Es sieht so aus, als wäre es ganz easy, es sieht aus wie der bequeme Weg, als würde man 'ne ruhige **Kugel schieben**, aber so zu leben ist ein Fulltime-Job.
- 7: True Lies - Wahre Lügen, 1994 (Filmuntertitel)
Harry, Sie haben letzte Nacht ja eine ruhige **Kugel geschoben**, nicht?
- 8: Quadrophonia, 1979 (Filmuntertitel)
Du hast da 'ne ruhige **Kugel geschoben**.
- 9: Die endlose Nacht, 1963 (Filmuntertitel)
Wir haben schon 1928 in der Kegelbude von Piffke in der Großen Frankfurter Allee jeden Abend die **Kugel geschoben**.

Abb. 16: Korpusbelege zu den Idiomen *auf eigenen Beinen stehen* und *eine ruhige Kugel schieben*

4.2. Reflexion

Die kritisch-reflektierende Evaluation der Lehrinterventionen basierte auf einer Fragebogenaktion sowie auf Tagebucheinträgen und Interviewdaten der Lehrpersonen.

Auf der Ebene der *Einstellungen* merkten sie an, dass korpusbasierte Zugänge dem Unterricht einen didaktischen Mehrwert hinzufügen und die lehrwerkorientierte Wortschatzarbeit sinnvoll ergänzen. Zudem vertraten sie den Standpunkt, dass der Unterricht von der expliziten, sprachbewussten Formfokussierung und der Realisierung induktiv-explorativen Lernens profitiert hat.

Ferner berichteten die Lehrpersonen von hoher *Motivation* im Unterricht, die sie auf die mediale Bereicherung durch die Nutzung digitaler Technologien und auf die interaktive und explorativ-forschende Ausrichtung der Lernaktivitäten zurückführten.

Aus der Sicht der Lehrperson erbrachten die Lernenden gute Leistungen. Dies steht in Einklang mit neueren Untersuchungen, die einen Lernzuwachs im Bereich der Phraseologie durch den Einsatz korpusorientierter Arbeitsmethoden bestätigen (s. Lontou 2019: 210f.). Eine niedrige Fehlerquote wurde in geschlossenen und halboffenen Übungen zur Festigung der Mehrworteinheiten festgestellt. Höher war sie bei der produktiven Verwendung. Die meisten Mängel bestanden in Interferenzfehlern, gefolgt von semantisch-pragmatischen Mängeln. Hierbei ist auf die Möglichkeit hinzuweisen, Korpusbelege zur Fehlerbehandlung reaktiv einzusetzen. Förderlich für das aktive Kontextualisieren der Idiome war aus der Perspektive von Lernenden und Lehrpersonen das Nutzen von Korpusbelegen als Gerüst für den produktiven Gebrauch der Mehrworteinheiten.

In den *Textressourcen des DWDS* sahen die Lehrpersonen eine reiche Materialgrundlage und eine nützliche Ressource für die hypothesengeleitete Auseinandersetzung mit authentischen sprachlichen Daten. Sie bezeichneten die Handhabung der Korpora und des integrierten Recherchewerkzeugs als bedienerfreundlich und sahen Vorteile in „der eigenständigen Handhabung dieses mächtigen Werkzeugs durch die Lernenden selbst“ (Lüdeling und Walter 2010: 24). Als *bedenklich* beschrieben sie die sprachliche Komplexität der Korpus Texte und den hohen Anteil an landeskundlichen Informationen und Realien, die oft eine Herausforderung darstellten. Auch merkten sie an, dass der breite Handlungsspielraum bei der Umsetzung der einzelnen Schritte offener Aufgaben (Korpuswahl, Formulierung der Suchanfrage, Auswahl angemessener Beispiele und Abstrahieren auf induktiver Basis) in manchen Fällen zu Überforderung führte. Dieses Ergebnis steht in Einklang mit der Studie von Götz (2012: 255, 273) aus dem universitären Lernkontext.

Zu den didaktischen Maßnahmen, die die Lehrpersonen zur Abhilfe ergriffen, gehörten die Adaption der Korpusbelege auf das Sprachniveau und Vorwissen der Lernenden und das Wecken eines Bewusstseins dafür, dass es nicht auf das

Wort-für-Wort-Verstehen jedes Textbelegs ankommt, sondern vielmehr auf die Vielzahl der Verwendungskontexte (s. Boulton 2009: 89). Eine weitere adaptive Lehrintervention, für die sich die Lehrpersonen aussprachen, ist die kleinschrittige Hinführung zu offenen Aufgabenstellungen und die eingehende Förderung von Korpuskompetenzen.

5. Schlusswort

Um das große Bild nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren: Beim korpusorientierten Lernen geht es nicht darum, bestehende Lehrmethoden zu ersetzen, sondern sie durch einen gebrauchsbasierten Zugang zu ergänzen (s. hierzu Gabrielatos 2005: 23 und Boulton 2009: 99). In dieser Hinsicht würde eine starke Hervorhebung der korpusorientierten Spracharbeit zu kurz greifen. Vielmehr kommt ihr aus einer integrativen wortschatzdidaktischen Perspektive der Stellenwert eines methodischen Zugriffs zu, der durch sinnvolle Verankerung in der Wortschatzarbeit gewinnbringend sein kann.

Zudem ist Boulton (2009: 85f., 88) darin beizupflichten, dass eine pauschale Antwort auf die Frage nach der Lerneffizienz korpusorientierter Arbeitsmethoden kaum Sinn ergibt, denn hierfür müssten mehrere Variablen wie Lerntradition, Lernkontext, Sprachniveau, Alter, Lernszenario und Lernaktivitäten berücksichtigt werden. Da sich Unterrichtskonzepte letztlich in der Unterrichtspraxis bewähren, sind die Einbettung in spezifische Lernsituationen und eine Phase der Validierung von grundlegender Wichtigkeit. Insofern besteht eine Aufgabe der Phraseodidaktik darin, die Lehrpraxis intensiver zum Forschungsfeld zu machen.

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Corpus-Oriented Learning for Fostering Language Proficiency in the Field of Phraseology: A Report from Teaching Practice

Due to the central role of fixed multi-word units in oral and written discourse, a solid knowledge of phraseology is essential for fluent communication in a foreign language. This chapter focuses on the contribution of digital language corpora in phraseology-related vocabulary learning from a theoretical and practical teaching perspective.

Keywords: corpus-oriented learning, phraseodidactics, vocabulary, learning, set-phrases

Korpusno utemeljeno učenje u funkciji razvoja jezične kompetencije u području frazeologije: primjeri iz nastavne prakse

Zbog središnje uloge ustaljenih višerječnih jedinica u usmenom i pisanom diskursu, dobro poznavanje frazeologije neophodno je za tečnu komunikaciju na stranom jeziku. U ovome se poglavlju raspravlja o prednostima korištenja računalnih korpusa u učenju vokabulara iz teorijske frazeološke perspektive kao i iz perspektive frazeodidaktike.

Ključne riječi: korpusno orijentirano učenje, frazeodidaktika, učenje vokabulara, ustaljeni izrazi

Die Integration des metaphorischen Lernens in den DaF-Unterricht. Ein anwendungsbezogener Ansatz

Magdalena Malechová

Im DaF-Unterricht wird die Thematik der Metapher als Stilfigur eher sporadisch behandelt, indem auf die Existenz dieser Figur hingewiesen wird und mit den Lernenden bekannte Beispiele besprochen werden. Dies ist allerdings besonders auf höheren Sprachniveaus bedauerlich. Um die kreative Ausdrucksfähigkeit der Lernenden zu fördern, kann die Methode des metaphorischen Lernens in Anspruch genommen werden. Metaphorisches Lernen bezieht sich auf einen Lernprozess, bei dem bildliche Ausdrücke verwendet werden, um komplexe Konzepte oder abstrakte Ideen zu vermitteln. Das bewährte Prinzip des Learning by Doing findet gerade hier seine Anwendung. Dieses Kapitel möchte auf die Strategie des metaphorischen Lernens hinweisen, wobei die Gedanken-Bewegung eine bedeutende Substanz des Lernprozesses darstellt. Die Motivation unterstützende Faktoren wie Neugier schaffende Lernsituationen und herausfordernde Anreize spielen dabei eine wichtige Rolle. Das vorgelegte Konzept integriert Ziele der sogenannten Erlebnispädagogik, wo Phantasie durch entsprechende Motivation starke innere Bilder entstehen lässt. Im Kapitel werden Ergebnisse studentischer Einstellung zum metaphorischen Lernen präsentiert und anhand von praktischen Beispielen demonstriert. Im Rahmen der geplanten Untersuchung wurden ein Sprachkurs, der im Lehrplan vorgesehen war, sowie das Konzept des metaphorischen Lernens als wesentliche Rahmenbedingungen betrachtet. Letzteres zielt darauf ab, eine Lernumgebung zu schaffen, die die Bereitschaft der Lernenden fördert, bildliche Konzepte zu entwickeln. Die Untersuchung basierte auf der Festlegung von Themenbereichen, die als Grundlage für nachfolgende Präsentationen zum gewählten Thema dienten. Die studentischen Präsentationen stellten das Materialkorpus dar, das demnach analysiert wurde. Die Lernenden wurden herausgefordert, Geschichten zu verfassen, wobei das präsentierte Thema als Rahmen dienen sollte. Sie wurden ermutigt, kreatives Schreiben unter Verwendung von Metaphern zu praktizieren, um ihre Ideen und Emotionen auszudrücken. Dies geschah anhand von existierenden und meistens bekannten Kollokationen, wie z. B. von festen metaphorischen Ausdrücken. Durch diesen Prozess wurde nicht nur das metaphorische Denken, sondern auch die kreative Ausdrucksfähigkeit bei den Lernenden gefördert. Im Rahmen des Kapitels werden daraus entstandene kreative Outputs studentischer Neuschöpfungen aus dem Metaphernbereich vorgestellt.

Schlüsselwörter: Metapher, metaphorisches Lernen, Deutsch als Fremdsprache, kreativer Ansatz des metaphorischen Lernens im Unterricht

1. Metapherndiskurs

Der Begriff Metapher geht aus dem griechischen *metaphorá* hervor und bedeutet Übertragung. Im Verlauf der Zeit haben sich zahlreiche Metapherntheorien entwickelt. Nach Gansen (2010: 28) ist es jedoch aufgrund der Vielfalt und der unterschiedlichen Betrachtungsweisen der Theorien sowie der Komplexität des Gegenstandes ein fast aussichtsloses Unterfangen, eine Theorie zu erarbeiten, die den Gegenstand allgemein und nach Möglichkeit kurz, prägnant und zugleich widerspruchsfrei erfasst. Schon Aristoteles (nach Fuhrmann 1982: 67) definierte die Metapher als:

[...] die Übertragung eines Wortes (das somit in uneigentlicher Bedeutung verwendet wird), und zwar entweder von der Gattung auf die Art oder von der Art auf die Gattung, oder von einer Art auf eine andere, oder nach den Regeln der Analogie.

Metaphern wurden im Laufe der Zeit auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise wahrgenommen. Jahrzehntelang wurden sie durch Vorurteile, Halbwahrheiten und Stereotype beeinflusst, die ihre Beachtung entkräfteten. Unter anderem gehören dazu laut Junge (2011: 142) die Überzeugungen, dass Metaphern für rhetorische Tricks, rein poetische Stilmittel oder bloß einen Redeschmuck gehalten werden, dem es an wissenschaftlicher Bedeutung mangelt. Die sog. Substitutionstheorie nach Quintilian (vgl. Gansen 2010: 30) bezieht sich auf die Wortebene, und geht davon aus, dass das eigentliche Wort in einer analogen Übertragung durch einen uneigentlichen Begriff ersetzt wird. Vorausgesetzt wird hier eine Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung zwischen dem eigentlichen und dem fremden Wort. Die Vergleichstheorie nach Cicero (Rolf 2005) fasst Metaphern als „elliptisches Gleichnis“, oder anders gesagt als Vergleich ohne die Vergleichspartikel *wie* auf. An diesen sprachphilosophischen Ansätzen wurde jedoch in unterschiedlichen Disziplinen Kritik geübt. Es wurden auch andere Zugänge zum Metaphernverständnis geschaffen, z. B. von Giambattista Vico, einem italienischen Philosophen des 17. / 18. Jahrhunderts, der die Metapher nicht nur als Produkt sprachlichen Ausdrucks betrachtet, sondern vielmehr den Fokus auf Metaphorisierung als Prinzip legt. Außerdem schreibt er Metaphern, in Anlehnung an Gansen (2010: 34), eine pragmatische Funktion zu. Auch was die Interaktionstheorie nach Black (1996) angeht, wird der Metapher eine pragmatische Funktion in der kommunikativen Sprachverwendung beigemessen. Dieser Auffassung nach konstituiert sich die Bedeutung einer Metapher je nach kommunikativer Situation und Verwendung, und kann so nach Kontext wörtlich oder metaphorisch verstanden werden. Heutzutage vermitteln Metaphern jedoch solche Inhalte, die dieselben Sachverhalte auf unterschiedliche Weise zum Ausdruck bringen (vgl. Junge 2011: 88); demzufolge können neue Inhalte verständlicher und dem gegenwärtigen Zeitalter angepasst erläutert werden. Sie lassen sich als mentale Strukturprinzipien betrachten, die durch den Metaphorisierungsprozess gebildet werden. Dabei treffen zwei Bereiche aufeinander, die ursprünglich nicht voneinander abhängig sind, sondern erst durch den Projektionsprozess in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Diese beiden unabhängigen Bereiche werden

als Quell- und Zielkonzept bezeichnet, wobei die Projektion des Quellkonzepts auf das Zielkonzept erfolgt, wodurch dann die Metaphern entstehen (Spiess 2017: 98). Metaphern lassen sich also als sprachliche Konstruktionen betrachten, die durch ihre besondere Art auffällig sind. Zumeist in komplexen, abstrakten, schwer verständlichen oder problematischen Themen, die sich in neutraler Sprache nur kompliziert ausdrücken lassen, dienen die Metaphern als Mittel, die für Menschen unbekannte Themen mit konkreten und vertrauten Zusammenhängen verbinden lassen (Spiess 2017: 98). Die Problematik der Metaphern begleitet uns überall, egal im welchen Alter, an welchem Ort oder in welcher Situation wir uns befinden. Metaphern sind, pragmatisch gesehen, unsere stillen sprachlichen Begleiter, die wir jedoch nicht unbedingt und zu jedem Zeitpunkt wahrnehmen. Es sind effektive Werkzeuge, die nicht nur in der Literatur, sondern auch z. B. in Werbeslogans unverzichtbar sind. In der alltäglichen Kommunikation nehmen Metaphern deshalb eine bedeutende Stellung ein.

2. Metaphorisierung und Kognition

Im Rahmen der kognitiven Linguistik entstand eine weitere Metapherntheorie. Diese beschäftigt sich mit mentalen Prozessen, Sprache wird in diesem Zusammenhang als Produkt kognitiver Prozesse gesehen. Die kognitive Linguistik betrachtet Metaphern im Gegensatz zum traditionellen Metaphernverständnis nicht nur als literarisches Stilmittel, sondern eher „als Ausdrucksvarianten unserer Sprache, mit denen wir insbesondere das schwer Fassbare, schwer Beschreibbare unserer Geistes-, Gefühls- und Erlebenswelt konzeptuell greifbar machen und benennen [...]“ (Schwarz 2008: 66). Lakoff und Johnson (2011: 14) entwickelten in den 80er Jahren eine kognitive Metapherntheorie, in der Metaphern als integralem Bestandteil der Alltagssprache eine grundlegende Bedeutung für menschliche Denkprozesse zugeschrieben wird. Ihrer Annahme nach (2011: 11) werden Wahrnehmung, Denken und Handeln durch konzeptuelle Metaphern beeinflusst und determiniert.

Unser alltägliches Konzeptsystem, nach dem wir sowohl denken als auch handeln, ist im Kern und grundsätzlich metaphorisch. [...] Unsere Konzepte strukturieren das, was wir wahrnehmen, wie wir uns in der Welt bewegen und wie wir uns auf andere Menschen beziehen. Folglich spielt unser Konzeptsystem bei der Definition unserer Alltagsrealitäten eine zentrale Rolle. Wenn, wie wir annehmen, unser Konzeptsystem zum größten Teil metaphorisch angelegt ist, dann ist unsere Art zu denken, unser Erleben und unser Alltagshandeln weitgehend eine Sache der Metapher.

Lakoff & Johnson (2011: 40) gehen davon aus, dass konzeptuelle Metaphern aus einer systematischen Verbindung zwischen zwei Domänen entstehen, wobei die Bedeutung aus einem Ursprungsbereich (*source-domain*) auf einen Zielbereich (*target-domain*) übertragen wird, damit die Übertragung letztlich erklärt und verstanden werden kann. Nach Gansen (2010: 50) entsteht ein metaphorischer Ausdruck durch das Zusammenwirken zweier Vorstellungen: dem Wort (*focus*) und dem Rahmen (*frame*). Durch die Interaktion zwischen focus und frame

werden vorher nicht vorhandene Ähnlichkeitsbezeichnungen hergestellt, wodurch eine Metapher entsteht.

3. Kultureller Stellenwert von Metaphern

Die Sprache samt Metaphern wird nicht nur durch mentale Prozesse gebildet, sondern auch durch begleitende Kognitionsprozesse wie Grunderfahrungen über das Weltbild des Menschen oder die Eigenart einer Kultur. Diese theoretische Grundlage geht mit dem kognitiv-konstruktivistischen Ansatz von Beißner (2002: 9) einher. Die Realität hängt demnach von individuellen und kulturellen Wissensstrukturen, von der subjektiven physischen Eingebundenheit des Menschen in die Umgebung sowie von der körperlichen Möglichkeit ab, die Umwelt wahrzunehmen. Durch Sprache wird dann die Realität ausgehandelt und strukturiert. Laut Schröder (2006: 374) ist Kultur der Kommunikations- und Interaktionszusammenhang, „in dem sich Verhaltens-, Denk-, Empfindungs-, Wahrnehmungs- und Lebensweisen konstituieren“. Kulturelle Metaphorik spiegelt sich laut Schoeffel (2011: 173) in den Aspekten der Zusammenarbeit beteiligter Akteure verschiedener Kulturen wider. Vorwiegend die unterschiedlichen Herangehensweisen der zu lösenden Bedürfnisse, Prioritäten, Sachgespräche, der Art zu kommunizieren, Beziehungen aufzubauen oder Konflikte zu lösen, werden oft anders eingeschätzt. Spricht man von Kultur oder interkultureller Kommunikation, ist in den meisten westlichen Publikationen der Gebrauch der „Eisberg-Metapher“ sehr verbreitet. Anders wird in solchen Ländern metaphorisch vorgegangen, für die Eis und Schnee fremd und außerhalb ihrer Realität liegen. Auch deswegen ist im Rahmen der Pädagogik die interkulturelle Sensibilisierung zu fördern, die interkulturelle Sensibilität sollte als interkultureller Kompetenzaspekt nicht außen vor gelassen werden. In Anlehnung an Brinkmann (2011: 298) wird diese als „Grad der Empfindlichkeit gegenüber Reizen, die in der eigenen Kultur [...] entweder keine Reize sind oder anders verstanden und bewertet werden“ dargestellt. Der gleichen Problematik widmen sich Thomas und Fitzsimmons (2008: 209), und definieren kulturelle Sensibilität und kulturelle Empathie als Fähigkeit, kritische kulturelle Unterschiede zu verstehen und ihnen Rechnung zu tragen. Die kognitiv-mentale Struktur der Metaphern beeinflusst nicht nur, wie sie alltäglich verwendet werden, sondern auch die soziopragmatischen und kulturellen Aspekte, die beim Gebrauch von Metaphern auftreten und die beim Verstehen und bei der Konstruktion der metaphorischen Bedeutung besonders wichtig sind (Spiess 2017: 97). Metaphern sind somit laut Spiess und Köpcke (2015: 2) als notwendige Prinzipien der Kognition imstande, die Welt zu deuten und anzueignen, daneben haben sie Einfluss darauf, wie der Mensch alltäglich denkt, handelt und spricht.

4. Integration der Metaphern in die Unterrichtspraxis

Metaphern spielen eine wichtige Rolle in der Sprachvermittlung, da sie abstrakte Konzepte greifbar machen und das Sprachverständnis fördern. Metaphern wirken sich nicht nur auf die Sprachvermittlung aus, sondern beeinflussen auch die kognitiven Prozesse der Lernenden. Durch die Anwendung von Metaphern im

Unterricht können Lehrkräfte die Denkweise und Wahrnehmung der Lernenden positiv beeinflussen, indem sie komplexe Konzepte veranschaulichen und neue Denkanstöße geben. Die Relevanz der Vermittlung von Metaphern im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist daher unbestreitbar. Es stellt sich jedoch die Frage, wie alltagssprachliche oder sogar konzeptionelle Metaphern als effizientes Instrument im Fremdsprachenunterricht zweckmäßig eingesetzt werden. Alltagssprachliche Metaphern erfüllen eine kommunikative Funktion im Fremdsprachenunterricht, und mit Metaphern zu lernen bedeutet auch, kulturelles Wissen zu erwerben. Weiterhin wird durch Metaphern der Wortschatzerwerb gefördert. Das kognitive Potenzial kann neue Wortfelder erschließen und Bedeutungen verdeutlichen. Damit geht die Aktivierung des mentalen Lexikons einher. Nach Roche (2013: 131) schaffen kognitive Metaphern Verständnisbrücken, die den Verständnisprozess vor allem durch den Rückgriff auf den konkreten, oft physischen Ursprungsbereich der Metapher (z. B. die Welt der Flora und Fauna, Farbenwelt, Körperteile) erleichtern. Falls ein identisches metaphorisches Konzept auch in anderen Sprachen existiert, können laut Koch (2010) sprachübergreifende „Synergieeffekte“ im Sprachprofil der Lernenden genutzt werden.

4.1. Metaphorisches Lernen

Metaphern können bekannterweise auch nicht-sprachlich veranschaulicht werden, z. B. durch Bilder, Gesten oder Musik. Deshalb ist es für das Gebiet der Linguistik um so wichtiger, die sprachliche Darstellung der Metaphern durch mentale Operationen und Projektionsprozesse zustande zu bringen. Dazu verhilft der Bereich der sog. Erlebnispädagogik. Erleben und Erlebnis sind seit dem 20. Jahrhundert zu Kultwörtern geworden. Der Erlebnispädagogik geht es laut Michl (1999: 12) jedoch „[...] primär nicht um besondere Erlebnisse, um Action und Abenteuer oder um Kick und Fun, sondern man muss sie als besondere pädagogische Suchbewegung verstehen, die Ausschau nach wirksamen Formen des Lernens hält“. Als Methode hat die Erlebnispädagogik dazu beigetragen, dass Diskussionen über pädagogische Zielsetzungen geführt werden. Am konsequentesten ist dabei das Prinzip des Learning by Doing verwirklicht worden. Als Bestandteil der Erlebnispädagogik kann das sogenannte metaphorische Lernen bezeichnet werden. Als Bahnbrecher des metaphorischen Lernens wird der Amerikaner Stephen Bacon betrachtet. Beruhend auf Metaphern aus der Bibel bzw. aus Märchen, erarbeitete er das Konzept des metaphorischen Lernens, worauf dann weitere Autoren und Wissenschaftler aufgebaut bzw. den Ansatz erweitert haben. Ein Beispiel ist die therapeutische Geschichte für Erwachsene mit dem Titel „Der Kaufmann und der Papagei“. Es geht hier vorrangig um Zusammenhänge im Rahmen von Geschichten, die in Bewegung und Handlung umgesetzt werden können, so dass man eine Botschaft nicht nur hört, sondern auch innerlich, d. h. mit Kopf und Herz erlebt (Michl 1999: 13). Metaphorisches Lernen als Bestandteil der Erlebnispädagogik beruht auf Modellen, die sich auf Phantasie stützen. Dies kann z. B. durch das Erzählen von Geschichten zustande kommen. Die menschliche Phantasie, und vor allem Phantasieerfahrungen sind nach Furmark (1999: 144) besonders intensive Werkzeuge des Lernens, wenn man Kinder oder Erwachsene unterrichtet. Die Grundidee lautet, dass

Phantasieerlebnisse die Lernenden emotional ansprechen und dadurch Motivation zum Lernen schaffen. Sie lassen machtvoll „innere Bilder“ entstehen, die leichter mit dem Faktenwissen verknüpft werden und so den Lernerfolg verbessern. Auch Bewegung ist ein wichtiges Merkmal des Lernprozesses. Beweglichkeit und Bewegtsein sind zentrale, gleichwohl vernachlässigte Bereiche menschlicher Entwicklung. Es besteht ein enger Zusammenhang von körperlicher Bewegung und Denken. Damit hängt die Gedanken-Bewegung zusammen, wobei hier das hierarchisch geordnete Fortschreiten konkreter zu formalen Operationen durch das Denken erfolgt. Bei solchem Begreifen der Welt entstehen Begriffe und damit Bedeutungen, die laut Schad (1999: 156-157) als die höchst persönlichen Bewertungen aller Ereignisse und aller Sachverhalte, aller Dinge und Personen, mit denen ein Mensch zu tun hat, zu betrachten sind. Eine Bewertung sei ein emotionaler Vorgang, d. h. dass menschliches Lernen grundsätzlich mit der Emotionalität des Menschen eng verbunden ist.

5. Kreativer Einsatz von Metaphern im DaF-Unterricht

Man könnte behaupten, dass der Einsatz von Metaphern im Fremdsprachenunterricht eine Herausforderung darstellt. Die Lernenden werden zwar schon auf niedrigeren Sprachniveaus mit Alltagsmetaphern konfrontiert, es fällt ihnen jedoch oft schwer, metaphorische Ausdrücke wahrzunehmen bzw. zu durchschauen. Um die Metaphernkompetenz zu stärken, sollte laut Boers (2000) im Fremdsprachenunterricht eine metaphorische Bewusstheit (*metaphor awareness*) kontinuierlich gefördert werden. Die Lernenden müssen jedoch in der Lage sein, sich von arbiträren Bedeutungen zu lösen, erst dann können Metaphern ihre Funktion im Fremdsprachenerwerb erfüllen. Gleichzeitig ist das Bewusstsein notwendig, dass bestimmte lexikalische Zeichen mehrdeutig interpretierbar sind, denn hinter jedem linguistischen Ausdruck versteckt sich ein variables Netzwerk von Symbolen. Unsere Aneignung von Welt geschieht über Symbolisierungsprozesse. „Die Sprache der Seele“ offenbart uns in Metaphern und Symbolen etwas über die Beziehung zwischen Selbst und Welt. Hier haben deshalb z. B. Naturmetaphern ihre Geltung (Schlehufer 1999: 251). Laut Koch (2010) gibt es sogenannte innovative Metaphern, die durch einen *mapping*-Prozess neu entstehen. Dabei werden zwei zuvor nicht im Zusammenhang stehende Konzepte miteinander in Verbindung gesetzt. Im Gegensatz dazu stehen lexikalisierte Metaphern, die als feste Sprachbausteine des allgemeinen Wortschatzes im mentalen Lexikon gespeichert sind, und die als erste Hilfe bei der Bildung neuer Metaphern Dienste leisten können. Einige allgemeingültige, jedoch grundsätzliche Aspekte, die als Voraussetzung für die Arbeit mit Metaphern im Fremdsprachenunterricht gelten:

- Konzeptbewusstsein schaffen und Thema bestimmen
- einen breiten Interpretationsspielraum verschaffen
- kulturelle Prägung einbeziehen

- sinnliche Erfahrung vermitteln um einen schöpferischen Prozess herbeizuführen
- genügende bzw. reichliche Sprachkenntnisse erlangt haben

Laut Littlemore und Low (2006) werden Metaphorisierungsprozesse zu wenig in die Sprachvermittlung einbezogen. Meistens spielen Metaphern vorwiegend im Literaturunterricht eine Rolle, und das kognitive Potenzial wird dabei nicht immer ausgeschöpft. In der Einstiegsphase in die Semantisierung der Metapher dienen Assoziogramme zum Ursprungs- und Zielbereich eines Konzepts. Die Lernenden aktivieren damit ihr Vorwissen, welche Eigenschaften, Merkmale oder Ähnlichkeitsbeziehungen dazu führen können, dass beispielsweise die Bereiche *Zeit* und *Fluss* miteinander in Verbindung gebracht werden können. Dabei werden laut Katsaounis (2006: 112) Netzwerkstrukturen des mentalen Lexikons aufgebaut. Fängt man jedoch mit den alltagssprachlichen Metaphern auf diese Art und Weise an (z. B. *Schnecken**tempo* = *Schnecke* und *Tempo*), kann anschließend die Aufklärung der konzeptuellen Metaphern viel leichter fallen. Derartig wird den Lernenden veranschaulicht, dass mehrere Metaphern einem Konzept zugeordnet werden können. Dabei können Konzepte in der Zielsprache kontrastiv mit Konzepten einer anderen Sprache verglichen werden.

6. Beispiel aus der Unterrichtspraxis

In diesem Kapitel wird ein Ansatz präsentiert, der im Rahmen des DaF-Unterrichts und des Faches „Sprachpraktische Übungen“ am Institut für tschechisch-deutsche areale Studien und Germanistik der Philosophischen Fakultät der Südböhmischen Universität in Budweis (Tschechische Republik) realisiert werden konnte. Es handelte sich um eine Gruppe von 6 Studierenden, und der Zeitrahmen betrug ein Semester. Dafür wurde eine Studieneinheit vorbereitet, in der den Studierenden am Semesteranfang die Problematik der Metapher vorgestellt wurde. Der Anfang des Projekts wurde dem theoretischen Hintergrund der Problematik, d. h. der Begriffserklärung und den Definitionen und Funktionen von Metaphern gewidmet. Folglich wurden bekannte alltagssprachliche Metaphern vorgestellt und diskutiert. Einen wichtigen Zugang zu kognitiven Metaphern schaffen diverse Formen der Visualisierung. Deswegen wurden leicht visualisierbare Phraseologismen vermittelt, die durch Bilder und Illustrationen die Metaphern wörtlich abgebildet haben. Als visualisierbare Mittel eignen sich z. B. Karikaturen oder Werbung sehr gut. Eine sehr wichtige Komponente der visualisierten Konstruktionen ist Humor bzw. der humorvolle Charakter der Abbildungen. Solche Art der vermittelten Phrasen weckt in den Lernenden Emotionen, die wiederum veranlassen, dass der erkannte bzw. gelernte Inhalt im Gehirn längerfristig gespeichert wird, was das eigentliche Ziel des Erwerbsprozesses ist. Im nächsten Schritt wurden den Lernenden Bilder und Fotos gezeigt, woraufhin diese sich mit Assoziationen beschäftigt und ihre Phantasie eingespannt haben. Im Folgenden wurde dann auf den eigentlichen Metaphorisierungsprozess eingegangen. Dazu verhalfen Abbildungen des metaphorischen Modells nach Weinrich (1963) auf der Webseite „teachSam“, und Formen der Verknüpfung von Bildspender und Bildempfänger

nach Schulte-Sasse/Werner (1997) auf derselben Webseite. Hiermit wurde präzise veranschaulicht, wie eine Metapher sich sprachlich gestalten lässt und realisiert wird. Die einzelnen morphosyntaktischen Konstruktionen konnten dann aufgrund der gelieferten Beispiele genauer behandelt werden. Hiermit wurde der Raum für Arbeit mit der Phantasie bei den Lernenden geschaffen. Der thematische Rahmen für die Bildung von Metaphern wurde auf Grundlage der Themenfestlegung definiert, die die Studierenden zu bearbeiten und im Laufe des Semesters zu präsentieren hatten. Ausgehend von dem von den Lernenden präsentierten Inhalt wurde demnach jede/-r KursteilnehmerIn aufgefordert, eine eigene Geschichte zu dem vorgeführten Thema zu erstellen. Dabei sollten ungefähr eine bis drei Metaphern entstehen. Entweder sollten die Metaphern in die Texte einbezogen werden, oder sie konnten aufgrund der erstellten Geschichten anschließend formuliert werden. Jede Woche wurde auf diese Art und Weise ein Thema vorgestellt, woraufhin die KursteilnehmerInnen eigene Texte samt Metaphern ausgearbeitet haben. Den Themenrahmen bildeten folgende Themenbereiche: *Freizeit* und *Naturwissenschaften*. Jede/r von den KursteilnehmerInnen suchte sich ein eigenes konkretes Thema zu den zwei Themenbereichen. Der Auswahl folgte die Vorbereitung auf die Präsentation zum jeweiligen Thema als Vortrag vor der Gruppe. Im Rahmen der zuvor festgelegten Themenbereiche hatten die Lernenden freie Wahl des darzustellenden Themas und favorisierten folgende: *Helden und Bösewichte*, *Bienen*, *Moldavite*, *Anime*, *Vampire*, *Sturm der Liebe (ARD-Serie)*, *Tanzen*, *Anosmie*, *Der menschliche Körper*, *Grube Turow*, *Massenhysterie*, *Krebs* + CBD. Dank der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Inhalt jedes Themas im Unterricht konnten die Lernenden das Thema auf eigene Art und Weise bearbeiten und sich Gedanken zu Metaphern machen. Um die Bildung der Metaphern zu vereinfachen und gleichzeitig zu systematisieren, wurden drei thematische Metaphernfelder (als Konzepte) festgelegt, nach denen die neuen Metaphern ausgerichtet werden sollten. Es handelte sich um folgende drei Metaphernfelder: *freie* (beliebige) Metapher, Metapher im Bereich *Natur* und *Mensch*, und eine Metapher, die sich auf den *Gastronomiebereich* beziehen sollte. Es wurde jedoch nicht explizit vorgeschrieben, welcher Domäne (*source* bzw. *target*) die festgelegten Themenbereiche beigeordnet werden sollten. Von Wichtigkeit war die Tatsache, dass die Lernenden ihre neu formulierten Metaphern aufgrund ihrer Empfindungen und Emotionen aus den präsentierten Geschichten bildeten. Die erstellten metaphorischen Ausdrücke beziehen sich deshalb oft auf Personen, ihre Eigenschaften oder auf die Handlung der vermittelten Geschichten. Falls es sich um einen Sachverhalt handelte, wo im Zentrum ein Objekt bzw. ein Zustand erschien, wurde dieses zum Thema der Auseinandersetzung, wobei die Lernenden oft nach Analogie-Bildern gesucht haben. Häufig haben sich die KursteilnehmerInnen schon existierender Metaphern bedient. Die folgende Tabelle enthält eine Auswahl an studentischen Metaphernschöpfungen, die im Projektrahmen als Output des metaphorischen Lernens hervorgebracht wurden. Die Beispiele sind im Zustand der Studierenden belassen.

Tabelle 1. Auswahl studentischer Metaphernproduktionen⁸⁷

	Beliebige Metapher	Bereich: Natur und Mensch	Bereich: Gastronomie
Superhelden und Bösewichte	... brechen die Dunkelheit durch/ Lichttürme in der Finsternis/ Bösewichte = das Tüpfelchen auf dem i/ Superhelden = Glückspilze/ Superhelden laufen = ein Elefantenrennen	Antiheld = aufgewühltes Meer in der Nacht / = ein tödliches Gift / = ein schwarzes Loch, das alles verschlingt / = ein eiskalter Wind, der die Herzen der Menschen erstarrt	Superhelden = fein abgestimmte Gourmet-Gerichte/ = kulinarische Meisterwerke/ Bösewichte = vergiftete Delikatessen Bösewichte = Chili / = wahres Gift / = Latwerge der Unsichtbarkeit Superhelden = Salz in der Suppe des Lebens
Bienen	Im Bienenstock der Ideen Der süße Nektar der Erfolgs Die bestäubenden Ideen Eine Bienenkolonie ist eine gut geölte Maschine.	Im Honig des Wissens baden Die Sonne hat ein Honiglächeln. Bienen als fleißige Architekten des Blütenreiches. Die Blumen sind die Bühne, auf der die Bienen ihr Ballett tanzen. Bienen sind die Dichter der Pollen, die die Natur in Versen bestäuben.	Honig als süße Frucht des Fleißes Königlicher Nektar der Speisen Bienen als kleine Küchenkünstler, die süße Träume zaubern. Honig als Fest für die Sinne, ein Bankett der Natur. Das Essen mit Honig ist ein Flug durch den Blumengarten.
Moldavite ('grüne südböhmische Edelsteine')	= grüne Versuchung = begrabenes Reichtum = Juwelen des Himmels = Kristalltränen des Himmels = Fenster zu fernen Galaxien = Geheimnisse des Kosmos, die auf der Erde ruhen = Sterne, die vom Himmel gefallen sind = südböhmischer Schatz	= meteorische Juwelen = Lebenskraft aus dem All = grüne Welle im Ozean der Zeit Seine Augen glänzten wie Moldavite. Das Grüne vom Himmel schenken.	= der grüne Kaviar der Edelsteinwelt Mozarella wird mit Tomaten und Olivenöl zu einem Moldavit in der Sonne.

⁸⁷ Die Beispiele werden in ihrer Originalform wiedergegeben. Wo sprachliche Abweichungen vorkommen, wurden sie im Sinne des Dokumentationsprinzips beibehalten.

	Beliebige Metapher	Bereich: Natur und Mensch	Bereich: Gastronomie
Anime	= eine Heldenreise = ein Licht gegen die Dunkelheit = Eintauchen in eine parallele Welt, in der Farben tanzen und Geschichten singen = Fenster in eine andere Welt = lebendige Puppen, die Emotionen und Träume verkörpern = Geschichtenfabrik = Ideenbrunnen	= ein Regenbogen am Himmel nach dem Sturm = ein Tsunami der heutigen Zeit, kommt schnell, die Popularität dauert relativ kurz, und hinterlässt Spuren	= Bento-Box der Vielfalt = ein Meisterwerk, der die Essenz der japanischen Kultur in jedem Bissen einfängt = die Essenz der Phantasie, die in jedem Bissen spürbar ist = ein Rezeptbuch der Kreativität, wo jede Zutat eine einzigartige Geschichte erzählt
Vampire	= die Einsamkeit der Ewigen = die Sucht nach dem Verbotenen = der Biss der Versuchung Auch ein Moskito wünscht sich, einmal ein Vampir zu sein. = Schatten der Nacht, die nach Lebensenergie dürsten = stille Jäger, die im Dunkeln lauern	= der Parasit der Nacht = Diener der Dunkelheit = nächtliche Schatten, die in der Dunkelheit menschlicher Gedanken tanzen = Blutstaubsauger	= ein Festmahl der Dunkelheit = der Vampirendurst Blut ist der Wein der Vampire Blut als nährstoffreiche Suppe
Anosmie	= das Geheimnis der Gerüche = ein stummes Feuerwerk = eine leere Gasse = eine zerbrochene Antenne = ein Anblick von Blumen ohne Duft = ein leeres Parfümfläschchen = Gemälde ohne Farbe Die Nase ging auf Urlaub und ließ den Rest des Körpers zu Hause.	= ein Bergaufstieg ohne den Duft von frischer Luft Der Mensch mit A. ist eine Blume ohne Duft Der Mensch mit A. ist ein Maler ohne Farben. Das Leben ohne Düfte ist ein Himmel ohne Sterne.	= das verborgene Gewürz = ein Kochen ohne den Duft frischer Kräuter = der Geruch in der Gastronomie ist der Dirigent eines Orchesters Der Mensch mit A. ist ein Koch ohne Geruchssinn. = ein stummer Kaffee, der Bitterkeit ohne Aroma des Morgenkusses bietet = eine stille Reise durch die Welt der Textur und es Geschmacks Die Nase ist ein undichter Löffel – nutzlos.

	Beliebige Metapher	Bereich: Natur und Mensch	Bereich: Gastronomie
Der menschliche Körper	Der Darm ermöglicht das Reisen der Lebensmittel. = eine Maschine, die vom seltsamen Programm des Universums kontrolliert wird. = der Spiegel des Lebensstils = das Haus, in dem die Seele wohnt = ein Tempel, in dem die Seele wohnt. Die Haut ist der Spiegel unserer Gesundheit. Die Hände sind Werkzeuge der Kreativität. Der Mund ist die Quelle der Wahrheit / Lüge. = lebendes Kunstwerk = Tempel der Vitalität = Landkarte der Erfahrungen = ein Schiff, das durch die Ozeane des Lebens segelt	= ein Tempel / Gefäß, Buch / Spiegel Das Herz ist die Sonne, deren Wärme den ganzen Organismus nährt. Ein Herz aus Stein. Schon beim kleinsten Schüttelfrost erlebt mein Körper ein Erdbeben. = Gefäß, das die Essenz des Lebens in sich trägt	= als Speisekarte Die Zunge ist der Koch, der den Geschmack bewertet. Die Zunge ist der Entdecker auf der Geschmackreise. Der Bauch als Speicher der Genüsse. Die Haut als Verkoster von Berührungen.
Massenhysterie	= ein Waldbrand, der sich schnell verbreitet = eine Achtebnahnfahrt, für die man kein Ticket braucht = ein Virus, das die Gedanken und Gefühle der Menschen infiziert = ein kollektiver Fiebertraum, in dem Realität und Wahnsinn verschwimmen = eine Fata Morgana, die Illusion und Realität verschwimmen lässt	= Sturm der Emotionen = dunkel Nebel des Misstrauens = Tsunami der Panik = ein Wulkanausbruch = ein dunkler Sturm in den Herzen der Menschen = ein Tornado, der plötzlich auftaucht, alles durcheinanderwirbelt und Menschen in einen Strudel aus Panik und Desinformation reißt = schickt Wellen des Wahnsinns = eine Schneelawine = eine mexikanische Welle des Chaos	Unter dem Einfluss der M. sind Menschen hier Köche, die gedankenlos immer mehr Zutaten der Angst in den gesellschaftlichen Kessel geben, bis dessen Inhalt ungenießbar und giftig wird. Ein Rezept für Massenhysterie: Nehmen Sie eine geschlossene Gesellschaft, geben Sie eine große Portion Leid dazu, ein Minimum an Informationen, würzen Sie das Ganze mit Angst und Hunger und lassen Sie es lange im Stress kochen. = ein überkochender Topf

	Beliebige Metapher	Bereich: Natur und Mensch	Bereich: Gastronomie
Krebs + CBD		CBD ist ein Blumenstrauß in der Wüste = ein stürmisches Meer CBD als schützender Regenschirm im Sturm = die Reise durch ein dunkles Tal	CBD als eine köstliche Überraschung Die Krebsbehandlung ist ein raffiniertes Menü. Krebs ist ein ungebetener Gast am Tisch des Lebens

Die Tabelle enthält, wie oben erwähnt, eine Auswahl an studentischen Metaphern-Bildungen. Einige der Themenbereiche sind mit Metaphernbeispielen vollständig belegt, bei dem letzten Thema schränken sich die Beispiele auf zwei Bereiche ein. Neben der Aufgabe, eine beliebige Metapher zu bilden, wurden die Studierenden aufgefordert, solche Metaphern zu kreieren, die thematisch auf den Bereich *Natur und Mensch* sowie auf den Bereich der *Gastronomie* ausgerichtet sind. Dies wurde weitgehend erfüllt. Bezüglich der Bildungsweise vergleicht man in vielen Metaphernbeispielen Geschenisse, Prozesse oder z. B. Stoffe mit Naturphänomenen, wobei die Naturkräfte dazu genutzt wurden, emotionale bzw. abstrakte Konzepte greifbarer zu machen: z. B. „*Massenhysterie ist Tsunami der Panik*“, „*[...] ein dunkler Sturm in den Herzen der Menschen*“, „*[...] eine Schneelawine*“, „*Moldavite sind meteorische Juwelen*“. Als weitere kommen oft Substanz-Metaphern vor, wobei ein Konzept als physische Substanz beschrieben wird: z. B. „*Blut ist der Wein der Vampire*“ oder „*Honig als süße Frucht des Fleißes*“. Im Rahmen der Konzeptualisierung wurden häufig auch Raum und Bewegung einbezogen, weil viele Metaphern Prozesse als Reise(n) beschreiben: z. B. „*Das Leben ohne Düfte ist ein Himmel ohne Sterne*“, „*CBD ist die Reise durch ein dunkles Tal*“, „*Anosmie ist eine stille Reise [...]*“. Entsprechend wurden im Gastronomiebereich emotionale oder abstrakte Konzepte in kulinarische Begriffe gefasst: z. B. „*Anime ist die Essenz der Phantasie, die in jedem Bissen spürbar ist*“, „*Die Zunge ist der Koch, der den Geschmack bewertet*“, „*Die Krebsbehandlung ist ein raffiniertes Menü*“. Solche Metaphern verknüpfen sensorische Erlebnisse mit Wissen oder Identität. Um dem vorgegebenen Metaphernfeld *Natur und Mensch* gerecht zu werden, verbanden Studierende als häufige Konzepte *Licht* und *Dunkelheit* in ihren Kreationen. Die Metaphern in den Bereichen *Superhelden / Bösewichte*, *Anime* und *Vampire* nutzen das Licht als positiven Sachverhalt: z. B. „*Leuchttürme in der Finsternis*“, und die Dunkelheit als Bedrohung: z. B. „*Diener der Bedrohung*“. Häufig wurden Metaphern auch im Rahmen der Anthropomorphisierung und Personifikation geschöpft: z. B. „*Die Sonne hat ein Honiglachen*“, „*Bienen sind die Dichter der Pollen*“, „*Die Nase ging auf Urlaub [...]*“. In Bezug auf die syntaktisch-semantische Struktur der neu gebildeten Metaphern ist meistens die Prädikation zu beobachten, die auf dem A ist B-Prinzip basiert, wobei diese Struktur die sofortige Assoziation erleichtert: z. B. „*Die Massenhysterie ist ein Virus, das die Gedanken und Gefühle der Menschen infiziert*“, „*Der Mensch mit Anosmie ist ein Maler ohne Farben*“, „*Superhelden sind fein abgestimmte Gourmet-Gerichte*“. Metaphern, die auf 2 Substantiven basieren, werden ebenfalls dargestellt, wobei das zweite Substantiv ein Genitivattribut bzw.

ein präpositionales Attribut ist. Hierbei wird eine metaphorische Verbindung durch den Besitz oder die Zugehörigkeit hergestellt, was gleichzeitig die symbolische Bedeutung verstärkt: z. B. „*Moldative: grüner Kaviar der Edelsteinwelt*“, „*Honig als Fest für die Sinne, ein Bankett der Natur*“, „*Ein Rezept für Massenhysterie: [...]*“. Da in den studentischen Bildungen oft Prozesse metaphorisch dargestellt werden, ist das Muster Substantiv + Verb zu finden: z. B. „*Die Blumen sind die Bühne, auf der die Bienen ihr Ballett tanzen*“, „*Massenhysterie schickt Wellen des Wahnsinns*“. Hierdurch werden Dynamik und Bewegung vermittelt. Abschließend lässt sich sagen, dass viele Metaphern auf universelle kognitive Muster zurückgreifen. Die Konzeptualisierung entspricht den vorgegebenen Anforderungen, variiert jedoch je nach Thema und verdeutlicht den Grad der Polarisierung. Die Metaphern weisen sowohl positive als auch negative Konnotationen auf: während z. B. *Anime* als Fenster in eine andere Welt beschrieben wird, wird Massenhysterie mit Naturkatastrophen assoziiert. Die Verteilung zwischen bekannten und neuen Metaphern ist ziemlich ausgeglichen. Das zeigt, dass hier sowohl traditionelle metaphorische Konzepte als auch kreative, neuartige Bilder entwickelt wurden. Zwei scheinbar unvereinbare Welten miteinander zu verbinden, kreativ zu sein und damit eine neue Sicht auf die Realität zu schaffen, war das Ziel dieses Projekts. Dies ist weitgehend gelungen.

7. Fazit

Metaphern stellen in unserem Leben ohne Zweifel ein nicht nur sprachlich reichhaltiges Phänomen dar. Die menschlichen Begegnungen mit Metaphern und die Auseinandersetzung mit deren Formen geschehen oft unbewusst, und trotzdem haben sie einen beträchtlichen Anteil an unseren Denkprozessen, Handlungen oder Entscheidungen. Basierend auf Visualität, beeinflussen unsere kognitiven Prozesse weiterführende Gedankengänge und ihre anschließenden Konsequenzen. Die Einprägung dessen, was bildlich im Gehirn gespeichert wurde, stellte in der Geschichte der methodisch-didaktischen Ansätze zum effektiven Lernen und langfristiger Speicherung des anzueignenden Lernstoffes im Gehirn die Ausgangsbasis dar. Dies setzt sich auch die Erlebnispädagogik zum Ziel. Im Rahmen ihres Prinzips, anhand von emotionalen Erlebnissen zu lernen, wird das metaphorische Lernen in den Vordergrund gestellt. Inwieweit sich metaphorisches Lernen bewährt, müssen jedoch erst auf Empirie gestützte Studien nachweisen. Meine Bemühungen, das metaphorische Lernen in den DaF-Unterricht einzubeziehen, haben gezeigt, dass es sich um eine nicht zu unterschätzende Methode handelt, wobei viele Kriterien im Voraus erfüllt werden müssen, um bestimmte Ziele zu erreichen. Vorwiegend sind Hauptbedingungen wie ein höheres Sprachniveau und ein relativ breiter Zeitrahmen erforderlich. Um das metaphorische Lernen in den DaF-Unterricht einbeziehen zu können, braucht es jedoch auf der einen Seite engagierte Lehrende und auf der anderen Seite motivierte Lernende. Diese Kombination mit weiteren zu erfüllenden Kriterien verspricht mittelfristig einen größeren Lernerfolg, nicht nur beim metaphorischen Lernen.

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The Integration of Metaphorical Learning in GFL Lessons. An Application-Oriented Approach

In GFL lessons, the topic of metaphor as a stylistic figure is dealt with rather sporadically by pointing out the existence of this figure and discussing familiar examples with the learners. However, this is particularly regrettable at higher language levels. The method of metaphorical learning can be used to encourage learners to express themselves creatively. Metaphorical learning refers to a learning process in which figurative expressions are used to convey complex concepts or abstract ideas. The proven principle of learning by doing is applied here in particular. The chapter would like to point out the strategy of metaphorical learning, whereby the movement of thought is an important substance of the learning process. Motivation-supporting factors such as curiosity-generating learning situations and challenging incentives play an important role here. The concept to be presented integrates the aims of so-called experiential education, where imagination creates powerful inner images through appropriate motivation. The chapter presents the results of students' attitudes towards metaphorical learning and demonstrates them using practical examples. In the context of the planned study, a language course, which was provided for in the curriculum, and the concept of metaphorical learning were considered as essential framework conditions. The latter aims were to create a learning environment that encourages learners to develop figurative concepts. The investigation was based on the definition of subject areas that served as the basis for subsequent presentations on the chosen topic. The student presentations constituted the corpus of material that was analysed accordingly. Learners were challenged to write stories using the presented topic as a framework. They were encouraged to practise creative writing using metaphors to express their ideas and emotions, using existing and mostly familiar lexical units, such as fixed metaphorical expressions. This process encouraged not only metaphorical thinking but also creative expression in the learners. As a result, this chapter presents creative outputs of students' new metaphorical creations.

Keywords: metaphor, metaphorical learning, German as a foreign language, creative approach to metaphorical learning in the classroom

Metafora u nastavi njemačkog kao stranog jezika: pristup usmjeren na primjenu

U nastavi njemačkog kao stranog jezika tema metafore kao stilističkog sredstva obrađuje se rijetko. Obično se naglašava da ona postoji, a zatim se učenici potiču na dosjećanje njima poznatih primjera. To je međutim nedovoljno, osobito na višim stupnjevima poučavanja jezika. U poticanju kreativnog izražavanja učenika može se primijeniti metoda učenja metafora u kojoj se koriste figurativni izrazi za prenošenje složenih pojmova ili

apstraktnih ideja te se upravo tu primjenjuje načelo aktivnog učenja (engl. *learning by doing*). U ovome poglavlju cilj je istaknuti strategiju procesa učenja metafora čiji je važan dio tijek misli. Važnu ulogu u tome imaju motivirajući čimbenici, kao što su situacije učenja koje pobuđuju znatiželju i izazovni zadaci. Takav pristup integrira ciljeve tzv. iskustvenog učenja, u kojem mašta, uz odgovarajuću motivaciju, stvara snažne unutarnje slike. U poglavlju se također prikazuju stavovi učenika prema učenju metafora, potkrijepljeni praktičnim primjerima. Temeljni uvjeti za ovo istraživanje uključuju tečaj jezika predviđen nastavnim planom i primjenu koncepta učenja metafora kojem je cilj stvoriti ono okruženje koje potiče učenike na razvijanje vizualnih koncepata. Istraživanje se temelji na definiranju tematskih područja koja služe kao osnova za kasnija izlaganja učenika na odabranu temu, a potomja tvore korpus za analizu. Od učenika se tražilo da sastave priče u okviru predstavljenih tema izlaganja. Poticalo ih se da uvijekbavaju kreativno pisanje koristeći metafore za izražavanje svojih ideja i osjećaja. Pritom su uglavnom koristili već postojeće i uglavnom poznate kolokacije poput ustaljenih metaforičkih izraza. Na taj se način poticalo ne samo metaforičko razmišljanje već i sposobnost kreativnog izražavanja učenika. Poglavlje završava prikazom učničkih kreativnih metaforičkih rješenja.

Ključne riječi: metafora, učenje metafora, njemački kao strani jezik, kreativni pristup učenju metafora

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