

DANISH AND SLAVIC PHRASEOLOGY
CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN ANALYSIS OF IDIOMATICS
ON A CONTRASTIVE BASIS

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1. The purpose of this treatise is to throw light on phraseology in Danish and Czech, and to a certain degree in Slavic languages in general. We have considered the possibility of eliminating the comparison (the stylistical comparison). This subject, therefore, is not described in detail, and a separate study is planned for the type of comparison which is based on the comparative conjunction *jako* in Czech and *som* in Danish. For this reason the "jako-som-problem" receives less attention in the present study.

The material consists of printed collections of phraseologisms (to a lesser degree this applies to the Danish material) and our own observations; Hašek's famous novel about Švejk for instance contains a large number of this trope (the comparison) as well as other phraseological expressions, but space permits only brief quotations.

Our method is the contrastive; observations in one language are at each stage confronted with corresponding ones in the other language, our aim being to point out resemblances and differences Danish/Czech, with glances now and then at Russian and Polish. The standpoint is linguistic, aiming at a structural analysis. Semantic problems are not predominant.

The observations are usually made first in the foreign language, after which the mother tongue is consulted, but this order of presentation is not followed consistently — we shall often be guided by observations in Danish that lead into the problem.

A brief presentation of the concept of phraseology is necessary. Phraseology is not a clearly defined concept. One has a general idea of what it is, but a clear definition has not been achieved. All philologists do not attach the same meaning to the word (apart from the fact that we have in mind partly

the learned discipline, partly the total stock of such figures of speech in a given language); some scholars include proverbs and single words, others do not. The investigations in this field are insufficient; indeed, comprehensive works do exist, in older times too, but registrations along firm principles only appear in later decades. The objective is not to establish what phraseology is — we shall confine ourselves to describing the phenomenon and finding characteristic qualities.

A long series of phenomena are usually collected here, as a rule without any precise line of demarcation. They are called figures of speech, sayings, standing expressions, possibly also including proverbs, we meet “feste Redewendungen”, expressions, set phrases, stock phrases etc. to mention some frequent designations. And under *mudrosloví* in Czech fall *úsvlovi*, *pořekadlo*, *přísloví*, also “hantýrka” (a word of German origin) about slang and argot. What ties these “expressions” together will be discussed below.

The collective name phraseology is in itself unsatisfactory. In Danish the word *frase* normally means a sequence of insignificant words, a “sheer” stereotyped figure of speech (“empty phrases”, “hollow phrases”, “mock phrases”), often polite standard formula ending a letter, conventional phrases to fill in the conversation. The grammarian usually demands from a sentence that it contains a verb inflected in tense, though this demand is no longer strictly upheld. But a phraseological expression, quite on the contrary, is very often emotionally loaded, but not necessarily. Thus, the phraseologism does not conceal a *frase* in the sense described for Danish (nor a *phrase* as this word is used by the Transformational grammar) — but the English *phrase* is certainly also used for the Danish *frase*, a stereotyped figure of speech. For the sake of completeness: the *frase* as used in shorthand theory also differs from our *frase*. It is understood as a group of words which “actually” stand close together, no question being asked as to why they do.¹

¹ Space allows only for brief remarks (without systematization) on the stenographical phrase as this term is viewed by theoreticians of stenography. Aage Alvin in his *Lærebog i dansk fagstenografi* (1946), states for instance phrases (in that sense) of the type *i-besid-delse-af*, *som-svar-på*, *vi-tillader-os* ‘in-reply-to etc.’, phrases based on nouns: *Deres-brev* etc. ‘your-letter’ etc., or with indication of time of the type *i-den-sidste-tid*, lit. ‘in-the-last-time’; other cases include *i-det-hele-taget* ‘generally-speaking’ etc. Also the non-expert no doubt must find these phrases natural. Phrases consisting of pronoun and auxiliary verb are more remarkable (p. 38), such as *vi-har*, *har-vi*, *der-er* ‘we-have, have-we, there-is etc.’. — Aage Alvin uses the term “båndfraser” ‘band-phrases’ denoting grouping of three words; the two first words as well as the two last words are written as one word according to the rules of the textbook, but in these cases they are united in one outline: *idet-vi-er* ‘since-we-are’, *jeg-har-ikke* ‘I-have-not’ etc. This is joined by — as described in the continuation of the textbook (1948), p. 46 — a long series of words written in one word. Examples include *i-denne-forbindelse* ‘in-this-connection’, *går-ud-på*, *grund-til-at*, *lade-sig-gøre*, *det-har-vist-sig* etc.

Thus the word phraseology is not distinct, and notoriously it throws the thought off the scent. The Russian dictionary of linguistic termini gives in a parenthesis a long series of words replacing *frazelogičeskaja edinica* (sometimes shortened FE). They are not repeated here, we shall just point to the fact that some of them include the word automatisized, in the same way idiom, lexicalized and indivisible, further improper (compound) and un-free (not-free) sequence of words, and standing compound (*ustojčivoje slovosočetanie*).

Fraseologia according to the Polish terminological dictionary is *dział leksykologii* badający ustalone w języku zwroty.

There is something to be said in favour of working in the word *idiom* (we would then be in accordance with certain philologists writing in English), but other solutions must be considered: the word *idiom* may perhaps be reserved for the single word in figurative meaning (the phraseologism is not a single word).

Idiomatics raise boundless problems. This is clearly seen from a “report” (we shall refer to it as Tezisy) of 1961, written by seven Russian linguists who in concise articles state their attitude to the tasks connected with the creation of a Russian phraseological dictionary; Tezisy contain a shrewd analysis of the essence and the problems of phraseologism. (Russian phraseological dictionaries were published in 1966 and 1967, and a very valuable *Frazelogičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka*, Pod redakciej A. I. Molotkova, appeared later, its third edition dated 1978).

Almost twenty years after Tezisy, the Polish philologist Andrzej Bogusławski maintains (1979) that the problems of phraseology are far from solved, the limits of phraseology have not been drawn up. His work contains a penetrating investigation of phraseologism; he lays down its formula (first a simple formula, then he extends the formula and makes it more precise); especially he tackles heavy theoretical problems of the transplantation of

Pitman’s *Phonographic phrase book* from the beginning of the 20th century states a great number of English words written in one word in shorthand.

Stenografija. Učebnik dlja srednej školy (Moskva 1952) gives several examples of words written in one outline. Let us mention a few of them (p. 189): *rabočie-massy*, *narodno-echozjajstvo*, *rešitel’naja-bor’ba*, and (p. 191) *v-nastojščee-vremja*, *po-krajnej-mere*, *tak-čto*, *blagodarja-étomu*, *za-poslednij-god*, (193) *v-dannyj-period*, (194) *govorit-otom-čto*, *v-silu-togo-čto* etc.

The merit of Alvin’s Danish theory of phrases (the shorthand phrase) is the distinct systematization (the division by number of members, by the grammatical view, by the character of the subject matter discussed).

The phenomenon is only vaguely illustrated in B. Trnka’s *Pokus o vědeckou teorii a praktickou reformu těsnopisu. Facultas philosophica universitatis Carolinae pragensis. Sběrka pojednání a rozprav. XX. Praha 1937.*

Obviously, the phrase in this sense does not concern our examination, but it should be emphasized that an investigation into the shorthand phrases is of invaluable importance to linguistic pedagogues (practising the spoken language).

these expressions from one language into another (the problem of the bilingual dictionaries).

A recent study by Brita Lønstrup, Denmark, on denotation and connotation in many cases touches our problem.

The present work is especially indebted to Jaroslav Zaorálek's big collection (1947) of popular figures of speech in the Czech language (abbreviated Zaorálek or Z).

Before proceeding to characterizing the phraseologism we might put the question: can we beforehand cut right through the total mass of phraseological expressions? From a sociolinguistic point of view one could ask if idiomatics belong to a certain layer of society — but it is seen immediately that phraseologism belongs to the common language. The speaker uses these expressions without reflection, without hesitation, the vast common language includes them in a normal way: phraseologism, in fact, must be current and universally known (is institutionalized); phraseologism is "open", the property of everybody, public, and at the same time it can be called "closed" in the sense that a given linguistic community (or part of a community) may possess its own "private" expressions, barring other citizens. A married couple may have their personal figures of speech — they do not become phraseologisms; phraseologisms are not born here.

The phraseologism may be value loaded; it is not necessarily emotionally "coloured" etc., and you cannot indicate one definite stylistical effect. A collection of idiomatics should include all strata of the language; the language of science, for instance, is not left out. Here you will also meet expressions as "holde øje med", 'keep an eye on', "give sig i kast med", 'tackle' (a problem) etc. An expression as "kunne noget på fingrene", 'he has it at his finger tips', is hardly coloured in any sense — although it may give way to "beherske til fuldkommenhed", 'master perfectly', "være fuldt fortrolig med", 'be completely familiar with' etc.

And yet we are facing a paradox: it could be said that a polarization takes place. Typically, phraseologism belongs to poetical language (the comparison and other tropes are often of great beauty), though we have difficulties in regarding the individual figure of speech as a phraseologism — and just as typical is the phraseologism in quite common language, the "popular" everyday language, with its countless expressive words and word connections, often vulgarisms; here is seen affinity to slang and speech-play, linguistical nonsense.

The language "in the middle", the everyday language, is constantly stamped by phraseology — but official language may reasonably be said to be poorer in idiomatic expressions; the speaker will be reticent with regard to images, figurative language and paraphrases that variegate and animate the style. This also applies to legal language and to the language used by politicians, who cannot with impunity adorn their speech with a wealth of phraseologisms.

This does not prevent expressions such as the Danish "få noget op på skinner", literally 'get something up on the rails' (succeed in starting a project) from occurring in recent political debates. Such expressions may be accepted by the spoken language. We must, of course, stress the fact that phraseologism is not sub-standard essentially.

The division should obviously be made along other lines. Something seems to show that the trope, the metaphorical expression, in one stylistical layer has a different character, a different substance than in another stylistical layer, and again we stress that phraseologism is not sub-standard. We have then in mind the metaphor, the euphemism, the comparison etc. Each of them can to the same degree arouse poetical and vulgar effect. But what we have perceived is a quality of the trope — a division has not been made which defines phraseologism. Phraseologism is one manifestation of figurative language, the trope is another (overlapping occurs). It is a decisive factor that the comparison (for example) of the individual writer, is not changed into a phraseologism, not even if it is incorporated into the familiar quotations, in German called "geflügelte Worte", because we demand universal use and anonymous origin of phraseologism. What phraseology covers is discussed below.

Perhaps we should operate with two kinds of phraseologism (they have no formal marks): 1) such as, without reservations, belong to the common language, every speaker uses them and takes an indifferent attitude to them, they are not value loaded, they are indispensable, they are taken for granted, they cannot be replaced by a "rigid" or "better" expression, or rather, you feel that there is no reason to reject them in favour of an expression that is "nicer", more "respectable", "more correct". Examples include *holde øje med* 'keep an eye on', *have for øje* 'have an eye for', or *et håb tændtes* lit. 'a hope was kindled'. And 2) phraseologism which "spices" the speech and might be exchanged with "nicer" expressions. Or consider *have krammet på* 'have somebody under one's thumb', which perhaps gives way to *master, have power over*; or *tage under sine vinger* 'take somebody under one's wing' which the speaker will possibly reject in favour of *beskytte* 'protect'; we cannot go too deep into this problem here, let us just mention *stikke halen mellem benene* 'run away with one's tail between one's legs', which the speaker might replace by "take a neutral attitude", "omit protesting", "withdraw from the battle" etc.

Later on, analyzing the contents of the linguistic sign, we shall come to the view that the demarcation between phraseology and non-phraseology is closely connected with the division of the contents of the sign into two parts, one of which motivates phraseology.

2. Though we cannot with any certainty define phraseologism, we can describe it and note its characteristic features. What ties the phraseological expressions together, is the *image*. Jan Amos Komenský says, as we learn from Zaorálek, in his introduction to *Moudrost starých Čechů*, published in the middle

of the XVII century: "příslaví neb přívídká jest krátké a mrštné propovědění, v němž se jiné praví a jiné rozumí", and a few lines later "pro jadrnost rozumu, aby ..."; thus, already Komenský points at the two characteristic features: the phraseologism gives us an image and a key expression, a frank and drastic expression that ornaments and spices speech — though not in the sense that the phraseologism is necessarily sub-standard or humoristic.

Phraseology is a swarm of commonplaces, colloquialisms, idioms, sayings, figures of speech, "standing expressions" — it is interesting that Czech *mudrosloví* is repeated in the Danish "visdomsord", 'words of wisdom', as a collective concept; let us briefly add some Danish termini without interpretation: fyndsprog, tankesprog, lærdomme, folkeord, skæmtesprog, rimsprog and slagord (without systematization, the talk is about apophthegms, maxims, popular language, jesting language, rhymed sayings, slogans); further levnetsregler and kjernetanker appear (see Kjær and Holbek 1972), enlightening rules for conduct, thoughts of the highest importance for human beings.

As to Czech language, Fr. L. Čelakovský collected (in the middle of the last century) such expressions under the designation pořekadla (příslaví 'proverbs' being kept apart from pořekadla). We are facing a confusing, diffuse mass of expressions, the common feature of which is the origin in the image — the task of posterity was to clarify them and to find distinctive designations for the types. What is central for Zaorálek (p. VI in his introduction) are the word connections for which the designation "rčení" slowly stabilized itself ("talemåde" seems to render that word in Danish). These rčení partly have the most original shape — the comparison. An example is *zelený jako sedma*, which is understood as 'very pale (with anger, but possibly cold, too)'.² Partly they have the shape *sedět na dvou židličích*, which needs no translation. The remaining types, we are told, come into being via a shortening of the rčení-type. — In the present study, cognate points of view necessitate consigning the comparison to an independent article.

But the *image* is not simply identical with idiomatic expression — the poetic image, for instance, is not comprised of idiomatics. Danish *æsel* 'donkey', or *vatnisse*, lit. 'pixie of cotton wool' used to characterize a person, does not change the expression, we suppose, into an idiom (this is in dispute). "Din ko" etc. (cow is used as an invective, and the Danish words say "your cow!" here) are assigned to phraseology by Lønstrup. (We do not agree. The author of this article has written a brief study on the structure of invectives in Danish and Slavic in *Mål og Mæle* 3. 1979). Apparently, we can say that phraseology

² The expression *zelený jako sedma* is not easily seen through, literally it says, we suppose, "green like a seven" (the figure 7). *Sedma* is 'seven, a seven'. Is there any connection with the symbolism of the seven? Does *Sedmibolestná Panna Maria* (see SSJČ) throw light on the matter?

is equal to transferred, figurative meaning — but transferred, figurative meaning, in stylistics called *translatio*, does not indicate phraseologism.

We must bear in mind that the image does indeed appear in the comparison. This is especially the domain of the image, but we meet it only in *comparatum* (the second member of the comparison), seeing that *comparandum* (first member of the comparison) is the notion of reality, cf. *høj som en flagstang* 'tall as a flagstaff', where *høj* is actually *høj* 'tall'. (It is different if we talk about the logical comparison: *han taler som en præst* (and he is actually a priest)).

This dominating role of the image leads us into stylistics, which precisely deal with the metaphoric language. The two disciplines to a certain extent operate with common conceptions — look at the metaphor, the euphemism, the comparison etc. — but each of them views things from its own starting point, from aesthetic and from grammatical points of view. Stylistics above all deal with literary, written texts, phraseology equally deals with spoken and non-literary language; again we bear in mind that the phraseological expression is not sub-standard.

The image (in phraseologism) is worn, becomes trite, it may degenerate and become a cliché. Lønstrup 1978 does not exclude the possibility that a **bolen kak byk* might come into being — replacing *zdorov kak byk*, seeing that a townsman hardly associates anything in reality with the word *byk*. (In a separate article we discuss the incalculable relationship between *comparandum* and *comparatum*).

In Czech the worn image may be illustrated by *sám na sebe plést* (or *koupit karabáč* in the sense 'cause sufferings for oneself, furnish the enemy with arms', almost corresponding to the drastic Danish *lave et ris til sin egen røv* 'make a rod for one's own arse'.³

We have emphasized that the image puts its stamp on the phraseologism, but nothing prevents self contradiction in the expression, the image may be false, ironical, a caricature (in German *Zerrbild*). Let us mention *I er rigtignok et par kenne planter!*, where the words denote "beautiful plants", but the meaning is 'You are indeed naughty, you behave badly'. Further *klart som blæk*, lit. 'clear as ink' (from German we know *klar wie Butter*). Or the second member may be diametrically opposed to the first as in *bleg som en postkasse* 'pale as a pillar box' (which in Denmark is red).

Can we operate with a logical image at all? This is uncertain. The image is supposed to be incalculable, and it must interest us if the image in certain circumstances is logical. No doubt we often move into the domain which is called speech-play.

Czech examples of the image serving as a caricature are: *chlupatý jako*

³ Cf. here remarks of Gunnar Jacobsson (1978) on a certain Russian gross oath which, being often used, becomes hackneyed, bleaches out.

žába (Zaorálek 585) 'fringed, shaggy as a frog' — but the frog is smooth. *Chytrý jako telecí maso* (Z 483) 'wise as veal' demonstrates the positive wise being annulled by comparatum. *Polepší se jako řemen v ohni* (Z 522) '(he) improves like a strap in the fire' (which today must be considered unintelligible) actually says: does not improve. Another case: *těší se jako nahý v kopřivách* 'enjoys himself like the naked in the stinging nettles'.

In phraseology popular wit unfolds tersely and frankly, often with funny exaggerations. People have an eye for speechplay, play on words and puns. Very much to the point is Czech *jít na malou stranu*, which says 'relieve nature' — *Malá strana* at the same time being the name of a residential quarter in Praha.

In Kjær and Holbek 12 we find *Alting forgås, men aldrig får gås træsko* (mark here the allusion *forgås/får gås*) with the curious information that everything comes to an end, but geese never wear wooden shoes (nonsense). From other sources we notice *Hellere rig og rask end syg og fattig* 'better rich and healthy than ill and poor', which is sheer nonsense (we cannot even call it pseudo-wisdom).

Let us briefly present the catachresis, the use of incompatible images as Ulla Albeck says (p. 118). Examples include *Tidens tand læger alle sår* 'the tooth of time heals all wounds'. We cannot go deeper into the subject, see keen observations in Lønstrup (1978:28), among them *Han æprer hende på hænder og fødder* 'he carries her on his hands and feet'. It is different with unintentional contaminations of the type *han kæmpede mellem liv og død* 'he fought between life and death', which needs no commentary. Distortions of that kind and cases where proverbs and figures of speech are pieced together are properly listed under speech-play. But at the same time it is not clear if they possibly throw light upon an essential quality of the phraseologism: it must have its definite look, it goes to pieces if changed.

Let us note that phraseologism tolerates linguistical incorrectness, cf. *Ih du godeste!*, an exclamation like 'Oh, dear', but there is no *den godeste bog jeg har læst, only the best book etc.

The views differ much as to what should be registered under phraseologisms. If the framework is wide enough, proverbs, single words and stock phrases may be incorporated — the present study concentrates solely on the latter, the figures of speech, though this creates difficulties.

The superior requirement is that the unit is anonymous — it is created by the people —, that it is universally known and used. This does not debar occasionalisms, which may possibly catch on. An example of comparison created today is *rolig som et glasøje* 'quiet as a glass eye', noticed in Farum (1979). With this nothing is said about its possibilities of becoming a household expression. As mentioned already the private figures of speech of a married couple (or others) are not phraseologisms.

Kjær and Holbek eliminate (p. 15) from the masses of proverbs maxims and aphorisms created by named persons; in the same way, familiar quotations that are difficult to define (the "geflügelte Worte" of the German) as well as quotations. To be sure the student of idiomatics must take up the same attitude, and the present study will also, in principle, keep the proverbs outside the scope of this study. This raises problems, seeing that proverbs and figures of speech may overlap (the contacts are unravelled with acuteness by Kjær and Holbek). Our view is that the proverb is a totality with an unchangeable form, usually it is one whole sentence (yet not necessarily containing a verb, cf. *Bedre sent end aldrig*, saying 'better late than never', or Czech *liná huba, holé neštěstí*; the proverb expresses the philosophy of the people, their experience and wisdom of life, something which is constant and steady, of universal validity, it has a didactic character, whereas the non-proverb (the figure of speech) stems from the imagination of the people and has rather a poetical stamp, it makes the language vivid and has — with certain reservations — stylistical objectives. The figure of speech has been called building materials to be put into varying contexts; it can be changed grammatically and sometimes be negated — again we make reservations seeing that we regard a rigid mark as an essential mark; the figure of speech will show severe restrictions as to inflection, cf. *jeg tager hatten af for* and only with difficulties *jeg tog hatten af for*, if *tage hatten af for* is taken in the sense 'esteem highly'.

Fragments of proverbs, it seems, must be listed under phraseology. Examples include *komme først til mølle*, or *tomme tønder*, where the continuation is left out; and proverbs that are pieced together belong, we suppose, to speech-play. If an anonymous origin is claimed, fragments of verses must be omitted too (like *Lykken er ikke gods eller guld* quoted without continuation), and likewise lines from plays; the same holds true of allusions, here we have in mind e.g. bits from revues, reference to current debate etc. But such a statement has rather a declarative character; we meet insurmountable difficulties in sorting out non-anonymous figures, in this way the numerous bible quotations, such as *falde blandt røvere* 'fall among thieves' from St. Luke 10,30.

The interesection of proverbial figures of speech (*købe katten i sækken* 'buy a pig in a poke') and proverbial comparisons (*forslå som en skræder i helvede*, lit. 'be sufficient like a tailor in Hell') is described in Kjær and Holbek (1972:17).

The attention is concentrated on what — on an unstable basis — we call figures of speech, "talemåder", "mundheld", 'sayings, saws'. (With regard to the difference between talemåde and mundheld, Ludvig Heiberg says, according to Kjær and Holbek (1972:19), that talemåde becomes mundheld if used constantly by a single person on any occasion). Standing expressions, stock phrases, are also included. The terminological difficulties (a possible demarcation between Danish talemåder, figures of speech and the other types of relevant expressions) naturally also appear in Czech. They will not be trea-

ted in detail here; but we have noticed the definitions in *Naše řeč* 27: 206:1. rčení (lexikalizované obrazné spojení slov, 2. pořekadlo (obrazné spojení slov, vyjadřující jistou situaci), 3. úsloví (přechodní útvar mezi rčením a pořekadlem). — Zaorálek has gathered them under rčení; rčení are all obrazná spojení slov, schopná časování, all metaphoric word connections with verbal inflection, even if inflection is limited to certain grammatical tenses or persons.

It is questionable whether oaths constitute phraseologisms: *Fanden ta' mig!* lit. 'may the Devil take me!', which has no connection with *Fanden tog ham, havde taget ham*. We shall not pay much attention to this detail. The position of invectives is questionable too (we have touched upon that above). For example *Ko!*, which has a parallel in Czech, whereas the specific Danish type *Din ko!*, lit. 'your cow!' is unknown. This type of invective is usually considered specifically Danish (or Scandinavian), but let us add that Kr. Sandfeld (1900) found some parallel features in other languages.

Are the counting-out rhymes phraseologisms? A Danish example is *Ellera sellera sibra sold rip rap bondeknold* (for '1—2—3—4 etc.'). We omit them because they cannot be universally known. As to words of command, e.g. *Alle ret!* 'attention!' we also here take the view that they belong to a certain circle of speakers, not the community as a whole.

The prayer is not a phraseologism: *Giv os idag vort daglige brød* certainly has monolith character, but they are the words of Jesus. A fragment *det daglige brød* 'the daily bread' constitutes a phraseological expression (and blasphemous distortions go under speech-play).

Phraseology is not a specific "section" of a language, although we believe that we are able to extract the cases by certain criteria and gather them separately; the expressions are present everywhere in the language (and the fact that they behave in a different way under different circumstances, is mentioned elsewhere). The phraseology has been called one manifestation of the figurative language, the poetic language another manifestation. The tropes and figures of stylistics will probably be met equally in the same degree inside and outside phraseology. (The question of denotation/connotation will be discussed later). Let us regard the metaphor. *Møde en kold skulder*, lit. 'meet a cold shoulder' for facing an unsympathetic attitude (English has "give him the cold shoulder") we without hesitation call a phraseologism; it is different if we call the foliage of autumn the *gold of autumn*. The poet may say *læbernes koral* 'coral of the lips' (which will be treated when we discuss *læber så røde som koral* in our study on the comparison). It should be mentioned that the Polish *Słownik terminologii językoznawczej* (1968) under *Metafora* says *usta czerwone jak koral* (podobieństwo) wobec *koral ust* (Metafora). We cannot call *læbernes koral* idiomatic, in the sense of phraseologism; most often the metaphor of the poet is only understood in the context.

In everyday language the metaphor has no special characteristics, cf.

møde en kold skulder without any "møde en kold overarm". The metaphor may have a vulgar effect, cf. *jeg bestilte engang i tidernes morgen en flaske øl*, lit. 'once in the morning of time I ordered a bottle of beer'.

The synecdoche has to do with an exchange with regard to quantity, the *pars pro toto* is well-known. 400 gram *pr. næse* ('nose'), meaning 'per individual' or 'a head' is supposed to be a phraseologism. An example from Czech is *otcovská střecha* about the paternal roof.

A hyperbole (*amplificatio*, for a magnification) is often met in the art of poetry. Everyday language, too, knows the exaggeration, which is often grotesque or comical. Examples include *skyde gråspurve med kanoner*, lit. 'shoot house sparrows with a gun', or *gøre en myg til en elefant*; here the Russian says *delat' iz muchi sloná*.

By litotes is meant a moderation, a diminution, and often a positive evaluation is expressed by means of two negations, thus *han er ikke umusikalsk*, in fact to be understood as 'has an ear for music', and *ikke uden evner* is in reality 'to be gifted'. We shall not go into details and are content with two Czech examples: *nikoli nepatrný* to be understood 'considerable', and *ne neradostný* for 'glad'.

The euphemism expresses something in a milder form, subdued, in Danish illustrated by *der er kold luft mellem dem*, 'there is cold air between them', *de stod hinanden fjernt* 'there was a great distance between them', which may cover pronounced enmity. Let us also mention *han er gået bort, sov stille hen, blev kaldt hjem til Gud, hans tid var omme* as expressions for death. For 'to die' we find (among numerous others) in Czech the euphemism *odejít na pravdu* (*boží*) quoting Zaorálek p. 281, further *být na pravdě* (*boží*) p. 664. As to illness Zaorálek (1947:618) gives *leží jako lazár* (SSJČ spells it *leží jako Lazar* and explains with *bezmocně*).

The euphemism may be jovial or comical, cf. *se for dybt i glasset* (*kruset*), lit. 'look too deeply in the glass (mug)', to which a Czech parallel (Z 636) runs *nahlédl hluboko do baňky* (or *do sklenky*) with the verb in the preterite; a parallel partially occurs in *dal si z ruky do hlavy*, resembling Danish "bøje armen" 'bend one's arm'.

Under expressions for the illegitimate child (see Z 617) we find a euphemism like *nepočítá otců*, which is supposed to mean 'does not count his fathers', besides numerous distasteful, sometimes incredibly coarse expressions. So the paraphrases are often rude (it is problematic to register them under euphemisms). Danish has a good-natured expression as *han har trukket grønsværen hen over sig*, lit. 'has pulled the green turf over himself', or *har stillet skoene* (*sutterne*), lit. 'has taken off his shoes (slippers)'. But, naturally, Danish is not free of coarseness of the type *knibe røvhullet sammen* (vulg.) 'tighten one's arsehole', *slå sin godnatski*, lit. 'fart for good-night'. In Marek Nowakowski's novels corresponding Polish expressions appear.

The Russian linguistic dictionary gives the following example of euphemism *On v počtennom vozraste* = 'he is old', or *On poroča ne vjdumaet* corresponding to Danish *han har ikke opfundet krudtet* 'has not invented gunpowder' (Note here that Danish has preterite, Russian uses the perfective verb *vjdumaet*. As to the meaning of this perfective verb, the student will normally say that it denotes future, but this explanation is not satisfactory, and we refer to Bondarko's thoughts in his *Vid i vremena* from 1971, which cannot be explained here).

Let a Czech example illustrate irony (as a stylistical notion): *těší se jako nahý v kopřivách*, mentioned above; or Danish *et par kunne planter*, used ironically.

The comparison plays a very great role in phraseology (and will be treated separately). It may be poetical, often of great beauty. The original comparison of the poet is outside phraseology, but a short description is indispensable, as it allows the phraseological expression to appear more distinctly with special characteristics. In this connection it is but natural to mention the comparisons of the Song of Solomon from The old testament and parables of Jesus. We need only take some initial lines from our hymn book: *Som dug på slagne enge*, or *Som markens blomst*, or a line of great effect *Som himlenes favn er din kærlighed, Gud* 'like the embrace of the heavens is your love, our Lord'. We cannot go deeper into this sphere. Briefly we mention from Danish poetry: *Som en rejselysten flåde* 'like a fleet eager to depart' or *Min pige er så lys som rav* 'My girl is fair like amber'. Far more frequently the comparison is unpoetical and belongs to everyday language (Zaorálek's big collection has, indeed, the title *Lidová rčení*). It can be safely said that the comparison is less welcome in professional language. It is difficult to imagine the number of comparisons in a given language (the collective language). Ogol'cev (1978) estimates around four thousand for Russian. Only a precise count in Danish by corresponding criteria would make it possible to compare the number. The unpoetical comparison has quite another distinctive mark than that of the poet: often it is bluff, popular, racy and witty, very often rude and vulgar, with a latrine element, thus *som lort i en pissepotte* 'like shit in a pisspot', *han fo'r afsted som en ski i et par lærredsbukser* 'rushed away like a shit in a pair of canvas trousers'. — To the poet the comparatum (the second member of the comparison) is explanatory and emphasizing, whereas the everyday comparison attaches weight to the sensational element (see also Lønstrup's distinction between everyday language and creative language).

Later on our question will be if the broad gamut with comparatum in the popular comparison is reflected in structure (to a given comparandum often a whole series of pictures correspond). We have taken comparison in the classical meaning: the two members we have mentioned are gathered around *particula comparationis*, whereas Lønstrup uses the word comparison in a broader sense. Generally speaking we can ignore *tertium comparationis*.

Saturation in the use of images varies notoriously with the epoch, and in a varying degree it leaves its stamp on the individual writer, but it enables the expert to date a text. What occupies us is that the metaphoric expression employed by the poet is not a phraseologism (in spite of its phraseological stamp), seeing that we require an anonymous origin. But this does not imply that the trope as such is not phraseology. The trope does not belong to a definite stylistical layer in the sense that it is bound to a definite social layer or demands a definite context. From the use of the trope you cannot guess at the social level of the user. Švejk in Hašek's famous novel says *Už je na pravdě boží* (the arch duke Ferdinand was the victim of an attempt, see the first chapter of the novel) — the beautiful image absolutely does not harmonize with the speaker. It would be incorrect to speak of some "affinity" between the trope and the phraseologism, since in many cases phraseologism can be defined as one of the tropes and is a trope. The clearest formulation seems to be that phraseologism (FRA) is one manifestation of the figurative language, the trope is another, but these words do not say that it is a matter of two identical streams each of them being viewed from its own angle; the position of the single word then will cause us trouble.

In the FRA (phraseologism) *møde en kold skulder* we find a trope, *kold skulder*, a metaphor. The trope is not necessarily a FRA, since it might be the original find of the individual speaker. The hyperbolic expression, e.g. *øjne så store som møllehjul* 'eyes as big as mill wheels' (from a fairytale) is not a FRA, but may possibly become a FRA. The litotes is not a FRA (but may, of course, develop into a FRA). The euphemism is not a FRA — yet it may be a FRA. — We must entrust this to the student of stylistics, but the notions of stylistics seem to be suitable for a classification of the phraseologisms.

Space does not allow for discussions of the figures of stylistics. These are above all phonetical matters (symbolics and imitation of sound), rhymes of various types and puns — all of which are well known from idiomatics. Below we shall add some observations as to rhymes.

In the author's opinion the single word (with figurative meaning) causes special difficulties to the scholar. When the phraseologism is made up of a number of words (in other words: more than one), constituting a firm entity, it is thereby said that the single word (a word standing alone) is outside phraseology (but within idiomatics) — some philologists have a different view. If the single word were registered under phraseology, the number would become tremendous. — But what is remarkable about the single-word, is exactly its figurative meaning, and terminologically it seems to be an advantage to talk about *idiom* in contradistinction to *phraseologism* (though the word *idiom* in the publications of certain philologists writing in English means phraseologism).

The distinction here causes trouble. We consider the word *næse*. In *han*

havde næse for (the continuation may run *bevægelserne på aktiemarkedet* 'had a flair for the fluctuations on the stock exchange'), we shall no doubt classify it as FRA. The expression fulfills our demands (they are enumerated below): it is difficult to insert an adjective, for instance *han havde stor næse for*, lit. 'big nose' (but, indeed, a *han havde ringe næse for* seems acceptable, a piece of information that he had little flair etc.); the numerus is stable: *brødrene havde næse for* (there is no *næser*, plural, here). — If we observe *Baby havde næse efter oldefar*, saying that the child had the nose of great-grand-father, this *næse* is the same *næse* as above — in the latter case a regular *næse* 'nose' is meant. We reckon it non-FRA (later on we shall deal with the question of connotation).

An apparent FRA we have in *han fik en næse af ministeriet* (in the dictionary under: *at få en næse*) — but the same thought is expressed in *Ministeriet tildelte ham en næse*, 'gave him a reprimand'. We do not reckon it a FRA, but *næse* is, incontestably, taken in a figurative meaning. Zaorálek (1947:218) states *dostat od něhoko za něco nos* (a reproach, punishment for something). — *Tre elektriske pærer var gået*, saying that 'three electric bulbs "had gone"', is universally understood — we have no FRA, but certainly a figurative sense. Figurative meaning does not indicate FRA, but FRA contains figurative meaning.

FRA contains more than one word. The author of the article is inclined to count the type *stille sig*, a so-called reflexive verb, as a single-word, and *stille sig positiv til en sag* 'take a positive attitude etc.' then does not become a FRA. (*Stille sig* is detached from *stille* and is regarded as a new and independent word. This problem cannot occupy us here).

Only apparently can the characterization queer, eccentric be attached, in general, to the phraseological expression (*på lige fod*, with its completely normal words, speaks distinctly against that thought), although it often "spices" speech. Odd turns easily lead the observer astray: Danish *derude hvor kragerne vender*, lit. 'out there where the crows turn round', or Czech *kde lišky dávají dobrou noc* to describe a place far away. And often we mix up the phenomenon with what is in fact the slogans of today, jargon and slang ("tage højde for" in the sense of 'calculate', and "få op på skinner" 'realize a project' etc.). In fact, most often normal and current words are coupled up into standing expressions, stock phrases: *på lige fod* 'on an equal footing' may illustrate this, its components in no way being extraordinary.

Most words (and Babkin et al. in Tezisy 1961, makes the interesting parenthetical remark: potentially every word) possess some (or many) supplementary meanings, a connotative content making them suitable for figurative use.

Yet the perception of a *peculiar stamp* as a characteristic quality will

engage us when studying the comparisons. Here we confine ourselves to the remark that the odd word — being different from the surrounding text through its unusual stamp, being obsolete or vulgar etc. — often proves to belong to slang or to be based on speech-play.

We have underlined the *anonymous origin* of phraseologism: it is created by the people. Undoubtedly phraseologism is most often based on the idea of one single individual, but language as a social phenomenon has the decisive word with regard to its incorporation in the language. In a peculiar way later generations have to "learn" such turns of speech (at school, in family life) — the meaning of the expressions is by no means self-evident. The figures of speech have stiffened. But this stage of things is no hindrance for new creations. The poet may add new phraseologisms or transform old ones. We find an interesting observation in Tezisy p. 20: the writer Gladkov transforms *nosit' na rukach* 'love and take care of' as in Danish "bære på sine hænder" into *nosit' na ladóške* 'palm'.

Phraseologisms are current (they may, of course, be dialectical), they are used traditionally, they are understood by the whole linguistic society, and it must be underlined that the number of figures of speech is *great* — do they possibly together with the idioms outweigh nominative language?

Phraseologisms — in Danish as in Slavic — constitute a firm block in the collective language. As an image we may use a container (ignoring the fact that we cannot definitively isolate phraseologisms) into which something is filled in the upper part, at the same time as something runs out from the bottom: new expressions may be accepted like *kold krig*, Russian *cholodnaja vojna*, and words that have become halfway incomprehensible, may be preserved for a long time, cf. Danish *hammel*, *gribe tøjlerne*, *hygge* etc. Inertia is experienced in both cases, which is to the benefit of research: a reasonable registration is possible.

Though we stress anonymous origin, we must point out that quotations, naturally, are not excluded from phraseology. They cannot always be traced back. Thus *falde i god jord* 'fall on fertile ground' is biblical (the parable about the sower).

3. The description of phraseologism from different points of view we will gather in what is especially characteristic: the *monolith stamp* of the phraseologism. This *celostnost' značenija* is also noticed by Babkin in Tezisy (the word *monolith* may be criticized).

In a primitive way we depict this : exactly that given combination establishes the phraseologism, it is *hoc unum*, the connection is "automatized", it is stiffened, fossilized. Only exceptionally the phraseologism is ambiguous; *ikke bryde sig om* means 'not like, I do not like' as well as 'take a quiet attitude, I do not care'.

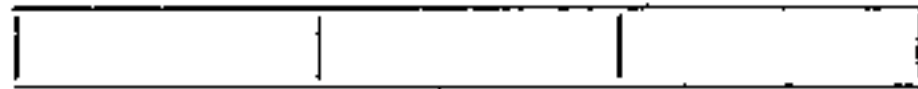
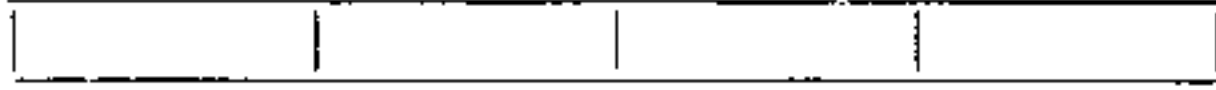
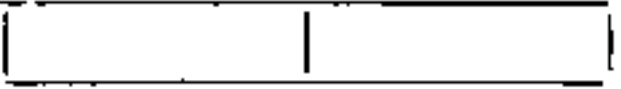
It seems possible to classify such expressions by some guide word: a noun,


a verb etc. may decide the classification, or the turn of speech is without a verb. Here Fernando's division (1978:317) of genuine idioms, semi- and marginal idioms is interesting; idioms are understood as phraseologism, in her opinion a gamut appears.



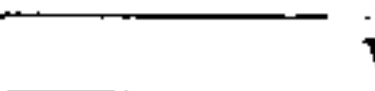

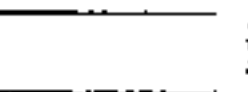
The phraseologism may be fossilized, it may serve to preserve old words. *Rykke op med rode* shows an -e (in the noun *rode*) from Old Danish; *trække på samme hammel*, where *hammel* stands for a "double tree", *hygge sine kartofler*, saying "earth up one's potatoes" (according to the dictionary: look after number one, have an axe to grind) contain notions now sunk into oblivion; in the same way *råbe som en rejekælling* lit. 'shout like a woman who sells shrimps' (the Danish author Martin Andersen Nexø has described these women, whom he remembers from his childhood). The FRA (phraseologism) is universally known — its components may be unknown. A given word is possibly only met in the FRA; this seems to hold true in *sidde (et påbud) overhørig* 'ignore (an order)', the word *overhørig* hardly exists as an isolated word (this raises the question: can a FRA come into being because the word is becoming obsolete); that figure of speech is so remarkable that it invites the creation of nonsense (*sidde overhørig* > *overhøre siddende* 'ignore when sitting'). Here also *give sit besyv med* 'give one's opinion, add one's opinion' — there is no isolated "besyv".

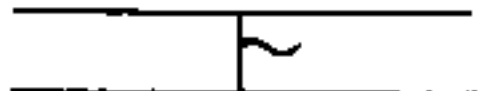
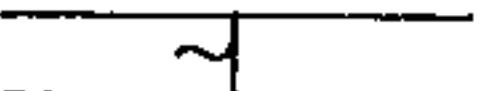
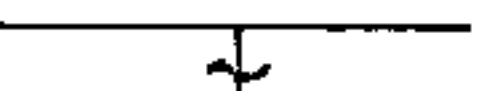
From Czech we have drawn the example *To je na mne mor* (Zaorálek 1947:197) 'it makes me tired, it is unhealthy, unpleasant for me'; *mor* means 'pestilence'.

A Russian example is *razvodit' tary-bary (s-kem)*, stated by Jarancev (1978:52), with the annotation not-literary, meaning 'boltat' o čem-l., vesti pustye razgovory', 'idle talk, or talk scandal, gossip'; originally, *tary-bary* is equal to *boltovnja* 'chat', but now the word exists only in that phraseologism.

Facing a sequence as *lede efter en synål i en høstak*, lit. 'search for a sewing-needle in a haystack', in other words a more copious FRA, we are tempted to make this drawing:  And facing a comparison between two relationships we might be tempted to depict this as follows:  Thus, quoting a line from a book by our great philologist Holger Pedersen, *alfabetet x passer til sproget y som en knytt-næve til et blåt øje* 'the alphabet x fits the language y like a clenched fist a black eye' — but in that case we are overlooking the fact that, in reality, the image deals with fist/eye (the alphabet and the language being understood literally). In fact, we have here .

Simplifying the technique of noticing our observations, we shall reduce the figure to , *rykke op | med rode*, and with a Czech example *vzít si se | za nos*, the latter is 'mind one's own business, leave others alone',

from Mašín (1924:108). Consequently the non-phraseologism may be noted . The question whether  presupposes  will be discussed elsewhere; it is superfluous to point out that a phraseologism is not marked by intonation or emphasis, and typographically it is not "itali-cized" — but there are cases where gesture and mimics signalize whether  or  is meant. The so-called double exposure will be discussed below.⁴

Thus, *immovability* (sometimes a limited immovability) is characteristic; we must take into account a competing constituent, which may be marked like this   and, unspecified, . For instance in Danish

kigge for dybt i glasset

kigge for dybt i kruset

'look too deeply into the glass, or the mug'. Czech has a parallel (parallels are listed in a chapter to follow):

do baňky side by side with

do sklenky.

Another example, from Zaorálek (1947:145):

<i>vyplenit</i>	} něco	do	} kořene
<i>vyhubit</i>			
<i>vyvrátit</i>			

for Danish *rykke op med rode* 'pull up by the roots'. As to Czech we also state *míti dobrý/zdravý kořen* 'be healthy, strong, also used about things'. In the same way *zapustit (někde) kořeny/kořínky* 'slå rødder', 'take root, get accustomed to (a place)'. And two animals occur in the phrase *tam dávají lišky/zajáci dobrou noc*, indicating a place far away.

From the Russian we note (Jarancev 1978:56) an expression corresponding to Danish "stikke næsen i sky", lit. 'put one's nose into the cloud', i.e. 'be arrogant':

<i>zadirat'</i>	} nos
<i>zadrat'</i>	
<i>drat'</i>	
<i>podnimat'</i>	
<i>podnjat'</i>	

⁴ Here it should just be mentioned that innumerable wits and puns (kalambury in Russian) are based on the use of proper meaning for non-proper meaning. Systematically this comes under investigations of speech-play, linguistic nonsense. The cartoonist of a newspaper, illustrating a text like "Ministeren tildelte hr. X en næse" "conferred a nose on Mr. X", which means 'reprimanded', will easily resort to a picture, a drawing, of a real human nose. — Add to this jocular translations that strictly follow the original word by word.

Tomme tønder buldrer mest, lit. 'empty vessels make most noise' (which, being a proverb, can hardly be called a FRA) does not permit an exchange with *fustager* instead of *tønder*; grammatical tense cannot be changed, a negation is excluded — changes of that kind would wipe out the FRA.

The phraseologism ends, it seems, with its last word; it can hardly continue with arbitrary additions — they would, possibly, annihilate the FRA. But if we consider *s'el sobaku* (explained elsewhere) we see that this figure of speech tolerates or rather demands *na čem, v čem*. And the FRA *zadirat' nos* (see Jarancev (1978: 57)) about "stikke næsen i sky", i.e. 'behave arrogantly', is indeed finished, it is a complete FRA, but it tolerates (and sometimes demands) a *pered kem* (this holds true of *zadirat'*, *zadrat'* and *drat'*, not of *podnimat'* and *podnjat'*), but confined to *pered kem* (other prepositional members seem to be excluded).

The non-realization or the incomplete realization of the grammatical possibilities are not the characteristic mark of the phraseologism. Compulsory aspect, i.e. obligatoriness of one aspect (the expression appears in one aspect, not in the counter-aspect) is something we meet outside phraseology, too.

When Slavic languages form part of the analysis, the position of the *aspect* becomes conspicuous. We do not have in mind the peculiarity that figures of speech in Czech contain (may contain) perfective aspect where, according to Danish conception, an imperfective aspect is expected, cf. *nasere i nahému do kapsy* (vulg.) from Zaorálek: 585, denoting bragging behaviour. What should be noticed is that the FRA often allows for only one aspect solely (only the perfective or only the imperfective aspect), cf. some expressions for cunning: *má v rukách zlato* or *hodí se do vozu i do kočáru* with ip aspect, but with the pf aspect *udělá z hovna kotletu* (vulg.), or *obrábí na malém plácku* (Zaorálek: 675).

In the given expression one aspect appears (even if this is not valid generally). But the expression is, perhaps, also met in the counter-aspect, and in that case it cannot be predicted whether phraseologisms are created. We oppose

1. brát si (něco) k srdci,
2. vzít si (něco) k srdci,

two phraseological figures of speech (Zaorálek: 332) with *different* semantics: 1.=grieve at, 2.=vštípít si to, dobře si to zapamatovat, which is supposed to be covered by 'fix in one's mind'.

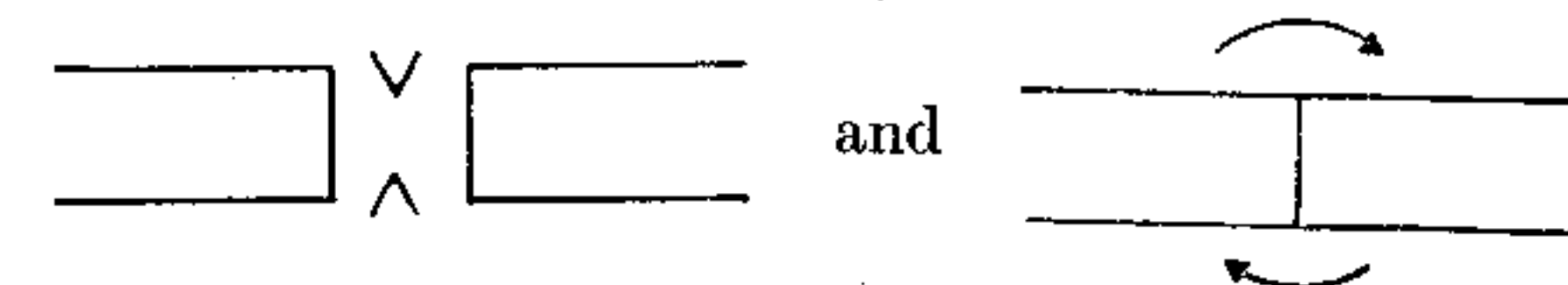
In Tezisy: 5 Babkin calls attention to a corresponding phenomenon: phraseological *rezat' po živomu* (from MAS we see that it means adopt rigorous measures against someone, something, that is near or dear to oneself) cannot be transferred to pf aspect (we must here ignore the problematics of Aktionsart). But this relationship — the word connection is attached to one aspect

solely — does not point out the phraseologism, cf. *zapet'* and *zapevat'* (Babkin's example), each of them having a meaning of its own apart from the meaning they have in common.⁵

This very essential feature of the monolith unit: its *immovability* (a relative immovability) in grammatical respect, its "rigidity" and the element we have called "hoc unum", is joined by the distinctive mark *inviolability* (Šanskij (1972:173) uses the designation *nepronicaemost'*): insertions in the entity are impossible or at any rate rare; *na sed'mom nebe*, our Danish *i den syvende himmel*, is perceptibly disturbed if changed into "i den sædvanlige syvende himmel", 'in the usual etc.'. Perhaps we might call it a "broken FRA", the phraseologism is not completely wiped out, vague outlines are still to be made out.

To this should no doubt be added that the place of the word in the monolith unit is *fixed*, that is to say that the word order is rarely broken.

What has been said can be summarized in two primitive drawings, showing that we do *not* meet (or we seldom meet)



The language, however, has the power to break the rules: *han var i den såkaldt syvende himmel* 'in the so-called seventh heaven' might be forced through (see example just given) — we are, possibly, then rather facing a fragment of a FRA. And the components of the FRA may also be moved about (to a certain degree), they may be placed "at a distance" (we are then making use of Šanskij's expression *distantno*) as evidently in Danish *der lå et hus*, the words say 'there lay a house', meaning 'there was a quarrel', recognized as a matter of course in *sikke et hus der lå* 'what a quarrel etc.'. — Šanskij illustrates the permissible insertion with *ne zgi bukvál'no ne vidno*; the usual expression is, according to MAS (*ni*) *zgi ne vidno* (or *ne vidat'*) about pitch darkness. (A natural phrase in Danish is *hvor han slog sine folder som ung* covering the idea 'where he knocked about as a young man', but we cannot say (only with extreme difficulties anyhow) *de folder, han slog som ung*; add to this that the word *folder* is enigmatic semantically).

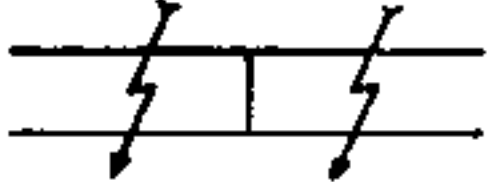
As regards the question of the constant word order one more remark: Jarancev (1978:56) states the FRA *zadirat' nos* (other verbs appearing side by side with *zadirat'*), adding parenthetically *pered kem* and with the annotation not-liter. Examples from Russian fiction show *ne zadiral nosa* with word order 1-2. (as claimed), but also *ty nos dereš* (2.-1.), and further *tebe tože nos zadirat' ne sleduet* (2.-1.); we meet *nos* in the plural in *zadirali nosy* (1.-2.).

⁵ In another connection this will be most important. We have in mind the study of disharmony between perfective prefixed verb and the secondary imperfective verb.

And the comparison (having Czech and Danish in mind we talk about the “jako-som-relationship”) permits an exchange, though with clear restrictions, cf. *Som himlenes favn er din kærlighed, Gud*, the word *som* cannot be moved; it is of course different in a case like *en gudinde lig svævede hun*, the words say “a goddess like etc.”; this does not concern our jako/som-relationship.

We must carefully bear in mind that the described *rigid stamp* also appears outside phraseology: again and again we see that certain words have a tendency to go together, they provoke each other as it were — but a phraseologism is not created, the requirements are not complied with. What we observe belongs, in the opinion of the author, to combinability, *sočetaemost'* in Russian. Thus the verb *bore* ‘drill’ shows rather poor combinability, the word *hul* ‘hole’ suggests itself: *bore hul*, it is so to speak a neighbouring notion (one might object that *bore en tunnel* suggests itself, too) — but a monolith unit is not created; nothing prevents *han borede fem huller* ‘five holes’, *borer et stort hul*, *det hul der skulde bores* etc., ‘the hole that had to be drilled’, and *bore* as well as *hul* are taken in the usual meaning of the words, they are not images (as to the contents of the sign, see later). Thus we cannot approve Lønstrup’s words (1978:5) in connection with her exposition of Apresjan’s conception, illustrated by *prokolot'* in two contexts; Lønstrup considers *prokolot' dyročku* “an almost idiomatic figure of speech”.

Bore hul ‘drill a hole’ evidently differs from *visse tænder* (FRA; but *bore hul* is non-FRA), lit. “show teeth”; there is no **de tænder jeg viser*, lit. “the teeth I show” (that the verb *visse* ‘show’ may have many objects, does not concern us). In the same way it differs from *rejse børster* (FRA); *børste* is here ‘bristle’, which as a verb covers our FRA (‘to demonstrate that one is ready for a fight’); there is no **de børster jeg rejser* (several words may serve as object for the verb *rejse*, approximately ‘raise’ (for instance a loan, *støv* ‘dust’, *en proteststorm* etc.)).

4. Institutionalizing and integrity have been underlined in the preceding chapters. To this should be added as an essential or rather the most essential fact that in the phraseologism the “usual” meaning of the individual components does not come out, the word is not “the same” as what we meet outside the FRA (there are reservations). Primitively, we can depict it 

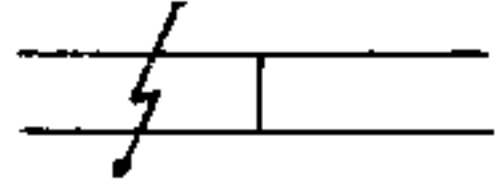
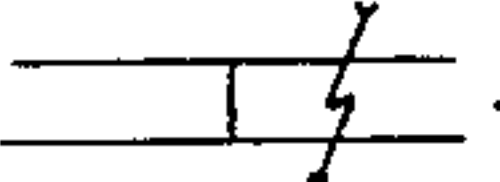
and, with a view to our reservations  and . Here we are no doubt facing the *decisive feature* (key feature) of FRA, the very essence of phraseologism. So, what is remarkable is not that the *image* appears, which has already been accounted for; it is rather the enigmatic origin of the

image that is peculiar. The word “says” something different from what it does normally, but this explanation, it proves, is unsatisfactory. For the present we shall talk about a secondary meaning versus a primary meaning.

Here we agree with Andrzej Bogusławski (1979). For the Polish philologist, too, it is fundamental that what is said in the components is not equal to the totality of the expression. His first (simple) formula runs $a+b \neq c$, needing no explanation. The same is said in Bogusławski’s second (and more precise) formula (we must ignore the third formula here):

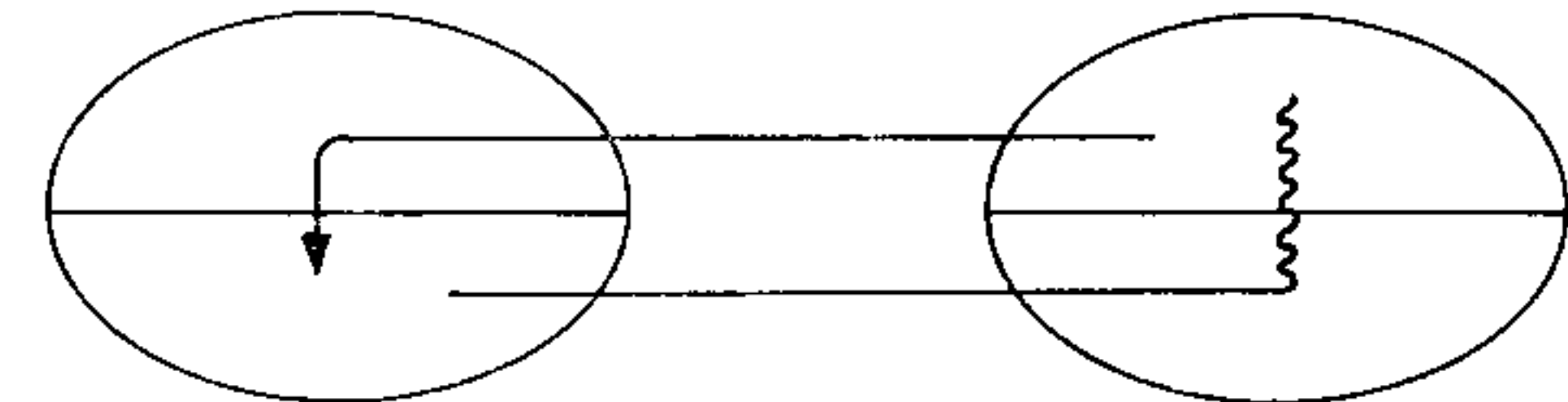
$$e_1 + e_1' : e_2 + e_2' \rightarrow c_1 + c_1' : c_2 + c_2'$$

which (Bogusławski: 29) is interpreted: Die Kommutation („:”) der miteinander verknüpften Ausdrücke mit den anderen zu den entsprechenden Klassen gehörenden Ausdrücken setzt keine symmetrische Kommutation der inhaltlichen bzw. Sinnelemente (d.h. der Ausdrücke, die sie verkörpern, „c”) voraus.

It is not clear if this thought is covered by our example: *jeg tager hatten af for Darwin* | *jeg tager hatten af for skoleinspektøren*, the former being ‘I highly esteem D.’, the latter ‘take off my hat’ in its direct sense.

More to the point is the opposition
professor s'el kolbasu (free connection)

professor s'el sobaku (e.g. v matematike) (used phraseologically, meaning ‘is an expert in, has profound experience in’). By way of experiment we depict the two sequences through ovals, divided in expression and contents, an arrow illustrating the replacement. A change in the contents gives an unknown result



(1) *jeg tager hatten af for Darwin* differs from (2) *jeg tager hatten af, når jeg træder ind* ‘take off my hat when I enter the room’. The former is a monolith unit (FRA), the latter is a free connection (FRI). Without hesitation we would say *han tog hatten af* (preterite), *tag din hat af!* (imperative) (and besides we might talk about *cap* instead of *hat*). The detached *tager hatten af* is associated with sentence number 2 (*tager hatten af, når jeg træder ind*).

Our sentence (2) is, without problems, replaced by *jeg tager hatten af for skoleinspektøren*. In *jeg tager hatten af for* we have a double exposure of the phraseologism, in other words, the FRA demands a FRI, and (1) exists by virtue of (2). This seems, however, to be doubtful. It will be difficult to claim double exposure considering an expression as *tage højde for*, lit. “take-height-

for", which means 'calculate a risk, a threatening danger etc.'. And an extreme case like *gå nedentom og hjem* (from an old Danish folk tale, lit. 'go round below and home'; in the folk tale a person walks on the bottom of a river, in other words he dies; and the English version, expressing the meaning of the phrase, is "go to the dogs, go bust"); it is, surely, more correct to say that beside the metaphoric expression appears often the same figure of speech understood directly, and that _____ presumably has lived in some undefined past, whereas a definite state of language knows _____ only. We can consider cases like *han havde et hus på hånden*, saying literally 'he had a house on his hand', meaning that for instance the estate agent had reserved him a house for a certain time. The problems are numerous, sequences like *han må være sikker på hånden, han var sikker på avancement* 'was sure he would be promoted' give us an impression of that. We cannot go deeper into the role played by such double exposure in some business slogans.

Lønstrup (1978:12–13) sees a coherence *transferred use/consituation* and a coherence *phraseologism/context*. This seems to be imprecisely formulated. Our phrase from above, *jeg tager hatten af for skoleinspektøren*, we read as "I raise my headgear etc.", i.e. direct meaning; but with the addition "who boldly refused to obey his minister" the understanding is "highly esteem" (FRA) where the consituation must be said to show FRA.

The following may give a Czech example: *chodí s kloboukem v ruce*, partly understood directly (the words for hat and hand in their regular meaning), partly understood "he is polite, perhaps to a too high degree".

As to the question of double exposure we shall again point out the Russian *s'el sobaku...* (saying that he is a connoisseur of, has profound experience of etc.), where, indeed, no nominative *s'el sobaku* can be demonstrated. This stock phrase appears in most Russian expositions of the problems of phraseology; and jesting about the words Vartan'jan (1960:4) translates word by word *V grammatike on s'el sobaku* into 'Il mangea un chien en grammaire'.

A Polish example is *rzucac grochem o ścianę*, explained 'mówić na darmo, bez żadnego efektu' (in Urbańczyk's Encyklopedia, under the article Frazeologia), approximately 'speak to deaf ears'.

Trying to attain the "basic pattern" through transformations causes disappointment: in vain we operate with

jeg tager hatten af for Darwin
stand bare-headed

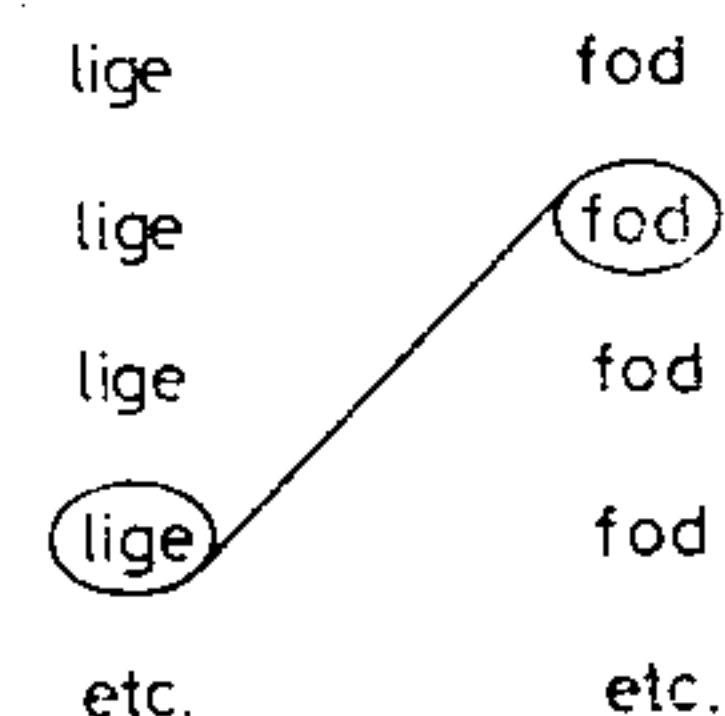
or

on s'el sobaku
dined.

The phraseologism is not generatable.

5. Continuing what has just been outlined and aiming at a short presentation of the problems of contents of the sign we shall consider the figure of speech *på lige fod*, lit. 'on equal foot', English 'on an equal footing'. We see at once that the meaning is not that the foot (the anatomic notion) is stretched out, indeed, it has nothing to do with the human foot. The composition *lige fod* (without the preposition) has practically no independent existence in Danish (one can of course say: *lige fod* means etc.) as *venstre fod* 'left foot' has. In front of the latter we can put the preposition *på* without difficulty, whereas such a role for the word *på* seems to be less convincing in *på lige fod*.

Lige is many things, in the same way *fod* is many things. A primitive scheme



illustrates the fact that when the given sub-signification (for sub-signification Louis Hjelmslev uses the Danish word "bemærkelse") of *lige* is combined with the given sub-signification of *fod*, *lige fod* appears to be used in the phraseologism *på lige fod*, which is unambiguous. This does not differ from the relationship

en dygtig medarbejder:
en dygtig dragt prygl

('an efficient colleague', 'plenty of thrashing, a good beating'). The semantically fluid *lige* and the semantically fluid *fod* are brought together, the compound annuls the fluid character, and in our case the stock phrase *på lige fod* comes into being — a free connection might equally have appeared of the type *på venstre fod* 'on the left foot'. That the noun determines the semantics of the adjective is well-known, cf. *stærk medicin, stærk udvikling, stærk muskel* etc., *stærk* 'strong' displaying many semantic shades. Briefly we insert the remark that the mechanism is of the same kind as with prefixation of the verb; the fluid *prefix* (in Slavic as in Danish) is coupled to the fluid (diffuse) *simplex*, creating a verb of strict semantics, narrowed down via the prefix (even if unambiguously is not necessarily created); see for instance Danish *udsætte* with broad semantics (there is no room for detail here); yet it is narrowed down as compared with the very broad verb *sætte* 'put, place something etc.'.

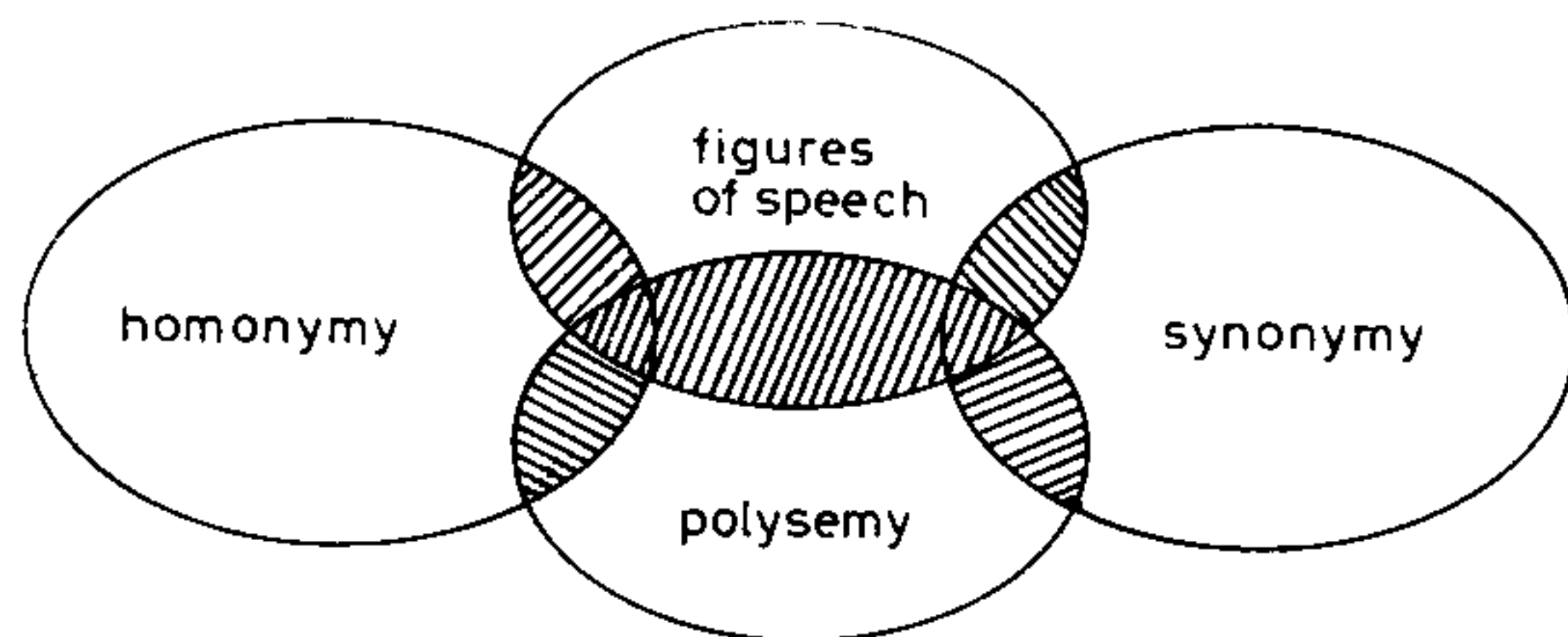
Russian, too, knows (according to MAS) *byt' or stojat' na ravnoj noge* (s kem) 'associate with somebody as his equal'. Further *byt' na družeskoj* or

korotkoj noge (s kem) about friendly relationship; but detached *korotkij* is obviously also used for 'friendly'.

6. Those who investigate the meaning of words have for centuries realized that the contents of the sign are divided; they fall into several sub-significations, *polysemia* occurs: one and the same word contains several meanings, for instance *pande* in *håret redt ned i panden* 'hair combed down over the forehead', and the same word in *rende panden mod en mur*, approximately 'run one's forehead against a wall', in transferred meaning (fight in vain). Or let us mention the word *nød* (nut) and the same word (in slang) used about the human head: *få en i nødden*, (a blow on one's head). In the same way philologists have turned their attention to *homonymia*: two (or more) words coincide when spoken or written, though they have nothing to do with each other, cf. *nød* (nut), *nød* (distress, poverty), *hæfte* (a notebook, but also ordinary imprisonment), *hede* (high temperature, heat, but also 'heath'). Examples from Czech include *kolej* 'hostel for youth' as well as 'railway track', and *pila* 'saw' and 'sawmill'.

It is difficult to keep the two phenomena, polysemia and homonymia, apart (see for instance Lønstrup (1978:14)).

A brief quotation from Fernando (1978:316) runs: Idiom combines the properties of many types of language phenomena and yet is not completely any one of these. She has depicted that in the following drawing



the sector in the centre being idiomatics.

The question of a logical connection between direct and transferred meaning engages the philologists. Most frequently the traces are wiped out, the investigation thus becoming the task of the etymologist. The scholar we just quoted gives an interesting example of preservation of original contextual meaning (1978:335), certainly only recognized by etymological research: English *blue blood* (let us add Danish *blåt blod*) is derived from the Spanish *la sangre azul*, the latter to be understood literally: through the white skin of the Romans the veins could be seen, whereas they were not visible through the dark skin of the Arabs. — The Russian has also *golubaja krov* 'of aristoc-

ratic origin' as stated by *Frazeologičeskij slovar'* (1978:213) with the annotation "ustar."). And in Czech we find *miti modrou krev* for this idea (whereas *býti ze zelené krve* designates the illegitimate child), see Zaorálek (1947:158).

Koefoed (1971:84) says: "'fod" is found in a lamp, a mountain or a staircase, besides being part of the body and a unit of measurement" (our translation). The question is here whether we ought to call the anatomic notion of "fod" proper meaning and call the remaining kinds of meaning improper.

Næse is part of the face, it has to do with breathing, and the olfactory sense has its seat here: further we know *have næse for* (bevægelser på aktiemarkedet, for instance, as explained earlier) with transferred meaning, in stylistics called *translatio* — this is polysemy. But *næse* in *skoens næse* (toe of the shoe) comes under homonymy.

The human nose when we consider *pudse næse*, *snyde næse*, *pudre næsen*, *næsen løber* 'blow one's nose etc.' is not "the same" as when we look at *stikke næsen i andres affærer*, *stikke næsen i sky*, *vende næsen hjemad*, *have næse for* (mentioned above), *tildede nogen en næse* 'reprimand' (deliberately we have not distinguished between phraseological and figurative use in our examples). From Czech we note, with figurative meaning, *strkat nos do všeho* (Danish and Czech show a parallel FRA). The expression is also known in Russian *sovát' (svoj) nos* (kuda, vo čto); *sunut'* is also used here.

We have touched upon the turn of speech *på lige fod* and stated its rigid character. We find *konkurrere på lige fod*, *ansøge på lige fod* (compete, apply for), but there is no *den fod vi konkurrerer på er *lige* — this is a fixed connection of a phraseological kind. If we consider *støtter på foden* 'lean on one's foot', *fod* forms part of a FRI, seeing that it might quite as well have been *den fod jeg støtter på* 'on which I lean', or *han støtter sig på fødderne*, *på højre fod*, *på begge fødder*, the notion of leaning in various contexts, and no rigid character is observed. It is easy to see that *han satte foden under eget bord*, expressing that 'he got independent, his own master' does not permit any replacement: there is no *han satte foden under egetræsbordet* 'under a table of oak wood' (apart from jocular use), nor any *de satte fødderne under eget bord* (let alone 'under their own tables'), nor any *det bord han satte foden under*, *var hans eget* 'was his own' — the meaning would then be lost, the phraseological character would be absent. Perhaps it could be claimed that there is an allusion to a phraseological expression.

For a phraseological connection (*på lige fod*) we have used the signal FRA, and for a free connection (*på venstre fod*) the arbitrary signal FRI.

We must bear in mind that the word in its "not-usual" meaning is not reserved for FRA, we meet it just as well in FRI, cf. *Olgas knæ/Volgas knæ* 'Olga's knee, the elbow of the river Volga'. In the latter case *knæ* might be replaced by "the sharp curve of the river". — Czech, too, knows *koleno* for the anatomic notion as well as for the curve of the river, *koleno řeky*, plus

curves in various connections. *Volgas knæ* is not a FRA, it shows what we might call transferred meaning.

In *han falder på knæ ved kirkens indgang* 'kneels down at the entrance of the church' we have proper or direct meaning, but in *jeg falder ikke på knæ for chefen* we have improper, not-direct meaning. *Falde på knæ* in itself does not inform us whether the first or the second meaning is expressed (we have double exposure as described earlier). Here we shall briefly note: *bøje knæet* 'bend' (notice *knæet*, definite form of *knæ*, as English *the knee*, German *das Knie*) is FRI, but *bøje knæ for Gud* (*knæ* does not have the definite article or rather ending here) is FRA 'obey the Lord' — systematically this belongs to the preceding chapter.

The Czech has — to mention a few instances — *na stará kolena* (něco dělat) (see Zaorálek: 138), meaning v pokročilém věku, indicating that the person in question is at an advanced age, as well as *pamatovat na stará kolena*, reminding us of old age, teaching us to be far-sighted, with a metaphoric use of *kolena*: besides that the word has, naturally, its direct meaning. — This figure of speech is elaborated in *Čeština všední*: 330—31. — Russian examples include *gladit' po golove* with double exposure 'pat somebody's cheek' as well as 'indulge somebody, comply with somebody's wishes'.

We could also mention *købe hat* 'buy a hat', *være med til at købe hat*, *være med på at købe hat* (a translation is of no interest); these are sequences of a type different from *samle alt under een hat*, lit. 'gather everything under one hat', but of phraseological type; *være på hat med* for 'have a nodding acquaintance with', *tage hatten af for* as explained earlier, or *lade hatten gå rundt*, saying 'let the hat go round', which means collect money for some special purpose. The latter type was illustrated by Czech *chodí s kloboukem v ruce*, explained above.

We may compare *gartneren solgte mig et par kønne planter*, meaning that he sold me a couple of beautiful plants, to *I er ellers et par kønne planter*, described earlier (from a stylistical point of view the trope of sentence number 2 comes under irony).

Our examples show that we must reckon with 1. direct meaning, 2. non-direct meaning, and 3. non-direct meaning of another kind than in point 2.

Generally it is presumed that the linguistic sign, besides giving the neutral, objective contents, often (not necessarily always) contains emotional and affective ideas, but this matter has not been clarified. A distinction between a *primary* and a *secondary* meaning is possible and appropriate. Other designations are known: Koefoed (1971) states, for the primary meaning, an extensional and a referential meaning, and for the secondary meaning, an intentional and emotional meaning; further the distinction *denotative* and *connotative* meaning, preferred by us (even if these termini are criticized below). A possible terminus, perhaps useful to pedagogues, might be "cold" and "warm" mean-

ing — the word "warm" in a given context, it is true, then has the cold meaning ("which has a high temperature") and a warm meaning ("cordial etc.").

We shall confine ourselves to the aspect of the problem (semantic division) that touches on phraseology (and this will occupy us very much when preparing the comparison), i.e. the interplay between contents and phraseology, but we are compelled to deal with the difficult barrier between phraseological and non-phraseological contents when confronted with what lies beyond the direct meaning.

For denotative and connotative we use the abbreviations *D* and *K* (we find it advantageous to use *K* for connotative). *D* and *K*, however, contain numerous enigmas. The denotative contents of the word refer to "the thing itself" (the denotate, the "virkelighedsobjekt", reality-object, in Lønstrup's words), and the connotative contents lie outside — we shall elaborate on this below.

The distinction *D/K* is not the same as the encyclopaedic explanation of the dictionary and its division into meanings and sub-meanings (Danish "bemærkelser" if we use Hjelmlev's word) in the sense that *D* meant number one and *K* the remainder. Isačenko's exposition of 1972 is instructive here.

It is superfluous to remark that we are not facing everyday language versus poetical language. If one tries to construct an auxiliary language demanding above all that it is easily comprehensible (one could mention Basic English), one will no doubt have recourse to the denotative meanings, ignoring the connotative. We can imagine an elimination of connotative meanings — this would not destroy the language. It reminds us of the thought expressed in Koefoed (1971:84): ... "eller om forskellen eventuelt hænger sammen med modsætningen mellem sprogbygning og sprogbrug" ('... or whether the difference, possibly, is attributable to the contrast between linguistic structure and linguistic usage').

By contrasting direct and figurative, transferred meaning we can better deal with the relationship *D/K*. Let us briefly add that *D* cannot be said to be what the word "first and foremost" means. The study of combinability (sočetaemost') is not identical with the study of the contents of the sign, but these two examinations go hand in hand. (And if we discuss the problem: *æskes ligger*, but *kassen står på bordet*, talking about a small box and a big box, with the verbs *lies* and *stands* depending on the volume and size of the subject, *usus* is illuminated).

Nor is the correct answer that the boundary is between spatial and non-spatial meaning. It is difficult to maintain that *D* is concrete, whereas *K* is abstract, though this often comes true. The opposite is the case in *han tilbragte ungdommen i fængsler*, *ungdommen tilbragte aftenen på gadehjørner* 'he spent his youth in prison, youths spent the evenings on street corners'; here we must presume that *ungdom* has for *D* something abstract (a period of life), and, for

K, something concrete (the collection of young people, a certain group of the totality of human beings). And D, indeed, is classified without difficulty as abstract (*elske, lykkelig*, etc., Russian *ljubit', sčastlivyj* etc.).

A reliable method to elucidate denotative contents is not available. Lønstrup, for instance, dissolves connotative meaning into components of contents and here presumes a hierarchic structure. That dissolution is not the division of the dictionary, but conceptual division. This is demonstrated on *kvinde* 'woman', where Russian *ženščina* might have been chosen, too (the notions of human being, sex, age). The method can probably be employed in a small number of cases, in the remaining cases it will fail: a *ramme* 'frame' (of pine for instance) leaves no doubt about the denotation, but it is difficult to account for the components of contents; the clear difference from the connotative contents is evident, cf. *undersøgelsens rammer, indenfor lovens rammer, udenfor arbejds ramme*, 'within the scope of etc.'. Let us briefly mention Isačenko's study of 1972 on Figurative meaning etc.: non-abstract nouns are categorized by abstract criteria.

A composed word gives uncomplicated contents (this is close to what communication research teaches us about inverse proportionality: a word of high frequency proves to carry a small quantity of information and develops insignificant connotative contents or none). Lønstrup's example is *undervisningsassistenttimeløn* (this giant word may, actually, occur) 'wages per hour of an instructor' — the multitude of grammatical definitions qualify the word, making it precise, barring emotional contents (and a dissolution into components will concern syntactical questions).

With regard to D/K the *simplex* of the verb often causes numerous reflections: cf. *brænde* 'burn' (burn something which may be anything in the world; *brænde af begær* 'from desire or lust'; *brænde sine skibe* is a FRA), whereas a *prefixed* verb covers a lesser semantic area as described elsewhere, cf. *han afbrændte (fyrværkeri)* 'let off fireworks', only few objects being possible, *huset nedbrændte* (used intransitively). This is not to say that a *prefixed* verb is unequivocal, but the semantics are narrowed down (see later).

It is important that Lønstrup shows that a consideration of the *isolated* word is necessary to attain a decision as to the denotative contents of a given word (the present study adopts a sceptical attitude here).

According to Lønstrup we must concentrate on the *lexeme* (the entry-word of the dictionary). She says this in general, not distinguishing word-classes. (It implies that we recognize what is outside D, considering the non-isolated *lexeme*). The enormous importance of this fact for the study of phraseology has been touched upon earlier (when the phraseologism was characterized). — But the clarity of that thought is lost when the same scholar goes on to place the syntagme and the sentence side by side with the *lexeme*, which prevents consideration of an *isolated* position. The philologist's view that

connotative contents always presupposes denotative contents will be attended to later.

Koefoed (1971) has made reservations: denotative meaning refers "as far as possible" to the neutral meaning of the word. It is doubtful whether every *lexeme* does have a denotative content. Such content seems to be most easily observed with nouns rather than with other word classes, yet within fixed limits as suggested. But where is the "reality object" when we leave the class of nouns?

A distinction between D and K appears, naturally, when we consider the *adjective*, cf. *en rund bordplade* 'a round table-top', differing from *et rundt tal*, English accidentally also using this adjective, a "round number"; in the same way Russian has *krugloe čislo*.

As to *verbs* one could for instance mention Danish *trække*, roughly translated 'pull', which seems to provoke a certain general idea (making an effort you move an object closer to you); establishing an opposition to *skubbe* 'push' is of little use, because then we would have to explain this verb; only in very few cases can acceptable oppositions be established; a difference, more or less pronounced, appears when we consider uses as *det trækker* 'there is a draught', *theen trækker* 'the tea is drawing', *lotteriet trækker* 'the lottery draws', *en prostitueret trækker* 'walks the street', *revyen trækker fulde huse* etc., 'is a draw' etc. — We must ignore other word classes here.

Denotative contents are not necessarily present. If a "reality-object" is demanded and we consider abstract nouns (*fred, kærlighed* etc., *mir., ljubov'* etc.), adjectives and verbs, we must say that D is lacking. For K covers, indeed a notion of an "accompanying meaning". We are not facing K without D. (A solution would be to rename D and K).

Great difficulties in this respect will crop up when a *prefixed* verb is considered. In Danish as in Slavic the *prefixed* verb, if transitive, will demand an object (explicit object). Two things must be remembered here: *prefixed* verbs are dominant in corpus, and with the addition of a prefix, the verb most often becomes transitive; this is among the most characteristic features of *prefixation*. The object gives the verb meaning (space compels us to ignore the role of other members of the sentence here). In other words we cannot (in such cases) observe a *prefixed* verb in an *isolated* position, cf.

<i>antage</i>	{	et tilbud 'accept an offer' en trosbekendelse, en teori 'a confession' nogen i barns sted 'adopt somebody as if it were one's own child' personale 'engage' =formode 'presume' (... that etc.)
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Or we might have chosen Russian *prinjat/prinimat'*, to which several objects may be attached. Some of them are *polk, tovar; kogo na službu, v univer-*

sitet; posititelej, gostej; zakon, predloženie, na sebja objazatel'stvo, radio, lekarstvo, prinjat' kogo za drugogo, prinjat' važnyj vid, tjaželyj charakter (listed without systematization).

Should the verb *antage*, not observed in an isolated position, or Russian *prinjat'*, be kept outside D and K? Does it mean that the verbs are placed outside D and K and disregarded?

In the same way *afholde* (et møde, en fest, et bal) 'arrange' etc., but *afholde udgifter* 'pay expenses', *afholde nogen fra noget* 'prevent from'. Countless cases appear, but we cannot go into detail.

Participles of the verb are supposed to follow the same lines (most often we have then ignored the principle of observing the entry-word). Expressing our thought briefly, we point at the difficulties of identifying D in the word *opsat* (the hair may be "opsat" in a certain way; a meeting may be "opsat" 'postponed', and the word may mean 'be very eager, desire very much'). We must leave out remarks about the present participle as well as nouns motivated by prefixed verbs. Thus a great number of words contain a doubtful D, if the demand for an isolated position is to be respected. It is on a selective basis we have spoken about the denotative contents of the sign.

To Lønstrup, D appears as a *constant* (and general) meaning, whereas K is *variable*. (For the sake of clarity we insert the remark that using the word constancy we have the word in the given state of language in mind, not constancy from a diachronical point of view).

If, using the word constancy, we have in mind the connotative meaning as a totality, extracted in corpus, we meet with great deviations depending upon the taste of the epoch and the individual writer.

Variable is emphasized as the characteristic quality of K; in the author's opinion variable should be taken in two senses: understandable (to a certain degree) if *translatio* is present, incalculable if a *phraseologism* is present. (K eludes a semantic analysis, cf. *Stormagterne rørte ikke en finger*, lit. 'the Great powers did not move a finger', where the word *finger* cannot be explained. The Russian has the same FRA *pal'cem ne sevel'nut'*).

An observed word does not necessarily contain K, but may acquire K. Thus *skovl* 'shovel' is a real, regular shovel (D), but in a modern phraseological expression: *få skovlen under ham*, lit. 'get the shovel under him', we must classify it as K (earlier we have quoted a parenthetical remark by a Russian scholar about the unlimited possibilities of expansion).

D is supposed to be increased when we say *rumskibet flyver* 'the space ship flies' with the verb *flyve* 'fly' in its usual meaning, and similarly when the refined bomb of our time is designated simply a bomb. An increase of K appears presumably, in *den kolde krig* 'cholodnaja vojna'.

K recognized in inflected forms can probably not be registered under increase, but in a certain sense something has been added as compared with the

lexeme. We shall not go deeper into this problem, and confine ourselves to stating *rygende uenige* and *rygende på en cigar*, the former about a high degree of disagreement, the latter containing 'smoking' in its usual sense. — That connotations are poor in composed words has been mentioned above.

Lønstrup's conception — K presupposes D — is not always well founded. Certainly, her view is supported by a case like Danish *ben* 'bone' (as well as 'leg') and Danish *ben* for 'dubious extra income e.g. flowing from membership of some organization', but in numerous phraseologisms the thread is thin or absolutely absent.

K is something we meet with *translatio* (transferred meaning, figurative use) and with the phraseologism — the distinction between the two notions is provisional. Contrary to the usual view K marks the language to a very high degree, K is in no way a curious thing that appears "now and then". Bogusławski (1979:31) says concerning the weight of the connections of expressions in a bilingual dictionary: "Im Gegenteil, wohl nicht weniger als 3/4 der Anstrengungen in der zweisprachigen Lexikographie werden immer den Ausdrucksverbindungen gewidmet werden müssen".

It would be incorrect to say that K in *translatio* (for which we are considering a signal FIGU, which we find more suitable than for instance the signal TRANSL) and K in phraseologism (FRA) is recognized in units of more than one word, seeing that the single-word, too, may express a transferred meaning; but a distinction according to the number of words is valuable in several coherences. It is exactly the separation of figurative use and phraseologism that causes great trouble (can we in Danish keep "vending" apart from "talemåde"?) A sequence as *han fik en næse*, i.e. 'was reprimanded' bears the mark of phraseologism, but it seems more correct to say that *næse* 'nose' is simply used figuratively.

The verb *skide* (vulg.) 'shit' will, separately viewed, show denotative contents "evacuations — vulgar language", but does not reveal any K (and K is indeed not obligatory). If we observe the turn of speech *skide på* (likewise vulg.) about ignoring, neglecting a person, a prescript etc., connotative contents apparently emerge, which cannot be related to *på* (the preposition), and it is doubtful whether it was latent in the verb *skide*. This is as strange as what is seen when a prefix is added to simplex (described earlier).

D and K — as far as the author understands the problem — may be interchanged. With *salig* 'blessed' we have in mind a person in the heaven of religion; but in a secular meaning, the word appears in for instance *han er salig, når han har tændt sin pipe* 'blessed or blissful when he has lit his pipe'. It is not excluded that the latter idea suggests itself as number one to the observer, associating in the first place *salig* with the material meaning. It is not in any simple way clear what is D and what is K (though after a short consideration we see that in this case the physical meaning cannot be number one). The

Danish *flab* is different; this is 'chap, jaw of an animal', but moreover a person characterized by rude language, a puppy, unlicked cub — only on second thought do we establish D and K.

It is superfluous to point out that connotative meaning does not necessarily create phraseologisms. But exactly here big problems are encountered (as mentioned cursorily): phraseological and non-phraseological use of figurative meaning, a problem that has also been tackled by Lønstrup.

With the verb *bære*, roughly translated 'carry', the notion of transporting something is no doubt felt as the primary, denotative meaning, whereas the meaning 'endure', *bære* figuratively, is related to connotation. Considering *han bar vore sygdomme* (Matth. 8,17) a phraseologism cannot be claimed (the text might as well have run: *bar vore lidelser, trængsler* 'bore our sufferings and tribulations', *bar* being taken just in a figurative meaning). Saying *han havde en tung byrde at bære på* 'carried a heavy burden' we may have in mind A. a sack of coke etc., and B. a feeling of guilt, grief etc. Only the surroundings clear up whether we are dealing with D or with K.

It may reasonably be maintained that the connotative contents of the word or at any rate something lying outside D forms part of the phraseological expression — which, of course, refers to the image. Can we when studying phraseology exclude, in principle, denotative contents? This is questionable.

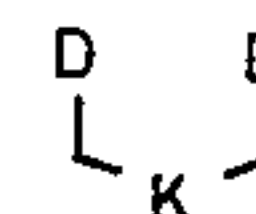
Without doubt *Der står kvinder bag alt* (about the role of women; they "stand behind everything") is a phraseologism. The utterance has a monolith mark (not: ... ladies ..., and not: behind various things ...); and a FRI appears in an utterance like *Der står tre kvinder bag havelågen* 'three women are standing behind the garden gate'. But by *kvinder*, in our FRA, is undoubtedly meant the denotation *kvinder* (regular *kvinder*, corporal beings), although we would expect K. This embarrasses us, and, obviously, we must be content with the fact that *something* in the FRA mentioned, but not the figure of speech as a whole, contains K, viz. "står" (not to be understood as denoting a standing position as opposed to a lying one — in the FRI mentioned above *siddet* might replace *står*). In other words: in a FRA something must be K. — This problem we know from Tezisy 1961, too: one of the components or both are used metaphorically. (It is difficult to doubt that *Der står kvinder bag alt* has a monolith mark — and it is difficult for us to accept "Uncle said that there stood women behind everything" (in Danish the tense is changed on account of the indirect speech).

For the time being we shall elaborate on the distribution on FRI and FRA, establishing (the view will be changed below)

D	FRI
K	FRA.

K attracts FRA, and D pertains to FRI. There is a coherence K/FRA, but also figurative meaning outside FRA should be remembered. Koefoed (1971: 84) rightly calls attention to an enigmatic factor which we shall depict \longleftrightarrow (arrow and counter-arrow) and approach from another starting point. The question is whether idiomatic use leads to K, or whether K leads to idiomatic use. (Koefoed contrasts English *negro* and *nigger*).

Again we shall consider *han satte foden under eget bord* meaning 'he became independent, he established himself, no longer living in rented rooms'. Nothing in *fod* (D) gives rise to *fod* in the mentioned expression, nothing serves as a natural explanation for the figure of speech. It seems more reasonable to say that *fod* (D), directly understood, is placed together with *bord* (D) 'table' whereupon both words fade, leave D and become K.



though we cannot ascertain with any certainty what K covers, apart from its being non-D. Fading is hardly the right word; this suggests an idea of wear and tear, which undoubtedly occurs with a great number of images (see Lønstrup's remarks on clichés); the present study is inclined to presume that D is automatically eliminated at the birth of the phraseologism.

The figure of speech *vande høns* 'blubber' (and several others) raise the question of whether we have FRA or FIGU (a figurative use outside FRA). The words say 'water, irrigate' and 'hen', but the meaning 'cry, weep' is not attached to anything in *vande* or anything in *høns*. Let us briefly mention the FRA *have en hane at plukke med nogen for* 'have a bone to pick with somebody', or the FRA *du har skudt papegøjen* "shot the parrot" for 'have made a lucky hit', which is evidently not a case of D. Considering *Det er jeg ikke meget for* (FRA) weakly expressing one's opposition, we search in vain for K — to be sure *ikke meget for*, lit. "not much for", is "something else" than in FRI, but where is the proof?

We might, for example, operate with "close-K" and "distant-K", for the latter an "extra-K" is a possibility. In the same way as the distinction D/K the distinction FIGU/FRA causes difficulties. K inspires to figurative meaning (possibly, we keep the meaning in check) which is not FRA, and at the same time K inspires FRA (semantics are incalculable). (In both cases we meet the problem of "arrow and counter-arrow"). A possible solution is to view what we meet in the contents of the sign in FRA (or rather in the meaning of the FRA) as something that in an indeterminable way drifts away from K (whereas we do not attach that to D), depicted by means of

a spiral



Isačenko and Lønstrup, too, point to the problem FIGU versus FRA (our abbreviations). (Earlier we have mentioned Fernando's distinction between pure idioms, semi-idioms and marginal idioms).

By way of illustration: *Afdøde have skænket overlægen sit hjerte til forskningsformål* (FRI)/*sygeplejersken havde skænket overlægen sit hjerte* (FRA), 'the deceased had donated his heart to the chief surgeon for research purposes', and 'the nurse had given the chief surgeon her heart' (FRA)='was in love with him'. Here we see double exposure. In the FRA we presume K — but on second thoughts an extra-K (the spiral).

The same phenomenon is illustrated by *Hunden sætter sig på bagbenene* (FRI)/*Hansen sætter sig på bagbenene* (FRA) with double exposure: The dog sits down on his hind legs/Mr. Hansen cuts up rough.

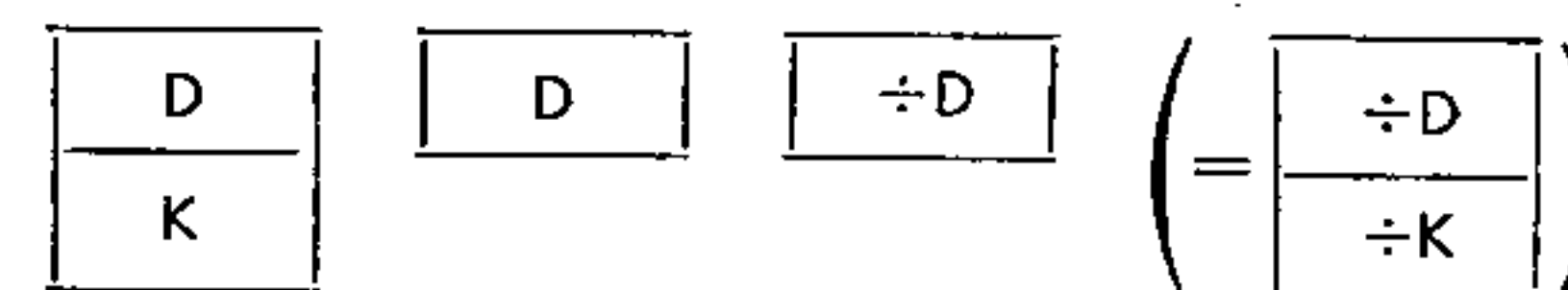
We consider *Det var vand på (militarismens) mølle*, lit. 'water on the mill of militarism' (in which double exposure can hardly be alleged). In this FRA K cannot be attached to *vand* 'water' (*livets vand* 'aqua vitae' contains K). Apparently we (in the FRA) are dealing with K, since it is non-D. It is, however, futile to look for K. An attempt to interpret *vand* as "argumentation in favour of, a statement supporting something" leads to nothing: we cannot even glimpse the denotation *vand* D, which according to Lønstrup is a presupposition for K. Nor can *mølle* be interpreted as "view, attitude" (it is easier to associate *mølle* 'mill' with chattering). — Some sentences follow without comment: *han bad om et glas rent vand skyl tallerkenen i det rene vand; Himmelbjerget er det rene vand ved siden af Mont Blanc* — "rene vand" being 'pure water', and in the FRA meaning 'nothing, without any importance, zero'.

We stop at the explanation that we are facing a *conglomerate* "vand-på-mølle"; the image is an entity which qua totality evokes a definite understanding (which is not attained by those who dissect the figure of speech into single words — for this reason phraseologisms in a foreign language cause us insuperable difficulties).

The Russian *s'el sobaku* ... has been mentioned more than once ('he is an expert of'). This figure of speech defies any analysis of *s'el* and *sobaka* (pursuing the two words, each of them separately, with a view to their combinability, we do not reach a solution; in vain we consult Anisimova (1975): with *est'* we find, apart from current connections, *est' čužoj chleb, darum chleb est'*).

Phrases are often inexplicable, and the native speaker will have to learn them at school or from his family⁶.

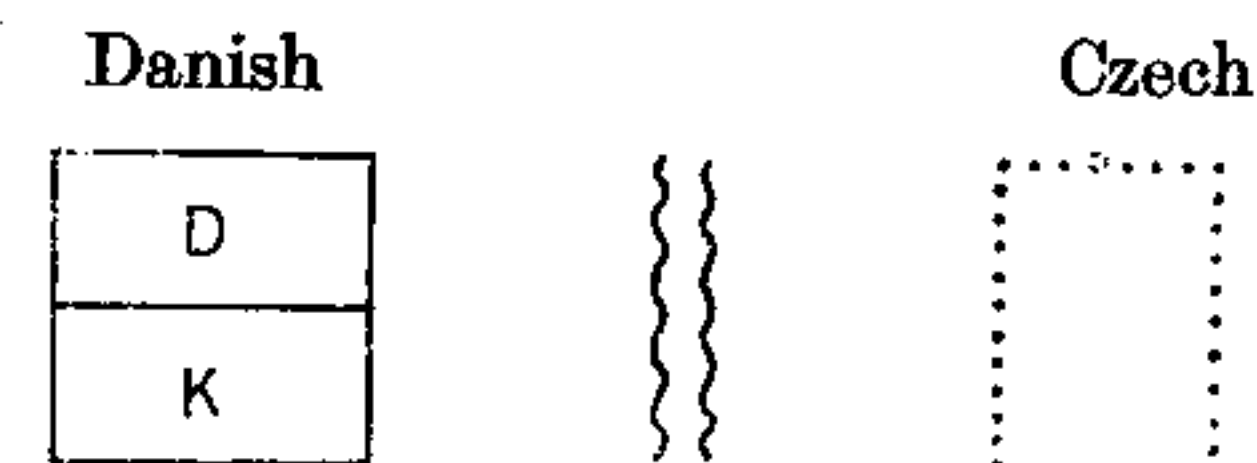
We have operated with three possibilities



but this scheme is unsatisfactory if we adhere to the view that a given expression of sign corresponds to a contents of sign. The difficulties of pointing out D and K, for instance in prefixed verbs under certain circumstances, are counterbalanced when we waive the demand for isolated position as a condition for establishing denotative meaning, i.e. let the surroundings decide the meaning of the word: then it seems possible to separate *udsætte vagtpost* 'post a sentinel' from *udsætte møde, udsætte et musikværk* etc. 'postpone a meeting, arrange a piece of music for ...'.

It seems that a word may be found outside D and K (without a spiral as an explanation). For instance: *han stod i begreb med at emigrere* 'was on the point of emigrating'. *I begreb med* is idiomatic. *Begreb* differs — as we expect — from *begreb* in a neutral sense (*et filosofisk begreb, almindelige moralske begreber, ikke have begreb om et emne*, meaning 'a philosophical concept, common moral concepts, I don't know a thing about it'). It is questionable whether we can attach such a neutral sense to the word at all, and it is difficult to catch sight of a connotation. The phraseological expression perhaps contains a *begreb* lying "outside" the normal *begreb* and not being identifiable (it is a loan translation from the German *Begriff, im Begriff sein, stehen*).

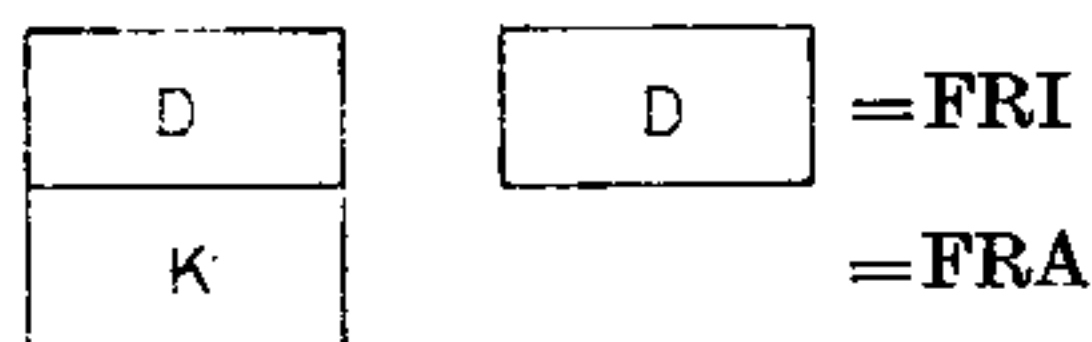
It is well known that dealing with a given word we have



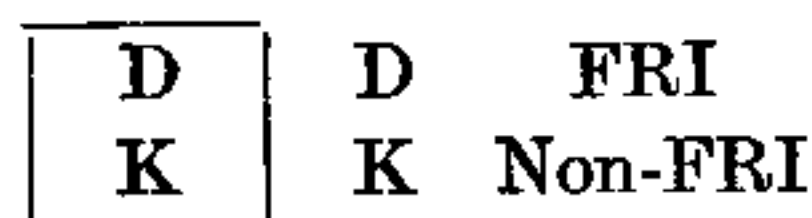
wavy lines indicating an unknown relation. This is seemingly self-evident — but pedagogue and translator will know that here we have the cause of numerous errors of translation. Danish *hjerte* has no reflected image in Czech *srdce*. What corresponds to Danish *den nøgne sandhed, gøre forestillinger, ren tidsspilde, hul røst*, etc. is not predictable; roughly translated: 'the naked truth, make representations to (in diplomatic language), waste of time, a hollow voice etc.'.

⁶ Inexplicable Czech figures of speech are treated for instance by Pavel Eisner (1946) (Chapter XXI: "Každému svoje Poděbrady", pp. 147 - 50).

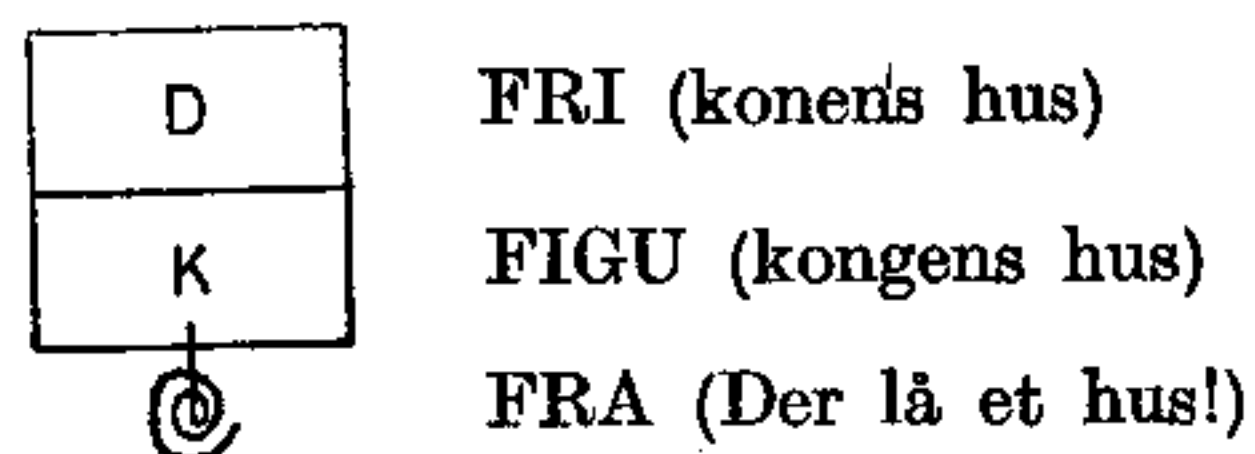
We have desired to separate FRI and FRA. Obviously, we are not entitled to establish the theory.



seeing that K equally well conveys figurative meaning in the single word, and FRA is one manifestation of figurative meaning (besides poetical language) More correct is



but there are many indications for establishing the theory (in spite of its weakness)



in which sequence Danish *hus* is understood as a real house, as family (the royal family), and in the third case it has to do with "make no end of a row" there has been a quarrel).

7. Some additions should be made to the description of the phraseologism. It is characteristic of the relevant expressions and figures of speech that they favour *rhyme and rhythm*⁷. At random we would mention *frisk som en fisk, kommer tid, kommer råd, alle gode gange tre, hellere levne end revne* (Kjær and Holbek deal in detail with matters of rhyme and with the rhythm preferred in Danish proverbs etc.). (A jocular paraphrase exists of the last proverb: *Hellere revne end levne* 'it is better to burst than to leave (uneaten food)'. — We shall not attempt a separation according to the character of the rhyme, the various types of rhymes, alliterations etc. (see for instance Kjær and Holbek (1972:33), and Lønstrup, too, has some examples). Examples (proverbs) include *Tie og tænke kan ingen krænke, Man skal rette pynten efter mønten, Den der*

⁷ It serves no purpose to give reference to literature. The contributions are numerous. To state one example we could mention (from *Ordsprog i Danmark* ved Iver Kjær and Bengt Holbek 1972: 326, in the bibliography) Jensen, Jens M.: *Forlydsrim udlydsrim og rytmiske talemåder i vendelbomål* describing figures of speech from one province in Northern Jutland.

giver, til han tigger, han skal slå's til en tigger, illustrating the principle. We must leave out translations.

Dealing with Czech figures of speech, we would quote *Tu míli měřili dva zamilovaní*, to be understood "that mile is far too long, it has been measured by two people in love", also documented in the form *dlouhá míla, měřila ji s milým milá*, in other words two people in love do not consider a mile long, they do not measure it objectively, love makes the long distance short, a measuring of that kind cannot be valid. Here appears an improper rhyme *míla/milá*, but a rhyme effect is aimed at (we have quoted the phrase from Zaorálek (1947:405). We are approaching the *puns*, in Russian *kalambúr* from French *calembour*, for which phraseologism also has an eye.

Examples of rhymes are *nemá to rohy ani nohy* (Z: 676), saying that something is of bad quality, not completely corresponding to Danish *hverken fugl eller fisk* 'neither bird nor fish'; *roba jako vrba* (Z:686) (with dial. *roba* for 'girl, woman') demonstrates that something is too big as to volume; *má hosti bez kosti* (Z:694) is a euphemism for "he has lice".

Further *udělal hek a byl vek* (Z:663), with a German *weg*, meaning 'he is dead'. *Budeš bit jako Svatovid* (Z:533) means 'you will be thrashed'. We find also (Z:603) *lež jako věž*, lit. 'a lie like a tower'; *ani vrkl, ani cvrkl* (Z:608) about a silent person; *mlátí, mlátí ale nikdy neobráti* (Z:194), meaning 'he thrashes again and again, the result being only sláma ('chaff, rubbish')', used about a talkative person, a chatterbox.

What is not a rhyme in the proper meaning of the word we meet for instance in *vzkazuje mu tolik zdraví, kolik na té louce trávy* about wishing somebody good health (Z:541), or *nebud' labut'* to be understood 'don't be silly, don't put up with that' with the annotation students' slang.

A Russian example (with partial rhyme) is the phraseologism *uški na makúške* (from Grigor'eva and Motina (1963:23)) (*makuška* is a 'tree top', and also colloquially 'crown, top of the head') in the meaning 'to be attentive, watchful, be on one's guard'. A genuine rhyme is found in *konéc — delu venec* from the same source (p. 57).

Cases of another type include Czech *myslí, že je jediný* followed by a pensive addition, perhaps murmured: *a je jich jak četyny* as we understand from Zaorálek (1947:585) i.e. 'he believes he is the only one', to which is added 'but there are plenty of them, as many as there are needles on a spruce'. There is a slight resemblance to Danish "tror han da" or "skulde man tro" ('he himself believes, or one might think'). It would hardly be correct to consider the Czech expression a dialogism.

A speaker may resort to irregular words, fantasy words, home-made words in order to create the rhythm: *mazat trata tata*, mentioned Z:667, about rushing away, or perhaps meaning 'clear out at once'. Perhaps counting-out rhymes of the children belong here: *Ellera sellera sibra sold* used by Danish children.

Foreign words may be used, in Czech figures of speech *ancvaj* (Eins, zwei) may occur.

8. Idiomatics naturally appear to us *genuine* Danish, "Danish to the backbone", and the same applies to Czech. As a rule this is correct, and we see, indeed, that good old words survive in figures of speech as well as in proverbs. This preserving capacity of phraseologism has been mentioned previously, illustrated by *trække på samme hammel* etc., *hammel* is 'rudder bar'; impenetrable expressions like *give sit besyv med* 'give one's opinion', in which *besyv* is a mystical word, and others. Words that are incomprehensible (or only understood in the given context) survive, or the expression is adapted, restored as it were, and the phraseologism continues to survive. The expression *der er ugler i mosen*, lit. 'there are owls in the moor', saying that something is wrong, seems to have replaced the older one *der er ulve i mosen*, 'wolves etc.' after the wolves disappeared in Denmark, meaning there is mischief brewing.

Czech *zprav se jako řemen v úhni* (úhni) is "corrected" in certain sources to *v uhli* — part of the expression is renewed, the phraseologism survives. We find *polepší se jako řemen v ohni* saying sarcastically and ironically that he "improves like a strap in fire" (meaning "he absolutely does not improve") — but the combination (strap and fire) is enigmatic.

As for the Russian we find in several expositions of our subject the figure of speech *bit' baklúši*, which means 'to idle'. MAS states the noun only in that connection with the explanation 'to idle, occupy oneself with trifles'. Kure, in his famous dictionary from the beginning of the century, knows the word *baklúša*, in his translation it is 'træklods, wooden block (from which kitchen utensils are made)' (our translation); the expression mentioned above is translated 'idle, play tricks'. So, originally the figure of speech means ("chop a block into small pieces").

The phraseologism must be genuine Danish (Czech). This, however, does not prevent it from containing foreign words or being based on a foreign connection. In Czech we find *hin* from German in *už je hin*, i.e. 'he is dead' (Zaorálek (1947:663), under phrases about death); likewise *udělal hek a byl vek* = German *weg*, *ibid.* — As regards Danish we might, perhaps, point out *Ach du lieber Augustin, last not least*, and French *en fin*, etc.

A German pattern is presumed in Czech *dostat domácí nemoc*, i.e. 'longing to go home' (from German *Heimweh*), thus Zaorálek (1947:211) (English has *homesickness*). *Ten není ani sladký ani hořký* is said to be genuine Czech, whereas *ani sladký ani kyselý* is a Germanism. The expression *stálo za to* is evidently borrowed from the German. — Mašín (1924) has several remarks on Germanisms, in some cases gross Germanisms.

9. Two languages will show several *parallelisms* in phraseology. The general view that you will now and then meet identical figures of speech, does not hold true — there are numerous parallelisms. Let us mention some cases at random chosen among a multitude of parallelisms.

Vstal dnes levou nohou napřed, Z:613 under expressions concerning our mood, almost like Danish *få det forkerte ben ud af sengen* 'the wrong leg etc.', denoting crossness. The Czech has also the more drastic *vstal dnes po prdeli*, or *vzhůru prdeli* (*prdel* is vulgar for posterior); *hore zadkem* also occurs. There is a weak resemblance to the Danish *være på røven* (vulg.), speaking of bad economics.

Zalézt do peří 'creep down in the feathers' about going to bed, but more distinctly in Danish *komme op af fjerene*. *Anděličci derou* (or *drhnou*) *peří*, meaning 'fine snow is falling' (Z:258) resembles "englene ryster dynerne". *Darovanému koni na zuby nehledět*, saying that one should not look a gift horse in the mouth (Z:165), i.e. not criticize a gift, has a parallel in Danish, see Kjær and Holbek (1972:26): "ikke skue given hest i munde".

Dělat (něco) s těžkým srdcem (Z:333) like Danish 'gøre noget med tungt hjerte'. *Tady je dobrá rada drahá*, noted from SSJČ:I, XIV, =her er gode råd dyre, about a difficult situation. The same source shows *dělat si z něho dobrý den* for 'make him ridiculous', with resemblance for instance to the Danish *han gav en god dag i faderens formaninger* 'neglected his father's admonition'.

The Dane meets parallelisms in Czech for *skrive sig bag øre* (Z:694), *det femte hjul til en vogn* (*ibid.*), or *holde sig i skindet* (Z:680); a partial parallel appears in the expression *je to z lesa* (Z:676), "noget er helt i skoven" (of very bad quality).

In VRČ we find (vol. 3:666) as an explanation of the Russian *proslezít'sja* the Czech *zaslzetí, býti pohnut k szám*, the last words corresponding to our *bevæget til tårer*, 'moved etc.'

Extremely interesting is the particular coincidence (Z:115) *hodit* or *stříhnout, vrazit, (někomu) jednu* with elliptic *facku* 'ørefigen, box on the ear', corresponding to Danish *stikke ham en (lussing)*. Let us also state *sahat si za vlastní nádra* (Z:215), 'gribe i egen barm', in English 'look nearer home'.

Přešlo mu to do krve means 'he has got accustomed to something, it has become "his second nature"', Danish 'er gået ham i blodet'; and *dělat (někde) zlou krev* (Z:158) means 'pick a quarrel', with a Danish parallelism "sætte ondt blod". Czech knows (Z:271) *zdvihnout (s něčeho) poklicku* 'løfte låget for noget', and *naskočila mu husí kůže* (Z:682) is in Danish 'fik gåsehud', got goose pimples.

An interesting case is *to je z pekla práce*, lit. "it is from Hell a job", in Danish 'et helvedes arbejde', where, we suppose, the word *helvedes* is not understood as genitive!

A parallel occurs in *být (něčím) jenom na papíře* (Z:247) 'være noget på papiret'. And *nemít (něčeho) co by za nehet vlezlo (or padlo)*, have little or nothing' (Z:210) shows an approximate parallel: *så meget som der kan ligge på en negl*.

Popálil se prsty, which is explained 'účastnil se něčeho se ztrátou, hanbou etc.' corresponds to the Danish "brænde fingrene på noget, brænde sig på (et huskøb, when buying a house etc.)"; cf. also the Russian *obžeč'sja na čem-l.* Czech examples are quoted from *Mašín* (1924). *Přijmout někoho, něco, s otevřenou náručí* or *s otevřeným náručím* corresponds to our *modtage med åben favn, åbne arme*. Czech has *boj až na nůž* about merciless hostility as Danish has *krig på kniven* (it says that a war is going on, but not that the parties are going to carry matters to extremes) (Z:223); doubtless from German. Polish shows a different construction: *być, iść z kimś na noże* about hostile relationship (according to Skorupka).

Hladit (někoho) proti srsti (Z:333) means 'tease, annoy, torment somebody', cf. Danish *stryge mod hårene*. We meet a partial parallel between *jedna dvě* (or *jedna tři*) *něco udělat* 'do something immediately' (Z:115) and the Danish *gøre noget en-to-tre*. Czech here also knows *ancvaj* (corrupted from German *eins zwei*); Danish children's language has "einsvein-drein".

Zaorálek: 680 states under the theme *touha* (longing; the same article deals with wish, inclination, desire and impatience) *nemůže se udržet v kůži*, almost like our *kan ikke holde sig i skindet*. In these two phraseologisms the same material is repeated, but the semantic accordance is not quite certain. — Further, we shall mention *mluví jako sklepý o barvách* (Z:526). Add to this *pilný jako mravenec* (or *jako včela*) like Danish. *Pije jako houba* shows similarity, likewise to a certain degree *je toho jako hub po dešti* about a great multitude, and accordance is seen with *jako dvě kapky vody* (Z:461) about great similarity.

Further we mention *lehký jako peří* (Z:505), and an incomplete parallel appears in *jsi mi vzácný jako slepičí perí*, reflected in Danish "rager mig en fjer".

With the word parallel we have not in mind a consistent parallelism (that a given word accompanies the word of the other language in all combinations — that would be extremely seldom indeed). We meet *hladový jako pes* for the Danish "hundesulten", a "sulten som en hund" is hardly probable, but equally we meet *opuštěný jako pes*, i.e. 'left in the lurch', which is not recognized in Danish, and immediately after that we find *lakomý jako pes, žízeň jako pes*, in the same way alien to Danish. The *jako/som*-relationship will be examined carefully in a separate work, and here we shall confine ourselves to pointing out that a Frenchman, a Hungarian etc. would not meet the same parallels as the Dane.

Czech has *peněz jako hnoje* (Z:611) and *peněz jako hlíny* or *peněz jako hader*

— the former showing a parallel in our *penge som skidt* (like German *Geld haben wie Mist*).

We find *hbity, čiperný jako veverka* (Z:548), approximately Danish *væver som et egern* 'agile as a squirrel', but besides that *veverka* appears in *dítě kouká jako veverka*, which is understood *čile, bystře*, 'bright, quick-witted', where the parallel ceases.

The Dane finds no parallel to *fuld som en pave* 'drunk as a Pope', but the pope forms part of other phraseologisms like *neomylný jako papež*; also in the comparison consisting of two relationships: *máš do toho stejně daleko jako papež do nebe* (about a great distance, about being far from something, a goal for instance). (*Papež* forms part of three figures of speech in addition to the above mentioned role as comparatum, see Z:247). — *Flyv ikke før du har fået vinger* from Kjær and Holbek: 22 corresponds to a Czech proverb.

Russian examples include: *naložit' po gorbu*, noted from Tezisy: 20, to which corresponds *gi' på puklen, tæske. Schvatyvat' (chvatat' schvatit') na letu* (*čto*), colloquially used for 'understand something, grasp, master, pick up something quickly and easily, about a gifted person' (Jarancev 1978: 18) with a partial Danish parallel *gribe i flugten* 'catch in the flight'.

Brat' (vzja') byka za roga, colloquially 'begin to act in an energetic, resolute way, tackle the most important matter right away' (which we most often meet in *vzjal byka za roga*) seems to be covered by the Danish *tage tyren ved hornene* (and probably *han tog tyren ved hornene*, past tense, would be the most natural situation).

Zasučiv rukava is recognized immediately by the Dane from *smøge ærmerne op*: seize hold of something eagerly, without a pause. *Poroča ne vydumact* has already been mentioned, and the same holds true of *pal'cem ne ševel'nut'* or *ne dvinut'* (Jarancev: 49) with a pronounced parallelism: partly be idle, partly demonstratively refuse to support somebody, like *ikke røre en finger*.

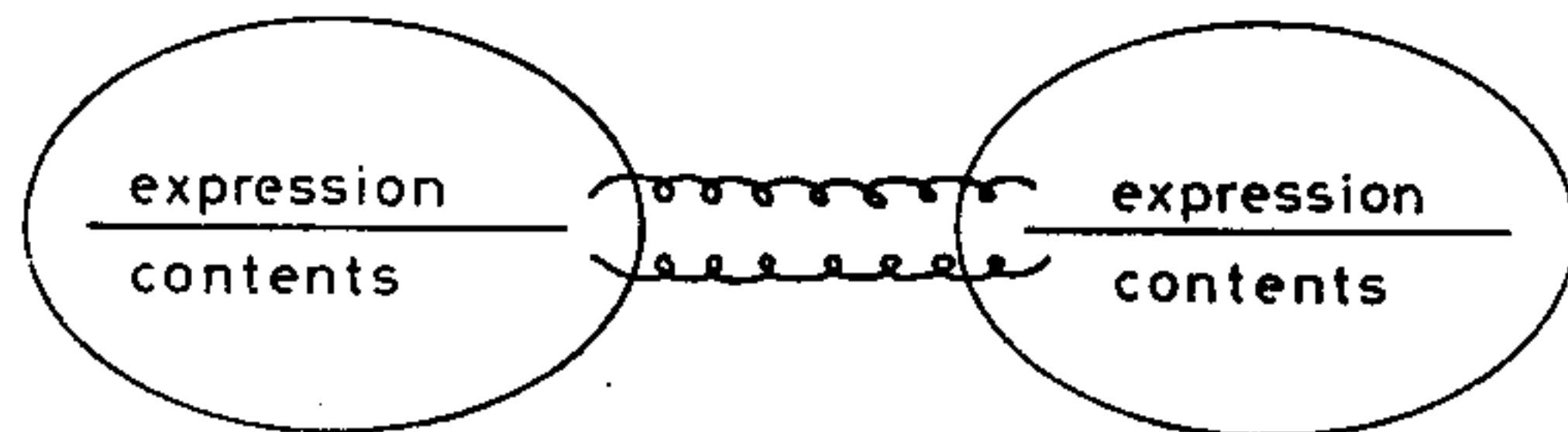
From Grigor'eva and Motina (1963) we add other expressions which correspond to the Danish ones: *dat' vodu (na č' ju-n.) mel'nicu, v mútnoj vode rybu lovit'*. "fiske i rørt vande", *kak dve kapli vody, vskružit' golovu (komu-n.) terjat'* and *poterjat' golovu*. Further *s lica zemli stret' (kogo-n.)*, *licom k licu (s kem-n.)* (*vstretit'sja, stilknut'sja*), *svjazyvat'* and *svjazat' (kogo-n.)*. *po rukam i nogam, po pal'cam možno soščitat' ne smet' rta raskryt' (pered kem-n.)*, *podnimat'* and *pođnjat' ruku (na kogo-n., na čto-n.)*, *položá ruku ná serdce, zakon vstupil v silu, smeč skvoz' slezy, ne verit'* and *ne poverit' ušam svoim*. Add to this *černym po belomu* (*napisano*), *brosat'* and *brosit' žrebij* etc.

The Danish expression *være du's med*, which in English is rendered "be on Christian name terms with", has to our surprise a parallel in Russian, even if not a complete one. What we are familiar with in Danish may be either a person or a profession; it seems in Russian to be confined to the latter; *byt' na ty s cem-libo*. Babkin (1970:198) states several examples, one of them runs

vozmožnost' byt' na "ty" s groznými silami přírody (talking about vulcanologists).

Polish examples noted from Skorupka (1967) include: *mieć nóż na gardle* about being in distress, Danish "have kniven pa struben". An interesting example is *być komus kula u nogi* 'burden, hamper, impede somebody', Danish *være en klods om benet på nogen*, 'drag on somebody'.

If we succeed in registering all parallel cases, the nonparallel cases are left — but to that should be added a great number of phraseologisms showing approximate parallelism. The collection of parallel cases will be a great benefit to the philologist, the translator and the pedagogue. Parallelisms, as well as the opposite of parallelism, illustrate associations in the language. Associations differ in various languages, which makes observations of accordance especially interesting. The question of association paths, in one language or when two languages are examined, is elaborated in detail by Lønstrup. Primitively, we can depict the problem



Comparing Czech and Danish phraseology we see an amazing difference with regard to the use of *names of persons and places* as constituents: their occurrence in Czech is pronounced, names of persons hardly referring to definite individuals or precisely stated persons, and place names do not always cover actual localities (which on the other hand is not excluded), but rather we are dealing with figures from fairy tales and fables long since forgotten, traditions from older generations.

To state some few examples: *už je z toho Jan* = už je z toho pomatený, which we understand as bewildered or crazy (from Z:111). On the same page *dělat janka* = tvářit se hloupě, *dělat se hloupým*, *přetvařovat se* i.e. be affected or rather pretend to be silly. A characteristic case is *jde pozadu jak svatý Martin* 'he brings up the rear', the explanation being that "sv. Martin má svátek teprve po Všech svatých" — the 11th respectively the 1st of November.

The table of contents, arranged by subject in Zaorálek's book, further states (under *náhle*) the figures of speech (p. 613) *vyletěla jako Kača z pukača* (according to SSJČ a percussion cap gun), and *vyletěl jak Michal ze síně* (or *z konopi*). We try in vain to identify Kača, Michal and an endless row of other persons appearing in phraseology.

When considering place names we soon realize that we must reckon partly

with real names, partly apparent names, often witty constructions (which the student of linguistical nonsense should have in mind). Examples include: *hodil by se (do Přelouče na čamrdu* (Z:587), describing thinness (*čamrda*, we understand, is a spinning button pierced by a stick, peg top). Under "abuse somebody, scold somebody" we find (Z:589) *povědět po čem jsou hřibata v Chrudimi* or *po čem je v Pardubicích perník* — a motivation for the use of that place name may be found only after thorough studies, if at all.

About a glutton we find (Z:594) *vyvede ho za masnou vidličku až do Vykane* (which is certainly no geographical notion. One might perhaps suppose a coherence with the verb *vykanouti* 'stream (about tears)'?). — That a person is indifferent to something (Z:595) can be said in the figure of speech: *Jemu je Pardubice jako jitrnice* (the last word is corrected to *jaternice* 'Leberwurst, liver paste').

Place names are constructed, we suppose, in a figure of speech about poverty (Z:591) *je z Chudinkova* or *z Nemanic* (i.e. nemá nic), *z Vysokého nedaleko Poniklého*; also *z Nouzova*. — *Poslat na Výstrkov* (Z:689) expresses the idea of driving away somebody.

In the author's opinion personal names seldom form part of Danish phraseologisms. Of course, comparisons as *smuk som en Adonis*, *gammel som Methusalem* and several others do occur, but numerically they can never compete with the Czech expressions. Figures from Andersen's tales immediately suggest themselves (*som den tapre tinsoldat*, *som barnet i Kejserens nye klæder*). Likewise biblical names: *som den vantro Thomas* etc., 'doubting Thomas' etc.

We shall mention some Danish figures of speech containing such names (omitting translation apart from exceptional cases). Well-known Danish figures of speech, based on personal names, are the following (translation omitted): *spildte ord på Balle-Lars uden at spørge Per eller Poul* (consulting nobody), where Czech has *at' je to Petr nebo Capl* for 'I do not care'. *Ane* or *Maren i kærret; det regner, sa' Per Degner* etc. In Danish one can say *Det var ellers en ordentlig Svend*; Svend is a boy's name, but hardly what is found in the phrase, which expresses a great size, a heavy rucksack, a big fish, a thick manuscript etc.

Well-known are *Nysgerrig-Per*, *Bulder-Jørgen*, *Luskemikkel* (about one who slinks away, shirks), *Hyklermikkel* (hypocrite, *Sjuske-Malene*, *Sjuske-Dorte* (slattern, slut), and indefinite expressions of the type *skvadder-mikkel*, *skvatimikkel*, *kludremikkel*, *Skrive-Søren*, *Jens* (the Danish soldier), *Mester Erik* (the rattan cane in one of Holberg's comedies), expressions that characterize persons, mostly negatively — we shall not go deeper into this sphere, in fact, we are not dealing with true phraseologisms.

One example should be given of personal names in Russian phraseologisms: *Mit'koj zvali*, telling us that the person in question has disappeared irrevocably, only his memory has been preserved (we have drawn this case from

Babkin's *Russkaja frazeologija* (1970). The expression is unknown in MAS explaining that Mit'ka is diminutive of Dmitrij.

It is well known that observers of language try to adopt a total view, characterizing a language briefly, emphasizing one pronounced feature. This, of course, does not lead to any objective judgment, but is still worth remembering. U. Albeck (1973: 130) in her book on stylistics, says: "the ironical form seems to be remarkably frequent in Danish and may to a certain degree be considered a national form of expression" (the original text is Danish).

The evaluation of the Czech philologist Pavel Eisner of his mother tongue (in *Chrást i tvrz* (1946:321 ff)) is not very flattering: Czech has to a special degree, we understand, an eye for the negative qualities of the neighbour, it manifests itself in frequent use of privativum *ne-*; the positive qualities of a person pass unseen, to a great degree the Czech pays attention to "the mote that is in thy brother's eye".

10. It is seen immediately that phraseologisms do not suggest themselves to the same degree in every situation of life. With the word *prolificacy* we have two things in mind: one could ask to what degree the *single word* is the basis of the phraseological connection (and this seems to be what O. S. Achmanova, in *Tezisy* (1961:8), has in mind when speaking about *tjagotenie* and *ottalkivanie*), and secondly one may have in mind the prolificacy of an *area of notions*, i.e. to what degree a given sector of life (reflected in the corresponding section of the table of contents according to subject) is provided with phraseological expressions. The latter attracts our attention. We rely on the thematic section in Zaorálek's work. It is easy to see that prolificacy (as described) is not ascertained on the basis of the register's organization. For instance with *kůň* the answer is negative, whereas the voluminous chapter about the comparison has a full column, *kůň*, thus showing high fertility. *Silný jako kůň* in the thematic section appears under *silný*, and the section about figures of speech (apart from comparisons) contains two and a half columns about *kůň*.

The spheres of life do not invite idiomatics to the same degree. The "negative" fields more than others attract the metaphoric periphrase — but the results of our investigation can only be called approximate; a thorough analysis would have to take an endless multitude of details into consideration.

It appears for instance that when *drunkenness* (see Zaorálek (1947:636) about *opilý* forms part of the connection, the expressions are spread over 6 columns (here we would mention Kaj Bom's (1957) work on Danish slang, and a psycholinguistic study by S. Schoubye (1949) on the relation of alcohol to language); it looks as if this area, with regard to space, is only surpassed by *stupidity*, *hloupost*, occupying 7 columns.

Other big areas, in a rough estimate, are *nepřijemnost* and *hubenost*. Expres-

sions connected with *hurry*, *spěch*, show relatively strong representation, likewise figures of speech mocking fat persons, *tloušťka*, such as denote what is done in vain, *marnost*, expressions dealing with poverty and misery, *mizina*.

We find prolificacy with *spánek*, expressions for cheating and tricking (*šiditi*), for conceit and pride (*pýcha*), for fear (*strach*), hunger (*hlad*), weakness (*slabost*), and, apparently, to a lesser degree with *nadávati*, *škaredost*, *starosti*, *špinavost*, *úspěch*, *holedbavost*, *silný*, *smích* and *zamračnost*.

A little weaker is the representation with "whatever the cost, at any price", *špatný*, *úlek*, *mrzutý*, and let us further mention, with more or less the same representation, figures of speech concerning old maids (*staropanensví*), cross-eyedness, hostility, sincerity, also diarrhoea, expressions connected with eating, here also *prohra* (fiasco and loss), *touha*, *tvrdost* and *úplatnost* (to be open to bribery).

For obvious reasons it is impossible to tell how great the prolificacy is with names of persons and places — they are scattered unpredictably, but it is easily seen that their share in idiomatics is remarkably great.

Our remarks on prolificacy are based on an arbitrary evaluation. Prolificacy has nothing to do with actual frequency, but our remarks reflect what spheres of human life attract idiomatics. An exact picture is not attained — even the most sophisticated thematic system will encounter insoluble questions: anger-indignation-resentment-displeasure-crossness etc. elude a classification. Thus, we have also illustrated the difficulties of comparing the prolificacy of two languages.

We can also estimate in which cases prolificacy is slight. We mention for example *sladký* where six comparisons are stated (with *jako* for particula comparationis) and only one figure of speech: *ten není ani sladký, ani hořký* saying he has not got a definite view of something. And with *spolehlivost* 'reliability' only two cases occur. With positive qualities you meet less prolificacy — but if it is a matter of taunts and derogatory statements the language displays great inventiveness as mentioned earlier.

It is also of interest to see what tangible things and beings colour the phraseology, for instance animals, phenomena from nature and weather, what in Danish is called "de nære ting" (lit. the near things), i.e. things from daily life etc.

Some spot tests (from Czech idiomatics) show popular components: from the animal kingdom dog, pig, fish, hen, swine, calf, louse, wolf, sparrow, ox, hare and goose; from the world of nature wind, air; and "the near things" are supposed to include egg, hair, stone, bread and water. Outside this circle we find in numerous figures of speech *žid* 'jew', often in a derogatory sense.

Considering a comparison with a verb as comparandum, we shall probably find — in the opinion of the author — that *simplex* results in a greater number of images than does a *prefixed* verb, due to the semantic narrowing ("specializa-

tion'') that is the most important manifestation of prefixation. We are then dealing with prolificacy as to principles, different from what has just been described.

Prolificacy of the single word, of course, is not equal to the combinability of the word, its *sočetaemost'*. Whereas the study of the sentence is old, investigation of *slovosočetaenie*, the connection between the members of the sentence, their relation, has been taken up only in the last decades (in Russian linguistics), as we see from V. P. Suchotin's introduction to A. K. Demidova's work on the regimen of the verb. A copious exposition of *slovosočetaenie* is found in Sørensen (1966:208–62), applicable to Russian in the same way as the works we are going to mention. With regard to reference books of the 1970s, we mention a work by T. I. Anisimova et alii (1975) and one by V. Andreeva-Georg and V. Tolmačëva (on the verb) from the same year. These two works contain a great number of phraseologisms; as an example may serve *Duša (=serdce) ne ležit k komu-l., k čemu-l.* (under *ležat'*) expressing that the person in question has no interest in, no sympathy for, no confidence in somebody etc., and from the last mentioned work *delat' iz múchi sloná*, our Danish "gøre en myg til en elefant", lit. 'make an elephant out of a gnat' (the English say 'make a mountain out of a molehill'), under *delat'*. Both works indicate phraseologisms typographically, but it is superfluous to remark that their main object is to serve as dictionaries of constructions, expound *sočetaemost'*; as for the verb this means whether it is connected with *čto*, *kogo*, *komu*, prepositional member etc., but information is also given as to which individual words that verb is "fit" to be combined with.

Combinability concerns us (although this, naturally, is not the same as creation of phraseology): a given word is connected with many words, but not with any word. Connotation has been discussed in the previous text, and here we shall be satisfied with fragments of one example, a complete investigation being too circumstantial. We shall look at the verb *nære* in terms of prolificacy, and let the verb form part of current sequences, arranged in a „positive” and a “negative” column — the verb is not predetermined to appear in only one column:

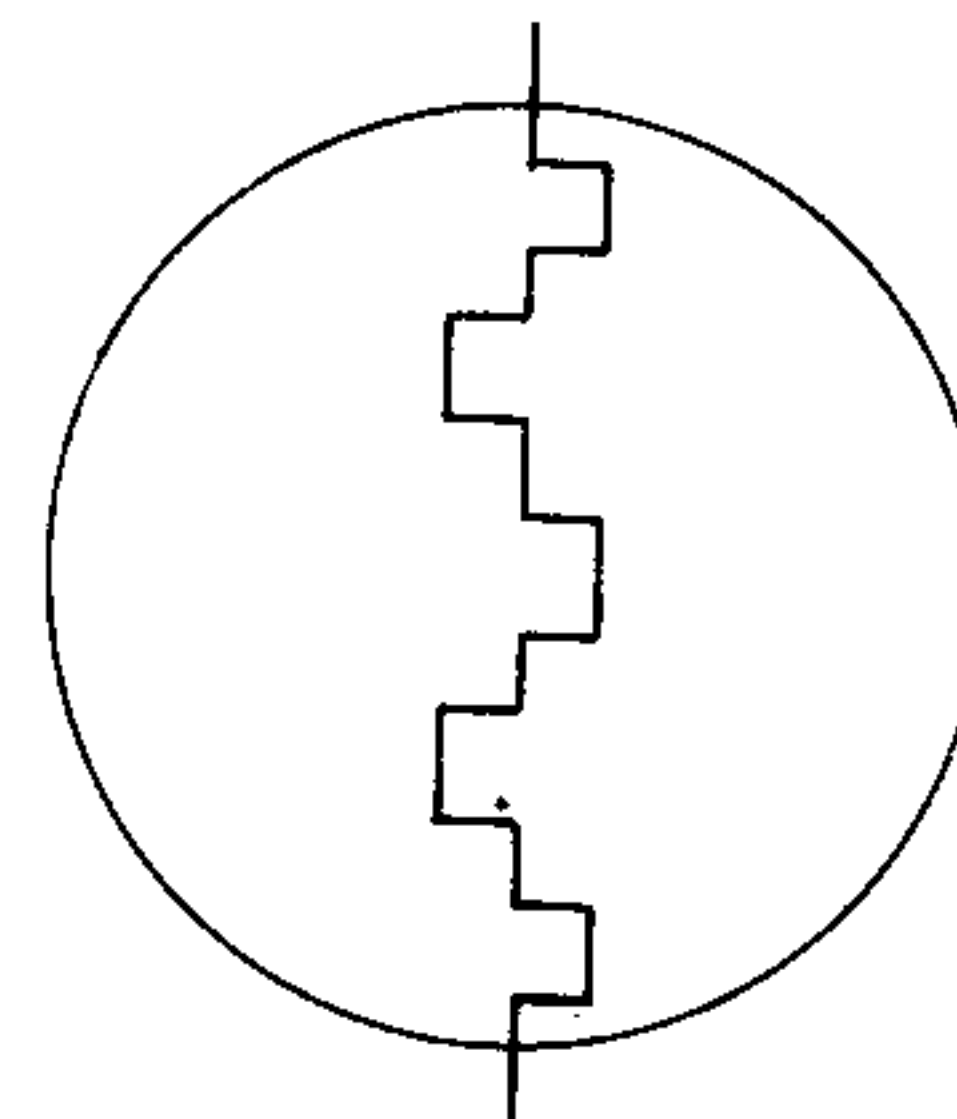
<i>nære</i>	
tillid 'trust'	mistillid 'mistrust'
agtelse 'respect'	afsky 'hate, loathing'
kærlighed 'love'	had 'hatred'
varme følelser 'warm feelings'	÷
÷	frygt 'fear'.

Some possible sequences have been mentioned (we ignore the problems of Danish *nære sig* and *nærende*, the latter is a participle as well as an adjective).

We might have chosen a Czech verb instead of *nære*.

11. Retrospect and conclusion. The scholar can build up the study of phraseology in many ways, and many tasks are in store for him. He can pursue the principles of phraseologism in general, or he can collect parallelisms. It will be fruitful to deal with the rhythm in the stock phrases; Kjær and Holbek has observed definite rhythms in Danish proverbs. Examinations of the role of the animal in idiomatics are fruitful, cf. animals and birds in the above-mentioned work, p. 23, and especially the study of the role of names in figures of speech. The use of grammatical tense also attracts the scholar's attention (Danish proverbs seldom show preterite tense for what is universal, see Kjær and Holbek 1972:26; it is different in Slavic).

The present study has not attained a division of phraseological types; the aim has been to create a serviceable working basis. A separate study will concentrate on the comparison (especially Czech ... *jako* ... and Danish ... *som* ...), and this is without doubt a suitable division of phraseologisms (Zaorálek takes the same attitude). Apparently one might divide the total volume of phraseologisms into non-comparison and comparison-solely (the image still being present), but this is an illusion, and we shall do it this way:



seeing that the non-comparison may possess some features of the comparison, and, conversely, comparison may overlap the non-comparison. The arbitrary drawing serves to keep the thought fixed — of course, we are not speaking about one half versus one half.

Zaorálek's division is the following: over 400 pages catalogue figures of speech, comparisons occupy almost one hundred and fifty pages, whereupon a thematical index follows. The title is explicitly *Lidová rčení* (poetical language not being included). It is remarkable that erotica are not included (which seems to be a common feature of the relevant collections), they are considered improper; on the other hand, his work is not reticent or delicate as far as vulgar words are concerned, often latrine words, words for relieving oneself etc. It is well known that Tang Kristensen, the great Danish folklorist, certainly knew

and noted erotica, but he did not want to have them printed ("immoral proverbs"). — Mašín's work is a dictionary of constructions, which also contains numerous phraseologisms; the disposition is of less interest here; his basis is printed literature, and as far as one can judge, his examples are drawn from prominent authorships.

So far, our examination has shown a great measure of accordance in structure and role of phraseologism in Danish and Czech. In quite a number of cases the figures of speech are parallel or closely cognate. Possibly, phraseology is more abundant in Czech, more inventive and sometimes more drastic.

ABBREVIATIONS

- MAS: *Slovar' russkogo jazyka. I—IV.* 1957—61. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyh i nacional'nyh slovaroj.
- SSJČ: *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého. I—IV.* 1960—71. Praha: Československá akademie věd.
- Tezisy: *Problemy frazeologii i zadači sostavlenija frazeologičeskogo slovarja russkogo jazyka. Tezisy.* Babkin, A.M. et al. (eds.). 1961. Leningrad: Institut russkogo jazyka.
- VRČ: *Velký rusko-český slovník. I—IV.* Kopecký, L. et al. (eds.) 1952—64. Praha: Československá akademie věd.
- Z: Zaorálek, J. 1947. *Lidová rčení.* Praha: Fr. Borový.

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