

*Phraseology in Children's Literature:
A Contrastive Analysis*

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Phraseology in Children's Literature
A Contrastive Analysis

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

PU	=	Phraseological Unit
TS	=	Translation Studies
CL	=	Children's Literature
ST	=	Source Text
TT	=	Target Text
CREAMY	=	Calvino REpertoire for the Analysis of Multilingual Phraseology
LVC	=	Light Verb Construction
EP	=	Expression with one or more Prepositions
IB	=	Irreversible Binomial
CLM	=	Co-occurrence of Lexical Morphemes
VPC	=	Verb-Particle Construction
SCV	=	Separable Complex Verb

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1 INTRODUCTION

Phraseological units notoriously pose challenges for both translators and language learners. For the former, these primarily consist in grasping the figurative or non-compositional meaning of (partially) opaque phraseological units (PUs)¹ and finding a translant in the target language that covers not only the denotative meaning of the phraseological unit in the source text but also all that exceeds the denotative dimension – what Gréciano (1994) has called *Phraseoaktivität*. For the latter, on the other hand, not only the comprehension but also the production of phraseological units in the target language is a big issue – also if they are semantically transparent².

Although phraseology is a critical component of language, its interaction with second language³ learning and teaching is mainly studied in higher proficiency levels or specific registers. The presence and nature of phraseological units in lower language proficiency levels, on the other hand, have received very little attention. We can assume, however, that there is a “core phraseological inventory” similar to a core vocabulary: which phraseological units occur so

¹ Semantically transparent phraseological units should not cause any particular problems for professional translators, because of their high language proficiency level.

² Language transfer might play a role here, for example when a learner selects a different light verb (e.g. *fare una doccia* > *make a shower).

³ In this dissertation “second language” is used as a hypernym to indicate a non-native language in any learning or teaching context – not only if it is the first language of the place it is learned or taught in, but also outside of the Sprachraum, where “foreign language” would be used.

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frequently that language learners would need them at lower proficiency levels as well? What is the nature of these phraseological units? Do they tend to the compositional or non-compositional extreme of the semantic transparency continuum? Do they tend to have a figurative meaning? Do they tend to be more lexical or more functional? What kind of internal structure do they have? The identification of such a core phraseological inventory remains a desideratum.

In this dissertation, a first attempt will be made to evaluate how Children's Literature (CL) could prove a fruitful corpus for the identification of a core phraseological inventory. While it is true that CL is primarily intended for native receivers and not for language learners, L2 learners do use children's books to advance, either in the classroom or in independent study. Furthermore, authors, translators, and other professional figures involved in the publication of CL are expected to pay particular attention to linguistic difficulty and variety. Both author and translator base their linguistic choices, and their phraseological choices specifically, on the assumptions they have of the still limited linguistic, phraseological, and cultural knowledge of their young receivers (Burger 1997: 233; Finkbeiner 2011: 47–48). Hence Children's Literature might be a valid starting point for the identification of a core inventory of phraseological units.

This research will be conducted contrastively by confronting Dutch and Italian texts. A contrastive approach is not only beneficial from an interlinguistic point of view but could also serve intralinguistic purposes as accurate and adequate descriptions of the single languages are needed to make a comparison. Through that comparison, the similarities and differences in the Dutch and translated Italian phraseological inventories can be identified, as well as the semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic connotations that often constrain professional translators to manipulate the source text in order to convey its specific denotative and connotative characteristics to the target text. For those connotative characteristics to become part of the investigation, it is pivotal to study phraseological units in their pragmatic context. A parallel text is needed to

conduct such a contrastive analysis. A literary source text and its translation as a whole can be considered parallel texts – even if, for example, there is no one-to-one correspondence on sentence-level – and thus seem to provide an adequate corpus for the description and analysis of phraseology.

The questions at the base of this research are the following:

- I. What are the similarities and differences between the Dutch and (translated) Italian phraseological inventories?
- II. What equivalence is there between Dutch phraseological units translated into Italian, and translated Italian phraseological units in their original Dutch?
- III. How can a study of phraseology in Children’s Literature contribute to identifying a core phraseological inventory of a language?

In the attempt to answers to these questions, this dissertation is divided into two sections: theoretical-methodological aspects (Chapters 2-4) and empirical analysis (Chapters 5-7). **Chapter 2** addresses the theoretical framework of this research. The first paragraph focuses on contrastive linguistics and the relevant developments in the discipline, while in the second paragraph the attention is directed to phraseology. The paragraph contains a discussion of the discipline in general, and contrastive phraseology in specific, and reviews the commonly proposed criteria for phraseological units. Lastly, terminology and classification issues are discussed. The third paragraph of Chapter 2 sheds light on relevant aspects of Translation Studies, with a special interest in the concept of “equivalence”. In the last paragraph, this study is positioned at the crossroads of contrastive linguistics, phraseology, and Translation Studies.

Chapter 3 sheds light on the issues specifically regarding Children’s Literature, profoundly characterised by asymmetrical power relationships. In the children’s book industry adults (authors, editors, publishers, critics, booksellers, parents, et cetera) make all the decisions, and the primary readership (children) cannot give any input. Furthermore, globalisation and commercialisation cause

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an imbalance in the exchange of Children's Literature between cultures. Translation is a vital part of this industry, and translators are often called on to adapt the source text to reflect the norms, values, and views on childhood of the reader culture, which requires specific translation strategies. In the last part of the chapter, the importance and use of CL in language acquisition and learning are discussed, followed by a review of specific studies on phraseology in Children's Literature.

Our methodology will be outlined in **Chapter 4**, starting with a brief description of the steps taken to carry out the empirical analyses presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In the first paragraph the corpus is introduced. The second paragraph focuses on the platform used for the annotation of the phraseological units contained in our corpus. The general functioning of the platform and the various search and analysis options are demonstrated, but the main focus lies on the individual parameters used for the analysis of the phraseological units. In the last paragraph, other instruments used for the annotation and analysis are specified.

The empirical part of this research is divided into three chapters. **Chapter 5** sets out the findings of the analysis of phraseological units in a Dutch source text and their translantants in an Italian target text. In **Chapter 6**, this perspective is inverted: the phraseological units in the Italian text are analysed and confronted with the Dutch original text. In **Chapter 7**, these two perspectives are combined, and the differences and similarities between the two phraseological inventories are discussed, as well as the equivalence between phraseological units and translantants.

At last, in **Chapter 8** our findings will be summarised, and prospects for further research will be set forth.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the theoretical framework at the base of this dissertation will be outlined. After an overview of contrastive linguistics (§2.1.), we will go into the field of phraseology (§2.2.). In §2.2.3. the criteria generally accepted for phraseological units and their problems will be discussed, and in §2.2.4. we will elaborate on the great inter- and intralingual terminological confusion in the field of phraseology. Next (§2.3.), the field of Translation Studies will be considered, where the concept of equivalence will be highlighted. Lastly, in §2.4. we will seek to place this dissertation on the crossroads of contrastive linguistics, (contrastive) phraseology and Translation Studies, discussing the utility and need of studying phraseology in its co-text and (children's) literature.

2.1. Contrastive linguistics

In his 1941 article *Languages and Logic*, Whorf (1941/2012: 307–308) coins the term “contrastive linguistics”, distinguishing the discipline from comparative linguistics:

Much progress has been made in classifying the languages of earth into genetic families, each having descent from a single precursor, and in tracing such developments through time. The result is called “comparative linguistics.” Of even greater importance for the future technology of thought is what might be called “contrastive

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linguistics.” This plots the outstanding differences among tongues – in grammar, logic, and general analysis of experience.

Comparative linguistics looks mostly at similarities between languages and seeks to understand how they developed and how they are related to other languages through time. Contrastive linguistics, on the other hand, is mostly interested in differences and does not usually contrast entire language systems but rather small parts of them.

While Whorf might have been the first to adopt the term “contrastive linguistics”, the concept of “contrasting” languages goes back considerably longer (Pickbourn 1789/1968: xviii) and is explicitly present in an essay by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1820: 10):

[...] und beide, die Sprache und der Sprachcharakter der Nationen, treten in ein helleres Licht, wenn man die Idee jener in so mannichfaltigen individuellen Formen ausgeführt, diesen zugleich der Allgemeinheit und seinen Nebengattungen gegenüber gestellt erblickt.⁴

Von Humboldt (1820: 1) refers to this future branch of study as “das vergleichende Sprachstudium” (‘the comparative study of languages’) and divides it into two parts: the study of the organism of languages (“die Untersuchung des Organismus der Sprachen”, von Humboldt 1820: 8) and the study of languages in their state of ‘formation’, i.e. development (“die Untersuchung der Sprachen im Zustande ihrer Ausbildung” *ibid.*)⁵.

⁴ “[...] and both the language and the linguistic character of a nation appear in a clearer light when one sees the idea of language realized in so many individual ways and when one can compare and contrast the linguistic character of one nation with that of others, both in general and individually.” English translation in von von Humboldt (1997: 8), ed. by Harden & Farrelly.

⁵ Von Humboldt (1820: 8) divides these two research areas “mit Uebersehung der kleinen Unrichtigkeit” that the development of a language influences the already established organism, and may have influenced it before the organism reached that state.

Wenguo & Mun (2007: 24ff) have identified three phases of the development of contrastive linguistics, limited to the West⁶ and from scientifically and practically based studies in the nineteenth century onward⁷:

- 1) 1820s – 1940s: “emergent philosophy on contrast”;
- 2) 1940s – 70s: “riding the waves of transition in theoretical linguistics”;
- 3) since 1980: “towards theory construction in macro perspective”.

The first phase is initiated by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1820, 1836) and concludes with the works of Otto Jespersen (1924, 1925) and the above-mentioned Benjamin Lee Whorf (1941)⁸. While von Humboldt approached the discipline from a more theoretical point of view, Jespersen (1924: 346) proposed a “new kind of Comparative Syntax” and applied that contrastive methodology to his own work. In this phase, contrastive linguistics is used as a framework for describing languages and is seen as theoretical or general linguistics (Wenguo & Mun 2007: 36).

In the second phase, the scope of the discipline shifts: as part of applied linguistics, the focus lies on second language education. In fact, in the 1950s the field of contrastive linguistics is dominated by ideas from behaviourism and structuralism. Wenguo & Mun (2007: 34–44) identify this second phase with Charles Fries and Robert Lado. Lado’s *Linguistics across cultures* (1957) is often seen to mark the start of modern contrastive linguistics (e.g. James 1980: 8; Rusiecki 1976: 23); even though Wenguo & Mun disagree with this view, they agree it

⁶ The authors dedicate separate chapters to the development of the discipline in China, see Wenguo & Mun (2007: 69–163).

⁷ Thus excluding earlier examples of contrastive analyses, that, as the authors note, are described in Krzeszowski (1990: 1–3); one of those dating to as early as ca. 1000 AD.

⁸ Whorf’s contribution to contrastive linguistics goes well beyond his coinage of the name of the discipline. Together with his professor, Edward Sapir, he presumed linguistic relativity (every language has a structure that governs its users, leading to different worldviews) and linguistic determinism (language shapes and hence limits the ideas of its users). The former is considered the weak form (it influences) and the latter the strong form (it determines) of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. See Wenguo & Mun (2007: 29–33) for a more detailed discussion of Whorf’s work.

“opens up a new era in the contrastive analysis of languages, setting new goals on new grounds and new rules of games in terms of methodology” (2007: 35; see 2007: 38–39 for contributions Lado made in the field of language teaching). Fries (1945: 9) states that: “[t]he most effective teaching materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.” It was the assumption that comparing a target language with a learner’s native language (source language) would favour the learning of that target language, as the differences between the two would pose obstacles. This became known as the “Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis”. Scholars assumed that they could predict which parts of the target language would not create difficulties (those similar to the source language), and which parts would lead to errors (those diverging). On the basis of analyses of that kind, teaching materials could be developed.

This assumption proved to be wrong. The claim that language learning errors could be predicted:

obviously had to be adjusted as the relationship between language structure and learning difficulty became clearer. Not only is there no correlation between degrees of linguistic dissimilarity and mental effort required, but also proficiency can often be affected by mistakes concerning minor differences rather than major ones.”
(Verspoor & Dirven 2004: 250)

Both Fries and Lado were supporters of what would later be called the “strong version” of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (cf. Wardhaugh 1970). The weak version of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis has linguistic evidence of interference as a starting point and contrasts two language systems only to account for the observed difficulties. It uses contrastive analyses to explain observed phenomena, not to predict them (Wardhaugh 1970: 126–127).

With contrastive linguistics considered a part of applied linguistics, Lado and Fries found a governing theory in structuralism. In the United States, contrastive linguistics lost status while Chomsky's generative transformation grammar (1965) became more and more prominent. Di Pietro (1971) thus took generative linguistics as a guiding principle for his views on contrastive analysis (see Wenguo & Mun 2007: 39–42 for a discussion of Di Pietro 1971).

Albeit second language learning and teaching was the main focus during the second phase of contrastive linguistics, it is necessary to mention a key work on a different topic. *Languages in contact* by Weinreich (1953) is a thorough discussion of bilingualism as the author observed it, stating that “two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT [emphasis already present] if they are used alternately by the same persons.” (Weinreich 1953/2010: 1; cf. Rusiecki 1976: 20–22).

According to Wenguo & Mun (2007: 44–45) the start of modern contrastive studies is marked by contributions from James (1980); Fisiak (1980, 1981, and later); Hartmann (1980); Snell-Hornby (1983); Krzeszowski (1990); Wierzbicka (1991, for contrastive pragmatics), Connor (1996) and Chesterman (1998). James (1980: 27) made a distinction between microlinguistics and macrolinguistics, and advocated for the latter. The former (*ivi*: 61–97) was typical of the second phase of development in contrastive linguistics, as the goal was to describe languages to serve language teaching and learning. The latter (*ivi*: 98–140), on the other hand, did not only set out to describe linguistic code but also took into consideration the context. The attention thus did no longer lie on the formal system (*langue*, de Saussure 1916; Competence, Chomsky 1965), but rather on the process of communication (communicative competence, Hymes 1972). Macro-analysis for James meant broadening the discipline both vertically (by analysing larger linguistic units, above sentence level, specifically concerning text and discourse analysis) and horizontally (by taking into consideration the extra-linguistic, sociocultural settings).

While the attention is almost exclusively devoted to applied linguistics in the second phase of the development of contrastive linguistics, in the third phase there is a shift to theoretical research (Wenguo & Mun 2007: 45–47). Fisiak (1980: 3–4) stressed the importance of neatly distinguishing between applied and theoretical contrastive linguistics, for progress to be made in the field. Only by releasing contrastive linguistics from the need to serve applied linguistics, and more specifically pedagogic purposes, contrastive linguistics could develop its own theoretical principles (Jackson 1976: 7, cited in Fisiak 1980: 4). While many more efforts are worth mentioning, these two explain the name Wenguo & Mun (2007) have given to the third phase of development of contrastive linguistics: “towards theory construction in macro perspective”⁹.

2.2. Phraseology

The term “phraseology” (from Greek φράσις, –εις, ‘phrase, expression’ and λόγος ‘discourse, reason’) in linguistics refers to

- 1) the discipline occupied with the study of non-free word combinations;
- 2) the object of that discipline, the whole of non-free word combinations in a (specific sub-)language.

Various accounts of (the history of) phraseology exist, both general (e.g. Burger et al. 2007; Granger & Paquot 2008) and within language-specific traditions (e.g. Feyaerts 2007 for Dutch, Nuccorini 2007 for Italian). In the following, we will not try to emulate those overviews but limit ourselves to briefly addressing some key works, concepts and approaches that will help to clarify the position of this research in the branch of phraseology. Subsequently, the criteria

⁹ It goes beyond the scope of this dissertation to digress on the developmental phases of contrastive linguistics. Wenguo & Mun (2007: 24–67) give an excellent, in-depth overview – especially of the third phase (*ibid.*: 44–67); we kindly refer the reader to their work for more details.

for defining phraseological units and the terminological dispersion that characterises the field will be discussed.

2.2.1. Phraseology as a discipline in linguistic research

Phraseology (in a broad sense) can be split up into two parts:

- 1) paremiology (from Greek *παροιμία* ‘proverb’), the study of autonomous, fixed expressions, like proverbs;
- 2) phraseology in a narrow sense, the study of ‘smaller’ combinations that usually are not autonomous.

Naturally, it is not always easy to make a neat distinction between the two and some overlap will occur¹⁰.

Proverbs have been collected and studied for many centuries (Hrisztova-Gotthardt & Varga 2015: 1), as the publication dates of many collections can show (e.g. Erasmus’ *Adagia* first published in 1500). The study of phraseological units is conventionally marked to originate in much more recent times, with the start of modern linguistics (de Saussure 1916: 178; discussion in Koesters Gensini 2020b: 22–24), Charles Bally’s (1909) *Traité de stylistique française* functioning as a landmark study. Bally (1909/1921: 66–87) did not only discuss French word combinations but also saw them as a continuum (from occasional to fixed combinations), and distinguished between *unités phraséologiques*, that have a completely fixed form, and *séries phraséologiques*, that maintain some of their autonomy. However, as Autelli (2021) points out, there have been many phraseologist before Bally – “albeit the works were mostly of a practical nature as opposed to theoretical essays” (Autelli 2021: 22–23).

Inspired by Bally, phraseology is developed in the ex-Soviet Union (Vinogradov 1946) and from the 1980s onward extensively in Germany (e.g. Eckert 1979; Fleischer 1982/1997). The interest in phraseological studies has

¹⁰ As Koesters Gensini (2020b: 22) points out, formulas (e.g. “good morning”) are autonomous, but are usually studied in narrow phraseology.

increased a lot at the end of the twentieth century; this is also thanks to the existence of many research groups, associations and specific journals, of which Messina Fajardo (2023: 25–26) gives a brief overview. Corpas Pastor (1996) distinguishes three main parts in phraseological research: 1) Eastern European structuralism; 2) Linguistics in the ex-Soviet Union and its contribution to other states from the former eastern block; 3) North American linguistics with Transformational-generative Grammar as a starting point.

Only recently, however, phraseology is widely considered an autonomous discipline and no longer a sub-branch (Messina Fajardo 2023: 36). Not so long ago, Granger & Paquot (2008: 27) stated that:

[...] phraseology has only recently begun to establish itself as a field in its own right. This process is being hindered by two main factors however: the highly variable and wide-ranging scope of the field on the one hand and on the other, the vast and confusing terminology associated with it.

The first problem, that of the object of the field, leads to the second (which we will get back to in §2.2.4.). Granger & Paquot (2008: 28–29), who have both done research on language learners and phraseology in language learning and teaching, discuss two major approaches to phraseology that have different objects of study. The first, the ‘phraseological approach’ (Nesselhauf 2004), originating from the ex-Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, has “a view of phraseology that restricts the scope of the field to a specific subset of linguistically defined multiword units and sees phraseology as a continuum along which word combinations are situated, with the most opaque and fixed ones at one end and the most transparent and variable ones at the other.” (Granger & Paquot 2008: 28). The second approach originated with Sinclair and uses “a

bottom-up corpus-driven approach to identify lexical co-occurrences” (*ivi*: 29)¹¹, instead of the traditional top-down approach (identification on the basis of linguistic criteria). This approach is referred to as the ‘frequency-based approach’ (Nesselhauf 2004) and encompasses many word combinations that previously were considered to lie outside of the field of phraseology. One is thus a narrow conception, while the other is very broad.

The phraseological and frequency-based approaches mentioned above are far from the only approaches to phraseology. There is enormous variation in the field. While some scholars have been occupied with the boundaries of the discipline, others investigate pragmatic-textual aspects, variation of PUs, phraseology in special languages, or semantic-semiotic aspects – for instance by focusing on certain themes, semantic-cognitive aspects, psycholinguistic aspects, or translational aspects and equivalence. Since this dissertation is positioned in the field of contrastive phraseology, we will discuss that approach in a more detailed manner.

2.2.2. Contrastive phraseology

In contrastive phraseology, phraseological units are compared between two or more languages. However, scholars have different views on what “contrastive” should entail exactly. In a broad sense, contrastive and cross-linguistic have the same meaning, and any comparison of phraseology between two or more languages is seen as contrastive phraseology. In a narrow sense, all differences and similarities need to be taken into account. In an even more strict sense, the comparison is to be based on differences only (Colson 2008: 194).

¹¹ Automatic identification of phraseological units is a trending topic in Natural Language Processing, but, despite rapid developments, still very challenging. Savary et al. (2019) discuss why this is still a difficult task and give an overview of the state of the art in multiword expression (MWE) identification. The authors encourage the research community to prepare syntactic MWE lexicons, in order to enhance the automatic identification of MWEs.

As phraseology developed mostly in Russia and Germany, those languages were among the first to be well described. Later on, English and French were considerably studied, and soon most European languages followed. It became clear that a cross-linguistic comparison between PUs could benefit the theoretical issues of phraseology in general. However, as Čermák (2001) and Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005) have pointed out, many contrastive studies describe and compare phraseology based on examples without considering what it implicates on a theoretical level (Colson 2008: 192–194). In this light, a major contribution to cross-linguistic phraseology has been that of Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005). The authors have analysed conventional figurative units (e.g. idioms and lexicalised metaphors) in eleven languages¹², with the aim of developing a theoretical framework that “makes it possible to analyse different types of conventional figurative expressions from different languages on the basis of consistent parameters and criteria, so that the potential findings will be fundamentally comparable.” (2005/2022: V–VI).

Many works sought to find descriptors whereby the phraseological similarities and differences could be described. In other words, the scope was to identify an adequate *tertium comparationis*, that later seems to have been found in the equivalence concept. As Korhonen (2007: 577) states: “Die Ermittlung von Äquivalenztypen stellt einen der am meisten untersuchten Aspekte der kontrastiven Phraseologieforschung der letzten Jahrzehnte dar [...]”¹³ See §2.3. for a discussion of the equivalence concept in Translation Studies, and Korhonen

¹² Most of these are Germanic language varieties (the standard languages Dutch, English, German, Swedish, and a Low German dialect, *Westmünsterländisch*). Four other Indo-European languages are included (French, Russian, Lithuanian, and Modern Greek), as well as two non-Indo-European languages (Finnish and Japanese). Cf. Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005/2022: 3–5).

¹³ “The identification of equivalence types represents one of the most studied aspects of contrastive phraseology of the last decades [...]” All translations, unless explicitly mentioned otherwise, are ours.

(2007: 577–584) for a discussion on different equivalence types with regard to phraseology.

2.2.3. Criteria for phraseological units

Back to the first problem according to Granger & Paquot (2008: 27), that of “the highly variable and wide-ranging scope of the field”. As discussed above, the two major approaches to phraseology – phraseological and frequency-based – have different views on what the object of the discipline should be and thus propose different criteria that lead to the narrow and the broad perspective. Colson (2008: 193) summarises this in the following way: “Phraseology in the broad sense meets the criteria of ‘polylexicality’ and ‘fixedness’, whereas phraseology in the narrow sense requires the additional criterion of ‘idiomaticity’.” The narrow perspective seems to cut out important, frequent units that should not be overlooked (Granger & Paquot 2008: 45):

Overemphasis on fixedness and semantic non-compositionality has tended to obscure the role played by a wide range of recurrent and co-occurrent units which are fully regular, both syntactically and semantically, and yet clearly belong to the field of phraseology.

The three central criteria in the debate are:

- 1) **Polylexicality**, i.e. PUs consist of at least two components. For some scholars, at least one of those elements needs to be autosemantic (e.g. Fleischer 1997: 29), while others (e.g. Gréciano 1997: 169) also allow two synsemantic components, and open the door to compounds (see Bauer 2019; Schulte im Walde & Smolka 2020 on compounds and phraseology; see Mollay 1992 on idiomatic compounds and phraseology in Dutch).
- 2) **Fixedness**, often referred to as stability, is comprised of various aspects. First, and maybe foremost, it is a syntactic criterion: structural stability

means that PUs often do not allow “modifications”, i.e. substitution of components, grammatical manipulations, and syntactic operations, and can present syntactic anomalies (cf. Jaki 2014: 7–9). Other aspects of fixedness are commonness, psycho-linguistic fixedness, and pragmatic fixedness (cf. Burger 1998/2010: 15–29).

- 3) **Idiomaticity**, which is a semantic criterion and presumes the non-compositionality of PUs, i.e. the sum of the single literal meanings of the components does not equal the overall meaning of the unit. Fully idiomatic PUs are mostly referred to as idioms and are considered by some to be the core of phraseology (e.g. Dobrovolskij & Piirainen 2005/2022: 31¹⁴).

Burger (1998/2010), for example, sees idiomaticity as an optional characteristic of PUs, using it to distinguish between phraseology in a broad and a narrow sense, whereas polylexicality and fixedness are obligatory. For Fleischer (1997), on the other hand, only the criterion of polylexicality needs to apply for every PU. However, he indicates three properties that he considers prototypical, but that may be absent: fixedness, idiomaticity, and lexicalisation (cf. Sailer & Markantonatou 2018: v–vi). It should be clear that there are many different views on what exactly constitutes a phraseological unit (see Vrbinc 2019: 12–16 for a discussion of views of various authors).

“All of these criteria are recognised as problematic if applied rigidly” (Buerki 2016: 17). To start from the last criterion discussed: idiomaticity is a gradual concept, and cannot be thought of in binary terms of presence/absence.

¹⁴ Colson (2008: 197) argues that if we were to take the claim that idioms are the core of phraseology as true, only the cognitive or semantic aspect of language would be taken into account. In comparison to other types of PUs, idioms have a very low frequency; from a statistical point of view, idioms should rather be considered a marginal category. So if idioms were to be “the central and most important class of phrasemes” (Dobrovolskij & Piirainen 2005/2022: 51), phraseology in general should be considered as marginal. According to Colson (*ibid.*), contrastive studies show that phraseology is a major aspect of all languages.

Jaki (2014: 10) gives the example of *to rain cats and dogs*, where the element *cats and dogs* has an idiomatic meaning, but *rain* is meant literally. But also compositional, non-idiomatic word combinations, like *to make/take a decision*, *to run away, on board* (of a ship), and *salt and pepper* (in the acceptance of seasoning and spice), should be – and in this dissertation will be – considered phraseological units. A rigid application of the criterion of fixedness also poses problems, since many PUs do allow some type of variation (e.g. *to make an important decision*). Some of those variations eventually become conventionalised, while other remain creative expressions to achieve a particular effect (Jaki 2014: 9; Urbinc 2019: 12–13). Maybe the most problematic of all criteria is that of polylexicity if intended in its more rigid conception (autosemantic elements). Basing the inclusion in a phraseological inventory on the fact if something is written as one or two words, has profound theoretical limits. In fact, orthographic rules change with time¹⁵ and some words have spelling variants consisting in one or two words, for instance *half uur* vs. *halfuur*, *rode kool* vs. *rodekool*, *volle maan* vs. *vollemaan* (*Rode Kool / Rodekool* 2011/2021). In these cases only the first option would be considered a PU, whereas the second variant would be ignored. Likewise, some languages tend to create compounds, while others do not, which would lead to the inclusion of an ‘equivalent’ PU in one phraseological inventory, but not in the other (e.g. English *telecommunications network* vs. Dutch *telecommunicatienetwerk* vs. Italian *rete di telecomunicazioni*). For this reason, some scholars have suggested the category of *Einwortphraseologismen*, “one-word phraseological units” (cf. Duhme 1995). Koesters Gensini (2020b: 19) points out another reason why the polylexicity criterion, especially when implemented in an orthographic way, is unnatural:

¹⁵ According to Dutch law, the government and government-funded educational institutions are obliged to follow the spelling as decided upon by a committee of the *Nederlandse Taalunie*. A similar law exists in the Flanders, where the same orthographic rules apply. Two appendices to these laws contain the rules and a list of words. *De Woordenlijst Nederlandse Taal* is updated periodically and freely available to users on Woordenlijst.org, but can also be bought in a printed version, conventionally referred to as ‘*het Groene Boekje*’.

Si tratta infatti di una nozione che non ha un corrispondente naturale nelle lingue storico-naturali, che com'è ovvio sono primariamente parlate (cfr. De Mauro 2002). Anche mettendo da parte il fatto, teoricamente rilevante, che solo circa un terzo delle lingue attualmente parlate dispone di una forma scritta, è ben noto che un insieme di parole grafiche dalla stessa struttura lessicale in una lingua o in un determinato stato di lingua può corrispondere a un'unica parola grafica in un'altra lingua o in un altro stato diacronico della stessa lingua.¹⁶

KEY POINTS FOR THIS RESEARCH

We have discussed numerous points of view in this paragraph. In this dissertation the conviction is followed that phraseological units have a far from discrete, but rather gradual and heterogeneous character and that, rigidly applied, the conventional criteria are very much problematic. Phraseological units are non-free combinations of two (or more) constituents.

The criteria applied in this dissertation and our classification of phraseological units are discussed in §4.2.2.

¹⁶ “It is, in fact, a notion that does not have a natural correspondent in the natural languages, which are obviously primarily spoken (cf. De Mauro 2002). Even putting aside the theoretically relevant fact that only about a third of the currently spoken languages has a written form, it is well known that a group of graphic words of the same lexical structure in one language or in a determinate state of a language can correspond to a single graphic word in another language or in another diachronic state of the same language.”

2.2.4. Terminology and classification

A vast terminology for phraseological units and subtypes is in use, which reflect different views on phraseology in general – but often scholars do not specify on which criteria their identification and classification is based, contributing to confusion and terminological dispersion, and hindering advances outside of the specific phraseological framework implemented (cf. Gries 2008).

The unwieldy terminology used to refer to the different types of multi-word units is a direct reflection of the wide range of theoretical frameworks and fields in which phraseological studies are conducted and can be seen as a sign of the vitality of the field. (Granger & Paquot 2008: 45)

The terminology used to describe the general concept of PUs, often contains a reference to a criterion that identifies them. According to Messina Fajardo (2023: 37–38) in Italian a range of terms is in use (also cf. Quiroga 2006: 41–42): *fraseologismo*, *frasema*, (*espressione*) *polirematica* (cf. e.g. De Mauro 1999: VIII, 2002; Koesters Gensini 2020a, 2020b), *unità polirematica*, *lessema polirematico* or *lessema complesso* (cf. De Mauro & Voghera 1996), *lessicalizzazione complessa*, *unità lessicale superiore*, *sintagma lessicalizzato*, *solidarietà lessicale*, *espressione idiomatica*¹⁷, *multi parole*, *locuzione* (cf. Della Valle 2005: 91), *locuzione plurilessicale*. Some terms mostly focus on the semantic aspect (e.g. *espressione idiomatica*), while others highlight polylexicality – either in a rigid or a more loose conception – (e.g. *polirematica*, *espressione polirematica*, *unità polirematica*, *lessema polirematico*) or on the process and not on the final product (e.g. *lessicalizzazione complessa*). The fixedness of PUs is also brought to attention, with terms like the Spanish *expresión fija* (cf. Zuluaga

¹⁷ Interestingly, in his Italian handbook on linguistics, Simone (1990: 514–515) uses “idioms” (in English) to refer to a variety of non fully compositional expressions, including occasional and momentaneous expressions.

1980) or the French *expression figée* (cf. Gross 1996). In Dutch literature on phraseology the terms *vaste (woord)verbinding* (focus on conventionality; cf. e.g. van Sterkenburg 1987; Kowalska-Szubert 1996; Verstraten 1992), *fraseologisme* (cf. e.g. van Sterkenburg 1987; Verstraten 1992; Prędota 1997; Földešiová 2017) and *fraseologische eenheid* (cf. e.g. Földešiová 2017) are in use. Very common terms used in English literature on the subject, are *multiword expression* (MWE) and *multiword unit* (MWU) (cf. e.g. N. H. W. Grégoire 2009, 2010; Baldwin & Kim 2010; Yuldashev et al. 2013; Hüning & Schlücker 2015; Sailer & Markantonatou 2018), thus focussing on the polylexicity criterion. The term *phraseeme*, however, seems to have gained the preference in the last years (cf. Burger et al. 2007: 11-12).

In this dissertation, we have decided to use the term *phraseological unit*, as it does not privilege a specific aspect or criterion and can function as a hypernym or archlexeme, that includes all other terms that aim to classify or highlight different aspects of phraseology (e.g. idiom, collocation, etc.). It is also a term that works in different languages: *fraseologische eenheid* (nl.), *unità fraseologica* (it.), *unidad fraseológica* (es.), *phraseologische Einheit* (de.), et cetera.

Now that we have settled on a term to refer to our object of study, we are left with phraseological units that differ greatly between each other. It is necessary to create some structure by the means of a classification. Many taxonomies have been proposed, but different scopes may require a different point of view, hence not all are suitable for each research project. Jaki (2014: 12–16) gives an overview of different phraseological types, while Fleischer (1997: 111–123) and Granger & Paquot (2008) discuss different taxonomies.

The classification of phraseological units in this research is quite elaborate, in order to analyse all PUs as precisely as possible. In stead of having one classification that tries to embody various levels of analysis, these levels are separated. The most important distinction to be made is between semantic (see §4.2.2.1.) and (morpho)syntactic levels (see §4.2.2.3.). The semantic analysis level can be seen as a scale from fully non-compositional to compositional PUs (from

idioms to collocations to “other”, compositional phraseological units). The (morpho)syntactic analysis focusses on the internal structure of phraseological units (for example irreversible binomials, light verb constructions, compounds, et cetera), without taking the various levels of non-compositionality into account. The classification implemented in this dissertation is thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4 (*Methodology*).

2.3. Translation Studies

Translation Studies (TS) is the field of study occupied with both translating and translations, application and theory. Even though the practice of translation is a very ancient one, the academic study of it is quite recent (see Gentzler 2014 for an overview the various stages of translation studies): only in the 1970s and 1980s the discipline began to emerge in multiple regions. Translation Studies is said to be founded in Belgium and the Netherlands in the early 1970s, having come forth out of comparative literature studies (Gentzler 2014: 14–17). The University of Leuven was an important centre, hosting the now historic 1976 colloquium “Literature and Translation”. The proceedings gather the papers of many pioneers of the discipline, among whom James Holmes, José Lambert, Raymond van den Broeck, Susan Bassnett, Itamar Even-Zohar, André Lefevere and Gideon Toury (Holmes et al. 1978). James Holmes’ 1972 paper *The Name and Nature of Translations Studies* is often seen as the foundational statement of Translation Studies (Bermann & Porter 2014: 2; Gentzler 2001: 93; Munday 2016: 16; Schippel & Zwischenberger 2017: 10; Snell-Hornby 2006: 3; cf. D’hulst 2022: 5). He described three impediments to the development of “the field of research focusing on the problems of translating and translations” (Holmes 1972/1988: 68), the first being the lack of appropriate channels of communication, as the research outputs were dispersed in publications on other, established disciplines. Holmes (1972/1988: 68) thus stressed “the need for other communication channels, cutting across the

traditional disciplines to reach all scholars working in the field, from whatever background.”¹⁸

The second impediment is the confusion caused by the lack of a generally accepted name for the field of study as a whole. Discussing why other terms (e.g. “translatology”, cf. Goffin 1971: 58–59; “translation theory”; “science of translating”, cf. Nida 2003; Nida & Taber 2003) would not be appropriate or could lead to misunderstandings, the author proposes “translation studies” (Holmes 1972/1988: 68–70). Translation Studies seems to have taken over since, and is even starting to come up in Italian studies in stead of the term *traduttologia*. In Dutch studies, *vertaalwetenschap* still appears to be the most common term. In the United States there seems to be a preference for the term “translation and interpreting studies”, hence distinguishing between simultaneous or consecutive interpretation, and (mostly) written translating and translation, whereas in other traditions those are both included under the hypernym “Translation Studies” (Figure 1).

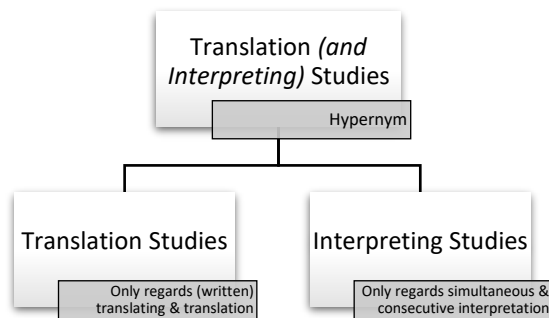


Figure 1 Translation and Interpreting Studies

In this dissertation we use “Translation Studies” in its hypernymic sense, thus hypothetically including interpretation. However, due to the nature of this research, in practice it will refer to translating and translation only.

According to Holmes (1972/1988: 71), the third impediment to the development of TS is “the lack of any general consensus as to the scope and

¹⁸ This impediment has since been resolved, as results clearly from the many publications (papers, books, handbooks, journals), conferences and organisations regarding TS. See Munday (2016: 11–13) for an overview.

structure of the discipline.” And that is precisely what Holmes aims to reach with his paper, by outlining the general framework and major objectives of TS. In the remainder of his paper (*ivi*: 71–78), the author describes what the discipline comprises, and divides it into different parts. The first distinction is made between applied and “pure” TS, the latter split up in two branches (descriptive TS and theoretical TS), with two main objectives (*ivi*: 71):

- 1) “to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience”
- 2) “to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted.”

Holmes proceeds to describe the areas of research within those two branches, descriptive and theoretical TS, and then briefly returns to the branch “of use” to identify four of its areas (translator training, translation aids, translation policy, and translation criticism). Holmes stresses, however, that these branches, while presented as fairly distinct, all influence each other: description is necessary to be able to build a theory based on data, both descriptive and theoretical TS are the base for applied TS, and, in general, all three branches provide and use findings to and of the other two.

Toury (1995: 10) presented Holmes’ framework as a ‘map’; while on the one hand this has a clarifying function, on the other hand the divisions between different areas may seem too neat – after all, Holmes stressed the mutual influence between branches (and areas). It should not come as a surprise that the framework and the map have been thoroughly discussed and criticized, and, as time has passed and the field of study has developed, adjustments, additions and modifications have been proposed (among many, Chesterman 2017; Lambert 1991; Pym 1998/2014; Snell-Hornby 1991; Toury 1991, 1995; van Doorslaer 2007).

Naturally, translation is not new, and neither are thoughts or comments on translation (e.g. Cicero, Horace, Jerome, Zhi Qian; see Venuti (2021: 13–23)

for an overview from antiquity to the late nineteenth century). For example, German writers in the eighteenth century (e.g. Schleiermacher 1813/2011; von Humboldt 1816/1909) viewed translating as a practice to improve the German language and literature and ideally to overcome the cultural and political dominance of France (Venuti 2021: 20–22). Grammar-translation (cf. Cook 2010: 9–15) – a language learning method that became dominant between the late eighteenth century and the 1960s, based upon the translation of mostly artificially constructed sentences to practice the grammar and structure of foreign languages – might have been one of the reasons as to why academia did not consider translation as a primary subject: translation was often perceived as just a means to acquire the ability to read the original (Munday 2016: 13–14). Contrastive linguistics, however, embraced translation as a part of research, as data was often provided through translations and translated examples (e.g. Vinay & Darbelnet 1958; Nida 2003; Di Pietro 1971; James 1980).

Since Holmes' map of the discipline, many areas of it have been explored and many theories and concepts have been formulated. It goes beyond the purpose of this dissertation to revisit them all, hence the reader is referred to overviews in Malmkjær 2013, 2018; Munday 2016: 113–140. See Reiß & Vermeer (1984) on Skopos Theory; the works of Even Zohar, and Toury, on polysystem theory; Bassnett & Lefevere (1990) on the concept of cultural turn. Gambier & Van Doorslaer try to reflect these developments by organising the discipline in a conceptual map that underlies their online “Translation Studies Bibliography” (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2004-2023) with keywords and their occurrence, frequency and interrelationship as a starting point (van Doorslaer 2007: 222). The basic map splits up in ‘translation’ (i.e. the act of translation) and ‘translation studies’ (the meta approach)¹⁹, reflecting the special relationship between the two

¹⁹ The term ‘translation’ includes interpreting, so the two branches are subsequently split up into ‘translation’ and ‘interpreting’ on the one hand, and ‘translation studies’ and ‘interpreting studies’ on the other.

with a dotted line, indicating “a sort of complementariness, possibly inter necessity, but no hierarchy, no inclusion” (*ibid.*). ‘Translation’ is further distinguished into ‘lingual mode’, ‘typology based on media’, ‘modes of translation’ and ‘fields of translation’. Those are then split up in a more detailed way, e.g. ‘modes of translation’ contains ‘(c)overt translation’, ‘(in)direct translation’, ‘retranslation’, etc. (*ivi*: 223–224). ‘Translation studies’ contains ‘approaches’, ‘theories’, ‘research methods’, ‘applied translation studies’ – all of them with several subdivisions, that could contain other divisions as well (*ivi*: 228–231). An interesting innovation is that besides the map that divides ‘translation’ and ‘translation studies’, a ‘transfer map’ is proposed, “where all aspects concerning the concrete transfer from source language/text/culture to target language/text/culture occur: strategies, procedures, norms or translation tools, but also contextual or situational aspects to be taken into account.” (*ivi*: 226)²⁰.

It goes well beyond the scope of this dissertation to further discuss the many aspects of Translation Studies and the theories, concepts and turns that have emerged. One element, however, needs to be discussed more thoroughly: the concept of equivalence²¹. Equivalence “is a variable notion of how the translation is connected to the source text” (Venuti 2021: 5). In the second half of the twentieth century, the main theories of equivalence developed as a reaction to inadequate linguistic theories (Pym 2007: 274–275). Inspired by de Saussure (1916) who explained “how languages form systems that are meaningful only in terms of the differences between the terms”, structuralists assumed that every language shapes its users views of the world²². Since languages divide the world

²⁰ Within the transfer map, a part concerns the institutional environment, that is also specified within the normal map, as a part of ‘applied translation studies’ (translation studies > applied translation studies > institutional environment). Van Doorslaer (2007: 228) uses this example to show that both terms and maps are not mutually exclusive.

²¹ Also see Kenny (2009) for an overview of the concept of equivalence.

²² Cf. §2.1 n. 8 on Sapir and Whorf.

differently²³, outside of their own system no words should be completely translatable and thus translation should not be possible. The concept of equivalence was developed to try to explain what those linguistic theories could not explain (Pym 2007: 275).

As conveying the meaning of a word in another language was deemed impossible, it was necessary to take a closer look at what “meaning” actually entails. Saussure made a distinction between *valeur* and *signification*, the former being in relation to the language system (*langue*), the latter depending on the actual use (*parole*)²⁴. If translation cannot convey value, equivalence of signification might be in reach.

Koller (1979: 176–191) thus examines the concepts of *Äquivalenz* and *Korrespondenz*. The latter, correspondence, is closer to the field of contrastive linguistics and refers to the *langue*, describing differences and similarities in language systems²⁵. The former, equivalence, operates within Saussure’s *parole*, and therefore relates to equivalent elements in specific language pairs and contexts.

Jakobson (1959/2021: 157–159) retains that everything is translatable in any language²⁶, as “[l]anguages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey” and distinguishes three kinds of translating: intralingual translation (into other signs of the same language), interlingual translation (into another language) and intersemiotic translation (into a different sign system). According to Jakobson (*ivi*: 157), in interlingual translation, “there is ordinarily

²³ See Saussure’s (1916: 166) famous example of *sheep – mutton* in English and *mouton* in French; or *bosco – legna – legno* in Italian, opposed to *Wald – Holz* in German and *bois* in French.

²⁴ Like the distinction between *Sinn* and *Bedeutung*, cf. Coseriu 1978/1988.

²⁵ For instance the identification of false friends: e.g. German *aktuel* means ‘current’ not the English ‘actual’ Munday (2016: 74–75).

²⁶ Except for poetry, that “by definition is untranslatable” – “[o]nly creative transposition is possible”, either intralingual, interlingual, or intersemiotic (Jakobson 1959/2021: 160).

no full equivalence between code-units, while messages may serve as adequate interpretations of alien code-units or messages”.

The views on translatability and equivalence vary from one end of the spectrum to the other, connected to two of the major schools of thought in Translation Studies. In the linguistically-oriented approach, equivalence is a crucial concept. As Catford (1965/1974: 21) puts it: “The central problem of translation practice is that of finding TL [target language] translation equivalents. A central task of translation theory is that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence.” One of the aspects linguistically-oriented researchers addressed, was that of the unit of equivalence²⁷. While some looked at equivalence on word-level (e.g. Kade 1968), others (e.g. Reiß 1976) stressed relationships on text-level. Since texts have many linguistic layers, Catford (1965/1974: 24–26, 75–76) pointed out that equivalence might not always be achieved on all these layers at once, but may be established at lower ranks if sentence-sentence equivalence is not in reach. This clearly reflects in Skopos Theory and the difference between source text oriented and target text oriented translation.

Nida (1964; Nida & Taber 2003) also moved away from a strict word-for-word equivalence and stressed the importance of meaning in its context (1964: 33ff; cf. Munday 2016: 65–66). He focused on the aspect of the nature of equivalence types, proposing two orientations:

- 1) towards the source text structure, called “formal equivalence”;
- 2) towards the receptor, called “dynamic equivalence”.

In the former, the target text (TT) is very similar to the source text (ST) both in form and in content, while in the latter the focus is on conveying the message of the source text to the target text as naturally as possible (“naturalness of expression”, Nida 1964/2003: 159). The ‘foreignness’ of the source text

²⁷ See Sorvali (2004) for a comprehensive discussion on the unit of translation.

should hence be minimized in the target text²⁸ and meaning must take precedence over style if the equivalent effect (or response) is to be achieved (Nida 1964/2003: 164–168).

Much like the concept of equivalence itself, Nida's principle of equivalent effect was heavily criticised (cf. Munday 2016: 69–71), some scholars claiming it to be impossible to achieve (e.g. van den Broeck 1978: 40; Larose 1989: 78)²⁹. Even in the Nineties, *Meta* published a series of five papers by Qian Hu (1992a, 1992b, 1993a, 1993b, 1994) regarding “the implausibility of equivalent response”. Much criticism was also directed at the subjectivity of the equivalence response: “The whole question of equivalence inevitably entails subjective judgement from the translator or analyst.” (Munday 2016: 69). Despite the debate, Nida had a substantial impact on scholars, among whom Newmark³⁰, Koller and De Mauro.

In an attempt to describe what elements of a source text and a target text might be equivalent, Koller (1979, 1989, 1992, 1995, and more) gives a different perspective on the equivalence relationship, assuming that translations are characterised by a double linkage: on the one hand to the source text and on the other to the communicative conditions on the receiver's side (Koller 1995: 197). The equivalence relation, through the differentiation of this double linkage, is defined by distinguishing between equivalence frameworks. Koller (1979: 186–191, and in more detail 1992: 228–266) describes five of those frameworks:

- a) Denotative equivalence (regarding the extralinguistic content of a text, also referred to as content invariance);

²⁸ Later on, this particular point was heavily criticised by culturally-oriented translation theorists like Venuti (1995/2017).

²⁹ The difficulty or impossibility to achieve equivalence, or a translation without some form of manipulation by the translator, is contained in the often quoted Italian adage *traduttore, traditore*.

³⁰ See Newmark (1981) for his take on Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence, or in his terms “semantic translation” and “communicative translation”.

- b) Connotative equivalence (regarding lexical choices, especially between near-synonyms, also referred to as stylistic equivalence);
- c) Text-normative equivalence (regarding text types and their specific characteristics, also referred to as stylistic equivalence);
- d) Pragmatic equivalence (oriented towards the receiver, also referred to as communicative equivalence, or Nida's dynamic equivalence);
- e) Formal equivalence (regarding the form and aesthetics of a text and individual stylistic features, also referred to as expressive equivalence, but different from Nida's formal equivalence).

In the initial stage of the research project in which the CREAMY-platform (used for the empirical part of this dissertation) was developed, an attempt was made to measure equivalence using different types, including Koller's. This did not prove convincing, because of the cultural aspects that are intertwined with linguistic meanings³¹ (see Koesters Gensini 2020b: 33–36 on the evolution of the concept of equivalence in CREAMY).

Koller (1995: 196–197) also discusses the conditions and factors that contribute to determine the equivalence relation between source text and target text:

Equivalence is a relative concept in several respects: it is determined on the one hand by the historical-cultural conditions under which texts (original as much as secondary ones) are produced and received in the target culture, and on the other by a range of sometimes contradictory and scarcely reconcilable linguistic-textual and extra-linguistic factors and conditions:

- the source and the target languages with their structural properties, possibilities and constraints,

³¹ In fact, as Baker (2011: 5) states: equivalence “is influenced by a variety of linguistic and cultural factors and is therefore always relative”.

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- the “world”, as it is variously classified in the individual languages,
- different realities as these are represented in ways peculiar to their respective languages,
- the source text with its linguistic, stylistic and aesthetic properties in the context of the linguistic, stylistic and aesthetic norms of the source language,
- linguistic, stylistic and aesthetic norms of the target language and of the translator,
- structural features and qualities of a text,
- preconditions for comprehension on the part of the target-language reader,
- the translator’s creative inclinations and understanding of the work,
- the translator’s explicit and/or implicit theory of translation,
- translation tradition,
- translation principles and the interpretation of the original text by its own author,
- the client’s guidelines and the declared purpose of the translation,
- the practical conditions under which the translator chooses or is obliged to work.

However, as Koesters Gensini (2020b: 34) points out, it is surprising that Koller does not refer to the familiarity of the translator with both languages (and cultures) implicated in the translational process, to the (lexicographic) instruments available for those languages and, in the case of literary translations, to the figure and the work of the author of the source text.

Another scholar inspired by Nida is Tullio De Mauro. In a discussion on the general problem of linguistic comprehension, De Mauro (1994: 91–95) as

well distinguishes between “functional” or “formal” translations on the one hand, and “dynamic” translations on the other. De Mauro then goes on to distinguish seven levels of translational adequacy in which each level comprises the precedent level:

- a) denotative adequacy;
- b) syntactic-phrasal adequacy;
- c) lexical adequacy;
- d) expressive adequacy;
- e) textual adequacy;
- f) pragmatic adequacy;
- g) semiotic adequacy.

The first three (a-c) subdivide the functional/formal type of translation, the last four (d-g) refer to the dynamic type. Koesters Gensini (2020b: 35–36) considers these parameters promising for the measurement of the type and grade of equivalence as implemented in the CREAMY-research.

Nevertheless, the linguistic approach on translation and equivalence received a great deal of criticism. Researchers with a historical-descriptive approach retain that the concept of equivalence does not work. Halverson (1997: 214) describes the criticism as follows:

Snell-Hornby (1988: 22) rejects the concept as “imprecise and ill-defined”, as well as a “distort[ion] of the basic problems of translation”. The former argument addresses the nature of the concept and its status in research, while the latter, that the concept fails to account for the “basic problems of translation”, is clearly the motivation behind the rejection of the concept by the scholars of the contending approach to translation studies, who maintain that the most important translational phenomena are those which cannot be accounted for within a strictly linguistic approach. They have chosen,

instead, to focus on features of the target culture and the effects these features have on the translation process and/or product.

The focus of historical-descriptive scholars is on the target text, thus minimizing the role of the source text and its relationship with the translation. A second focus lies on the norms that govern the act of translating, and the situational or cultural features that could account for those regularities (Halverson 1997: 215–216). Some studies aim to describe which factors influenced the creation of existing translations using the framework of Polysystem Theory (see Even-Zohar 1979; Toury 1980, 1995). For Toury (1980) equivalence is by default present in all translations, even if they are of low quality. As Pym (1995: 159) notes, if equivalence is in fact present in all translations, it entails that the concept cannot be used prescriptively – hence making it useless for linguists of the time. Others looked into the *skopos*, the aim or goal of the translation (Skopos Theory, see e.g. Vermeer 1978, 1989, 1996, 1998; Reiß & Vermeer 1984). In this target-side functionalism, equivalence is not a central concept either as it is seen as one of the many scopes a translator could aim to achieve (Pym 1995: 159).

As the amount of criticism grew, the scientific status of equivalence shrank. However, a lot of the concept's fall out of grace might depend on an erroneous conception of it. Neubert (1994: 414) states that “[t]he narrow and hence mistaken interpretation of translational equivalence in terms of linguistic correspondence is in our opinion one of the main reasons that the very concept of equivalence has fallen into disrepute among many translation scholars.” As Pym (1995: 163–164) points out, Snell-Hornby (1988) refers to equivalence as an “illusion of symmetry between languages” – but linguists working on the concept do not seem to have presupposed such symmetry. Even more so, Nida's dynamic equivalence presupposes linguistic asymmetry, and Koller focusses on the level of *parole*.

The problem, according to Pym (1995: 165–166), does not lie in seeing equivalence as an illusion. In fact, one should strive to “objectify the subjective importance of equivalence as a concept.” For some scholars (Gutt 1991: 186; Neubert 1994: 413–414; Pym 1992, 1993 – all cited in Pym 1995: 166) equivalence is a social concept (and hence not associated to prescriptive linguistics), that works on a presumption of resemblance.

Despite apparent regression to the 1970s paradigm, these recent positions are in fact exploiting the gap between translation as a social practice (equivalence as a necessary and functional illusion) and translation as actualization of prior correspondences (equivalence as something that linguists might hope to analyze on the basis of language alone). (Pym 1995: 166–167)

Pym (2010/2014: 37) himself follows the concept of assumed equivalence and labels it as “a belief structure”, that can be established on any linguistic level from form to function (*ivi*: 6). He proposes a distinction between “natural equivalence” and “directional equivalence”, where the former is presumed to exist prior to the act of translating and is not affected by directionality (cf. Pym 2010/2014: 6–23). The latter gives the translator the choice between various translation solutions, that are not necessarily determined by the source text. It is, however, an asymmetric relation: the creation of an equivalent by translating from one language to the other, does not imply that the same equivalent is created when the languages are swapped, i.e. the target language becomes the source language) (cf. Pym 2010/2014: 24–42). With this model, Pym tried to take into consideration the critiques both approaches received.

Equivalence is not a concept of the past, and continues to be implemented in research – also on phraseological units (e.g. Korhonen 2004, 2007; Koesters Gensini & Berardini 2020). Ďurčo (2016), for instance, proposes

a very complex, contrastive model of equivalence, specifically for the examination of phrasemes. Koesters Gensini (2020b: 35) considers equivalence to still be a necessary parameter – but most certainly not the only one – to analyse translations, even more so if literary translations. On the question of what element a translator needs to find an equivalent for, Koesters Gensini (*ibid.*) points out that it is necessary to:

[...] distinguere tra il punto di vista del lettore della traduzione e quello di chi si occupa della traduzione con finalità di analisi teorico-linguistiche. Per il primo certamente conta il testo nella sua interezza, indipendentemente dal fatto che si tratti della lingua originale o di una sua traduzione. Per il secondo, invece, la scomposizione del testo tradotto in categorie minori sembra un processo indispensabile e anche legittimo per quanto riguarda l'analisi. Va da sé che poi i dati provenienti dallo studio di unità minori di quelle del testo vadano a confluire nel processo interpretativo globale, senza trascurare il fatto che in ogni testo le unità più piccole non si combinano in modo aritmetico, ma piuttosto interagiscono influenzandosi e condizionandosi reciprocamente.³²

Hence Koesters Gensini hypothesizes that phraseological units embedded in their co-text form a translational unit that can be analysed autonomously and that contributes to the type and grade of equivalence of the translation as a whole.

³² “[...] distinguish between the reader’s point of view of the translation and the point of view of who deals with the translation for the purpose of theoretical-linguistic analyses. For the former, certainly the text in its entirety counts, regardless of whether it is the original language or its translation. For the second, however, the breakdown of the translated text into smaller categories seems an indispensable and also legitimate process with regard to analysis. It goes without saying that the data from the study of smaller units than the text itself merge into the overall interpretative process, without neglecting the fact that in every text the smaller units do not combine in an arithmetic way, but rather interact by influencing and conditioning one another.”

KEY POINTS FOR THIS RESEARCH

In this dissertation equivalence is considered to be a necessary and very helpful concept for the analysis of phraseological units – even more so in light of the difficult relationship between source and target text in Children’s Literature (see §3.2. and §3.3.). Equivalence will hence be used as a parameter in the empirical part of this dissertation, and never as a judgement on the quality of the translation in analysis. The concept is one of many parameters; the analysis is not solely based on equivalence. Given the issues regarding the translation of Children’s Literature (discussed later on, in §3.2. and §3.3.), it is even more important to be aware of extratextual influences, like the norms and values of the target culture.

In this dissertation (and all research carried out within the CREAMY framework) equivalence will be measured on two levels (formal and semantic, i.e. signifier and signified) and in four grades (absent, low, high, total). See §4.2.2.9. for a more detailed account of how we implement and measure translational equivalence in our research.

2.4. The crossroads of contrastive linguistics, phraseology, and Translation Studies

The topic of this dissertation is situated at the crossroads of contrastive linguistics, (contrastive) phraseology and Translation Studies (Figure 2). In the following, we will highlight the motivation of this research: why have we chosen this approach? What have we taken from contrastive linguistics, phraseology and

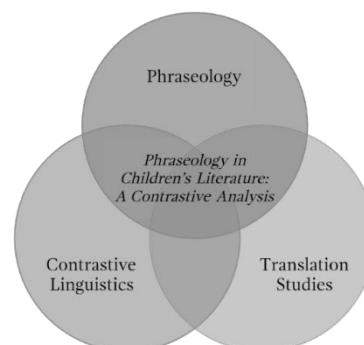


Figure 2 Crossroads of disciplines

Translation Studies? Why do we set out to compare the phraseology of Dutch and Italian in Children's Literature (CL)?

Studying phraseological units contrastively from a Translation Studies point of view, seems promising. By comparing a source text with a target text, it is not only possible to identify the similarities and differences in the single phraseological inventories of the languages involved, but also the semantic, syntactic, lexical and pragmatic connotations that often constrain professional translators – especially in the field of literary translation – to rewrite and manipulate the source text in order to convey the precise denotative and connotative characteristics to the target text. It proves a considerably complex task, which might be one of the reasons why research on the interaction of phraseology and Translation Studies is still relatively new.

To mention just a handful of valuable, and very diverse contributions: Gläser (1984, 1999) takes a more descriptive route. In her 1984 paper she analyses phraseological units in English and German by comparing their differences and similarities on semantic level within their respective linguistic systems, and their form and function in samples of an English and a German novel and their respective translations. In the 1999 paper – contained in a volume edited by Sabban (1999) that bundles multiple valuable contributions given at a 1997 conference on phraseology and translation – Gläser compares phraseological units contained in two German works by Christa Wolf with their English and French translations, dividing them into different types. Poirier (2003) focusses on the theoretical side of phraseological translation, discussing the both arbitrary and (in two ways) conventional translation of phraseological units, and the consequences that should have in language teaching and translation theory. The author retains that equivalence and correspondence should be seen as complementary rather than conflicting. Sabban (2010) discusses the discrepancies between translations of idioms in dictionaries and in text, and highlights the importance of context for the meaning variation of idioms.

Naciscione (2011) retains that most phraseological units are metaphorical, and that wherever possible the metaphor should be preserved in the target language. The author vouches for a cognitive approach not only as a tool to recognise and understand the construction of figurative meanings in different languages, but also to translate metaphorical PUs.

A contrastive approach to phraseological units is not only beneficial in an interlinguistic manner, but can also prove fruitful from an intralinguistic point of view, as accurate and adequate descriptions of the single languages are needed to make a comparison – and those descriptions might not always be at hand (Koesters Gensini 2020b: 29–30).

According to Koesters Gensini (2020b: 30–31) contrastive linguistics often referred (and refers) to the level of *langue*, thus neglecting what language users effectively do with (elements of) a language. Coseriu (1952) already stressed the importance of studying and teaching not only what is potentially possible to say in a language (the level of *langue*), but also what is actually said in specific contexts and co-text. This is not the level of *parole*, i.e. the concrete and individual use of language, but an intermediate level he refers to as “norm”, i.e. what language users are willing to consider as “normal”:

Die Sprachsysteme werden nämlich nicht unmittelbar, sondern stets über die Ebene der Sprachnorm realisiert, wodurch allerlei Einschränkungen und Fixierungen eintreten. [...] Es genügt also nicht zu wissen, was man in einer Sprache sagen könnte, man muss auch wissen, was normalerweise in bestimmten Situationen gesagt wird. Mit anderen Worten: um das in einer Sprache Mögliche zu schaffen und zu verstehen, muss man das entsprechende Sprachsystem kennen; um eine Sprache wirklich wie die Einheimischen zu sprechen, muss man auch die entsprechende

Sprachnorm bzw. die entsprechenden Sprachnormen kennen.³³
(Coseriu 1970: 27–28)

The author insists on the importance of describing and analysing linguistic units embedded in their pragmatic context, and argues that approaches aiming to do so *in abstracto* encounter significant theoretical limits (cf. Koesters Gensini 2020b: 31). Although more and more studies take linguistic use into consideration, many maintain an abstract approach; some exceptions in the field of phraseology can be found in Finkbeiner (2011); Koesters Gensini (2014); Koesters Gensini & Berardini (2020); Koesters Gensini & Schafroth (2020); Richter-Vapaatalo (2008, 2010); Rovere (2003). Studying PUs in their pragmatic context, in our case specifically their co-text, assures the possibility to go beyond denotative meaning and consider what Gréciano (1994) has named *Phraseoaktivität*: all expressive force of a phraseological unit that exceeds the denotative dimension. Koesters Gensini (2020b: 26–27) clearly sums up what the semantic value of a PU consists in:

In chiave linguistica, il preciso valore significazionale risulta quindi anche dalle connotazioni che la locuzione assume nella comunità linguistica, dalla sua collocazione nello spazio variazionale della lingua d'appartenenza, da eventuali associazioni sia semantiche con altri segni linguistici presenti nel testo o nella lingua, sia culturali, evocate tramite la locuzione nei parlanti della lingua in oggetto.³⁴

³³ “The language systems are not realised directly, but always above the level of the language norm, whereby all kinds of restrictions and fixations occur. [...] So it is not enough to know what you could say in a language, you also have to know what is normally said in certain situations. In other words: in order to express and understand what is possible in a language, you must know the corresponding language system; in order to really speak a language like natives, you must also know the corresponding language norm or rather, the corresponding language norms.”

³⁴ “From a linguistic point of view, the precise significational value also results from the connotations that the expression assumes in the linguistic community, from its location in the variational space of the language to which it belongs, from any associations it might

Furthermore, lexical meaning in general is rather complex, which makes the comparison between two languages considerably difficult. This leads to cases where two phraseological units seem to be equivalent from a semantic point of view, but on closer look only share one or some acceptations. Hence, precise linguistic, pragmatic and contextual analysis and description are fundamental for any cross-linguistic comparison of phraseological units³⁵.

More often than not, phraseological units cannot be translated literally. Colson (2008: 199–200) explains the difficulty of affronting phraseology in translation:

[...] it is clear that translating from one language to another will mean being confronted twice with a very difficult task: establishing the meaning of the source text while taking figurative language and phraseology into account, and then trying to find an equivalent formulation in the target language. Phraseology will, in other words, be one of the major pitfalls of translation.

Furthermore, by translating phraseological units on a large scale, for example in a literary translation, there is a risk of deformation. If, to exemplify the issue through our corpus, the main characters of the source text, clearly situated in Dutch surroundings, start to express themselves in the target text not through Dutch images contained in expressions and idioms, but by the use of Italian images, through Italian figurative language or Italian proverbs, this distorts the text. While there might be a restitution of meaning, a part of the original text is lost. “The destruction of expressions and idioms” is one of Berman’s deforming tendencies (Berman 1985/2021: 257–258). This leads us to the issue of norms – not to be confused with Berman’s deforming tendencies – which

have either on semantic level with other linguistic signs present in the text or language, or on cultural level, evoked through the expression in the speakers of the language in question.”

³⁵ See Koesters Gensini (2020b: 27) for a more detailed discussion of this argument.

condition acts of translation. Societal, literary and cultural expectations influence both the author and the translator, and can differ through time (Berman 1985/2021: 252). Especially in Children's Literature, the norms play an important role (see §3.2. and §3.3.). When a deviance from the norms of the target language and culture is induced by source language constraints, i.e. when parts of the translation do not read as authentic language because of influences from the source text, we refer to those instances of target language as "translationese" (Schmied & Schäffler 1996: 44.)³⁶.

Bearing in mind the difficulties of phraseology in translation and the need to analyse phraseological units in their co-text, and considering the parallelism, at least on text-level, between a literary source text and its translation, these kind of text pairs seem to provide an adequate corpus for the study of PUs. The study of phraseology in literary texts is not a new phenomenon. Eismann (2008) gives an overview of phraseology in literary texts, Mieder (1973, 1976, and many more) focusses on proverbs in literature, while some valid contributions on phraseology with a corpus of literature can be found in Ji (2010); Horvathova & Tabackova (2018).

A question we need to address at this moment, is why the choice of Children's Literature³⁷. A contrastive analysis of the phraseology in Children's Literature seems a promising path to take³⁸, as CL has mostly been ignored by scholars but consists of highly culturally-conditioned texts (House 2004: 683) and there is a close link between culture and phraseology (Sabban 2007, 2008). It is expected that both the author and the translator base their linguistic choices in general and phraseological choices in specific on the young receivers and their

³⁶ Constraints limit us from extensively addressing in this dissertation Berman's deforming tendency regarding the destruction of expressions and idioms and the issues of norms and translationese. These subjects will be addressed separately in future publications.

³⁷ For the choice of *Wiplala* specifically, see §4.1..

³⁸ Some studies on phraseology in CL have been carried out, for instance Burger 1997, 2009; Finkbeiner 2011; Häußinger 2017; Richter-Vapaatalo 2010; Ślowski 2015.

still limited linguistic and cultural knowledge (Burger 1997: 233; Finkbeiner 2011: 47–48). This means CL could also be a fruitful field for the identification of the inner most part of phraseology: we have identified language-specific core vocabularies, but could there also be core phraseological inventories?

Although still a desideratum, the identification of such a core would reveal most useful for the possible applications it could have in second language teaching and learning. In fact, language teachers and learners are still often faced with long bilingual lists of supposedly ‘equivalent’ phraseological units (especially idioms), based on the misconception that a PU in one language needs to be translated with a PU in another language. In this research a first attempt will be made to evaluate how a corpus of Children’s Literature could be implemented for the identification of a core phraseological inventory.

It is true that CL is intended for native receivers and not for language learners. Nevertheless, the attention authors, translators and other professional figures presumably pay to linguistic difficulty and variety³⁹, still seem to make it an adequate starting point. Furthermore, (adult) L2 learners do use children’s books to advance and several scholars argue it is a good practice (e.g. Bland & Lütge 2013; Burwitz-Melzer & O’Sullivan 2016; English 2000; Ho 2000; Songören 2013; cf. Webb & Macalister 2013). Cheetham (2015) argues that Children’s Literature for foreign language learners does not deserve the negative image it is sometimes attributed, and that it should be considered on the same level, if not superior, to ‘normal’ literature when used as extended reading material. While it is in no way a given that the identification of the core of phraseology by means of a contrastive analysis of Children’s Literature could work, and without doubt other inputs⁴⁰ than the ones presently analysed will be necessary, this dissertation could provide for a promising start.

³⁹ In Chapter 3 *Children’s Literature*, these issues will be further discussed.

⁴⁰ For example by using different corpora, including other authors and age groups. An interesting comparison could be made using the *BasiLex* corpus (Tellings et al. 2014). A frequency analysis would also need to be carried out. As of yet it has not been possible

Especially in recent years, quite some studies on phraseology in second language learning and/or teaching have been carried out. Among others: Arnon & Christiansen (2017); Cornell (1999); Ellis et al. (2008); Meunier & Granger (2008); Nita & Solano (2020); Paquot (2019); Paquot & Granger (2012); Stengers et al. (2011); Vetchinnikova (2019); Yuldashev et al. (2013). But what many studies on phraseology and language learning and teaching have in common, is that their focus lies on higher proficiency levels or specific registers (e.g. English for academic purposes, see Coxhead 2008; Ellis et al. 2008; Granger 2017; Howarth 1996; Vašků et al. 2019). This should not come as a surprise, since PUs are often very complex structures that deviate from what is perceived as 'normal'. While notoriously difficult to master for language learners, this does not mean that PUs are not present at all language levels⁴¹. The scope of this dissertation is to analyse phraseological units from various points of view in what could be referred to as less complex language.

KEY POINTS FOR THIS RESEARCH

In this dissertation we will analyse Dutch and (translated) Italian phraseological units in a corpus of Children's Literature (see Chapter 4).

“Phraseological unit” is used as a neutral, hypernymic term to refer to non-free combinations of two (or more) constituents that have a far from discrete, but rather gradual and heterogeneous character. The conventional criteria for phraseological units are seen as very problematic if rigidly applied.

to determine precise frequency levels for phraseology. Besides, different languages will presumably make use of different types of phraseological units in different proportions. As Colson (2008: 197–198) states: “Describing some kind of phraseological profile for various languages on the basis of large corpora can be very useful for both language learners and translators, because many errors are due to an insufficient or incorrect mastery of phraseology.”

⁴¹ Colson (2008: 194) states that phraseology in a broad sense is “present at all levels of linguistic production and comprehension, because native speakers will assemble lexical elements according to a wide variety of existing patterns that may have little to do with grammar.”

The classification of phraseological units is separated into different levels (see §4.2.2.).

The approach taken to the analysis of Dutch and Italian phraseological units comes from contrastive linguistics: the Dutch PUs will be compared with their Italian counterparts, and vice versa. It is fundamental, however, to study these phraseological units embedded in their pragmatic context – hence the need for translations and Translation Studies. The choice for a corpus of a source text and a target text seems adequate because a literary ST and its translation as a whole can be considered parallel texts. Furthermore, the concept of equivalence is deemed an extremely useful parameter in the contrastive analysis of phraseological units. Equivalence will be used as an indicator on a formal and a semantic level, but will not be used to express judgment on the quality of the translation.

As both the author and the translator base their phraseological choices on the idea they have of the phraseological competence (and in general of the still limited linguistic and cultural knowledge) of their young receivers, a corpus of Children's Literature has been chosen in an attempt to evaluate how CL could prove fruitful for the identification of a core phraseological inventory – still a desideratum – that would have profound implications on L2 teaching and learning. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the peculiarities of Children's Literature.

Although it might not be possible to fully evaluate how CL can prove fruitful for the identification of a core inventory of phraseology, this dissertation can contribute on a theoretical and on a practical level to all disciplines involved. The detailed contrastive analysis, and the mapping of similarities and differences between the Dutch and (translated) Italian phraseological inventories can offer both intra- and interlinguistic theoretical insights, as well as provide data for future studies in the field of linguistics and Translation Studies, or, in more practical manner, to translators.

3 CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

In the following chapter, various aspects of Children's Literature will be discussed. The first paragraph (§3.1.) will focus on what Children's Literature is exactly, and how it has been treated in research. We will then examine some peculiarities of (translated) CL, from the asymmetrical relationship between child addressee and the producers, intermediaries and buyers, i.e. author, translator, publisher, editor, critic, bookseller, parent, guardian, educator and librarian (§3.2.), to some key issues a translator encounters when translating CL (§3.3.), and its importance and use in language learning and teaching (§3.4.). In the last paragraph (§3.5.) we will give an overview of some important aspects of phraseology in Children's Literature.

3.1. What is Children's Literature?

Children's Literature is set apart from other literature by means of age limits: if the intended reader is up to twelve years old, we speak of CL, between twelve and eighteen years old of "Young Adult Literature" and above this age range of (adult) literature. From an abstract, theoretical point of view, these limits make our job much easier. In practice, however, these categories are not so clearly set out and most importantly, they should not limit children and adolescents in reading books they take an interest in. In fact, defining "Children's

Literature” is a highly problematic task. Lesnik-Oberstein (1996: 17) approaches the issue of definition as follows:

But is a children's book a book written by children, or for children? And, crucially: what does it mean to write a book 'for' children? If it is a book written 'for' children, is it then still a children's book if it is (only) read by adults? What of 'adult' books read also by children – are they 'children's literature'?

The author meticulously points out which issues arise in defining CL, and consequently in defining both 'child' and 'childhood'. It goes beyond the aim of this dissertation to address these issues in detail. The texts that constitute the corpus can be seen as prototypical children's books. In this dissertation we can adopt the following as a working definition: Children's Literature (CL) is the whole of written texts primarily intended for children and for their amusement – as opposed to primarily didactic purposes – that may be accompanied by illustrations.

In the Netherlands and in Flanders children's books are categorised in two ways: based on their technical reading difficulty (e.g. word and sentence length) and based on themes. The first categorisation employs the so-called AVI⁴² levels, which are primarily used in Dutch and Flemish elementary schools. Technical reading concerns being able to read words aloud correctly and fluently. Although this cannot be considered a specific goal, it is seen as a conditional activity for reading comprehension, i.e. being able to understand what is written (van Til et al. 2018: 9). The second categorisation, based on the themes that the book discusses and the social-emotional development of children within a certain age group, is used in libraries⁴³. In Dutch libraries, for instance, books labelled

⁴² “Analyse Van Individualiseringsvormen” (‘Analysis Of Individualization forms’), but only the abbreviation is used.

⁴³ An interesting resource is the “Centraal Bestand Kinderboeken” (‘Central Database of Children's books’), managed by the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* in The Hague. It brings together

“AB”, “AP” or “AK” are picture books for different age groups of very young children. Books labelled “E” are the first books primarily intended for reading by children up to seven years, and are usually also categorised with an AVI level. The other categories are “A” (seven or eight years old), “B” (nine to twelve years old), “C” (thirteen to fifteen years old) and “D” (fifteen years and older). Informational, non-fiction books are labelled AJ (four to eight years old) and J (nine years and older) (*Indeling kinderboeken* accessed 14-01-2023). Flemish libraries have slightly different age groups: while “A” books are still intended for seven or eight year olds, for “B” books the range is nine to eleven and for “C” books twelve to fourteen; “D” is labelled as “Young Adult” reading, intended for fifteen years and older (*Leesniveau* accessed 14-01-2023⁴⁴).

Children's literature in Italy does not seem to follow a consistent categorisation. Libraries tend to have their own system to catalogue children's books, but there seems to be a general (partial) reliance on the Dewey Decimal Classification. For instance, Turin libraries divide books into two general age categories: 0-7 years old (further divided by genre) and 8-15 years old (divided by genre or topic, following the Dewey system) (*I Libri per Bambini e Ragazzi Come Sono Disposti Sugli Scaffali?* accessed 14-01-2023). The libraries in the province of Varese use the same classification system they use for adult books, but add an indication of the general theme (*Generi Letterari per Bambini e Ragazzi* accessed 14-01-2023). A library in Imperia, with a large section of children's and youth books, uses a combination of the Dewey system, genre, and four different age groups: “PL” (*Primi Libri*; 0-4 years), “NP” (*Narrativa Piccoli*; 5-7 years), “NB” (*Narrativa Bambini*; 8-12 years), and “NG” (*Narrativa Giovani adulti*; 13-16 years) (*Biblioteca dei Bambini e dei Ragazzi* accessed 14-01-2023). The most detailed classification we

the most important collections of children's books in the Netherlands and in Flanders and has circa 345.000 descriptions of children's books (mostly written in Dutch) from the sixteenth century onwards (*Centraal Bestand Kinderboeken (CBK)* accessed 14-01-2023).

⁴⁴ This also reflect in the search options of the general website of public libraries in Flanders: *Bibliotheek.be* (accessed 14-01-2023).

have found is that of some libraries in the area of Brescia and Cremona. The protocol states that books should be divided into three age groups (0-5, 6-10, 11-15 years old) mostly based on their complexity, and are subsequently subdivided. In some cases only an alphabetic code is used to indicate the type of content (e.g. “illustrated stories”, “theatre”, “poetry”), in others only the Dewey system is used, or a combination of both (*Pubblicazioni per bambini e ragazzi* accessed 14-01-2023).

Over the years, there has been a surge of scientific interest for CL, even though CL and Children's Literature Studies are often still regarded as inferior to and less important than, respectively, Adult Literature and Literary and/or Translation Studies (cf. Shavit 1986). Besides specific monographs, special issues, articles and conference papers, there are some general or periodical publications on the subject. The journal *Children's Literature* (1972–), for instance, is published annually by the Children's Literature Association (ChLA) and the Modern Language Association Division on Children's Literature. The articles and essays it includes are theoretically-based. The quarterly journal *Children's Literature in Education* (1970–) focusses on educational aspects of Children's Literature, both theoretical and practical. Ewers et al. (1994) have edited a volume on general and comparative Children's Literature Studies. The articles are divided into four sections: in the first part the focus lies on theoretical issues, in the second on genealogical and typological relationships in a broad sense, in the third on translation and adaption, while in the last recent trends in research are discussed. Hunt (1996) edited a companion of CL with over eighty essays, structured in five sections: theory and critical approaches; types and genres; the context of CL; applications of CL; the world of CL. Van Coillie & McMartin (2020) focus on translation, providing an overview of the interaction between text and context in translated CL through numerous contributions by different authors. Among the issues addressed in the volume we find the production and reception of CL and adaptation to the target culture.

Also worth mentioning are Nikolajeva (1996), O'Sullivan (2005), and Alvstad (2010). Nikolajeva (1996) analyses various aspects of CL, among which: world literature for children (touching on subjects like folktales, the "classics", national CL, cultural context and translatability), CL as a canonical art form, the history of CL from a semiotic perspective, chronotopes, intertextuality, and metafiction. O'Sullivan (2005) traces the history of comparative Children's Literature Studies. The author outlines the areas that constitute the field of CL, including contact and transfer studies, intertextuality studies, intermediality studies and image studies, providing the first comprehensive overview and discussing the substantial shifts caused by commercialisation and globalisation. Alvstad (2010) discusses the most commonly studied features of CL: 1) cultural context adaptation; 2) ideological manipulation; 3) dual readership (targeted audience includes both children and adults); 4) features of orality; and 5) the relationship between text and image.

The need for stories and oral story-telling is a universal phenomenon. Worldwide, from the end of the twentieth century, literacy is believed to be essential, and reading practice is seen as the best way to acquire it fluently. Therefore, children's books are a worldwide practical necessity (Ray 1996: 653). Although CL developed in a similar way around the globe, every country has had different timing and breakthroughs. Hunt (1996), in a section of his edited volume on "The World of Children's Literature", covers thirty three different countries and (macro-)regions. De Vries (1996) gives an overview on Children's Literature in The Netherlands starting at the end of the eighteenth century. De Vries (1996: 710) notes that Heimeriks & van Toorn (1989) have published a history of children's books in The Netherlands and Flanders "from the Middle Ages until now", but that the authors neither give any examples of children's books from the Middle Ages, nor mention didactic literature from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Kreyder (1996) covers the chapter on CL in Italy. It is noteworthy that Finocchi & Marchetti (2004) have approached CL from a

publishing point of view, discussing the relationship between publishers and young readers between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy.

3.2. Children's books industry

Children's Literature plays an important role in society. Since children are supposed to learn from what they read, the content of children's books is supposed to reflect the norms, values, and the view on childhood of the culture in which these books are sold and read (Alvstad 2010: 26). Furthermore, it transcends the present child reader: "The values and ideas of children's books are of huge cultural relevance precisely because children's books are read by and for children, and such values and ideas are often passed on to future generations." (Alvstad 2010: 25–26). A massive amount of Children's Literature is translated, while the children's book industry is greatly influenced by globalisation and commercialisation. The problems this creates for the translations of CL are discussed later in this paragraph.

The primary readership of CL – children – cannot give any input on the content. Adults do all the decision-making, either as 'producers' (authors, translators, publishers and editors) or as 'intermediaries' or 'buyers' (critics, booksellers, parents or guardians, family and friends, educators and librarians). Children's Literature is thus characterised by asymmetrical power relationships:

[...] adults (including translators) assess what children are able to comprehend, including the degree of 'foreignness' that children may be able to cope with, and what is valuable in a children's book (e.g. identification of the child reader with the text, fostered by the familiarity of its content, or the introduction of the child to places and cultures other than her or his own). (Kruger 2011: 122)

Adults base their decision on what they assume children could, should and might want to read. This means that books with certain content and layout

are made available to children, while others are not – or, in the case of translations, a text might only be accessible to the child reader in a (heavily) adapted form.

Authors, as well as translators, need to appeal not only to children, but also to adults; if not, they risk rejection. Sometimes this leads to the author trying to overcome this dual constraint, either by ignoring the adult audience completely, or by appealing primarily to an adult audience, whereby the child, instead of being the real addressee, becomes an excuse (Shavit 1986: 63). However, children's books are mostly characterised by a dual readership, i.e. the targeted audience includes both children and adults. Therefore, both authors and translators⁴⁵ need to take into account not only the assumed values and tastes of children, but also what adults consider to be adequate and appropriate in a certain (target) culture (Alvstad 2010: 24–26). Shavit (1986: 63–71) highlights how dual readership constrains authors to produce ambivalent texts to respond to contradictory demands.

To better understand the asymmetrical power relationships that are involved in the process of making CL and getting it to the child reader, it is useful to investigate the roles adults can play in it. We will follow the process, from the producers – authors, translators, publishers and editors – to the intermediaries and buyers – critics, booksellers; private and public buyers (respectively, parents, guardians, family or friends; teachers and librarians).

Authors of Children's Literature have a responsibility to their primary audience. Often they can influence the child reader, and the story reflects some of their own assumptions about childhood. The author must make their work readable for a child, which entails that both the treated themes and the language

⁴⁵ Sometimes this dual target audience is so complex, that it is a difficult aspect to reproduce in translations (as in the case of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *Pinocchio*; Alvstad 2010: 24). According to Alvstad (*ibid.*), some scholars argue that the translator should make a choice concerning the target reader – either child or adult.

need to be accessible enough, but still appealing. At the same time, their work needs to correspond to what other adults assume children can and should read, and to their norms, values, and childhood views.

As mentioned above, and as will be discussed in more detail below, translation plays a paramount role in the children's books industry. Translators usually share the difficulties: they need to stay true to the child reader, but also need to keep the publisher, critic, and other adults in mind when making decisions – from theoretical principles, to translation strategies, to specific lexical (and phraseological) choices. There are two main strategies that can be implemented when translating for children: a domesticating one (target culture orientation) and a foreignizing one (source culture orientation). Many scholars believe that in the case of CL, a domesticating strategy is to be preferred, although some think it prevents children from exploring other cultures. Oittinen (2000) advocates a reader-orientation. This implies that translators should not only be loyal to their target audience, but also to their own experience as readers. It is unavoidable for translators as well to start from their own childhood image, and to bear a specific kind of childhood and children in mind. Reiß (1982: 12) sees translators as secondary authors, as they mostly act without consulting the original author(s). In §3.3. these strategies and other aspects of translating CL will be further discussed.

Publishers' primary goal is to make as much profit as possible from the books (both originals and translations) they invest in. This means that books from renowned authors tend to be published more easily than those of non-established authors, because in the latter situation the risk of not selling enough is higher. Furthermore, the authors and books are selected according to what is perceived as on-trend and thus likely to sell. Publishing houses also tend to avoid any authors or themes that could lead to criticism from intermediary adults, i.e. critics, booksellers, and the adults who actually buy the product.

Editors will evaluate the submitted translations, and suggest (or directly make) changes to fit both society's and, to some extent, their own values and views on childhood. Furthermore, they have the power to take decisions on the layout, including illustrations that may or may not be taken over from the source text, and if not, may be assigned to an artist that better fits the target culture. In some cases, pages need to be limited for budgetary reasons.

Critics have the possibility to influence the public, by recommending children's books that are appropriate and adequate in their own view. Books marked as "suitable for children" will be preferred by schools, libraries, and other intermediary adults, to books that are not explicitly marked as appropriate. Booksellers have a somewhat similar role as intermediaries, by selecting which books to include in their catalogue and, potentially, by giving them a more or less prominent place in their (online) stores.

Private buyers are mostly parents or guardians, but also family or friends who give children's books as a present. Public buyers are schools and libraries. All buyers will select books according to what appeals most to them and their assumptions of what a child would find appealing. It is often deemed important that books have a moral or some educational value. For the Italian market, Grilli (2012) strives to offer a reference point in the world of publishers for children and young adults, and to help the reader with finding criteria in order to select valid new children's books.

Librarians have had significant influence on the world of children's books. In the first half of the twentieth century, children's librarians were the experts on CL, and were valued greatly by publishers and booksellers alike, and later on also by parents and teachers. Librarians could influence and encourage the publication of certain types of books (e.g. for young adults, or readers with special needs⁴⁶) because of their great economic power – about 90% of hardback

⁴⁶ For a discussion on publishing for special needs, see Mathias (1996).

children's books were bought for libraries during the 1960s and 1970s (Lonsdale & Ray 1996: 617–618).

The selection of books to be published in original or in translation, is heavily influenced by trends. Globalisation and commercialisation greatly influence the children's books industry (O'Sullivan 2005: 56–63, 2011), involving especially the publishers, but indirectly also the other adult roles. This is most notable where translations are concerned:

[...] there is no equal exchange of texts between all countries; rather, the border-crossing process is extremely imbalanced. Its direction is determined by political and economic factors as well as by the international status of the source language and culture. (O'Sullivan 2005: 56)

The percentage of translated CL on the whole of available CL in a country, varies enormously. For instance, O'Sullivan (2005: 58) reports that it is estimated that in the USA the proportion of translations is between one and two percent, while it is between two and a half and four percent in Great Britain. At the same time, in the Netherlands and in Italy it is above forty percent, around thirty in Germany, and much more in the Scandinavian countries, with Finland peaking at eighty percent. Well over eighty percent of all translations in the above countries originate from English⁴⁷. The USA and UK, the countries that export

⁴⁷ These percentages are the ones reported by O'Sullivan in 2005 and might not reflect the current situation. UNESCO's *Index Translationum* (accessed 03-05-2022) is an international bibliography of translations, originally created in 1932. The online database contains bibliographic information on books translated and published between 1979 and 2009, in about one hundred UNESCO member states. However, the database mostly depends on what data is provided. The last data received for the Netherlands dates back to 2006; for Belgium to 2010, but the last four years are still being processed. The United Kingdom has data up until 2013 (last five years in processing), the USA up until 2010 (last two years in processing). The data currently available for Italy goes up to 2007, with 2009 and 2010 in processing. It is important to bear in mind that the *Index Translationum* is not complete and above all, concerns translations in general, not translations of Children's Literature.

the most, import the least. This lack of access to other cultures is not beneficial for children:

Most cultural commentators agree that the kind of cultural narrow-mindedness which leads to the exclusion of works translated from other languages in Britain and the USA 'is a form of cultural poverty and testifies to a lack of imagination in an information-rich world' (Stahl 1992: 19). (O'Sullivan 2005: 58)

According to O'Sullivan (2005: 58–59), one of the factors that can explain the high percentage of translations in certain target cultures, is the state of development of CL in that culture: if the literary tradition is still being established, there will be more translations to fill the gaps. The author notes, however, that although this may be a significant factor, some cultures that do have a rich and established tradition, like the Swedish, may still receive relatively many translations. Other factors that influence if and how many translations are welcomed in a target culture, could be the scarcity of local specimens (as happened for instance in post-war Germany) and general marketing factors (can we easily make revenue from this book?).

If we switch our point of view to the source language and culture, we might reflect on why some languages are, and some languages are not translated into a specific target language. O'Sullivan (2005: 59–60) lists the following influential factors:

If we take a quick look at the languages involved in this study, we see that almost 65,7% of all translations into Dutch has English as a source language. The next most frequent source languages for Dutch translations are German (13,5%), French (10,4%) and Italian (1,6%). The most frequent source languages for translations into English are French (19,5%) and German (19,3%), followed by Russian (8,1%), Spanish (6,0%) and Italian (4,1%). Dutch accounts for 2,0%. English is also the most frequent source language for Italian translations with 50,2%, followed by French (18,4%), German (13,0%), Spanish (4,4%) and Russian (2,4%). Italian translations of Dutch source texts are not so frequent (0,4%).

- Knowledge of the *source language* among culturally creative figures in the target culture (translators, editors), and the presence and commitment of *scouts*, whose part as intermediaries cannot be overestimated. [...]
- *International relations* and *membership of political blocs*. Until recently these played a decisive part in exchange between the Socialist and non-Socialist states of Europe, for two reasons. Ideologically, Socialist children's literature was intended to serve the further development of society in the spirit of Socialist realism; suitable models could therefore come mainly from politically allied states. The other reason was economic: the Socialist states of Eastern Europe, as trading partners, engaged in an exchange of children's literature. Books from countries in the same bloc were more affordable than books from the capitalist countries, for which hard currency had to be paid. [...]
- *Confessional aspects*, which in Europe now tend to be of solely historical significance. The historic opposition between Catholic and Protestant countries and cultures was reflected not only in the different treatment of religious material ([...]), but also in the different moral concepts and ideas of individual responsibility. In line with this, confessional aspects played a part in decisions on what should or should not be translated: [...].
- The *relationships between countries*. The influence of such connections is evident in the transfer of literature from Germany to Israel. Scarcely anything was translated from German into Hebrew in the four decades after the Holocaust [...]. [...]
- And not least there is the *subsidizing of translations*, including translations of children's literature, for instance by cultural funds in Belgium, the Netherlands and Israel, which promote translation from their own languages.

According to O'Sullivan (2011: 189), another factor that leads to the globalisation and commercialisation of the children's book industry is that of the hegemony of just a few large media conglomerates in the leading market, that of the USA, that do not have a focus on CL. According to Hade (2002: 511), this leads to children's books becoming entertainment for mass appeal, and less of a cultural and intellectual object.

Clark (1996) and Epstein (1996) discuss the publication of children's books in Britain and in the USA, respectively. Kruger (2011) adopts the polysystem theory as a starting point for an investigation into the complex relationships that underlie the production of children's books in various languages in South Africa, and the role that translation plays in that process. Lathey (2015) also addresses the role of translation for children within the global publishing and translation industries. West (1996) discusses censorship.

3.3. Translation of Children's Literature: difficulties and strategies

There are quite a few studies on translating CL and translating for children (which, according to Oittinen 2000, are not the same). Tabbert (2002) reviews critical approaches to the translation of CL since the 1960s, listing many studies on specific books and/or authors. He states (2002: 303) that CL was traditionally the domain of teachers and librarians, but that since it became a subject of academic research, the translation of CL has gained attention because of four important factors:

- (1) the assumption that translated children's books build bridges between different cultures,
- (2) text-specific challenges to the translator,
- (3) the polysystem theory which classifies children's

literature as a subsystem of minor prestige within literature⁴⁸, and (4) the age-specific addressees either as implied or as real readers.

Jobe (1996) gives a brief overview of translation of CL, discussing the translation process, the history of translation, and issues in translating for children. García de Toro (2020) also presents an introduction to the field of translating CL, addressing the concepts and topics that are preferred by scholars and reviewing key works. Nikolajeva (1996) dedicates a section of her book to cultural context and translatability, Ewers et al. (1994) to translation and adaptation. Oittinen (2003) edited a double issue of *Meta*, with the title *Traduction pour les enfants / Translation for children*. It contains twenty five articles covering various topics, including theoretic issues and analyses of individual authors.

A number of scholars have approached specific texts, authors or languages. Toury (1980a), for instance, analyses the German children's book *Max und Moritz* and its translation into Hebrew. Du-Nour (1995) compares translations and re-translations of children's books in Hebrew with the aim of finding out how linguistic and translational norms have changed in a time span of seventy years. According to her research, readability has become a central issue. Durão & Kloepfel (2018) propose a hybrid model to evaluate language complexity of source and target texts written in English and Portuguese, in order to analyse to what extent language complexity has been transferred from ST to TT.

Van Coillie & Verschueren (2006) explore the various challenges posed by the translation of CL and highlight some of the strategies that translators can follow when facing these challenges. Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Toury's concept of norms, Chesterman's prototypical approach, and Venuti's views on foreignizing and domesticating translations and on the translator's (in)visibility are addressed. Especially in CL, the choice between foreignizing and

⁴⁸ See Shavit (1981, 1986) on this subject.

domesticating approaches, or source-text orientation and target-text orientation, is a difficult one. The asymmetrical power relationships previously discussed, are the main reason: it is up to adults to evaluate to what degree a child may be able to manage 'foreignness', and thus if it would be more 'appropriate' or 'adequate' to have a familiar context (a domesticating approach), or if he or she can be introduced to new worlds, new cultures, 'new' language (a foreignizing approach) (Kruger 2011: 122).

Klingberg (1986), for example, supports the view that the original CL text should remain as intact as possible in the translation. The translator should preserve the "degree of adaptation" adopted by the author of the source text. Since the author presumably has adapted the text to the readers of the ST and their assumed interests and reading abilities, and to the norms of the source system of CL, Klingberg argues that the translator should not go through this process again and respect the intentions of the author. However, as Puurtinen (1994: 84–85) points out, not taking into consideration the norms and expectations of the target system, may result in a translation that is not very readable for children and that parents or other intermediaries ultimately decide not to buy – resulting in failure for both the publishing house and the translator. Stylistic norms are subject to great variability: in some language and CL systems it may be common to write in a more literary form as a way to enrich children's vocabulary, while in others the main goal is to propose accessible texts that use an easy and everyday language. Hence, transferring stylistic and linguistic norms from source to target text could result in a clash⁴⁹.

The adaption to stylistic norms is one of the five ways in which CL might be manipulated in translation, according to Tabbert (2002: 315). The other four are: affiliation to successful models in the target system, disrespect for the text's integrality, reduction of complexity, and ideological adaptation.

⁴⁹ Puurtinen (1994) examines the effect of static vs. dynamic style on acceptability of two Finnish translations of *The Wizard of Oz*.

According to Reiß (1982: 7–8) translations of Children's and Youth Literature require to be treated apart from Adult Literature translations. The three factors she identifies as the underlying reasons for deviations from the source text in translated children's books are the following:

- 1) Adults write and translate for recipients whose linguistic competence is imperfect;
- 2) Translators operate only indirectly for the actual recipient: adults directly or indirectly put pressure on translators to keep taboos and educational principals in the target culture intact;
- 3) The knowledge of the world and life experience of children is still very much limited – the translator is thus required to adapt and explain more specific elements of the source text than they would when translating for adults.

Tabbert (2002: 314) adds the publisher's commercial interest as a fourth “and perhaps domineering factor”.

While Reiß mostly attributes deviations from the ST to the child's stage of development, Shavit (1981, 1986) sees them as symptomatic of the culturally inferior status of CL in general, placing CL between the literary and the educational polysystems (Tabbert 2002: 314–315). Shavit (1986: 112–113) favours a target-text orientation:

Unlike contemporary translators of adult books, the translator of children's literature can permit himself great liberties regarding the text, as a result of the peripheral position of children's literature within the literary polysystem. That is, the translator is permitted to manipulate the text in various ways by changing, enlarging, or abridging it or by deleting or adding to it. Nevertheless, all these translational procedures are permitted only if conditioned by the translator's adherence to the following two principles on which translation for children is based: an adjustment of the text to make it

appropriate and useful to the child, in accordance with what society regards (at a certain point in time) as educationally “good for the child”; and an adjustment of plot, characterization, and language to prevailing society's perceptions of the child's ability to read and comprehend.

Oittinen (2000, 2006) does not take an overt position on the issue of foreignizing and domesticating approaches. In *Translating for Children* (2000), she gives an overview of what is involved when translating for children, with a focus on human action in translation. She argues (2000: 3) that the translation in its (culture- and language-specific) context “takes precedence over any efforts to discover and reproduce the original author's intentions as a given”. Her focus does not lie on respect for the intentions of the author, but on the intentions of the translator and the readers of the translation. Oittinen (2000: 3) states that:

[s]ituation and purpose are an intrinsic part of all translation. Translators never translate words in isolation, but whole situations. They bring to the translation their cultural heritage, their reading experience, and, in the case of children's books, their image of childhood and their own child image. In so doing, they enter into a dialogic relationship that ultimately involves readers, the author, the illustrator, the translator, and the publisher.

According to Oittinen (2000: 5) the translator enters into a dialogue with the future readers of the translation, who do not exist yet, and thus live in the imagination of the translator as projections of themselves and their reading experience. This reading experience is a real one, during which the translator forms their own ideas and interpretations about the source text, that will serve as the basis for the translation process. Oittinen (2006) argues that every translation for children is to a certain extent guilty of domestication, because it is influenced

by the norms and values of the target culture, and by the norms and values that the translator (unknowingly) carries inside their child and childhood image.

Several publications analyse the specific challenges translators are confronted with when translating CL. For instance, Tabbert (2002: 317–323) discusses the difficulties posed by the presence of pictures and words (illustrations should be seen as an integral part of translating CL), playful use of language (wordplay, e.g. taking idioms literally) and culture-specific phenomena. Cultural references in the source text as a challenge for translators are discussed and catalogued by Klingberg 1986, who refers to the phenomenon as “local context adaptation”. Lathey (2015) also focuses on the translation of cultural markers for young readers, and highlights further problematic aspects such as: the narrative style and the challenges of translating the child’s voice, translation of the modern picture book, dialogue, dialect and street language in modern Children’s Literature, read-aloud qualities, wordplay, onomatopoeia, and the translation of children’s poetry. Kurultay (1994) discusses problems and strategies in the translation of Children’s Literature in the branch of intercultural communication.

In fact, the abovementioned challenges or problems often require the use of translation strategies, and lead to discrepancies between the source and target text (e.g. omissions, additions for various reasons, mistranslations). House (2004) focusses on linguistic aspects of the translation of CL and analyses these translation strategies and discrepancies offering an array of examples. Kaniklidou & House (2018) examine how the ideological manipulation of source texts leads to changes and shifts in translations. In a comparative study of English CL translated into German and Greek (with some reference also to Korean, Spanish and Arabic), the authors investigate the liberties translators have taken in their covert translations. The preliminary findings of the authors (2018: 232) “reveal shifts that highlight a) underlying cross-cultural discourse preferences reflected in the translations through massive ‘cultural filtering’, b) ideological leanings of

translators who tacitly guide reader assumptions, and c) educational adjustments to stock societal assumptions and 'official' ideas". Reiß (1982: 12) addresses adaptation in translation, and even goes as far as claiming that in the translation of CL the translator becomes a secondary author, who has to be independent in their decisions from the original author in view of the target readers.

3.4. Importance and use of Children's Literature in language acquisition and language learning

The large number of publications on the acquisition of particular parts of language (not specifically on the role CL could play in it) comes as no surprise. For instance, He & Wittenberg (2020) discuss the challenges involved in the acquisition of event nominals and light verb constructions. Wijnen & Verrips (1997) analyse the syntactic development of Dutch children, and van Hout (2013) focusses on Dutch verbs and verb frame alternations in relation to their acquisition by children.

However, CL provides for a great opportunity. On the back cover of their edited volume, Fischer & Wirf-Naro (2012) state that "[l]iterary and multimodal texts for children and young people play an important role in their acquisition of language and literacy". The editors present a collection of twenty one papers on translation of feigned orality in Children's and Youth Literature. Although some of these address educational aspects, none specifically adopt a (glotto)didactic point of view. The quarterly journal *Children's Literature in Education*, though, has proposed articles and interviews since 1970 on different aspects of Children's Literature with a strong educational orientation. The journal tackles theoretical and methodological issues, but also presents discussions on how to use CL in teaching, taking into consideration not only different types of children's books, but also other media such as film, TV, and computer games.

For many children, the first encounter with literature (both at home and at school) is through an adult reading stories aloud, not through written text (Fox

1996: 598). Teachers are extremely interested in what texts children should or can be introduced to, what their educational value is, and what effect they have on their students (Fox 1996: 601). This has not always been the case. There has been a shift during the 1980s and 1990s in the texts used for reading development, from materials written on purpose such as reading schemes and comprehension exercises, to actual Children's Literature (Williams 1996: 573–574). Before that shift occurred, scarce academic attention was directed at the effects texts have on children learning to read (Meek 1988). Reading of literary texts is nowadays seen as “a necessary requirement for the development of literary readers” (Williams 1996: 576).

According to Webb & Macalister (2013, 2019; Macalister & Webb 2019) children's books do not necessarily use easy vocabulary. In the first study (2013) the authors compared words of English CL texts with graded readers (specially written texts for learners of English as a L2 with a controlled vocabulary) and literature for adult native speakers of English. They found that English children's books have a much lower percentage of higher frequency words than graded readers, and a similar percentage of lower frequency words to texts written for older readers. These findings made the authors argue that neither texts written for children nor for adults are suitable for L2 extensive reading programs, which benefit would more from graded readers. Webb & Macalister (2019: 305–306) give three reasons why L2 learners of English could find the understanding of CL challenging, notwithstanding the assumption that texts written for children would be easy to comprehend:

- 1) Native children have greater vocabulary knowledge than L2 learners of English;
- 2) Children tend to accept they have a limited or imprecise comprehension, because their acquisition of the L1 is still at an early stage. This might be why children are still able to engage with and enjoy the input although they lack a full comprehension. It is not clear, however, if adult L2

learners are able to do the same. The authors suggest that adults might prefer to use graded readers that they are able to comprehend, instead of texts written for children with limited understanding;

- 3) L2 learners might not be willing to read a children's text multiple times, whereas repeated reading and listening is common in childhood, allowing L1 learners to gradually increase their comprehension of certain input.

Many scholars, however, are in favour of using CL in L2 teaching. Cheetham (2015) argues that extensive reading of CL is a powerful strategy to acquire a large working vocabulary not only for first-language but also for second-language learners, and that CL should be considered an equally suitable if not superior choice as extended reading material for L2 learners. Moeller & Meyer (1995) discuss the use of children's books in the L2 classroom and how they can help to build L2 proficiency. The authors argue that Children's Literature supports language learning because of the increased interest of the students towards the text. The stories have a familiar context and are relatively short, but allow for interpretation on multiple levels that can stimulate conversations in the classroom. Burwitz-Melzer & O'Sullivan (2016) in *Einfachheit in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: ein Gewinn für den Fremdsprachenunterricht* have collected contributions that discuss the use of CL and Young Adult Literature in L2 teaching, and how it can be implemented. Bland & Lütge (2013) focus on the use of CL in second language teaching for children and young adults. English (2000), on the other hand, focusses on adult language education specifically, arguing that CL should be taken seriously because adults can directly connect to these stories, as they will have had similar life experiences. In a three-year study on adult learners of English from China, Ho (2000) investigated the role CL could play in adult language education. While the author states that Children's Literature has some limitations, she concludes that it works well with adult students because it is both stimulating and rewarding, and can help students

to increase their linguistic and literary competence and move on to Adult Literature. Leal (2015) has studied the use of CL in an adult university L2 classroom focussed on reading and writing. Her findings suggest that CL has a positive impact and can be used to engage and motivate students, and enhance their linguistic, cognitive and socio-emotional skills.

While there is no consensus on whether Children's Literature actually provides the best texts to use in L2 teaching and learning, there is no doubt about the fact that it is frequently used – at schools, universities, in adult second-language classrooms, and in unguided learning.

3.5. Phraseology in Children's Literature

Although phraseology in Children's Literature as a subject has seen an increase in scholarly interest, is still a largely unexplored field. In the last part of this chapter, we will shed light on some of the few specific studies concerning the use of phraseology in Children's Literature.

Similar to linguistic competence in general, authors (and we might add: translators) adjust the use of phraseology in children's books to what they assume to be the still limited phraseological competence of their readership (Burger 1997: 233). This means that authors will try to insert phraseological units into the text in a peculiar manner, through "Einführung, Einbettung, Erläuterung" (Burger 1998/2010: 173). Clark (1995: 409) states that "frequency of exposure to idioms appears to have little effect on acquisition. But exposure to idioms in rich contexts – stories that offer multiple clues to the meaning of an idiom – facilitate idiom comprehension at all ages." These rich contexts might be created through strategies like phraseological accumulation, paraphrasing or modification. Finkbeiner (2011: 60) uses this as the basis of her research, and puts forth three hypotheses:

- 1) The phraseological types used in children's books are semantically and pragmatically rather 'easy' compared to those in books for young adults;

- 2) The number of phraseological units accompanied by procedures aimed at enhancing comprehensibility is higher in children's books than in books for young adults;
- 3) The type of enhancement procedures used in children's books is different from the type of enhancement procedures used in books for young adults⁵⁰.

Finkbeiner tests these hypotheses in a quantitative manner in a comparative case study of Preussler's *Die kleine Hexe* and *Krabat*. Her findings tend to confirm the first two hypotheses, namely that the phraseological units in children's books seem simpler than those used in books for young adults, and that they are embedded in the text with strategies to enhance their comprehensibility more often in the first than in the second category. Although the third hypothesis could not be clearly confirmed, the empirical data did show that the need for enhancement procedures is higher in children's books.

Pickert (1978) analyses repetitive sentence patterns in children's books, that may or may not be phraseological, and illustrates patterns in which 1) repetitions of sentences are used to support a plot where events or scenes occur more than once and 2) repetition and expansion of sentences in a cumulative plot are used to review succeeding events. Schellheimer (2012) specifically focusses on phraseological expressions in fictional dialogue for children. She shows that certain PU types have been associated with spoken language and could thus be seen as characteristic of fictional dialogue, designed to evoke orality in written texts. Hayran (2017) examines to what extent proverbs and idioms are included in children's books used in elementary first-language education.

Empirical studies often involve the German language. Otfried Preussler and Erich Käster in particular have provided interesting material for the study of phraseology. Finkbeiner (2011) analysed Preussler's *Die kleine Hexe* and *Krabat*,

⁵⁰ As adolescents gain phraseological competence, the use of phraseology in books for young adults differs from that in children's books (Finkbeiner 2011: 47–48).

whereas Kelíšková (2006; unpublished BA thesis supervised by Jiřina Malá, who works on German and Czech phraseology) examined *Die kleine Hexe* and Kästner's *Pünktchen und Anton*. Ślawski (2015) concentrates on the problematic translation of collocations by means of examples from Kästner's *Emil und die Detektive* and its four Polish translations. Ślawski concludes that problems arise due to the abundance of collocations in everyday language and to Kästner's modification of them, and to the accumulation of multiple collocations in a few lines. In the target text this often led to zero equivalency counterparts, because they are conditioned by external factors such as culture, history and folk customs.

Häußinger (2017) also adopts a contrastive approach and analyses the phraseology in Rodari's *Le avventure di Cipollino* and its German translation. After an introduction to some key aspects of children's acquisition of phraseology, the first part of the study is dedicated to the use of phraseology in the original (including what functions it has and how it is embedded in the text), while the second part discusses the rendering of phraseological units in German.

As can be deduced from this brief (non-exhaustive) overview of literature on phraseology in Children's Literature, the field is still awaiting further investigation. One of our aims in this dissertation is to contribute to this area of research by analysing Dutch phraseology in CL – something which, to our knowledge, has not been done yet – in a contrastive comparison with Italian.

KEY POINTS FOR THIS RESEARCH

In this dissertation with Children's Literature we refer to the whole of written texts primarily intended for children up to twelve years old and for their amusement, that may be accompanied by illustrations.

Asymmetrical power relationships characterise Children's Literature, both regarding the source text and the target text. Translation is a vital part of the children's books industry, but also in this case, the exchange of CL

between cultures is imbalanced: globalisation and commercialisation heavily influence the industry, and both political and economical factors, and the status of the source language and culture play a big role. The asymmetrical power relationships and the importance of CL (texts should reflect the norms, values, and the view on childhood of the reader culture) lead to a tension between the source and target texts, calling for specific translation strategies.

These peculiarities of (translated) Children's Literature make it an extremely interesting corpus for different research purposes, because there is quite some possible textual and extratextual influences to take into account. But it is also a promising corpus for the scopes of this dissertation, because both the author and the translator base their texts and phraseological choices on the linguistic and cultural knowledge they assume their readers have.

4 METHODOLOGY

The scope of this dissertation is to analyse Dutch and Italian phraseological units in their pragmatic context, using a corpus of Children's Literature. The reasons to carry out such a detailed contrastive analysis have been discussed in the preceding chapters. In this chapter we will outline the process we have followed to carry out our analyses.

The corpus of this research (see §4.1.) consists in the Dutch children's book *Wiplala*, written by Annie M.G. Schmidt, and its Italian translation, which will be compared in a bidirectional way. Extant studies mostly adopt a unidirectional approach, in which (some characteristics of) one language function(s) as a starting point to describe the differences and similarities of (those characteristics in) the other language. Yet, the findings of these studies are not necessarily reversible, as only one point of view has been adopted⁵¹. Bidirectional (and multidirectional) studies, like the present one, overcome this limitation by confronting the languages as autonomous systems. Hence, the *tertium comparationis* is not one of the languages involved in the analysis, but rather a set

⁵¹ This can be illustrated by recalling Saussure's (1916: 166) famous example of *sheep* – *mutton* in English and *mouton* in French: while *sheep* can be used as a (partially) equivalent translant for *mouton*, the contrary is not necessarily true, as *mouton* can be used in significantly different contexts and can indicate both *sheep* and *mutton*. See Koesters Gensini (2020: 31–32) for a detailed discussion of an Italian-German example regarding unidirectional analysis.

of predefined parameters. The Dutch “starting text” will thus be confronted with the Italian “arrival text”, and vice versa. Aware of this uncommon terminology, let it be clear it is a conscious choice not to refer to our corpus in terms of “source text” and “target text”. In the case of bi- or multidirectional analyses the translation (i.e. the former target text) also becomes the starting text and the former source text becomes the arrival text (which is thus not always a “target text” in the pure sense).

As a first step, we have read both the Dutch and the Italian text, to get a full understanding of the story and to be able to recognise any foreshadowing. Next, we have gone through the starting text again, highlighting all phraseological units. The following step has been the insertion and annotation of the phraseological units present in the starting text on the CREAMY platform (see §4.2.), followed by their respective “translatants” (i.e. the portion of an arrival text that corresponds to the PU present in the starting text⁵²; TLs). In the second phase, we have followed these steps again for the Italian starting text and Dutch arrival text.

We have prepared a small parallel corpus by aligning both texts (see §4.3.), an extremely helpful tool when double checking if every single occurrence of all phraseological units had been inserted and annotated. As CREAMY does not yet dispose of advanced search and analysis options (see §4.2.3. for the options it offers), it was necessary to prepare Excel documents in which phraseological units and translatants remained linked. This linkage, in fact, is one of the big advantages of CREAMY. For each Excel file, numerous sheets were prepared to carry out the quantitative analysis summarised in Chapter 5.

⁵² The Dutch portions of text corresponding to Italian phraseological units (hence in the inverted perspective where the Dutch original text becomes the arrival text), will also be referred to as “translatants” – even if they are not truly “translations”. While other terms like “original construction” or “source construction” have been debated, these could have led to confusion regarding the perspective of the analysis.

These steps will be highlighted in the following paragraphs, starting from the motivations for choosing this particular corpus (§4.1.). The CREAMY platform will be thoroughly discussed in §4.2.; in this paragraph, the general functioning of the platform, the description of new PUs and translantans (including the classification implemented in this dissertation), and the search and analysis options will be described. In the last paragraph (§4.3.) other research tools will be discussed, including the method used for the alignment of the texts, and the various Excel sheets.

4.1. Corpus

The peculiarities of Children’s Literature and its importance in providing opportunities for phraseological analysis have already been discussed in Chapter 3. The corpus of this research is a Dutch children’s book, *Wiplala*, and its Italian translation. While the corpus is small and obviously inadequate to provide a basis for the identification of a “core” of a phraseological inventory, it can be a stepping stone for further research. Several reasons came into play in our decision not to add an Italian source text (and its Dutch translation) to our corpus. First, the detailed analysis of each occurrence of every phraseological unit and respective translantant, is a very time-consuming process – especially if the corpus is to be studied bidirectionally. Analysing a larger corpus would have meant spending less time on the detailed annotation of the PUs present in all texts (both original(s) and translations), which is pivotal for this research as a whole. Leaving aside any of the parameters implemented in the analysis, would have meant abandoning the goal of describing the full denotative and connotative meaning of PUs in their co-text, and their use. A research limited to a select type of PU (e.g. only idioms) or a structural composition (e.g. only light verb constructions) would have had a completely different scope. On the other hand, the selected corpus is large enough to be able to make a contribution to both

contrastive phraseology and Translation Studies, offering a first outlook on further research possibilities.

In the following paragraphs we will first discuss the original text, including the author, plot and different editions (§4.1.1.) and then the Italian translation (§4.1.2.).

4.1.1. *Wiplala* – Annie M.G. Schmidt

Wiplala is a children's book written by the Dutch author Anna Maria Geertruida Schmidt, commonly known as Annie M.G. Schmidt (1911 – 1995). Her works have accompanied (and continue to accompany) generations of both Dutch-speaking children and adults. Besides children's books, the author has also written short stories, poems, plays, songs, musicals, radio and television scripts; she has won several prizes in different genres⁵³. She is included in the *Canon van Nederland* and referred to as Poet Laureate (*'Dichteres des Vaderlands'*) *avant la lettre*⁵⁴. Her oeuvre is considered an important contribution to the development of the Dutch language.

The edition used for this research was published by Em. Querido's Uitgeverij in 1991 and is part of the Querido junior series. The illustrations by Jenny Dalenoord have been adopted from the first edition published by De Arbeiderspers in 1957. The illustrations in the first pages depict the Blom family on whom the plot is centred. Chapter one starts on page 8. The short novel proper is 157 pages long.

Another resource has been the e-book (2014, 43rd reprint, based on the 42nd reprint), that has made it very easy to search the text and select specific

⁵³ For instance, in the field of CL: Schmidt won the Hans Christian Andersen Award for her important and long lasting contribution to Children's Literature. *Wiplala* won the award for best Dutch children's book of 1957.

⁵⁴ The Canon of Dutch History is a list of the fifty "themes" that summarise the history of the Netherlands, and ranges from Charlemagne to Erasmus, Aletta Jacobs, slavery, the world wars and the advent of television. See *Canon of the Netherlands* (2020) and *Annie M.G. Schmidt: Dichteres des Vaderlands avant la lettre* accessed 14-01-2023).

parts. The extraction of PUs and TLs, however, is based entirely on the 1991 print, as the e-book often deviates from the original text. The 2014 digital version, for example, reads “*Nou, ik zal maar eens gaan aan de slag gaan, ’zei juffrouw Dingemans [...].*” while the 1991 paper reprint reads *redderen* ‘to clean, to tidy up’ instead of *aan de slag gaan* ‘to start working on something’ (Schmidt 1991: 53, 2014: 42/125). In this case the editors might have decided that the verb *redderen* was not accessible for children anymore.

Wiplala is classified as a B-type book in Dutch libraries: fit for children from approximately nine to twelve years old (see §3.1.). This label takes the average social-emotional development of children and their reading level into account. The novel, however, is clearly fit for younger children as well: some editions state that it can be read to children from approximately five years of age.

The book is named after one of its main characters, a gnome of a kind referred to as a *wiplala*, whose name is also Wiplala. He ends up in the house of the Blom family, where mister Blom and his children Nelly Dely and Johannes live, and gets caught by their cat Fly. Fearing that the cat will kill him, Wiplala turns it to stone. Nelly Dely then finds Wiplala, who tells the family that he has been sent away by the other wiplalas because he cannot “pixilate” (do magic) well enough. Wiplala stays with the Blom family and does all kinds of magic tricks the children thoroughly enjoy. When the poor neighbour poet walks in to have dinner with the family, he sees Wiplala and tries to pick him up. The little wiplala is scared of him and thus pixilates him to stone, causing quite some worry for the family. But the real trouble starts when the family, including Wiplala hidden away in a bag, go out for dinner in town. Not expecting such high prices, mister Blom is not able to pay the bill and all of them get locked up in an office until the police arrives. Wiplala then shrinks the others to his own size so they can all escape together – the start of a true adventure. Hordes of people coming to look for them in their home, a flight on the back of a pigeon, a stay in the Royal Palace of Amsterdam, eating their bellies full in a delicatessen shop and ending up in the

hospital, where they finally seem to find someone, a doctor, who can help them. But when the happy ending is in sight, the bag they are hiding in gets stolen and thrown in the canal. Hidden in the big house of two elderly ladies, they manage to call the doctor for help. At last, Wiplala finds the special berries the family needs to eat to return to their human size. This is the end of their adventures. In the very end, Wiplala realises he can now pixilate well enough to go back to the other wiplalas, leaving the family behind with beautiful memories.

Annie M.G. Schmidt has not only has had – and still has – a great influence in the Netherlands and in the Dutch children's books industry, but has also travelled far across borders. Her books have been translated into at least fifty four languages (*Vertalingendatabase - Annie M.G. Schmidt* accessed 14-01-2023), from Vietnamese to Latin, from Gaelic to Persian. *Wiplala* has been translated into Afrikaans, Bulgarian, Catalan, Chinese, Czech, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, and Ukrainian. This makes the corpus easily accessible and expandable to other languages and language families.

4.1.2. *Uiplalà* – translated by Laura Pignatti

There is only one translation of *Wiplala* in Italian. The Italian public had to wait for some decennia, before they could discover Schmidt's *Uiplalà*: only in 1995 Arnoldo Mondadori Editore inserted it in its juvenile collection, in Laura Pignatti's translation. Pignatti is still active as translator from Dutch into Italian with over one hundred and sixty translated works (*Laura Pignatti* accessed 14-01-2023). No illustrations have been printed in the Italian version, which only partially explains the length of the book. Only 114 pages long (chapter one starts on page 3, the story ends on page 116), the Italian version seems significantly shorter than the Dutch original.

4.2. CREAMY: a platform for the analysis of multilingual phraseology

CREAMY (*Calvino REpertoire for the Analysis of Multilingual Phraseology*) is a platform ideated by Paolo Bottoni and Sabine E. Koesters Gensini and built with the help of Filippo Mazzei. Bottoni et al. (2020) describe both the theoretical considerations at the basis of the platform and the technical construction of the platform itself. CREAMY is an instrument that gives researchers the opportunity to annotate the complexity of phraseological units in their co-text, while still being simple and intuitive enough to guarantee a user-friendly environment. One of the major advantages of the platform is the possibility to link phraseological units to their translantants in multiple languages; the translantants can be annotated using the same detailed parameters used for the starting text.

In §4.2.1. the functioning of the platform will be described, to shed light on the process of inserting and annotating phraseological units and their translantants. The description of new phraseological units and translantants, and hence all predefined parameters and the classification implemented in this dissertation, are discussed in §4.2.2. The last subparagraph (§4.2.3.) highlights the currently existing search and analysis options available on the platform.

4.2.1. The functioning of the platform

The platform is not accessible for external users at present⁵⁵. Once you have entered your credentials, if applicable, you have to select the role you want to work in. Access to the platform is scaled: annotators, for example, can only work on the text(s) and in the language(s) they have been assigned to, while linguistic supervisors can also add or modify information about texts or language

⁵⁵ Access to the platform can be granted upon registration and authorization by the research manager, Sabine E. Koesters Gensini. The platform itself uses Italian as a metalanguage, i.e. all parts of the platform are in Italian. Furthermore, Italian is also dubbed *linguistichese*, the metalanguage used to connect all language specific categories to ensure mutual understanding.

specific subcategories in the assigned languages. Only the *supervisore umanistico* ('humanistic supervisor'), has complete access to the system and can add new linguistic supervisors. You then have to select the language in which you intend to work⁵⁶ from a drop-down menu that contains all the languages you can access. The role and language can be changed in the upper right side of the screen. On the left side of the screen you can find the main menu, divided in three groups: *analisi testo* ('text analysis'), *gestione testi* ('text management') and *impostazioni* ('settings'). The text analysis section hosts different search options, that will be further discussed in §4.2.3.. The text management section has two sub-options: texts and phraseological units.

ID	IF	Lingua	Titolo	Editore	Edizione	Traduzione	Data di uscita	Pagine	ISBN
131		ENG	TP (ENG + NL) Wiplala	Abelard Schuman		Hervietta Anthony	1962	160	
129		ITA	TP (ITA + NL) Uplalà	Arnoldo Mondadori Editore	1995	Laura Pignatti	1995	116	8804399139
107		DUT	TP (DUT) Anne M.G. Schmidt - Wiplala	Em. Querido's Uitgeverij B.V.	1991		1997	164	90-214-8126-X

ID	Lingua	Nome	Editore	Edizione	Traduzione	Data di uscita	Pagine	ISBN
110	ITA	Uplalà	Arnoldo Mondadori Editore	1995	Laura Pignatti	1995	116	88-04-39913-9

Figure 3 CREAMY: Text management – texts

The first brings you to an interface (see Figure 3) where all starting texts⁵⁷ are displayed, with a unique identifier and all relevant metadata (language, title, author, year of first edition, editor, year of edition used, total page number and ISBN of edition used). By clicking on the + symbol on the left side of the internal identification number, a list of linked translations (or rather: arrival texts) appears,

⁵⁶ You can only modify or add information for the language you are currently working in. If you choose to work in Italian, for example, you can only work on Italian starting texts or Italian translations.

⁵⁷ These texts are marked with “(TP)”, *testo di partenza*, ‘starting text’. Starting texts that are translations have a field to indicate the translator.

accompanied by the same information as for the starting text and the name(s) of the translator(s). It is required to add a text⁵⁸ in the system, before annotators can start working on it.

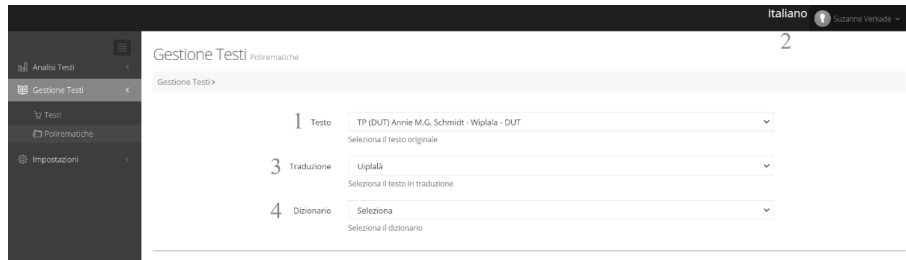


Figure 4 CREAMY: Text management – phraseological units

By choosing the option *polirematiche* (‘phraseological units’) in the text management section of the main menu, you reach to the section where you can insert and annotate PUs (see Figure 4). You first have to select the starting text you want to focus on from a drop-down menu (Figure 4: 1) – if it is in the language you are currently working in, another drop-down menu will appear from which you can choose the dictionary you want to work with⁵⁹. Usually, only one reference dictionary is chosen per language, but by allowing the use of different lexicographic resources it is possible to evaluate the differences between their inclusion and presentation of phraseological units. If you are working in a different language (Figure 4: 2) than the one of the starting text you selected, you can choose the arrival text you want to analyse (Figure 4: 3)⁶⁰, and select the reference lexicographic resource (Figure 4: 4).

⁵⁸ First a starting text, then its arrival text(s) if a contrastive analysis is the scope of the research. It is also possible to work exclusively on phraseological units in one text, without confronting them with their translantants.

⁵⁹ In order to avoid too many people having access to it and possibly change data, a language supervisor has to add one or more annotator(s) to a specific text (starting or arrival), and add the reference dictionary they will be working with, before the annotator can start working on a text.

⁶⁰ This is a mandatory step, since a starting text can have multiple arrival texts (translations) in the same language.

The screenshot displays the 'Gestione Testi' interface in Italian. At the top right, it shows 'Italiano' and a user profile 'Suzanne Verlaque'. The left sidebar contains navigation options: 'Analisi Testi', 'Gestione Testi', 'Testi', 'Polirematiche', and 'Impostazioni'. The main content area is titled 'Gestione Testi Polirematiche' and includes a 'Gestione Testi >' section with dropdown menus for 'Testo' (selected: TP (ITA < NL) Uipialà - ITA) and 'Dizionario' (selected: Nuovo Dizionario De Mauro (online, Internazionale)). Below this is the 'Gestione polirematiche' section, which features a button 'Inserisci Polirematica' and a form titled 'Polirematica'. The form contains the following fields:

- Polirematica *
- Pagina *
- Senso Testuale (with a sub-field for 'Parafraasi')
- Tipo Polirematica (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Tipo Significato (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Composizione Strutturale (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Marca Variazionale (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Marca Variazionale (text input, with sub-labels 'Principale' and 'Secondario')
- Valore d'uso (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Valore d'uso (text input, with sub-labels 'Principale' and 'Secondario')
- Campo semantico (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Campo semantico (text input, with sub-labels 'Principale' and 'Secondario')
- Cotesto
- Lemmi
- Definizione Dizionario
- Uso Dizionario (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Categoria lessicale (dropdown: Seleziona...)
- Accezione dizionario
- Entrata Dizionario
- Se diversa
- Note

At the bottom of the form are 'Salva' and 'Annulla' buttons.

Figure 5 CREAMY: Text management – phraseological units – insert new phraseological unit

After selecting these options, the annotator can add new phraseological units or translantants. When working on the starting text, it is possible to add a new PU straight away; when working on an arrival text, it is necessary to first select the PU you want to add a translantant to. The page in Figure 5 shows the fields available for the annotation of a new phraseological unit⁶¹.

Using this template consisting of twenty fields (either a text field or a drop-down menu) that refer to a group of parameters, you can thoroughly describe phraseological units and their translantants in a systematic way, thus quite precisely identifying their “value”, i.e. the function of the PU inside the linguistic system it belongs to. These parameters are discussed in detail in the following paragraph.

4.2.2. Description of new phraseological units and translantants

The fields available for the systematic and detailed analysis of phraseological units and translantants in CREAMY are the following⁶²:

- a) The lemmatized form of the phraseological unit;
- b) The page of the edition used in which the PU is present (every occurrence of a PU has a separate entry);
- c) The co-text in which it occurs (a portion of text preceding and/or succeeding the PU, needed to determine its value in that specific pragmatic context);
- d) The ‘textual’ meaning of the PU, i.e. a paraphrase of the meaning of the PU in that precise co-text;

⁶¹ When adding a translantant, all basic information of the source phraseological unit is displayed: the PU itself; the page number; the meaning in its specific co-text; the co-text. All fields available for the annotation of a PU are also available for the annotation of a TL, plus one extra field for determining the equivalence between the starting and arrival text.

⁶² To avoid repetition that might cause confusion, the following list will only refer to phraseological units. The same fields apply to translantants.

- e) The type of PU, i.e. the type of semantic relation between the single lexical constituents of the PU and the meaning the PU has, as a whole, in that specific co-text (§4.2.2.1.);
- f) The type of meaning, i.e. the presence or absence of different kinds of figurative meaning in that specific co-text (§4.2.2.2.);
- g) The structural composition of the PU, i.e. the mostly syntactic relation between the single constituents of the PU (§4.2.2.3.);
- h) The lexical category of the PU, i.e. the part of speech it belongs to (§4.2.2.4.);
- i) The position the PU occupies within the variational system of the language, i.e. indicator(s) of the sociolinguistic-variational value within its linguistic system (e.g. “slang”, “bureaucratic”) (§4.2.2.5.);
- j) The use value(s), i.e. the connotation the PU has within the specific co-text (e.g. “ironic”, “derisive”) (§4.2.2.6.);
- k) The semantic field(s) the PU belongs to (§4.2.2.7.);
- l) The individual lemma(ta) that compose the PU (§4.2.2.8.);
- m) The full description that the monolingual reference dictionary⁶³ offers of the PU (if there is no description present, this absence will be noted) (§4.2.2.8.);
- n) The number and/or letter of the specific sense of the PU in that context among those present in the reference dictionary and reproduced in the full description (§4.2.2.8.);
- o) The usage mark(s) attributed to the PU in the reference dictionary (e.g. “regionalism”, “formal”; the field remains empty if no usage mark is present) (§4.2.2.8.);
- p) The lemma under which the PU is described if different than the PU (e.g. *wind* for the PU *in de wind slaan*) (§4.2.2.8.);

⁶³ The dictionary chosen by an annotator working on that specific text in that language.

- q) Notes from the annotator if necessary.

There is no default setting for any of these fields (e.g. “standard” for language variety): they need to be filled out singularly for each new phraseological unit or translant. The parameters of language variety, use value and semantic field all have two fields that can be used to define them; it is obligatory to choose a subcategory from a drop-down menu in the first field, while the second one may be left blank but can hold multiple secondary subcategories to describe all nuances in more detail. Furthermore, a unique identifier is assigned to each PU and TL, in order to guarantee that multiple occurrences of the same PU in the same page, sometimes even within the same co-text, can still be kept apart. To ensure traceability, the platform also keeps track of the creator of each PU and TL, and of the person who last modified it.

Even though filling out some of these fields on the platform may seem quite straightforward, the first one, (a) (the lemmatized form of the PU), already poses some methodological problems. For instance, what is the correct lemmatized form of a light verb construction? In a text, multiple variants of a light verb construction can occur (e.g. “to take a photograph”: *een foto nemen* A PHOTO TAKE, *mijn foto nemen* MY PHOTO TAKE, *foto's nemen* PHOTOS TAKE), but being variants of the same construction (*foto* PHOTO + *nemen* TAKE), it is important to insert them all in the same canonical form, so they can be found as a single entry. We have decided to insert the “emptiest” form possible, even if it does not correspond to the use in the specific language (in the case of the example given above: *foto nemen* PHOTO TAKE).

The parameters described up until this point refer to all languages, texts, PUs and TLs; the subcategories, however, are language-dependent and can show rather large differences based on the properties of the language they describe. Both parameters and subcategories aim to be distinct – and thus try to avoid redundancy – in order to give a transparent description and classification of PUs.

In the next section, single parameters will be discussed in more depth, and all relevant subcategories for each language will be presented⁶⁴.

4.2.2.1. Type of phraseological unit

The parameter “type of phraseological unit” takes into account semantic criteria. It distinguishes three types of semantic agglutination⁶⁵, for both the PUs in the starting texts and the TLs in the arrival texts. When the whole PU is non-compositional, i.e. the single constituents undergo a modification of their autonomous semantic value resulting in a PU’s meaning that cannot be deduced from those constituents, it is classified as an “idiom” (e.g. *in de steek laten*; *piantare in asso*). When only one of the constituents is affected by a modification from a semantic point of view, the PU is classified as a “collocation” (e.g. *de hand drukken*; *stringere la mano*). PUs with no semantic agglutination have been classified as “other”⁶⁶ (e.g. *lawaaï maken*; *fare rumore*). If we imagine placing these three types of PUs on a hypothetical continuum of semantic transparency, which becomes more and more transparent as we move from left to right, idioms would occupy the left-hand side and “other” PUs the right-hand side, with collocations somewhere in the middle (Figure 6).

⁶⁴ The following paragraphs (§4.2.2.1 – §4.2.2.9.) are partially based on general and language specific drafts (later modified, and newly modified for this dissertation) presented in Koesters Gensini & Berardini (2020). Especially useful for the following paragraphs has been the chapter written on Italian by Piattelli (2020).

⁶⁵ There are two more types of phraseological units, that, however, do not only take semantic criteria into account. This remains an issue to be resolved. One of these is “proverbs, sayings and aphorisms” and has only been used once in this dissertation, for an Italian saying (*gatta ci cova*). While in theory this saying could have been classified as an idiom from a semantic point of view, it was deemed best to keep paremiology and phraseology separate from the start. The second type of phraseological unit not included in these three types of semantic agglutination, are compounds (see below).

⁶⁶ These PUs are characterised by other kinds of agglutination or restrictions, mostly on a morphosyntactic level or because their constituents have a particular co-occurrence.

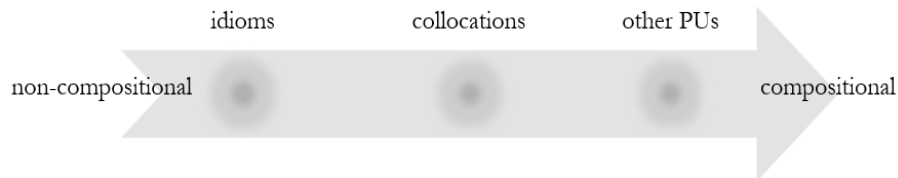


Figure 6 Continuum of semantic transparency

Another type of phraseological unit that, however, only partially relies on a semantic criterion, is compounds. Although we are aware of the fact that compounds are at present often not included in phraseological research (see §2.2.3 and specifically the polylexicality criterion), we have decided to focus on them for three reasons:

- 1) compounds are often translantants of a multiword expression⁶⁷ in another language (e.g. *battlefield* (or *slagveld* BATTLE-FIELD in Dutch) = *campo di battaglia* FIELD OF BATTLE in Italian), and as such they are challenging for language users;
- 2) orthographic rules tend to change, allowing locutions to become single graphic words (e.g. Dutch *dagen lang* DAYS LONG ‘going on for days’ became *dagenlang*) – therefore, orthography cannot be a criterion;
- 3) when not completely transparent and compositional, compounds pose a similar difficulty for language learners as multiword expressions do.

A single graphic word composed of two or more lexical morphemes is thus classified as a “compound”. Compounds that have a literal overall meaning (“constituent 1 + constituent 2”), however, have not been taken into consideration. These compounds, although bound by their composition in a single graphic word, can in fact be seen as constructions similar to free combinations of words, opposed to compounds with a clear overall meaning

⁶⁷ Here the term “multiword expression” is purposely used and not “phraseological unit”, because the first focusses on the composition in multiple words, while the latter is neutral and is used throughout this dissertation to include all types of phraseologisms, including compounds.

(even if the constituents are quite transparent). Compounds like *poppenstoeltje* DOLL-CHAIR-DIM 'little chair intended for dolls' have not been taken into consideration, while a relatively transparent compound like *schrijfmachine* WRITING-MACHINE 'typewriter' has entered our analysis – a 'machine intended for writing' is a typewriter, but the overall meaning is not literally *schrijf* + *machine*.

Compounds can be positioned on a continuum of semantic agglutination as well, just as multiword expressions, but we have decided not to include these possibilities directly as different types of phraseological units. Adding specific subcategories for compounds would have undermined the attempt at keeping the classification as simple as possible, without any (partially) overlapping subcategories. Including compounds directly as idioms, collocations or "other" PUs would not have done justice to the specific aspects of both multiword expressions and compounds. In a future stage of this research, an attempt could be made at classifying compounds more precisely from the semantic point of view following Libben et al. (2003).

The same types of PUs apply to translantants. However, not all TLs are phraseological units. For this reason, more subcategories are available for their classification, namely:

- a) free combination of words;
- b) monorematic word;
- c) too freely translated to identify a direct translantant;
- d) not translated.

The first two subcategories describe the two cases in which we do find a TL in the arrival text corresponding to a PU in the starting text, resulting in: a) a free combination of words, when the TL consists in multiple words (e.g. *te voorschijn komen* translated by *abbandonare il nascondiglio*) and b) a monorematic word, when it is a single graphic word with one lexical morpheme (either a simple or a complex word, but not a compound word, which has at least two lexical morphemes) (e.g. *foto nemen* translated by *fotografare*). The last two subcategories

describe the cases in which we cannot identify a TL (marked as “--” in CREAMY in the field where the lemmatised form of the TL would normally be annotated): either because there is no clear translant for the original PU (c) or because the PU is not translated at all (d).

4.2.2.2. Type of meaning

The parameter “type of meaning” refers to the figurativeness (or lack thereof) of a PU. In an attempt to describe PUs as accurately as possible, a total of five subcategories are applied:

- a) Generically figurative (e.g. *in een oogwenk*; *in un batter d’occhio*);
- b) Metaphorically figurative (e.g. *broodmager*; *magro come un chiodo*);
- c) Metonymically figurative (e.g. *naar bed gaan*; *andare a letto*);
- d) Nor figurative, nor compositional (overall agglutinated; e.g. *pindakaas*; *burro d’arachidi*);
- e) Not-figurative and compositional (e.g. *boodschappen doen*; *fare la spesa*).

The first three subcategories describe cases in which the PU in question has a figurative meaning in its specific co-text, in the last two subcategories no figurativeness is present. It is also possible that a PU has an agglutinated (i.e. non-compositional) meaning, while not having any figurative meaning: in that case it is classified as having a “nor figurative, nor compositional” meaning.

4.2.2.3. Structural composition

The parameter of structural composition aims to classify the PUs from a syntactic point of view. The classification of the internal structure of PUs is a very complex task, as it entails organising the PUs in distinct, non-redundant categories, based on purely lexical-syntactic criteria, while still being exhaustive (Koesters Gensini 2020a: 332). It is evident why idioms and collocations are considered PUs – based on their semantic agglutination – whereas this is not the case for PUs classified in the subcategory “other” of the parameter “type of PU”.

Especially this group of PUs benefits from a classification based on their structural composition.

In the following, we will first introduce the subcategories used for PUs that are shared by both languages included in this research. Next, the subcategories added for the analysis of TLs will be presented.

Structural compositions of phraseological units

The subcategories shared by Dutch and Italian are the following:

- a) co-occurrence of lexical morphemes (CLM; e.g. *proef afleggen*; *sostenere una prova*);
- b) irreversible binomial (IB; e.g. *been en weer*; *avanti e indietro*);
- c) light verb construction (LVC; e.g. *herrie maken*; *fare confusione*);
- d) verb-particle construction (VPC; e.g. *correre via*);
- e) expression with one or more prepositions (EP; e.g. *in plaats van*; *al posto di*);
- f) compound (e.g. *wegrennen*; *pijlsnel*; *francobollo*);
- g) simile (e.g. *zo bang als een muis*; *rosso come un gambero*);
- h) other (e.g. *'s nachts*; *zitto zitto*).

According to Piattelli's (2020a: 142) excellent definition, phraseological units that are characterised by a recurring (but not mandatory) association of its constituents, are classified as a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes (a). Both PUs with a semantic modification (idioms and collocations) and semantically transparent expressions are included ("other" PUs). Piattelli (2020a: 142–143) then goes on to illustrate the fine line between syntactic and semantic criteria in this subcategory. A PU can be classified as a CLM, if at least one of its constituents can be substituted, regardless of the presence or absence of a semantic surplus. As a result

[e]spressioni semanticamente non marcate come "fronte corrugata", "momento passeggero", "pericolo scampato", "pioggia

scrosciante” e altre sono state considerate come co-occorrenze di morfi lessicali dal momento che – pur con risultati discutibili a livello stilistico – è teoricamente consentito dire “fronte raggrinzata”, “momento fuggevole”, “pericolo evitato”, “pioggia fiottante”, senza che la modifica incida significativamente sul significato dell’espressione. Anche nei casi di espressioni idiomatiche, una polirematica come “reggere il cuore” si configura a livello sintattico come co-occorrenza di morfi lessicali in quanto il verbo “reggere” potrebbe essere sostituito da un altro mantenendo il medesimo significato (es. “tenere il cuore”). Al contrario, casi come “se stesso”, “poco di buono”, “farsi largo”, ecc. non sono stati considerati come co-occorrenze in quanto l’associazione tra i lessemi si configura come una vera e propria agglutinazione, in cui eventuali prove di commutazione porterebbero alla perdita del significato dell’espressione.⁶⁸

Irreversible binomials (b) according to Malkiel (1959) are constructions consisting of two lexemes, belonging to the same lexical category and joined by a conjunction, in a fixed conventional order, e.g. “salt and pepper”, “bed and breakfast”, “cut and paste”, “now and then”, “double or quits/nothing”, “good or bad”, “make or break”, “sink or swim”.

⁶⁸ “Semantically unmarked expressions like “fronte corrugata”, “momento passeggero”, “pericolo scampato”, “pioggia scrosciante” and others have been considered co-occurrences of lexical morphemes since – even if with questionable results on a stylistic level – it is theoretically allowed to say “fronte raggrinzata”, “momento fuggevole”, “pericolo evitato”, “pioggia fiottante”, without that modification significantly impacting on the meaning of the expression. Also where idioms are concerned, a phraseological unit like “reggere il cuore” is considered a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes from a syntactic point of view, as the verb “reggere” could be substituted by another while maintaining the same meaning (e.g. “tenere il cuore”). On the contrary, cases like “se stesso”, “poco di buono”, “farsi largo”, etc. have not been considered co-occurrences of lexical morphemes because the association between the lexemes is truly agglutinated, and any commutation test would lead to the loss of the meaning of the expression.” Cf. for instance Dutch *proef afleggen* (*proef ondergaan*), Italian *sostenere una prova* (*fare una prova*).

Light verb constructions (c) are intended as expressions consisting in an NP and a light verb (Jespersen 1942: 117–118) that has a supporting function. The whole construction can often be reformulated with a simple verb (e.g. *to make a call* > *to call*, but not *to make an appointment* > **to appointment*) (Ježek 2011: 198; Bonial 2014: 181), although this does not imply that they are completely interchangeable from a semantic and pragmatic point of view (see Wierzbicka 1982 for a discussion). Literature on the subject varies not only within a specific linguistic tradition, but also between different languages. For an overview of the treatment of LVCs in different linguistic traditions including Dutch and Italian, see Koesters Gensini et al. (2022). Extremely useful from this point of view are the very detailed PARSEME (PARSIng and Multi-word Expressions) annotation guidelines for light verb constructions (2018; 2020, also cf. Cordeiro & Candito 2019; Ramisch et al. 2018, 2020). Everaert & Hollebrandse (1995: 95–100) will be followed for Dutch; Ježek (2011: 195–198) for Italian.

Dutch and Italian both have peculiar verbal expressions. These could be generally classified in the structural composition “verb-particle construction” (d), especially when other languages are involved⁶⁹. Nevertheless, in this contrastive analysis of Dutch and Italian a different approach has been chosen.

In the case of Dutch, we have separable complex verbs (SCVs): “combinations of a verb and another word that function as lexical units” (Booij 2019: 223). That word can either be a noun (e.g. *pianospelen* PIANO-PLAY ‘to play the piano’), an adposition (e.g. *opbellen* ON/AT-CALL ‘to call’), an adjective (*schoonmaken* CLEAN-MAKE ‘to clean’), an adverb (*neerstorten* DOWN-COLLAPSE transitive ‘to dump’, intransitive ‘to crash’), or a word that occurs only when combined with a verb (e.g. *teleurstellen* ‘to let down’) (Booij 1998: 6). When first working on the classification of SCVs in CREAMY in a previous research

⁶⁹ For instance, English has verb-particle constructions that are often referred to as particle verbs or, more specifically, as phrasal verbs or prepositional verbs. As in Italian, they can either consist in verb + preposition (e.g. *to pick up*) or verb + adverb (e.g. *to come back*), but also in verb + adverb + preposition (*to put up with*).

project, it seemed most fitting to analyse them as “other” phraseological units and to divide them into three different kinds of structural compositions: transparent, semi-transparent and opaque separable complex verbs. This practice later proved incorrect for two reasons:

- 1) it introduced a semantic criterion in a parameter only meant for structural, syntactic classification⁷⁰;
- 2) as SCVs are (separable) compounds, this resulted in an overlap with the structural composition “compound”.

Therefore it is preferable to classify SCVs as compounds, that can be easily filtered out thanks to the lexical category “separable complex verb” (thus keeping the opposition with non-separable verb compounds). This solution is also not fully satisfactory because of the general similarity of SCVs with Italian verb-particle constructions. While this similarity cannot be overlooked, the empirical analyses presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 show that Dutch SCVs and Italian VPCs are not frequently translantants of each other – less than expected, in fact. SCVs are thus classified among compounds because of their peculiar form, but can be seen as an intermediate category between multiword units and compounds.

Italian verb-particle constructions are usually referred to as *verbi sintagmatici* ‘syntagmatic verbs’ and comprise verb + preposition constructions (e.g. *tirare su* PULL UP ‘to pull up’ or idiomatic ‘to raise [children]’) and verb + adverb constructions (e.g. *buttare fuori* THROW OUT). VPCs in Italian can have both compositional and non-compositional, idiomatic meanings, and can also be used figuratively. In this dissertation both “verb-particle construction” and “syntagmatic verb” will be used to refer to the same Italian phenomenon.

The subcategory “expression with one or more prepositions” (e) has been used to classify expressions characterised by the presence of one or more

⁷⁰ The semantic transparency of SCVs is analysed in “type of meaning” (as for all phraseological units).

lexical morphemes and a specific preposition that expresses a certain syntactic relationship (often space- or time-related) that could not be expressed in absence of that preposition or by substituting it with another, thus revealing some degree of agglutination (Piattelli 2020: 143).

As already stated with regard to the types of phraseological unit, single graphic words composed of two or more lexical morphemes are classified as a “compound” (f). This means that all phraseological units that have been classified as a compound in “type of phraseological unit”, will also be classified as a compound in “Structural composition”. In future research, an attempt could be made to further investigate the different internal structures of non-compositional compounds, and what we can learn from them.

Similes (g) have been added as a structural composition when a first annotation of the phraseological units had already been completed. They are a peculiar aspect of *Wiplala* and had not yet occurred – or at least not frequently enough – in other research carried out on the CREAMY platform, hence the lack of the category.

In the last subcategory, “other” (h), we find all PUs that do not fit into another structural composition. It is clear from the mere existence of this subcategory, that the structural classification of phraseological units remains extremely complex, and that this attempt at classification is far from satisfactory.

Equally clear is the fact that the structural compositions illustrated up to this point are not exclusive subcategories. Especially the co-occurrence of lexical morphemes overlaps with other categories, as most PUs (compounds included) are also, to a certain extent, co-occurrences of lexical morphemes. It seems necessary, though, to maintain these subcategories, although not satisfactory, in order to distinguish as much as possible between certain internal structures. Needless to say, the parameter of structural composition and especially the subcategories “co-occurrence of lexical morphemes” and “other” will be subject to further research.

Structural compositions for non-phraseological translantants

Besides the structural compositions presented above used to classify PUs and phraseological TLs, more subcategories are needed to classify non-phraseological TLs:

- h) free combination of words;
- i) monorematic word.

If a TL is classified as a free combination of words in the category “type of PU”, it will then automatically have to be classified as a free combination of words in the parameter “structural composition”⁷¹. The same applies to monorematic words⁷². Phraseological units that do not have a translantant, i.e. they are either too freely translated to identify a precise translantant or they have not been translated at all, are obviously not assigned a specific structural composition, as they do not offer material for analysis. Except for “--” in the translantant field to mark its absence, the page number, the co-text, and the “type of phraseological unit”, all other fields in these cases are empty.

4.2.2.4. Lexical category

Another parameter for the description of PUs in CREAMY is that of the lexical category, which refers to the function of the entire phraseological unit (not the part of speech of its single constituents). Especially in analysis this is a very useful to be able to filter out specific phraseological units, for example only those that function as an adverbial phrase. The lexical categories are:

⁷¹ A free combination of words does not exclude semantic solidarity between its constituents. The fact that a lexeme is combined more often with some lexemes than with others, does not necessarily make such a combination a phraseological unit in general, or more specifically a co-occurrence of lexemes. In this case as well, as we have seen in many aspects of phraseological units, there is a continuum.

⁷² A complex issue regards reflexive verbs. In an effort to keep the number of the subcategories of the structural composition to a minimum, the decision has been made to classify reflexive verbs that might need to be analysed as translantants of a phraseological unit (e.g. *in orde komen* translated into Italian with *risolversi*) among monorematic words. In future research we would recommend adding a separate subcategory for reflexive verbs.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| a) adjective | j) prepositional phrase |
| b) adjectival phrase | k) pronoun |
| c) adverb | l) pronominal phrase |
| d) adverbial phrase | m) verb |
| e) conjunction | n) verb phrase |
| f) conjunctive phrase | o) separable complex verb |
| g) noun | p) formula |
| h) noun phrase | q) other |
| i) preposition | |

There are separate categories for single graphic words (either compounds or monorematic words) and phrases (multiword expressions and free combinations of words). There is a separate category for formulae (e.g. *dames en heren, tot ziens; signore e signori, a presto*) and an “other” category for very rare PUs, but mostly for TLs that do not fit in any other category⁷³.

4.2.2.5. Language variety

The aim of the “language variety” parameter is to describe the PU’s position in its language-specific sociolinguistic-variational system. When this sociolinguistic positioning deviates from the standard, it often represents a distinct characteristic for the PU in question and its broad co-text. Therefore, it is vital for a good translation to maintain an equivalent position in the sociolinguistic system of the target language.

The first variational labels that have been identified for research on the CREAMY platform are those of Italian, based on the model of the diasystem of Italian varieties elaborated by Berruto (1987/2012: 24). The diaphasic continuum is illustrated with a diagonal axis going from the lower right (highly informal) to

⁷³ The “other” subcategory is mostly needed in cases where there has been quite a modification between starting and arrival text. E.g. the Italian *ora come ora* has *als hij dit beleefd had* as a Dutch translantant.

the upper left (highly formal), the diastratic continuum with a vertical axis from bottom (lower social class) to top (higher social class), and the diamesic continuum with a horizontal axis from left (written) to right (spoken). In this model, Italian standard language (literary standard and neo-standard) is positioned slightly off-centre, and stretched upwards in order to occupy a position closer to the high end of the diaphasic continuum and of the diastratic continuum, and more to the left of the diamesic axis (more written than spoken). The Italian varieties available for the classification of PUs and TLs on CREAMY are:

- a) standard;
- b) substandard;
- c) colloquial (more spoken, informal);
- d) highly informal;
- e) ‘popular’ (diastratically and diafasically low variety);
- f) regional;
- g) ‘popular’ regional (diatopically marked, diastratically and diafasically low)
- h) spoken;
- i) formal;
- j) highly formal;
- k) slang;
- l) technical-specialist language, jargon;
- m) archaic;
- n) obsolete;
- o) idiolectal;
- p) dialectal;
- q) bureaucratic;
- r) other.

Most of these have not been used in the annotation of *Uiplala*. Only standard, colloquial, spoken and very rarely technical-specialist language, formal, and “other” characterise the Italian corpus.

Extant studies on sociolinguistic variation in Dutch to our knowledge do not give a comprehensive overview or model of the Dutch sociolinguistic-variational system, and tend to focus on a specific variety (e.g. Smakman 2006) or on the opposition between registers or varieties (e.g. Impe et al. 2009), often focussing on the differences and similarities between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch (e.g. Tummers et al. 2011; Van de Velde et al. 1997; van Halteren & Oostdijk 2018). The usage labels in dictionaries did not prove very useful as they often lack consistent and exhaustive application. Stachurska (2018) discusses the issues of codifying usage in lexicographic resources by the use of labels, and highlights some of the many diverging classificatory schemes that have been proposed. She then analyses the usage labels in five lexicographic resources for English as a foreign language, shedding light on the divergences of the labelling and the problems this causes. Janssen et al. (2003) also discuss the codification of usage labels, but do so with the help of Dutch examples.

Given the lack of a steady theoretical basis for the implementation of a specific Dutch variational classification, a possible solution is to apply Berruto's model for Italian to Dutch as well. The same variety labels as previously listed for Italian ((a)-(r)), have thus been used for the description of Dutch PUs and TLs. Based on the reference dictionary for Dutch, Van Dale, it has been decided to add the following labels:

- s) Dutch Dutch (typical for language used in the Netherlands);
- t) Belgian Dutch (typical for language used in the Flanders);
- u) Literary Dutch.

Neither of these added labels has been applied in the annotation of *Wiplala*.

Language varieties, too, are a continuum. After selecting one main variety, other, secondary varieties can be added to fully describe the PU, in order to attain a more complete annotation. There is no default language variety: for every new PU and TL at least one main variety needs to be selected.

4.2.2.6. Use value

An important characteristic of phraseological units is their semantic surplus (cf. Gréciano 1994), that is to say the connotative nuances that the parameter “use value” aims to (partially) describe. The subcategories refer to the way a PU is used in the co-text or the effect it has on the receiver(s)⁷⁴:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| a) derisive; | g) jokingly; |
| b) derogatory; | h) neutral; |
| c) flattering; | i) pejorative; |
| d) hyperbolic; | j) sarcastic; |
| e) interjectional; | k) sentimental. |
| f) ironic; | |

The use value thus tries to capture the connotation of the PU or TL in the co-text and broader context. For this parameter as well, CREAMY provides two fields: one for the main use value and one for any secondary use value(s). While a neutral use value is by far the most common subcategory, it is not set as a default.

4.2.2.7. Semantic field

The parameter “semantic field” is designed to classify the phraseological units and translantants in macro-subjects. In its current conception within the CREAMY project, it is rather problematic. The semantic fields identified and available in CREAMY up until this point are the following:

⁷⁴ Although the names of these use values give a rather clear indication of the situations they ought to describe, the implementation of these subcategories does depend on the subjective choices of the annotator.

- a) adolescence
- b) agriculture
- c) animals
- d) body parts
- e) causal relation
- f) celestial bodies
- g) childhood
- h) clothing
- i) cognition
- j) communication
- k) danger
- l) death
- m) family and relatives
- n) fantasy
- o) feelings and emotions
- p) five senses: hearing
- q) five senses: sight
- r) five senses: smell
- s) five senses: taste
- t) five senses: touch
- u) food
- v) four elements: air
- w) four elements: earth
- x) four elements: fire
- y) four elements: water
- z) generic
- aa) human activity
- bb) human behaviour
- cc) human character
- dd) illness
- ee) jobs
- ff) materials – objects
- gg) modality of action
- hh) modality of event
- ii) money
- jj) mood
- kk) movement
- ll) music
- mm) nature
- nn) negativity/worsening
- oo) old age
- pp) other
- qq) physical action
- rr) physical appearance
- ss) plant kingdom
- tt) politics
- uu) positivity/improvement
- vv) private life
- ww) reflectiveness
- xx) religion
- yy) social relations
- zz) spare time
- aaa) spatial relation
- bbb) temporal relation
- ccc) war
- ddd) weather

The semantic fields in CREAMY are not a closed category; new semantic fields can be added by the humanistic supervisor (for any language) or by linguistic supervisors (for specific languages). One main field needs to be selected for each annotated PU or TL, but one or more secondary fields can be added as well. For instance, “to earn one’s bread” would be classified as a “human activity”, “every now and again” as a “temporal relation”, while “on horseback” would be considered a “modality of action”, but is also related to “animals”.

Some problems arise in the implementation of these fields: they are non-exhaustive and partially overlap. Furthermore, there are no clear annotation guidelines as of yet for the single semantic fields. This leads to open interpretations of the subcategories, due to the lack of limitations on the subjective choices of individual annotators.

The UCREL⁷⁵ Semantic Analysis System seems to be very promising: it has been implemented into various research projects and covers multiple languages, including Dutch and Italian (Piao et al. 2015, 2016). This framework, built for automatic semantic tagging of texts, is divided into twenty-one major discourse fields and further subdivided into 232 category labels (Archer et al. 2002; *UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)* accessed 15-01-2023). Implementing a system with a totally different structure, however, would require a preliminary study on the differences and similarities between USAS and the semantic fields in CREAMY. At this moment, the latter guarantee a certain amount of comparability with the other studies conducted on the CREAMY platform, which is why in this dissertation we will continue to use them. Time constrictions and the scope of this project do not allow us to evaluate the possibility of implementing USAS on the whole platform, especially considering that 1) not every language analysed on CREAMY has a specific tagger in USAS and 2) it would need to be implemented not only in future analyses, but also in

⁷⁵ UCREL (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language) is a research centre of Lancaster University.

those already present on the platform. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into account this issue in future research.

4.2.2.8. Lemmata, reference dictionaries and senses

For each language, text, and annotator a monolingual reference dictionary has to be selected. The reference dictionary for Dutch is the *Dikke van Dale Online* (n.d.). A more suitable dictionary for Dutch, with a fuller description of PUs, is not available at the moment. In the future⁷⁶, *Woordcombinaties* (accessed 15-01-2023) will be able to fill a crucial gap for phraseological studies in Dutch lexicography, as it provides both a collocation and idiom dictionary, and a pattern dictionary (Colman & Tiberius 2018).

The reference dictionary for Italian is *Il Nuovo De Mauro* (n.d.-a), the online and abridged version of the *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso* (GRADIT; De Mauro 1999-2007), that has a special section for PUs.

When annotating PUs or TLs, five fields are devoted to lemmata and the description of the PU in the reference dictionary (if present at all; see §4.2.2. list items (l) to (p)). The first step is to fill out the individual lemmata that compose the PU or TL; this makes it possible to search for PUs that contain a specific lemma, e.g. “hand”. After that, one has to add the full description of the PU in the chosen reference dictionary (if there is no description present, the absence of it has to be noted). A third field will be filled in with the number and/or letter in the reference dictionary referring to the specific sense of the PU in that specific co-text, in order to guarantee findability. The last two fields are optional: a usage label, if attributed in the dictionary, is included in the annotation, as well as the lemma under which the PU is described, if it's different from the PU itself.

⁷⁶ At this moment, the present lemmata are not enough to be able to use *Woordcombinaties* for research purposes.

4.2.2.9. Translational equivalence

After a thorough discussion in §2.3., we have concluded that it is important to measure the translation equivalence between two texts, confronting every PU with its TL. The translation equivalence will be measured on two levels (semantic and formal) and in four grades (absent, low, high and total), resulting in sixteen subcategories. Equivalence can hence be:

- a) formally and semantically absent;
- b) formally absent, semantically low;
- c) formally absent, semantically high;
- d) formally absent, semantically total;
- e) formally low, semantically absent;
- f) formally and semantically low;
- g) formally low, semantically high;
- h) formally low, semantically total;
- i) formally high, semantically absent;
- j) formally high, semantically low;
- k) formally and semantically high;
- l) formally high, semantically total;
- m) formally total, semantically absent;
- n) formally total, semantically low;
- o) formally total, semantically high;
- p) formally and semantically total.

4.2.3. Search and analysis options

In the *Analisi testo* ‘text analysis’ section of CREAMY, there are multiple options available for searching specific characteristics or for the statistical analysis of a specific text, PU or characteristic:

- a) *Ricerca per polirematica* ‘Search per phraseological unit’;
- b) *Ricerca per traducente* ‘Search per translantant’;

- c) *Ricerca per proprietà* ‘Search per property’;
- d) *Statistiche occorrenza* ‘Statistics per occurrence’;
- e) *Statistiche per proprietà* ‘Statistics per property’;
- f) *Statistiche testo* ‘Statistics per text’.

Figure 7 Search per phraseological unit

Search option (a) (Figure 7) allows the user to single out a specific phraseological unit in selected texts, accompanied by its translantants in selected languages.

After selecting the right text(s), and inserting the queried PU and target languages, all occurrences of that specific PU in the selected text(s) will appear in the bottom part of the screen, including all annotated information. Below those, a section per language shows how all those occurrences of the PU have been translated, with all annotated information.

In search option (b) you can look for specific translantants. If, for example, it is relevant to know which PUs (in general, that is to say in all annotated texts present on the platform up until that moment) are translated with “in de steek laten”, CREAMY gives the result as shown in Figure 8. This makes it possible to do an inverted search, and to analyse how a specific target language (or rather, ‘arrival language’, when doing bidirectional analyses in which the

The screenshot shows the CREAMY software interface. At the top right, it indicates the language is 'Italiano' and the user is 'Suzanne Verhade'. The main area is titled 'Analisi Testi'. Below this, there is a 'Form Ricerca' section with a search box containing 'in de steek laten' and an 'Avvia' button. Below the search form is a table titled 'Polirematiche Originali'. The table has columns for 'id', 'Polirematica', 'Pagina', 'Cotesto', 'Senso Testuale', 'Categoria lessicale', 'Tip. Equivalenza', 'Tip. Polirematica', and 'Tipo Significato'. Three results are shown, all for the phrase 'piantare in asso'.

id	Polirematica	Pagina	Cotesto	Senso Testuale	Categoria lessicale	Tip. Equivalenza	Tip. Polirematica	Tipo Significato
62d40f70f41900.00223	piantare in asso	93	— Lei non pianterebbe in asso un amico, no?	loc verb	lasciare bruscamente	/	espressione idiomatica / espressione idiomatica	Figurato Generico / Figurato Generico
62d400285a2372.84112	piantare in asso	90	Aveva mantenuto la promessa, non li aveva piantati in asso.	loc verb	lasciare bruscamente	/	espressione idiomatica / espressione idiomatica	Figurato Generico / Figurato Generico
62cac909b35039.47375	piantare in asso	57	Anche la padrona del negozio e Cali plantarono in asso ogni cosa e corsero a vedere.	loc verb	lasciare bruscamente	/	espressione idiomatica / espressione idiomatica	Figurato Generico / Figurato Generico

Figure 8 Search per *translatant*

original text becomes the ‘arrival text’ of the translation) conveys multiple PUs – and thus multiple denotative and connotative meanings – with the same *translatant*, and if so, with which acceptations of that *translatant*.

Besides searching for a specific phraseological unit or *translatant*, CREAMY allows users to search for specific properties or characteristics (i.e. per parameter). For example, it is possible to filter out all idioms. But it is also possible to add search restrictions to multiple parameters, to single out e.g. all idioms that have a metaphoric meaning, and convey an ironic use value, and belong to an informal register, and are allocated within the semantic field

“feelings and emotions”. Unfortunately, it is not possible at the moment to do a cross-search of both phraseological units and their respective translantants, which could result, for example, in an overview of all figurative collocations in the starting text(s) that also have a figurative collocation as translantant in the arrival text(s).

The other three options provide a statistic overview. When looking for statistics per occurrence (d), CREAMY allows you to insert one phraseological unit (in any language) leading to a general, numeric outlook on how many occurrences that PU has in any text annotated on the platform that has at least one occurrence. Option (e) (Figure 9) provides a statistical analysis per property in all annotated texts: by selecting one parameter among type of phraseological unit, type of meaning, structural composition, lexical category, language variety, use value, semantic field and translational equivalence, and then a specific subcategory in the chosen parameter, CREAMY users are provided with an

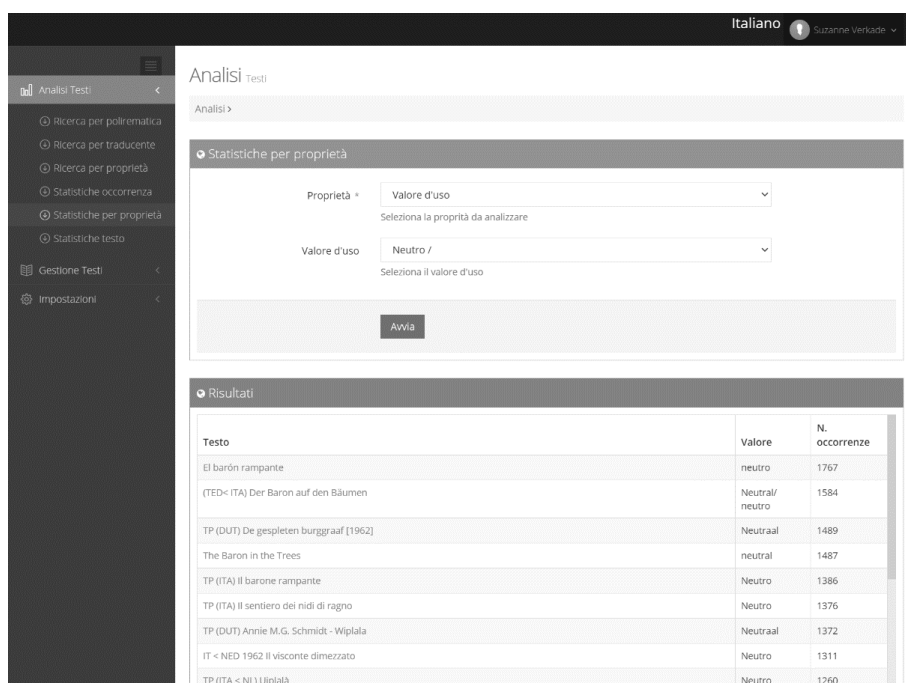


Figure 9 Statistics per property

overview of all annotated texts with at least one occurrence of the selected subcategory, ranked from the highest to the lowest number of occurrences.

The last option, statistics per text (f), provides a graphic overview of a specific starting text and all its annotated arrival texts, focusing on the following parameters: type of phraseological unit, lexical category, language variety, use value, and semantic field.

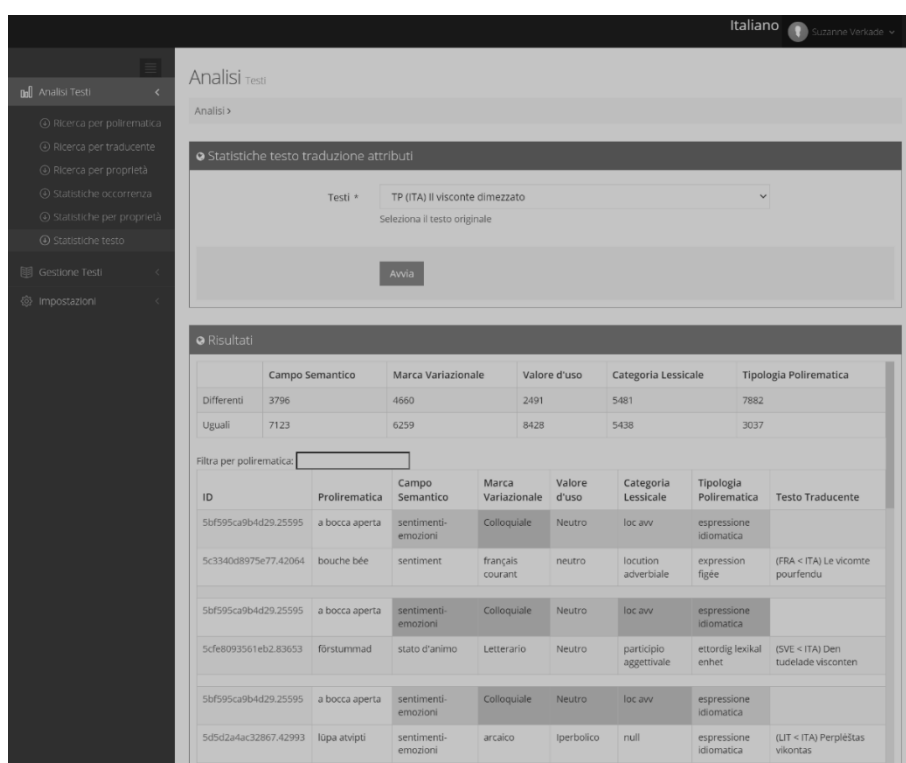


Figure 10 Statistics per text

In the upper part of the screen (Figure 10) a table, divided per parameters, gives an insight on how many translantants share the same subcategory⁷⁷ with their source phraseological unit, and how many differ. Below,

⁷⁷ Obviously, subcategories can differ between languages. To guarantee mutual understanding, they have been connected through a metalanguage, “linguistiche”.

all PUs of the selected starting text are shown, with their respective translantant marked in different colours to show which parameters they share and which differ. The results shown in Figure 10 are those of the Italian starting text *Il visconte dimezzato* that currently has fourteen annotated translations in thirteen different languages. If you are interested in as single, specific PU, it is possible to filter the results.

4.3. Other research instruments

A very useful tool for this research – especially in the annotation phase of this project and directly after, in order to double check if each occurrence of all phraseological units had been inserted – has been the aligned Dutch and Italian texts. To do so, we have first extracted the text of the .epub and .pdf files of the original Dutch text and the Italian translation. Next, we have divided the text in separate files per chapter and cleaned it of the numerous errors caused by the OCR (optical character recognition). We then converted the files to a .txt UTF-8 format and aligned each chapter by using LF Aligner⁷⁸. The alignment is formatted in .tmx (Translation Memory eXchange) files, and has been uploaded in this form to SketchEngine, which provides numerous ways to interrogate the corpus.

CREAMY provides easy linking between starting and arrival texts, and hence phraseological units and their translantants in multiple languages and/or in multiple translations in the same language, but it does not yet provide all the search and analysis options needed for complex analyses such as the present. For that reason, all data has been copied to Excel (one file for each direction: NL→IT and IT→NL), but the linkage between each pair of phraseological unit and

⁷⁸ We made a first attempt with MemoQ – which from certain points of view is definitely more user friendly than LF Aligner. However, as this project at an earlier phase also included English, we could not continue to use MemoQ because it does not allow more than two languages to be aligned contemporarily.

translatant needed to be restored. To reconnect PUs and their TLs, the same numerical identifier was added to both rows containing all respective data of the PU and TL. In this way, it is possible to use a PivotTable to cross-search both phraseological units in the starting text and translatants in the arrival text. For example, it is now possible to filter out only those collocations with a figurative meaning in the starting text that have a metaphorical idiom as a translatant.

WIPLALA: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The empirical part of this dissertation is divided into three chapters, in which various aspects of the data will be highlighted. Following the detailed annotation of all phraseological units and translantants in the Dutch text and in the Italian text, and using both the search and analysis options on the CREAMY platform, as well as Excel for more complex cross-searches, a quantitative analysis has been carried out.

In Chapter 5 the quantitative analysis of the Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* and their Italian translantants will be presented, accompanied by a qualitative discussion of examples⁷⁹. Chapter 6 regards the Italian translation, here assumed as the starting text, and hence the Dutch original text as the arrival text⁸⁰. In Chapter 7 the results of the first two analyses will be confronted in a bidirectional analysis, highlighting the most important differences and what those entail.

⁷⁹ The examples are visually separated from the main text. For each example the Dutch and Italian co-texts are given, in which the phraseological unit and translantant are underlined. The description of the examples is divided into two parts by a dash (-); the first part refers to the PUs and the second part to the TLs, unless otherwise stated. In the main text, Dutch and Italian phraseological units are given in cursive. Parts of phraseological units or non-phraseological translantants are placed between double quotation marks. Single quotation marks are used for the meaning of Dutch and Italian expressions.

⁸⁰ See the introduction to Chapter 4 on the choice to adopt “starting text” and “arrival text” throughout this dissertation, in stead of “source text” and “target text”.

5 WIPLALA NL→IT: DUTCH PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS AND ITALIAN TRANSLATANTS

The Dutch text of *Wiplala* contains a total of 1415 phraseological units, including a large portion of non-transparent compounds of various kinds (see §5.5. for a specific analysis of compounds). Given the massive amount of data, it is impossible to comment on all levels, or to discuss all phraseological units singularly. In general, the analysis shows that the more opaque a phraseological unit gets, the more likely to have a non-phraseological translantant or even no translantant (see §5.1.). The vast majority of Dutch PUs have no figurative meaning (either compositional or non-compositional) (see §5.2.), because of the frequency of compounds in the phraseological inventory (separable complex verbs and non-compositional compounds; see §5.5.). It follows that compounds also dominate the structural composition of Dutch PUs, but co-occurrences of lexical morphemes and light verb constructions are very common among the multiword expressions (see §5.3.). Almost three-fifths of the Dutch inventory is of verbal nature (in large part due to the presence of separable complex verbs), but nominal and adverbial constructions are also common (see §5.4.). While the language variety and use value of Dutch PUs and their Italian TLs are mostly standard and neutral, there are some small discrepancies between the languages (see §5.6. and §5.7.). This is also the case for the semantic fields of phraseological

units and translantants (see §5.8.). The translational equivalence shows a strong predominance of the semantic level over the formal level: well over three quarters of translantants have a high or total equivalence to their source phraseological unit from a semantic point of view, compared to slightly over one-fifth of translantants on a formal level (see §5.9.).

In the following, the most interesting aspects of the quantitative analysis will be presented, sustained by the qualitative analysis of examples.

5.1. NL→IT: Type of phraseological unit

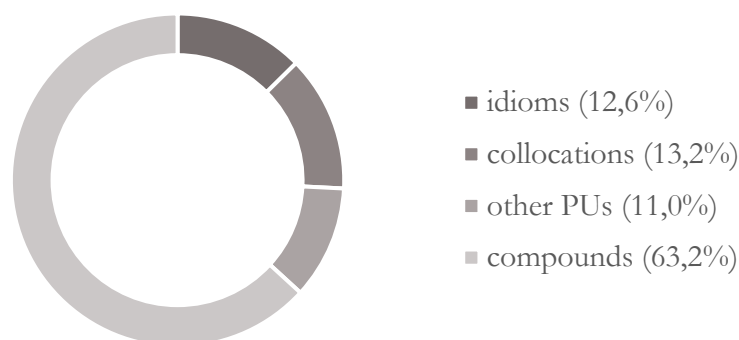


Figure 11 Types of PU in Wiplala

The phraseological units in the Dutch text can be collocated into four major types (Figure 11): idioms (e.g. *van zijn stuk brengen*, *te doen hebben met*, *door en door*, *af en toe*), collocations (e.g. *vliegend tapijt*, *kwaad doen*, *'s nachts*, *bij ongeluk*), other, transparent PUs consisting in multiple graphic words (e.g. *hard werken*, *even later*, *samen met*, *kopje thee*), and compounds (e.g. *schrijfmachine*, *pindakaas*, *buitengewoon*, *oppassen*, *uitvoeren*). That last category comprises 63,2% of the total amount of PUs, while the more “prototypical” PUs make up a total of 36,8%. The majority of compounds (61,4%) are separable complex verbs (e.g. *wegrennen*, *opsluiten*, *aflopen*) thus constituting almost two-fifths of the total amount of PUs (38,8%). As a peculiar and intricate category, all aspects of compounds will be thoroughly

discussed in a separate paragraph (§5.5.). Interestingly, the other three types are quite evenly distributed: 12,6% of PUs are idioms, 13,2% are collocations, and 11,0% are PUs that are transparent from a semantic point of view, but have some kind of agglutination or restriction on another level. In the following paragraphs, each type of phraseological unit will be discussed singularly and confronted with the Italian translantants.

5.1.1. Idioms

In Table 1 the Italian translantants of the idioms in *Wiplala* are divided into three macro-types (phraseological, non-phraseological and no translantants) and subsequently into types of translantants.

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TL	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TL	% of total
Phraseological TL	86	48,3%	Idiom	53	29,8%
			Collocation	10	5,6%
			Other PU	19	10,7%
			Compound	3	1,7%
			Saying	1	0,6%
Non-phraseological TL	70	39,3%	Monorematic word	37	20,8%
			Free word combination	33	18,5%
No TL	22	12,4%	Too freely translated	9	5,1%
			Not translated	13	7,3%
Total	178	100%	Total	178	100%

Table 1 Idioms in *Wiplala*

Almost half (48,3%) of the idioms in *Wiplala* have been translated into Italian with a phraseological unit, while almost two-fifths (39,3%) have a clear, but no phraseological translation (i.e. they have been translated with a free combination of words or a single, monorematic word) and 12,4% do not have a translation. In this last case it is either because the Italian text is too free to assign

a clear translantant (Example 1), or because the idiom has not been translated at all (Example 2).

Example 1 Idiom – too freely translated

NL 13 ⁸¹	Wiplala bewoog zijn handjes heel vlug en heel wonderlijk <u>heen en weer</u> , [...].
IT 7	Uiplalà fece alcuni stranissimi movimenti con le mani [...].

Example 2 Idiom – not translated

NL 15	Hij stak zijn handjes in de lucht en bewoog ze snel heen en weer.
IT 8	Sollevò le manine e le mosse velocemente [...].

The Dutch idiom *heen en weer* specifies the direction and the iteration of the movement of the hands: to and fro. In the first example, the whole portion “heen en weer bewegen” is translated with “fare alcuni stranissimi movimenti”: while we do not have a direction, we do have multiple “movimenti” that capture the iteration present in *heen en weer*. However, as the translation covers a larger part of the Dutch text, it is not possible to distinguish a clear translantant. In the second translation, there is no sign whatsoever of either direction or iteration, and *heen en weer* remains untranslated.

The non-phraseological translation of the Dutch idioms (39,3%) can be divided in those translated by a free combination of words (18,5%; Example 3), and those translated with a single, monorematic word (20,8%; Example 4):

Example 3 Idiom – free combination of words

NL 26	Het symbool voor de positie van de dichter <u>heden ten dage</u> .
IT 16	[...] simbolo della considerazione in cui il <u>mondo attuale</u> tiene la poesia.

Example 4 Idiom – monorematic word

NL 19	<u>Van nu af aan</u> is het uit met dat getinkel.
-------	---

⁸¹ In this and in all following examples, “NL” will refer to the Dutch text (Schmidt 1991) and “IT” to the Italian translation (Schmidt 1995). The number (here, “13”) refers to the page on which the example can be found.

IT 12 Ma te l'ho già detto: adesso basta, con questo trallallare.

In the first example, *beden ten dage* has been translated with “mondo attuale”, a free combination of words. While it is the clear translantant of the Dutch idiom, not only the PU but the structure of the sentence as a whole has been revised by adding a verb phrase (“tenere in considerazione”). In the second example, *van nu af aan* is translated by “adesso”: a simple word, that does not convey the whole meaning of the Dutch idiom, which could have been rendered with the adverbial phrase *d'ora in poi*.

Almost half of the Dutch idioms have been translated with a PU; most of these are idioms (61,6% of the phraseological translantants, 29,8% of the whole of translantants are idioms; Example 5). The remaining Dutch idioms have been translated as collocations (5,6%; Example 6), semantically transparent PUs (“other”, 10,7%; Example 7), compounds (1,7%; Example 8), or, in one case (0,6%; Example 9), as a saying.

Example 5 Idiom – idiom

NL 122 Hij had gedaan wat hij had beloofd, hij liet hen niet in de steek.
IT 12 Aveva mantenuto la promessa, non li aveva piantati in asso.

Example 6 Idiom – collocation

NL 59 En ik zal ze vinden, al moest ik het hele huis ondersteboven keren.
IT 40 E io li troverò, dovessi mettere sottosopra tutta la casa.

In the first example the type of phraseological unit has been maintained: the Dutch idiom *in de steek laten* has been rendered with the Italian idiom *piantare in asso*, with a similar, but not a totally equivalent meaning. On a formal level, however, there is no equivalence whatsoever. This is not the case in the second example in which an idiom has been translated by a collocation: from a formal point of view we have similar expressions, and a total correspondence from a semantic point of view. In this particular occurrence, both *ondersteboven keren* and

mettere sottosopra have the meaning of ‘to search everywhere for something’, by moving things around and lifting them up.

Example 7 Idiom – other

- NL 21 ‘Laten we hem maar in de hoek zetten want nu zit hij me in de weg.’
 IT 13 Mettiamolo nell’angolo, perché qui dà fastidio.

The Dutch opaque expression *in de weg zitten* in Example 7 has been translated with a semantically transparent PU in Italian: *dare fastidio*. While this light verb construction does not correspond with the Dutch idiom on a formal level, it partially captures the meaning (see Verkade 2023 for a broader discussion of *in de weg zitten* and *in de weg staan* in *Wiplala*, and their translantants in Dutch and English).

Example 8 Idiom – compound

- NL 74 ‘Nou, tot kijk dan,’ riep de elektricien.
 IT 52 Arrivederci, allora — ripeté l’elettricista.

In Example 8 the idiom *tot kijk* is translated by the compound *arrivederci*, composed of the semi-lexical morpheme “a” and the complex word “rivederci”, from the locution *a rivederci*.

Example 9 Idiom – saying

- NL 158 ‘Ik zie het al! Het is nog altijd niet pluis hier!’ riep juffrouw Dingemans boos en angstig.
 IT 113 — Ho già capito, qui gatta ci cova! — esclamò la signora Dingemans, adirata e impaurita.

Qui gatta ci cova is the only occurrence of a proverb, saying, or aphorism as a translantant. On a formal level there is no equivalence whatsoever with *niet pluis zijn*, and the meanings correspond only partially. The Italian saying uses the image of a cat as a cunning animal, that appears harmless, but awaits his chance

to steal something unseen (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 2014); it is used to express the feeling or the belief that something is off, or not what it appears to be. The Dutch idiom, however, signifies that there are strange things happening, or that something is suspicious.

5.1.2. Collocations

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TL	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TL	% of total
Phraseological TL	106	56,7%	Idiom	14	7,5%
			Collocation	43	23,0%
			Other PU	49	26,2%
			Compound	0	0%
			Saying	0	0%
Non-phraseological TL	60	32,1%	Monorematic word	27	14,4%
			Free word combination	33	17,6%
No TL	21	11,2%	Too freely translated	8	4,3%
			Not translated	13	7,0%
Total	187	100%	Total	187	100%

Table 2 Collocations in *Wiplala*

Over half (56,7%) of the Dutch collocations have a phraseological translantant, around a third a non-phraseological translantant (32,1%), and slightly over a tenth have no translantant (11,2%). This last category is divided into collocations that have not been translated at all (7,0%; Example 10) and those that have been too freely translated (4,3%; Example 11):

Example 10 Collocation – not translated

- NL 32 En stel je voor dat ze wist, dat Wiplala haar broer had betoverd. O jee, ze zou woedend op het arme kleine ventje zijn en hem misschien kwaad willen doen. Nee, gelukkig wist ze niets.
- IT 21 E figuriamoci se avesse scoperto che Uiplalà aveva stregato suo fratello! No, per fortuna non sapeva nulla.

Example 11 Collocation – too freely translated

- NL 53 ‘Wat zal het ons een moeite kosten om dat brood weer naar beneden te brengen.
 IT 36 Che fatica, dovremo tirar fuori il pane un'altra volta.

Example 10 shows how the Italian translator not only has not translated the PU in analysis (*kevaad doen*), but has eliminated the whole sentence. This happens on 123 instances. Four times the translator makes a large addition: twice a full sentence, once a coordinated main clause, once a subordinated clause. In Example 11 the sentence is so freely translated, that it is impossible to identify a clear translant of *moeite kosten*, even though the sentence as a whole conveys an equivalent meaning.

The non-phraseological translantants are either free combinations of words (17,6%; Example 12) or monorematic words (14,4%; Example 13):

Example 12 Collocation – free combination of words

- NL 48 [...] en naast hen zat de poes Vlieg, die nu een reuzenpoes was, maar die gelukkig nog net zoveel van hen hield en voortdurend spon en kopjes gaf.
 IT 33 [...] e accanto a loro c'era la gatta Mosca, che adesso era una gatta gigantesca, ma per fortuna li amava tutti e tre e non la smetteva di fare le fusa e di strusciarsi con la testa contro di loro.

Example 13 Collocation – monorematic word

- NL 28 De journalisten namen toen háár foto.
 IT 17 Allora i giornalisti fotografavano lei.

The collocation *kopjes geven*, typical behaviour of a cat consisting in bumping and rubbing its head into someone to communicate through smell, does not have a fixed equivalent in Italian. In fact, in Example 12 it is translated with a paraphrase of the movement: “strusciarsi con la testa contro di”. Although completely absent on a formal level, the semantic equivalence is total. In Example 13 the collocation *foto nemen* has been translated with a single word: “fotografare”.

While Italian does have similar expressions (*prendere/fare/scattare foto*), it is a typical feature of light verb expressions (see §5.3.2.) to have a full verb equivalent⁸².

Example 14 Collocation – collocation

- NL 14 Ik moest een Proef afleggen en het mislukte allemaal.
IT 8 Ho dovuto sostenere una Prova e non sono riuscito a fare niente.

Example 15 Collocation – other

- NL 68 Altijd als er mensen in de buurt zijn, zullen we gevaar lopen.
IT 48 Ogni volta che ci sarà un uomo nei dintorni, noi saremo in pericolo.

Example 16 Collocation – idiom

- NL 30 ‘Kom,’ fluisterde Nella Della dan, ‘we zijn er, Wiplala. Doe je best.’
IT 19 — Ecco — bisbigliava allora Nella Della — ci siamo, Uiplalà. Mi raccomando, metticela tutta.

23,0% of the total occurrences of collocations (which leads to about two-fifths of the phraseological translantants) are translated by the same type of PU. In Example 14, the Dutch collocation *proef afleggen* is translated with the Italian collocation *sostenere una prova*. However, more than a quarter of the Dutch collocations (26,2%) are translated with a semantically transparent counterpart in Italian (“other”). This can be observed in Example 15. In the Dutch collocation *gevaar lopen*, “lopen” does not have the prototypical meaning of ‘to move forward by use of the legs’, but that of ‘to expose to’. The Italian translantant, however, uses the verb “essere”: *essere in pericolo* is a transparent expression. In 7,5% of the cases the translantants are idioms and hence more opaque than the source. This is the case in Example 16: *zijn best doen* is only partially opaque, whereas *mettercela tutta* as a whole has the meaning of ‘give one’s all’. No collocations have been translated into compounds, or proverbs, sayings, aphorisms.

⁸² Although their meaning is very similar, as stated in §4.2.2.3., often there are significant differences between light verb constructions and full verbs from both a pragmatic and a semantic point of view.

5.1.3. Other phraseological units

The semantically transparent PUs in *Wiplala* have the largest phraseological response in Italian: 58,3% are translated with a PU. A third (33,3%) are translated in a non-phraseological matter, and only 8,3%, the least of any other type of PU, do not have a translantant.

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TL	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TL	% of total
Phraseological TL	91	58,3%	Idiom	9	5,8%
			Collocation	27	17,3%
			Other PU	54	34,6%
			Compound	1	0,6%
			Saying	0	0%
Non-phraseological TL	52	33,3%	Monorematic word	24	15,4%
			Free word combination	28	17,9%
No TL	13	8,3%	Too freely translated	4	2,6%
			Not translated	9	5,8%
Total	156	100%	Total	156	100%

Table 3 Other PUs in *Wiplala*

Almost three-fifths (59,3%) of phraseological translantants, or 34,6% of the total amount of semantically transparent PUs, have been translated with the same type of PU (Example 17). Italian collocations translate 17,3% of “other” PUs (Example 18), with idioms reaching only 5,8% (Example 19) and only one compound present (0,6%; Example 20).

Example 17 Other – other

NL 141 [...] en dat alles gebeurde in stilte - in griezelige stilte, [...].
 IT 104 [...] e tutto ciò accadeva in silenzio, in un silenzio impressionante.

Example 18 Other – collocation

NL 53 Ze gaf een gil en liet de tas op de grond vallen.
 IT 36 Lanciò un urlo e la lasciò cadere per terra.

Example 19 Other – idiom

- NL 150 Het standbeeld knipperde met de ogen en geeuwde.
 IT 107 La statua strabuzzò gli occhi e sbadigliò.

Example 20 Other – compound

- NL 34 Hij vond dat zo lief en zó aardig, dat hij ineens weer in een goed humeur was.
 IT 22 Era così commosso e compiaciuto, che tornò subito di buonumore.

Both expressions in Example 17, *in stilte* and *in silenzio*, have no semantic agglutination. This is an example of total equivalence on both formal and semantic level. In Example 18, we have a completely transparent expression in Dutch, *een gil geven*. In Italian, however, the verb “lanciare” ‘to throw’ is used, thus causing a partial agglutination. The Dutch *met de ogen knippen* in Example 19 is a fully transparent expression of often co-occurring lexemes: “knippen” is the typical, standard verb used to describe the movement one’s eyes make when opening and closing them, usually multiple times. This is not the case for the Italian “strabuzzare”: it is only used in the expression *strabuzzare gli occhi*. While its use is exclusive for an action related to the eyes, the meaning of the expression is not limited to the sole movement. In fact, *Il Nuovo De Mauro* (“Strabuzzare gli occhi” n.d.-b) describes it as follows: “stravolgere, stralunare gli occhi, sbarrandoli per un malore improvviso o per forte emozione: strabuzzò gli occhi e svenne, strabuzzava gli occhi di fronte a quella visione incredibile”. In Example 20 we find very similar expressions on a formal level. In fact, the only difference between the Dutch *goed humeur* and Italian *buonumore*, is that over time, the Italian expression *buon umore* has become a compound.

Non-phraseological translantants in 17,9% of the cases of “other” PUs in *Wiplala* are free combinations of words (Example 21), in 15,4% of the occurrences monorematic words (Example 22). In 4 cases (2,6%) the translation is too free to identify a clear translantant (Example 23), while in 5,8% “other” PUs have not been translated at all (Example 24).

Example 21 Other – free combination of words

- NL 161 ‘Hij heeft zich vast verstoep, voor de grap,’ zei Nella Della.
 IT 115 — Probabilmente si è nascosto per farci uno scherzo — disse Nella Della.

Example 22 Other – monorematic word

- NL 137 Hij ging zitten op de groene pluchen stoel, strekte zijn benen uit en zette zijn tas naast zich neer, het zijvak wijd open.
 IT 101 Andò a sedersi sulla sedia di velluto verde, allungò le gambe e appoggiò la borsa accanto a sé, con la tasca laterale aperta.

Example 23 Other – too freely translated

- NL 8 Johannes en Nella Della waren bezig auto’s uit te knippen uit de krant.
 IT 3 Johannes e Nella Della ritagliavano dal giornale tante foto di automobili, [...].

Example 24 Other – not translated

- NL 48 [...] en daarop pruttelde een pannetje met twee aardappelen, reuzenaardappelen. Dat was hun warme maaltijd, rijkelijk voldoende.
 IT 33 [...] e sulla fiamma borbottava una pentola giocattolo con due patate, patate giganti: per loro erano più che sufficienti.

While the Dutch *voor de grap* in Example 21 is semantically transparent, it is often used as a fixed expression to add that something is done ‘as a joke’, ‘for fun’, so without any serious intentions. In Italian this concept has been expressed with a free combination of words: “per fare uno scherzo [a qualcuno]”⁸³. In Example 22 we have the interesting case of *wijd open* ‘wide open’. In the print edition of *Wiplala* used for this analysis, published in 1991, we find the spelling *wijd open*. However, in the e-book (2014) the spelling has been changed to a compound: *wijdopen*. It is not clear whether *wijd open* or *wijdopen* is correct, neither form is currently part of the online *Woordenlijst van de Nederlandse Taal* (Nederlandse Taalunie 2021, accessed 27-01-2023). *Wijdopen* is present as a lemma in the reference dictionary for this research (*Dikke Van Dale online* 2023)

⁸³ The light verb construction *fare uno scherzo*, contained in this translation, is part of the Italian phraseological inventory of *Uiplalà* and hence analysed among the phraseological units discussed in Chapter 6.

but *nijd open* still appears in example sentences where “open” is part of a separable complex verb like *openstaan*, *openzetten*. Either as a semantically transparent phraseological unit or as a compound, in Italian we have a monorematic word as translantant, “aperto”, that does not cover the full semantic load of the Dutch PU. In Example 23 we can observe how in some cases a PU is translated through the use of a specific verb tense. By using the imperfect tense (“ritagliavano”) the Italian translator describes an activity that takes place with no specific beginning or end, and functions as a background. The Dutch *bezig zijn* does the same, but expresses it more explicitly. In Italian this could be accomplished through the use of “stare” combined with a gerund. In Example 24 *warme maaltijd* is not translated in Italian. This might be because it seems superfluous: boiling potatoes will naturally lead to a hot meal. However, *warme maaltijd* might be culturally motivated: usually, and even more so during the time *Wiplala* was written, only one meal per day is a warm one (either lunch or dinner), and the other is primarily based on bread (hence the antonym of *warme maaltijd* is *broodmaaltijd*).

Some specific aspects of the data have been discussed and examples of specific phraseological units and their translantants have been analysed based on their type of PU (or TL). In general, the data shows that the more opaque a Dutch phraseological unit is, the less frequent phraseological translations are: semantically transparent PUs have 58,3% of phraseological translantants in Italian, and collocations still have 56,7% of phraseological TLs, but this amount drops down to 48,3% among idioms. “Other” PUs and collocations respectively have 33,3% and 32,1% of non-phraseological translations, but collocations are more often left untranslated or freely translated (11,2% against 8,3% in “other” PUs). In the case of idioms these percentages go up to 39,3% for non-phraseological translations and 12,4% for cases where there is no (clear) translantant. This comes as no surprise: opaque PUs require more effort from translators. Not only to identify the correct meaning of the source unit in the specific context, but also to find a translantant as adherent as possible in the target language.

5.2. NL→IT: Type of meaning

Figure 12 shows how the Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* are distributed per type of meaning. The vast majority (88,3%) of Dutch PUs have no figurative meaning. Those PUs can either be compositional (29,5%) or non-compositional (58,7%; agglutinated, i.e. the overall meaning does not equal the sum of the single constituents). Only 11,7% has a figurative meaning, with most (9,0%) being generically figurative, some metaphoric (2,0%) and a few metonymic (0,7%).

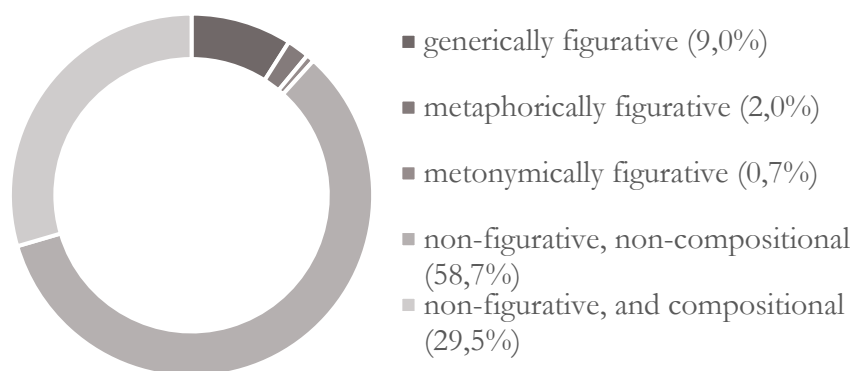


Figure 12 Types of meaning in *Wiplala*

5.2.1. Generically figurative

In Table 4 the Dutch generically figurative phraseological units are subdivided per type of meaning of the Italian translantants.

Type of meaning of TLs of generically figurative PUs	Amount of TLs	% of total
Generically figurative	54	42,5%
Metaphorically figurative	11	8,7%
Metonymically figurative	2	1,6%
Non-figurative, non-compositional	2	1,6%
Non-figurative, and compositional	47	37,0%
No translantant	11	8,7%
Total	127	100%

Table 4 Generically figurative PUs in *Wiplala*

Many generically figurative PUs also have a generically figurative TL (42,5%; Example 25). Another large part of generically figurative PUs (37,0%; Example 26) has non-figurative, compositional translantants; 93,6% of these, however, are non-phraseological translantants (monorematic words and free combinations of words). This is higher than the general amount of non-phraseological, compositional translantants: 68,2% of all Italian translantants is non-figurative and compositional⁸⁴; 17,8% of these is phraseological, 82,2% is non-phraseological. The other types of meaning are much less common among the translantants of generically figurative PUs: 8,7% have a metaphoric meaning (Example 27), 1,6% a metonymic meaning (Example 28) and the same amount is non-figurative, non-compositional (Example 29). Interestingly, generically figurative PUs relatively have the least untranslated or too freely translated phraseological units compared to the other types of meaning (8,7%; Example 30).

Example 25 Generically figurative – generically figurative

NL 13 In een oogwenk was Johannes bij haar en hij nam de stenen poes op.
IT 6 In un batter d'occhio Johannes la raggiunse e sollevò la gatta.

Example 26 Generically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

NL 156 Ik heb even een paar moorkoppen gehaald bij de bakker, [...].
IT 112 E ho comperato anche le paste al cioccolato.

Example 27 Generically figurative – metaphorically figurative

NL 158 'Ik kom weleens terug als alles weer in de haak is, [...]?'
IT 113 Tornerò quando si saranno calmate le acque.

⁸⁴ This percentage is calculated on the whole of 1415 Dutch phraseological units, including the 160 non-translated or too freely translated ones that do not have a translantant and, hence, do not have a type of meaning. 965 translantants out of 1415 Dutch phraseological units are compositional.

Example 28 Generically figurative – metonymically figurative

- NL 62 Wat zouden m'n vrindjes opkijken, als ze me zo konden zien, dacht Johannes.
 IT 42 Che faccia farebbero i miei amici, se mi vedessero così, pensò Johannes.

Example 29 Generically figurative – non-figurative, non-compositional

- NL 8 '[...] of ik wou dat er iemand van de maan kwam met een vliegend schoteltje!'
 IT 3 [...] o che qualcuno arrivasse dalla luna a bordo di una navicella spaziale!

Example 30 Generically figurative – too freely translated

- NL 18 'Dat we een wiplala in huis hebben is tot dáár aan toe!' blafte meneer Blom.
 IT 1 Ecco cosa succede, a tenersi in casa un uiplalà! - riprese il signor Blom.

While the above examples mostly speak for themselves⁸⁵, the case of *moorkop* in Example 26 is quite peculiar. The Dutch compound *moorkop* literally translates to 'head of a Moor' or, with "moor" in an obsolete meaning, 'black head' (cf. van der Sijs 2010b). The name of this choux pastry filled with whipped cream and glazed with chocolate, recently became the centre of controversy. Both small pastry shops and bigger chains started to rename it, stating that the name is discriminatory and unfit for the times we live in (Peek 2020). In Italian, the literal translation of *moorkop*, 'testa di moro', refers to a ceramic vase in the form of a head, typically found in Sicily. The vases are traditionally produced as a couple of a male Moor and a Sicilian woman. The translant in *Uiplalà* is "pasta al cioccolato", which generally refers to pastries with chocolate, hence the non-figurative, compositional meaning.

⁸⁵ While there are many interesting cases among the Dutch and Italian phraseological inventories, the length of this dissertation does not allow for every example to be analysed singularly. We will limit ourselves to presenting them briefly, and will only discuss extraordinary cases.

5.2.2. Metaphorically figurative

The types of meaning of the Italian translantants of Dutch metaphorically figurative phraseological units are presented in Table 5.

Type of meaning of TLs of metaphorically figurative PUs	Amount of TLs	% of total
Generically figurative	4	13,8%
Metaphorically figurative	4	13,8%
Metonymically figurative	0	0%
Non-figurative, non-compositional	3	10,3%
Non-figurative, and compositional	12	41,4%
No translantant	6	20,7%
Total	29	100%

Table 5 Metaphorically figurative PUs in *Wiplala*

The Dutch metaphorical phraseological units in *Wiplala* are mostly translated with compositional meanings (41,4%, of which 83,3% are non-phraseological translantants; Example 31), and in some cases with non-figurative but agglutinated translantants (10,3%; Example 32), or generically or metaphorically figurative TLs (both 13,8%; Example 33-Example 36). 20,7% do not have a translantant.

Example 31 Metaphorically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

NL 12 Die staat nu al een halfuur lang doodstil op dezelfde plaats in de hoek.
 IT 6 È lì ferma nell'angolo già da mezz'ora.

Example 32 Metaphorically figurative – non-figurative, non-compositional

NL 44 Ze bleven allemaal doodstil staan.
 IT 30 Rimasero immobili, in silenzio.

Example 33 Metaphorically figurative – generically figurative

NL 10 [...] en toen ineens was het doodstil.
 IT 4 [...] e poi, tutto d'un tratto, un silenzio di tomba.

The above three examples show how the same metaphoric compound has been translated in three different ways. In Example 31, *doodstil* only refers to lack of movement; the Italian monorematic translantant “fermo”, with a non-figurative (and compositional) meaning reflects this. In Example 33, however, *doodstil* refers to the lack of sound. The collocation *silenzio di tomba* does not only capture the meaning ‘very quiet’, but also maintains the hyperbolic element regarding “death”, by using the generically figurative “di tomba”. In Example 32 *doodstil* includes both aspects, that of complete silence and, combined with the verb “staan”, that of immobility. While *in silenzio* could be seen as the translation of *doodstil*, “rimasero immobili” seems rather strong as the translation of the remaining portion “ze bleven staan”. On the other hand, assessing the whole of “immobili, in silenzio” as the full translation of *doodstil*, would be too broad. It is clear from this example that the boundaries of translation exceed those of single words, and that the analysis of these cases remains very difficult to carry out.

Example 34 Metaphorically figurative – generically figurative

NL 157 Nella Della keek en stond stokstijf van verbazing.
IT 112 — Nella Della guardò e rimase senza parole per la sorpresa.

Example 35 Metaphorically figurative – metaphorically figurative

NL 156 We zijn allebei broodmager.
IT 112 Siamo tutti e due magri come chiodi.

Example 36 Metaphorically figurative – metaphorically figurative

NL 117 [...] - nog een paar bladzijden - vlug - we verliezen veel te veel tijd.
IT 85 [...] ancora un paio di pagine, presto, stiamo perdendo troppo tempo.

Some other metaphoric PUs translated in a figurative way can be observed in the above three examples. The metaphoric compound *stokstijf*, ‘as stiff as a stick’, i.e. ‘very stiff’ in Example 34 has a generically figurative translantant, *senza parole*. In Example 35 the compound *broodmager* is translated with a simile, *magro come un chiodo*. While in *broodmager* there is a wordplay that involves

“meagre” both referred to a person (‘thin’) and to a meal (‘bare’, in the sense of dry bread without any butter or filling) (cf. van der Sijs 2010a), Italian uses the metaphor of a nail as a long and slender object. In Example 36 the underlying metaphor of both collocations *tijd verliezen* and *perdere tempo*, is a more typical one: time as a precious and valuable asset.

5.2.3. Metonymically figurative

Only ten Dutch PUs have a metonymical meaning (see Table 6). Four of these also have a metonymically figurative translantant (Example 37), four others a metaphorical one (Example 38). Of the remaining two, one is translated with a free combination of words (Example 39), the other has not been translated (Example 40).

Type of meaning of TLs of metonymically figurative PUs	Amount of TLs	% of total
Generically figurative	0	0%
Metaphorically figurative	4	40,0%
Metonymically figurative	4	40,0%
Non-figurative, non-compositional	0	0%
Non-figurative, and compositional	1	10,0%
No translantant	1	10,0%
Total	10	100%

Table 6 Metonymically figurative PUs in Wiplala

Example 37 Metonymically figurative – metonymically figurative

NL 139 We durfden niet meer naar bed, [...].
 IT 103 Non avevamo più coraggio di tornare a letto, [...].

Example 38 Metonymically figurative – metaphorically figurative

NL 138 Midden in de nacht, om een uur of drie [...].
 IT 101 Nel cuore della notte, verso le tre [...].

Example 39 Metonymically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

NL 96	[...] zonder dat ze het zelf merkte, <u>at ze haar bord leeg.</u>
IT 69	[...] senza rendersene conto, lei <u>mandava giù tutto quello che aveva nel piatto.</u>

Example 40 Metonymically figurative – not translated

NL 71	Heel voorzichtig slopen ze langs de kanten en ze waagden zich nergens <u>midden in</u> de zalen.
IT 50	Vagarono a lungo nelle sale maestose del Palazzo Reale, camminando quatti quatti lungo le pareti.

5.2.4. Non-figurative, non-compositional

The majority of Dutch PUs have a non-figurative, non-compositional meaning (58,7%). In Table 7 these are subdivided into the different types of meaning of their Italian translantants.

Type of meaning of TLs of non-figurative, non-compositional PUs	Amount of TLs	% of total
Generically figurative	45	5,4%
Metaphorically figurative	0	0%
Metonymically figurative	0	0%
Non-figurative, non-compositional	110	13,2%
Non-figurative, and compositional	575	69,2%
No translantant	101	12,2%
Total	831	100%

Table 7 Non-figurative, non-compositional PUs in Wiplala

Most non-figurative, non-compositional phraseological units (69,2%) are translated into Italian in a compositional way. It is worth mentioning that 482 out of the 575 compositional TLs of non-compositional PUs, 83,3%, are non-phraseological translations; 102 of these are free combinations of words, 380 are monorematic words. The vast majority of these non-phraseological translations lead back to Dutch agglutinated compounds: 393 out of 482 (81,5%); 209 out of 393 are normal compounds, mostly nouns, while 184 are separable complex

verbs. Examples of compositional translantants of non-compositional phraseological units are presented below:

Example 41 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- NL 42 De schemerlamp was wel zo groot als een huis.
 IT 28 [...] e la lampada con il paralume raggiunse le dimensioni di una casa.

Example 42 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- NL 46 Uit verscheidene deuren kwamen andere kelners toeschieten en een paar kamermeisjes [...].
 IT 30 Da diverse porte uscirono altri camerieri e un paio di cameriere [...].

Example 43 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- NL 89 [...] en Nella Della lag ondersteboven, terwijl de kleine Wiplala bijna uit de mand rolde.
 IT 63 [...] mentre Nella Della finiva a gambe all'aria e Uiplalà per poco non rotolava fuori dal cesto.

Example 44 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- NL 156 [...] maar hij had het te druk met telefoneren om er veel acht op te slaan.
 IT 112 [...] ma era troppo impegnato a telefonare per farci attenzione.

Example 45 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- NL 115 [...] want het is erg moeilijk in deze tijd om aan huishoudelijke hulp te komen.
 IT 84 [...] perché di questi tempi è molto difficile trovare una brava domestica.

In Example 41 a Dutch non-compositional compound is translated with an Italian compositional free combination of words, in Example 42 with a monorematic word, while in Example 43 we have a phraseological translantant. Example 44 and Example 45 show Dutch collocations, in the former case translated with an phraseological, but semantically transparent TL (“other” type of PU), and in the latter with a monorematic word.

13,2% of the non-compositional PUs are translated with the same type of meaning (Example 46). While 5,4% has been translated with a generically

figurative meaning (Example 47), none are metaphorical or metonymical. 12,2% is left untranslated (Example 48), or is too freely translated to be able to identify a clear translant.

Example 46 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, non-compositional

NL 12 En toen zag ik de pot met pindakaas [...] ...?
IT 6 E ho visto il vaso del burro d'arachidi [...] ...

Example 47 Non-figurative, non-compositional – generically figurative

NL 53 [...] en in een ommezien zaten ze alle vier in de boodschappentas, die aan de muur hing.
IT 35 [...] e in men che non si dica s'infilarono tutti e quattro dentro la sporta della spesa che era appesa al muro.

Example 48 Non-figurative, non-compositional – not translated

NL 18 'Het werd vanzelf boerenkool.
IT 11 Non so com'è successo.

5.2.5. Non-figurative, and compositional

The types of meaning of the Italian translantants to Dutch non-figurative, compositional phraseological units are presented in Table 8:

Type of meaning of TUs of non-figurative, non-compositional PUs	Amount of TUs	% of total
Generically figurative	16	3,8%
Metaphorically figurative	0	0%
Metonymically figurative	1	0,2%
Non-figurative, non-compositional	30	7,2%
Non-figurative, and compositional	330	78,9%
No translant	41	9,8%
Total	418	100%

Table 8 Non-figurative, compositional PUs in Wiplala

The vast majority of compositional Dutch PUs have the same type of meaning in Italian (78,9%). 256 of these 330 compositional translantants are non-phraseological (77,6%): 44 are free combinations or words, 212 are monorematic

words. 208 of these non-phraseological translantants have a Dutch compound as a source (19 free combinations of words, 189 monorematic words), of which 205 are separable complex verbs. Interestingly, this is the only Dutch type of meaning in which the amount of non-phraseological constructions among the non-figurative, compositional translantants is below the average of non-phraseological, compositional TLs (77,6% (256/330) against the average of 82,2% (793/965)). In Example 49 – Example 51 cases of compositional translantants are presented. In Example 49 a separable complex verb is translated with a free combination of words; in Example 50 with a monorematic word. Both *herrie maken* and its translantant *fare confusione* in Example 51 are illustrations of the type of PU “other”, the category in which per definition all instances are semantically transparent and hence never non-compositional. The remaining Dutch compositional PUs are generically figurative (3,8%; Example 52), metonymic (0,2%; Example 53), agglutinated (7,2%; Example 54), or have no translantant (9,8%; Example 55).

Example 49 Non-figurative, compositional – non-figurative, compositional

NL 71	Ik vind dat ze het Paleis niet goed <u>schoonhouden</u> .
IT 6	Secondo me non lo <u>tengono</u> abbastanza <u>pulito</u> , il Palazzo; [...].

Example 50 Non-figurative, compositional – non-figurative, compositional

NL 119	[...] en wilde juist weer <u>weggaan</u> , toen haar oog op de telefoon viel.
IT 86	[...] e stava già per <u>uscire</u> , quando le cadde l'occhio sul telefono.

Example 51 Non-figurative, compositional – non-figurative, compositional

NL 10	‘Waarom <u>maken</u> jullie zo’n <u>herrie</u> ?’
IT 4	Perché <u>fate</u> tanta <u>confusione</u> ?’

Example 52 Non-figurative, compositional – generically figurative

NL 21	Toen zag ze het stenen beeld en <u>gaf een gil</u> .
IT 13	Poi vide la statua e <u>lanciò un urlo</u> .

Example 53 Non-figurative, compositional – metonymically figurative

NL 72 Dodelijk verschrikt keken ze op en zagen een man op hen afkomen.
 IT 50 Spaventati a morte, alzarono gli occhi e videro un uomo che si avvicinava.

Example 54 Non-figurative, compositional – non-figurative, non-compositional

NL 131 Ze keerde de prullenmand om, maar er vielen enkel een paar propjes papier uit.
 IT 96 Capovolse il cestino, ma ne caddero fuori soltanto alcuni pezzetti di carta.

Example 55 Non-figurative, compositional – not translated

NL 77 ‘Kijk eens, ik ben aan de leverkaas bezig.’
 IT 55 Guarda questa salsiccia di fegato.

5.3. NL→IT: Structural composition

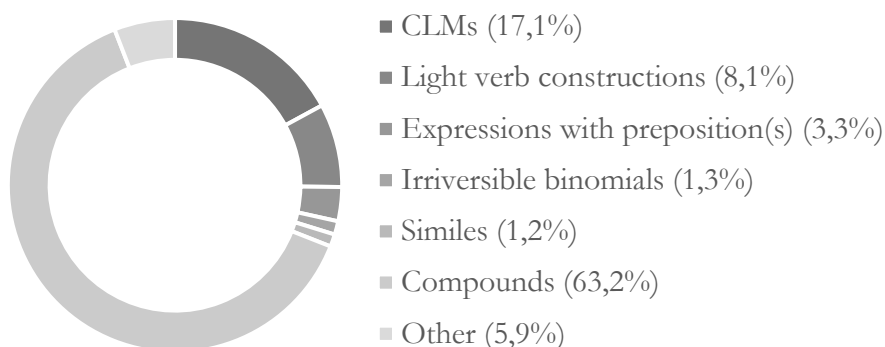


Figure 13 Structural compositions in Wiplala

In Figure 13 the structural composition of the Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* is summarised. Most are compounds, as was the case for the type of phraseological unit (§5.1.). All 894 compounds (63,2% of the total amount of PUs in *Wiplala*), per definition, have the same type of phraseological unit and structural composition (see §5.5. for an in-depth analysis of compounds). The remaining phraseological units (type of PU “idiom”, “collocation” and “other”) are mostly co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (CLMs, 17,2% of the whole of PUs, or 46,6% of non-compounds). Next most common are light verb

constructions with 8,1% (21,9%⁸⁶), followed by 5,9% (15,9%) of “other” structural compositions, that could not be described with one of the other types of structural compositions already present, 3,3% (8,8%) of expressions with one or more prepositions, 1,3% (3,5%) of irreversible binomials and 1,2% (3,3%) of similes.

In the following, each of these structural compositions will be discussed in relation to the structural composition of their translantants (see Table 9 for an overview⁸⁷), with the use of examples.

5.3.1. Co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (CLM)

Dutch co-occurrences of lexical morphemes are translated in a wide variety of structural compositions. However, they prove quite difficult to translate in a phraseological way: the category with most translantants is that of free combinations of words (23,1%; Example 56), but there are also many monorematic words (17,4%; Example 57). 8,3% of co-occurrences does not have a translantant (Example 58), which is relatively low compared to the rate among other structural compositions. Phraseological translantants mostly respect their source structural composition: 19,4% is also a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes (Example 59). Other structural compositions are light verb constructions (7,9%; Example 60), expressions with one or more prepositions (6,6%; Example 61), syntagmatic verbs (3,7%; Example 62), “other” (13,2%; Example 63), and one compound (0,4%; Example 64).

Example 56 CLM – free combination of words

NL 108	Hij was zelfs bijzonder onaardig en als hij <u>kans zag</u> , stal hij.
IT 78	Anzi, era davvero antipatico e, quando <u>gli capitava l'occasione</u> , rubava.

⁸⁶ This percentage refers to the amount of LVCs among non-compound phraseological units. The same applies for the following percentages between parentheses.

⁸⁷ The percentages of totals refer to those calculated on the whole amount of PUs (1415).

TUs	PUs		LVC	EP	IB	Simile	Compound	Other	Total
	CLM								
CLM	47	19,4%	6	5	0	0	53	3	114
LVC	19	7,9%	45	0	0	0	15	2	81
EP	16	6,6%	0	25	0	0	11	29	81
IB	0	0,0%	0	0	9	0	0	0	9
Simile	0	0,0%	0	0	0	10	2	0	12
Compound	1	0,4%	0	0	0	0	19	3	23
VPC	9	3,7%	0	0	0	0	33	0	42
Other	32	13,2%	12	3	2	1	14	4	68
Free comb. of words	56	23,1%	14	4	2	2	84	16	178
Monorem. word	42	17,4%	22	7	0	2	559	15	647
No translantant	20	8,3%	15	2	6	2	104	11	160
Total	242	17,1%	114	46	19	17	894	83	1415

Table 9 Structural composition in *Wiplala*

Example 57 CLM – monorematic word

- NL 142 De twee dames namen ieder een poeier in bij de koffie en zeiden: ‘Dank u wel, dokter.
 IT 104 Le due signore presero la polverina con il caffè. — Grazie, dottore.

Example 58 CLM – not translated

- NL 91 Ze pakte meneer Blom en de anderen een voor een op en stopte hen vliegensvlug in de la naast haar bed.
 IT 66 Prese il signor Blom e gli altri e li infilò rapidamente nel cassetto.

Example 59 CLM – CLM

- NL 49 Na veel zwoegen kon hij een vel papier erin draaien en dan begon hij te typen.
 IT 34 Con grandissima fatica era riuscito a inserire un foglio di carta nel rullo, ma scrivere era davvero un’impresa.

Example 60 CLM – LVC

- NL 50 Ze zouden misschien door vreemde boze mensen worden meegenomen naar een kermistent en te kijk gezet worden.
 IT 34 Magari qualche perfido individuo che non conoscevano li avrebbe presi e messi in mostra nelle Fiere.

Example 61 CLM - EP

- NL 97 De dokter keek haar een hele poos zwijgend aan en zei toen: ‘Zou je me niet eens vertellen wat er aan de hand is?’
 IT 71 Il dottore la guardò a lungo, in silenzio, poi disse: — Non vuoi dirmi che cosa succede?

Example 62 CLM – syntagmatic verb

- NL 30 Hij keek haastig om zich heen of er niemand aankwam [...].
 IT 19 Si guardava intorno per assicurarsi che non stesse arrivando nessuno, [...].

Example 63 CLM – other

- NL 16 ‘O,’ zei meneer Blom, ‘dus jullie wonen op het zuidelijk halfrond, als ik het goed begrijp.’
 IT 9 Ah - esclamò il signor Blom - allora voi vivete nell’emisfero sud⁸⁸, se ho capito bene.

⁸⁸ The Italian construction *emisfero sud* is not considered a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes, because “sud” can be easily substituted by “australe” or “meridionale”, and

Example 64 CLM – compound

- NL 34 Hij vond dat zo lief en zó aardig, dat hij ineens weer in een goed humeur was.
 IT 22 Era così commosso e compiaciuto, che tornò subito di buonumore.

5.3.2. Light verb constructions (LVC)

Dutch light verb constructions have a clear response in Italian: a little over half of them has a phraseological translant, most of which are also LVCs (39,5%; Example 65). Some are co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (5,3%; Example 66) and some have a different structural composition (“other”, 10,5%; Example 67). About a third of the Dutch LVCs have a non-phraseological translant, divided in monorematic words (19,3%; Example 68) and free combinations of words (12,3%; Example 69). 13,2% of the Dutch LVCs has either not been translated, or too freely translated (Example 70).

Example 65 LVC – LVC

- NL 55 ‘Wilt u boodschappen voor ons doen?’ vroeg Nella Della.
 IT 37 — Potrebbe farci la spesa? — chiese Nella Della.

Example 66 LVC – CLM

- NL 152 Hij gaf Arthur een hand, maar hij keek kwaad, want hij vond het een onfatsoenlijke gang van zaken.
 IT 109 Strinse la mano ad Arturo, ma sembrava seccato, perché quanto era accaduto gli sembrava sconveniente.

Example 67 LVC – other

- NL 19 Ik wil weten waar ik aan toe ben.
 IT 12 Io voglio sapere esattamente come stanno le cose.

Example 68 LVC – monorematic word

- NL 94 ‘Ik kan geen zieke mensen beter maken,’ zei hij een beetje treurig.
 IT 68 Non so guarire gli ammalati - disse, un po’ tristemente.

both of those would lead to phraseological units in Italian (*emisfero australe*, *emisfero meridionale*), although less accessible for a young reader. Dutch, however, does not have any synonyms for *zuidelijk halfrond*.

Example 69 LVC – free combination of words

- NL 94 ‘Misschien kan Wiplala mij beter maken,’ zei Lotje.
 IT 68 ‘Magari Uiplalà può farmi guarire⁸⁹ - disse Carlotta.

Example 70 LVC – not translated

- NL 49 En als ze daar genoeg van hadden gingen ze paardrijden boven op de
 poes.
 IT 33 E poi i bambini salivano in groppa alla gatta, [...].

5.3.3. Expressions with one or more prepositions (EP)

Expressions with one or more preposition(s) tend to have the same structural composition in Italian (54,3%; Example 71). In some cases, they have been translated with a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes (10,9%; Example 72), or an “other” structural composition (6,5%; Example 73). Some occurrences have led to non-phraseological translations (Example 74 free combinations of words, 8,7%; Example 75 monorematic words, 15,2%). Only two instances have not resulted in a translantant (4,3%) once because the translation was considered to free to be able to identify a translantant, once because the Dutch PU was not translated at all.

Example 71 EP – EP

- NL 57 ‘Er staan een heleboel mensen op straat,’ riep Johannes, [...].
 IT 39 — In strada c’è un sacco di gente — disse Johannes, [...].

Example 72 EP – CLM

- NL 43 En de deur was op slot!
 IT 29 E sì che la porta era chiusa a chiave!

Example 73 EP – other

- NL 32 ‘Maar waarom, in hemelsnaam, Emilia?’
 IT 21 ‘Ma perché, in nome del cielo?’

⁸⁹ Note that the translantants of *beter maken* in Example 68 and Example 69 are “guarire” and “fare guarire”. The first is a transitive verb, the second has a resultative value.

Example 74 EP – free combination of words

- NL 108 Het was heel wonderlijk om de stad weer eens te zien, met al die hoge huizen, al die auto's, al die mensen op straat [...].
 IT 78 Era meraviglioso rivedere la città con tutti quei palazzi, tutte quelle automobili, tutta quella gente per la strada.

Example 75 EP – monorematic word

- NL 33 ‘Maar de poes is op straat,’ zei juffrouw Emilia.
 IT 21 Ma la gatta è fuori - disse la signorina Emilia.

5.3.4. Irreversible binomials (IB)

19 out of 1415 phraseological units in *Wiplala* are irreversible binomials. Almost half (47,4%; Example 76) are also translated as an irreversible binomial. Two translantants (10,5%; Example 77) have an “other” type of structural composition, and do not fit well in any of the other specified structural compositions. Another two are translated with a free combination of words (10,5%; Example 78), while almost a third (31,6%) of the binomials do not have a translantant because they have been translated too freely to identify a clear translantant (in 5 cases; Example 79) or have been left untranslated (1 case as shown in Example 80).

Example 76 IB – IB⁹⁰

- NL 149 ‘Dames en heren,’ begon de minister.
 IT 107 — Signore e signori — esordì il ministro.

Example 77 IB – other

- NL 34 En ik knik hem af en toe een hartelijk toe, [...].
 IT 22 E ogni tanto gli sorrido mentre mangio.

Example 78 IB – free combination of words

- NL 95 Haar vriendinnen soms, haar neefjes en nichtjes, [...].
 IT 69 [...] le sue amichette, i cugini e le cugine.

⁹⁰ These irreversible binomials, *dames en heren* and *signore e signori*, are formulae (classified as such in the parameter “lexical category”).

Example 79 IB – too freely translated

- NL 133 Ze moesten erg oppassen dat de plantestengel niet heen en weer zwaaide [...].
 IT 98 Dovevano stare molto attenti a non fare ondeggiare il fusto della pianta [...].

Example 80 IB – not translated

- NL 95 [...] dan kun je alles horen en ook af en toe iets zien.
 IT 69 [...] così potrete sentire tutto, e anche vedere qualcosa.

5.3.5. Similes

Similes are a peculiar aspect of *Wiplala*. While some are more standardized, others have a creative aspect. The majority of Dutch similes are translated with the same structural composition in Italian (58,8%; Example 81). Just one more has a phraseological translation, with an “other” kind of structural composition (5,9%; Example 82). Two similes have been translated as free combinations of words and two as monorematic words (both 11,8%; respectively Example 83 and Example 84). Two translantants are missing (11,8%): one Dutch simile has not been translated at all, while the other was too freely translated (Example 85).

Example 81 Simile – simile

- NL 84 Hij rook erg zuur en hij was zo nat als een dweiltje.
 IT 61 Mandava un fortissimo odore di aceto ed era bagnato come un pulcino.

Example 82 Simile – other

- NL 55 ‘Ik zal zwijgen als een pot.
 IT 37 Sarò muta come un pesce⁹¹.

Example 83 Simile - free combination of words

- NL 10 Als een klein poezenstandbeeld zo stil zat ze daar.
 IT 4 Mosca era lì nell’angolo, talmente immobile che sembrava di marmo.

⁹¹ The Italian translantant, *essere muta come un pesce*, is not classified as a simile because of the presence of “essere”, that sets it apart from the other Italian similes present in the corpus.

Example 84 Simile – monorematic word

- NL 84 Maar als je zo klein bent als een muis, dan word je ook zo bang als een muis, en dat waren ze ook. Zo bang als muizen.
 IT 59 Ma quando sei piccolo come un topo, diventi altrettanto pauroso: e loro, infatti, erano paurosi come topi.

Example 85 Simile – too freely translated

- NL 42 De schemerlamp was wel zo groot als een huis.
 IT 28 [...] e la lampada con il paralume raggiunse le dimensioni di una casa.

5.3.6. Other structural compositions

Dutch phraseological units that do not fit well in any of the other specified structural compositions, are assigned to the “other” category. These PUs are the source of a wide variety of structural compositions in Italian. 34,9%, the largest category, are expressions with one or more preposition(s) (Example 86). Other phraseological translantants fall into the categories of light verb constructions (2,4%; Example 87), co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (3,6%; Example 88), compounds (3,6%; Example 89), and only 4,8% of “other” (Example 90). Non-phraseological translantants are free combinations of words (19,3%; Example 91) and monorematic words (18,1%; Example 92). 13,3% of Dutch phraseological units with an “other” structural composition, have no translantant (Example 93).

Example 86 Other – EP

- NL 16 Het IS 's winters niet gloeiend en het IS 's zomers niet koud.
 IT 9 D'inverno non si scoppia e d'estate non si gela.

Example 87 Other – LVC

- NL 127 Nu dan, ik zet jullie tussen de tralies van dit raam door, in de keuken, is dat goed?
 IT 93 — E va bene, ecco la finestra della cucina.

Example 88 Other – CLM

NL 34 ‘Weet je wat?’ zei hij.
IT 22 — State a sentire — disse.

Example 89 Other – compound

NL 73 En dan ga ik maar. Nou tot ziens dan.’
IT 51 Allora io vado. Arrivederci.

Example 90 Other – other

NL 53 Zullen we maar liever te voorschijn komen?
IT 36 Non sarà meglio farci vedere?

Example 91 Other – free combination of words

NL 112 ‘Kwaak,’ zei de eend, wat wel zoveel zou betekenen als: tot je dienst.
IT 80 L’anatra rispose con un “Qua-qua” che probabilmente significava: prego,
figurati.

Example 92 Other – monorematic word

NL 18 ‘En nou is het uit!’ bulderde meneer Blom.
IT 11 — Adesso basta! — strillò il signor Blom.

Example 93 Other – not translated

NL 122 Als ze nu te voorschijn kwamen en er naar toe renden, dan konden ze er
makkelijk in springen en wegduiken.
IT 90 Se l’avessero raggiunta di corsa, avrebbero potuto saltarci dentro
facilmente.

5.4. NL→IT: Lexical category

Figure 14 visually presents the lexical macro-categories of the Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala*. Most Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* are verbal (59,2%); the largest lexical category is that of separable complex verbs (38,8%), next verb phrases (20,1%). Nouns (non-compositional nominal compounds) also occur often (19,4%). The phraseological units in *Wiplala* are heavily lexical: only verbal and nominal PUs already account for 81,3% of the phraseological inventory; verbal, nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional

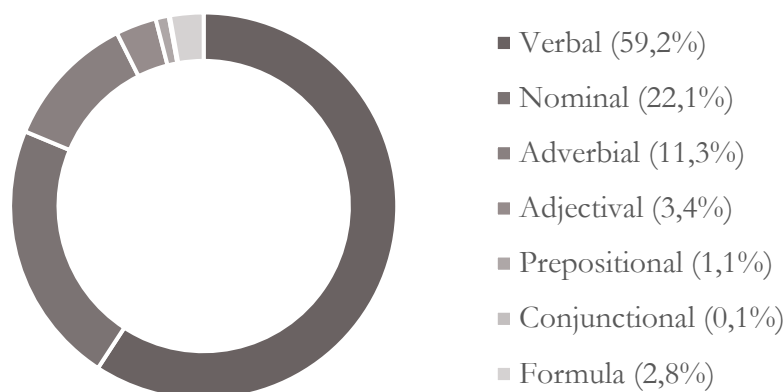


Figure 14 Lexical macro-categories in *Wiplala*

expressions⁹², and formulae make up 99,9% of PUs. There is only one fully functional PU – a compound that is actually an adverb, but has a conjunctival function (see §5.4.3.).

5.4.1. Adjective and adjectival phrase

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Adjective	19	1,3%	Adjective	7	36,8%
			Adjectival phrase	7	36,8%
			Noun phrase	3	15,8%
			No translantant	2	10,5%
Adjectival phrase	29	2,0%	Adjective	4	13,8%
			Adjectival phrase	8	27,6%
			Adverbial phrase	1	3,4%
			Prepositional phrase	9	31,0%
			Other	1	3,4%
			No translantant	6	20,7%
Adjectival PUs	48	3,4%	Total	48	200%

Table 10 Adjectival PUs in *Wiplala*

⁹² The case of prepositions and prepositional phrases is more complex, as they can be both lexical and functional. Prepositional PUs in *Wiplala* account for 1,1% of the total amount of PUs.

Dutch adjectival phraseological units amount to 3,3% of the total amount of PUs. 1,3% are compounds, 2,0% are adjectival phrases (see Table 10). 73,7% of the adjectives is translated with either an adjective or an adjectival phrase (respectively, Example 94 and Example 95). Thrice (15,8%; Example 96) an adjective became a noun phrase in Italian. Two Dutch phraseological adjectives were too freely translated to identify a clear translantant (10,5%; Example 97).

Example 94 Adjective – adjective

NL 154 ‘Leuk? Leuk om zo piepklein te zijn?
IT 111 — Bello? Era bello essere così minuscoli?

Example 95 Adjective – adjectival phrase⁹³

NL 32 [...] en dan voel ik hoe keihard en ijskoud hij is.
IT 20 [...] e sento che è duro come un sasso e freddo come un ghiaccio.

Example 96 Adjective – noun phrase

NL 114 [...] en eigenlijk was ze doodsbang voor de twee strenge, in ’t zwart geklede dames.
IT 83 [...] e aveva una paura tremenda di quelle severissime signore vestite di nero.

Example 97 Adjective – too freely translated

NL 123 ‘Ziet u, ik kwam hier langs het huis en ik was zo vrijmoedig om even naar binnen te kijken, [...].
IT 90 Vedete, passavo qui davanti e mi sono permesso di dare un’occhiata all’interno, [...].

Only 41,4% of the Dutch adjectival phrases are translated into Italian in an adjectival manner: 27,6% remain an adjectival phrase (Example 98), 13,8% become an adjective (Example 99). Almost a third (31,0%; Example 100) are

⁹³ In this example two Dutch adjectival compounds have been translated with similes. This phenomenon is worth an ample discussion, that goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, and will be the object of future research.

translated as prepositional phrases, and in one case as an adverbial phrase (3,4%). On one occasion the lexical category of the translantant is not clear (“other”, 3,4%), while six adjectival PUs do not have a translantant at all (20,7%; Example 101).

Example 98 Adjectival phrase – adjectival phrase

- | | |
|-------|--|
| NL 48 | ‘ <u>Zo groot als muizen</u> . In een reuzenhuis.’ |
| IT 33 | — <u>Piccoli come topi</u> in una casa gigantesca. |

Example 99 Adjectival phrase – adjective

- | | |
|-------|---|
| NL 41 | Meneer Blom en de kinderen gingen mee, verslagen en <u>geduldig als schapen</u> . |
| IT 27 | Il signor Blom e i bambini lo seguirono, tristi e <u>avviliti</u> . |

Example 100 Adjectival phrase – prepositional phrase⁹⁴

- | | |
|-------|---|
| NL 29 | ‘Heus, kinderen, het is veel beter om hem nog <u>een paar</u> weekjes zo te laten. |
| IT 18 | — Davvero, bambini, è molto meglio lasciarlo così ancora per <u>un paio di</u> settimane. |

Example 101 Adjectival phrase – not translated

- | | |
|-------|---|
| NL 80 | Meneer Blom en de anderen kropen behendig naar het achterste donkerste hoekje achter <u>een paar</u> pakken macaroni. |
| IT 56 | Sveltì, il signor Blom e gli altri si rifugiarono nell’angolo più buio, dietro i pacchi di pasta. |

5.4.2. Adverb and adverbial phrase

11,3% of Dutch PUs in *Wiplala* has an adverbial function: 3,0% is a compound, 8,3% a phrase. The lexical categories of their Italian translantants are given in Table 11. 58,1% of Dutch phraseological adverbs has an adverbial translantant in Italian: 11,6% is an adverb (Example 102), 46,5% an adverbial

⁹⁴ All adjectival phrases in the Dutch phraseological inventory that are translated with prepositional phrases in Italian, are occurrences of the same PU: *een paar* (*un paio di* in Italian).

phrase (Example 103). 20,9% has an adjectival translation (14,0% adjectives, 7,0% adjectival phrases; Example 104). In one case, an adverb has been translated with a verb (2,3%; Example 105). 18,6% does not have a translantant (Example 106).

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Adverb	43	3,0%	Adjective	6	14,0%
			Adjectival phrase	3	7,0%
			Adverb	5	11,6%
			Adverbial phrase	20	46,5%
			Verb	1	2,3%
			No translantant	8	18,6%
Adverbial phrase	117	8,3%	Adjective	5	4,3%
			Adjectival phrase	2	1,7%
			Adverb	7	6,0%
			Adverbial phrase	78	66,7%
			Noun	1	0,9%
			Noun phrase	2	1,7%
			Prepositional phrase	1	0,9%
			Verb phrase	3	2,6%
			Formula	1	0,9%
			Other	2	1,7%
No translantant	15	12,8%			
Adverbial PUs	160	11,3%	Total	160	200%

Table 11 Adverbial PUs in Wiplala

Example 102 Adverb – adverb

- NL 91 Ze pakte meneer Blom en de anderen een voor een op en stopte hen vliegenvlug in de la naast haar bed.
 IT 66 Prese il signor Blom e gli altri e li infilò rapidamente nel cassetto.

Example 103 Adverb – adverbial phrase

- NL 43 Het kleine gezelschap in de la hield zich muisstil, [...].
 IT 29 Intanto i nanerottoli nel cassetto stavano zitti zitti, [...].

Example 104 Adverb – adjectival phrase

- NL 118 [...] en lieten zich pijlsnel naar beneden glijden langs het tafelkleedje.
IT 86 [...] e si calarono giù per la tovaglietta, veloci come fulmini.

Example 105 Adverb – verb

- NL 133 Ze moesten nu wel hogerop.
IT 98 Non restava che salire.

Example 106 Adverb – not translated

- NL 160 En juist toen ze hun hand uitstrekten om het te pakken, vloog het engeltje op, strekte zijn vergulde vleugeltjes uit en ging bijna loodrecht omhoog, de lucht in.
IT 114 [...] ma proprio quando tendevano la mano per prenderlo, l'angioletto aprì le ali e si alzò di nuovo in volo.

Almost three quarters of Dutch adverbial phrases have been translated in an adverbial manner into Italian (72,6%); most of these are also adverbial phrases (66,7%; Example 107), some adverbs (6,0%; Example 108). 12,8% does not have a translantant in Italian, either because the translation is too free to identify a translantant, or because the PU has not been translated at all (Example 109). The remaining adverbial phrases lead to a wide variety of lexical functions in Italian: adjectives (4,3%), adjectival phrases (1,7%), a noun (0,9%), noun phrases (1,7%), a formula (0,9%), a prepositional phrase (0,9%), verb phrases (2,6%; Example 110), and two translantants with an undefinable lexical category (1,7%; Example 111).

Example 107 Adverbial phrase – adverbial phrase

- NL 15 Ik kan het SOMS, per ongeluk.
IT 8 Ci riesco solo qualche volta, così, per sbaglio.

Example 108 Adverbial phrase – adverb

- NL 88 Nou, in elk geval bedankt?
IT 62 Be', comunque grazie.

Example 109 Adverbial phrase – not translated

- NL 93 Ik kan er ook zo naar verlangen om weer eens met mijn vriendinnetjes gek te doen en arm in arm over straat te slieren met zijn allen en heel hard te lachen.
- IT 67 Anch'io ho tanta nostalgia delle mie amiche, delle passeggiate e delle risate che ci facevamo insieme.

Example 110 Adverbial phrase – verb phrase

- NL 50 Met vereende krachten konden ze de kraan opendraaien en weer dicht [...].
- IT 34 Unendo le loro forze riuscivano ad aprire e a richiudere il rubinetto [...].

Example 111 Adverbial phrase – other

- NL 161 'Hij heeft zich vast verstopt, voor de grap,' zei Nella Della.
- IT 115 — Probabilmente si è nascosto per farci uno scherzo — disse Nella Della.

5.4.3. Conjunction and conjunctive phrase

As stated in §5.4., there is only one fully functional phraseological unit in *Wiplala*, all others are (mostly) lexical (see Table 12). This case is illustrated in Example 112.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Conjunction	1	0,1%	Adverb	1	100%
Adjectival PUs	1	0,1%	Total	1	100%

Table 12 Conjunctive PUs in *Wiplala*

Example 112

- NL 115 'We zullen je ook niet ontslaan, tenminste niet direct, [...].
- IT 84 E non ti licenzieremo, almeno non subito, [...].

Tenminste is a conjunctively used adverb, translated by the similarly formed *almeno*. They introduce a coordinate clause, that poses a restriction on what had been expressed before: the words 'we will not fire you' are partially taken back, or modified, by adding 'at least for the time being'.

5.4.4. Noun and noun phrase

Nominal expressions compose 22,1% of Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala*. Most of these are nominal compounds (19,4%), with just 2,7% of nominal phrases. The lexical categories of the Italian translantants of Dutch nominal PUs are summarised in Table 13.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Noun	275	19,4%	Noun	184	66,9%
			Noun phrase	59	21,5%
			No translantant	32	11,6%
Noun phrase	38	2,7%	Noun	7	18,4%
			Noun phrase	25	65,8%
			Other	2	5,3%
			No translantant	4	10,5%
Nominal PUs	313	22,1%	Total	313	200%

Table 13 Nominal PUs in *Wiplala*

All nouns either have a nominal translantant (88,4%), or do not have a translantant at all (11,6%; Example 115). 66,9% are nouns (Example 113), 21,5% are nominal phrases (Example 114). This is very similar for nominal phrases: 84,2% has a nominal translantant (65,8% nominal phrases, 18,4% nouns; respectively Example 116 and Example 117) and 10,5% does not have a translantant (Example 118). In two instances (5,3%), the lexical category of the translantant is unclear (also Example 118).

Example 113 Noun – noun

NL 33 Wiplala kroop weer onder de theemuts en het gevaar was geweken.
 IT 21 Uiplalà tornò sotto il copriteiera: il pericolo era scongiurato.

Example 114 Noun – nominal phrase

NL 37 [...] en op de grote witte vleugelpiano stond een reusachtige roze pot gladiolen.

IT 25 [...] e sul grande pianoforte a coda bianco c'era un gigantesco vaso di rosa pieno di gladioli.

Example 115 Noun – too freely translated

NL 123 'Ik herinner me niet ooit zo'n zeldzaam mooie kaarsenkroon gezien te hebben.

IT 90 Non ricordo di averne mai visto uno così straordinariamente bello.

Example 116 Nominal phrase – nominal phrase

NL 8 'Ik wou dat we een vliegend Tapijt hadden [...]'

IT 3 Vorrei avere un tappeto volante [...]!

Example 117 Nominal phrase – noun

NL 137 'Klaasje, schenk eens gauw een kopje koffie.

IT 101 Claudia, prepara subito un caffè.

Example 118 Nominal phrase – too freely translated + other

NL 144 Ze namen een voor een zijn hand en sprongen op de begane grond, nog steeds sprakeloos van verwarring over deze vreemde gang van zaken.

IT 104 Saltarono giù uno dopo l'altro, ancora sbalorditi per quanto era accaduto.

5.4.5. Preposition and prepositional phrase

The prepositional phraseological units in *Wiplala* are very few: just 16, of which two are compounds (0,1%) and 14 (1,0%) prepositional phrases. Table 14 shows which lexical categories these have in the Italian text. The two compound prepositions have been translated into Italian as a prepositional phrase (Example 119) and an adverbial phrase (Example 120). The 14 Dutch prepositional phrases have been mostly translated with the same type of lexical category (71,4%; Example 121), but in two cases as an adverbial phrase (14,3%). Two occurrences have no translantant, as in one case the translation is too free, and in the other the Dutch prepositional phrase has not been translated at all (14,3%; Example 122).

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Preposition	2	0,1%	Adverbial phrase	1	50,0%
			Prepositional phrase	1	50,0%
Prepositional phrase	14	1,0%	Adverbial phrase	2	14,3%
			Prepositional phrase	10	71,4%
			No translatant	2	14,3%
Prepositional PUs	16	1,1%	Total	16	200%

Table 14 Prepositional PUs in *Wiplala**Example 119 Preposition – prepositional phrase*

- NL 27 Toen ze voorbij een boekwinkel kwamen zei Johannes: ‘Kijk daar eens, wat een drukte!’
 IT 17 Quando passarono davanti a una libreria, Johannes disse: - Guardate là, quanta gente!

Example 120 Preposition – adverbial phrase

- NL 132 Op datzelfde moment hingen meneer Blom, Johannes en Nella Della in een afhingende klimplant, halverwege de theetafel en de boekenkast.
 IT 97 In quel momento il signor Blom, Johannes e Nella Della erano su una pianta rampicante, a metà strada tra il tavolo e la libreria.

Example 121 Prepositional phrase – prepositional phrase

- NL 142 Ze zaten in de bloembak, te midden van gekneusde planten en bloemen.
 IT 104 Erano seduti nella fioriera, in mezzo alle piante tutte rovinate.

Example 122 Prepositional phrase – not translated

- NL 71 Heel voorzichtig slopen ze langs de kanten en ze waagden zich nergens midden in de zalen.
 IT 50 Vagarono a lungo nelle sale maestose del Palazzo Reale, camminando quatti quatti lungo le pareti.

5.4.6. Verb, verb phrase and separable complex verb

As stated in §5.4., 59,2% of the phraseological units in *Wiplala* is of verbal nature. 39,1% are compounds: 38,8% are separable complex verbs, and just four (0,3%) non-separable verbal compounds. Table 15 gives an overview of

the lexical categories of the Italian translantants that correspond to these three types of Dutch verbal phraseological units.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Verb	4	0,3%	Verb	2	50,0%
			Verb phrase	2	50,0%
Verb phrase	284	20,1%	Adjective	2	0,7%
			Adjectival phrase	1	0,4%
			Adverbial phrase	1	0,4%
			Noun	1	0,4%
			Noun phrase	1	0,4%
			Verb	51	18,0%
			Verb phrase	192	67,6%
			Formula	4	1,4%
			Other	4	1,4%
No translantant	27	9,5%			
Separable complex verb	549	38,8%	Adjective	6	1,1%
			Adverb	1	0,2%
			Adverbial phrase	1	0,2%
			Verb	362	65,9%
			Verb phrase	114	20,8%
			Formula	2	0,4%
			Other	1	0,2%
No translantant	62	11,3%			
Verbal PUs	837	59,2%	Total	837	300%

Table 15 Verbal PUs in Wiplala

In two cases the Dutch (non-separable compound) verbs have been translated into Italian as verbs (Example 123), in the other two as verb phrases (Example 124). The vast majority of separable complex verbs have verbal translantants (86,7%): in 65,9% of the cases they are translated with a verb (Example 125), in 20,8% with a verb phrase (Example 126). However, some translantants have a very different nature: adjectives (1,1%; Example 127), an adverb and an adverbial phrase (0,4%; Example 128), formulae (0,4%), “other”

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(0,2%). 11,3% of SCVs does not have a translant in Italian. Some examples are shown below; see §5.5. for further analysis of separable complex verbs as compounds.

Example 123 Verb – verb

- NL 76 Hij kon nu veilig schreeuwen want het gebrom overstemde toch alles.
IT 53 Ora poteva gridare tranquillamente, perché il frastuono copriva ogni rumore.

Example 124 Verb – verb phrase

- NL 93 En naar gewone spelletjes op straat en naar touwtjespringen.
IT 67 E di giocare per strada e di saltare la corda.

Example 125 SCV – verb

- NL 11 Ik zet je hier neer, op de tafel.
IT 5 Ti metto qui, sul tavolo.

Example 126 SCV – verb phrase

- NL 15 Heus, we staan ervoor in.
IT 7 Fidati, ti diamo la nostra parola.

Example 127 SCV – adjective

- NL 11 Pas op, stoot je niet tegen de theepot?
IT 5 Attento a non sbattere contro la teiera.

Example 128 SCV – adverbial phrase

- NL 72 Ze zagen hem maar één ogenblik, want het volgende ogenblik draaiden ze zich bliksemsnel om en renden weg. Wiplala liep voorop.
IT 50 Lo videro soltanto per un attimo, perché subito dopo si girarono e corsero via rapidi come fulmini, Uiplalà per primo.

Verb phrases constitute 20,1% of the PUs in *Wiplala*. Again, for the most part (85,6%) the verbal nature of these is respected in the Italian translation. 67,6% of translantants are verb phrases (Example 129), while 18,0% are verbs (Example 130). 9,5% of the Dutch phraseological verb phrases do not have a

translantant (Example 131). The remaining translantants are divided into quite some different lexical categories: adjectives (0,7%; Example 132) and an adjectival phrase (0,4%), an adverbial phrase (0,4%), a noun and noun phrase (both 0,4%; Example 133), formulae (1,4%; Example 134). In four cases the translantant had an undefinable lexical category (1,4%).

Example 129 Verb phrase – verb phrase

NL 16 Ze dekten de tafel en zorgden voor het avondeten.
IT 9 Apparecchiarono la tavola e prepararono la cena.

Example 130 Verb phrase – verb

NL 91 ‘Natuurlijk zal ik jullie geen kwaad doen,’ zei Lotje, en kreeg een kleur.
IT 65 Ma certo che non voglio farvi del male - disse Carlotta, arrossendo.

Example 131 Verb phrase – too freely translated

NL 129 ‘Wie moet je opbellen als je last van spoken hebt?
IT 96 Allora chi bisogna chiamare in questi casi?

Example 132 Verb phrase – adjective

NL 150 ‘Juist,’ zei de minister, een beetje van zijn stuk gebracht door de rumoerigheid en de opschudding.
IT 108 Certo - disse il ministro, un po’ interdetto per tutta quella confusione.

Example 133 Verb phrase – noun

NL 137 ‘Ja,’ zei dokter Vink, ‘het is een vreemd uur om op visite te gaan.
IT 101 Sì - confermo il dottor Fink - è un'ora strana per una visita.

Example 134 Verb phrase – formula

NL 152 ‘Hartelijk gelukgewenst met uw verjaardag.’
IT 108 — Tanti auguri di buon compleanno.

5.4.7. Formula

2,8% of all Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* is a formula, or a ritual phrase. The lexical categories of their Italian translantants are summarised in Table 16:

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Formula	40	2,8%	Adverb	3	7,5%
			Adverbial phrase	1	2,5%
			Verb	3	7,5%
			Verb phrase	4	10,0%
			Formula	19	47,5%
			Other	8	20,0%
			No translantant	2	5,0%
Formulae	40	2,8%	Total	40	100%

Table 16 Formulae in *Wiplala*

Almost half of Dutch formulae correspond to formulae in Italian (47,5%; Example 135). A fifth (20,0%) have a translantant with no clear lexical category (“other”; Example 136). Some are translated as verbs (7,5%; Example 137) or verb phrases (10,0%; Example 138), as adverbs (7,5%; Example 139) or an adverbial phrase (2,5%; Example 140). Two formulae have not been translated at all (5,0%; Example 141).

Example 135 Formula – formula

NL 132 Tot straks dan.’
IT 97 A presto, allora.

Example 136 Formula – other

NL 136 [...] waarom ben je toen niet meegegaan? Vertel op!
IT 99 [...] perché non sei venuto con noi? Su, racconta!

Example 137 Formula – verb

NL 122 Alleen moet je onze poes nog terugbetinkelen, weet je wel?

IT 90 Però devi ancora ritrallallare la gatta, ti ricordi?

Example 138 Formula – verb phrase

NL 126 ‘Nou, niets aan te doen.
IT 92 — Ma ormai non c’è più niente da fare.

Example 139 Formula – adverb

NL 10 ‘Vlieg heeft iets, een muis of zo,’ zei Nella Della [...].
IT 4 Mosca ha trovato qualcosa, probabilmente un topo - rispose Nella Della, [...].

Example 140 Formula – adverbial phrase

NL 17 ‘Ik woon, om precies te zijn, helemaal nergens meer.’
IT 9 Anzi, in realtà non vivo più da nessuna parte.

Example 141 Formula – not translated

NL 141 [...] ze zagen alles in de kamer kleiner worden en kleiner, terwijl ze zelf groeiden en groeiden en héél groot werden, o lieve hemel, wat groot, [...].
IT 104 Ogni cosa diventava sempre più piccola, mentre loro crescevano e crescevano e diventavano enormi, [...].

5.5. NL→IT: Compounds

Compounds form a special part of the phraseological data analysed in *Wiplala*, and are therefore discussed separately in this paragraph. *Wiplala* contains 894 compounds, that can be theoretically divided into two types:

- 1) Separable compounds, almost all separable complex verbs, from fully transparent to fully opaque;
- 2) Non-separable compounds, that have undergone some kind of semantic agglutination, i.e. from partially transparent to fully opaque.

As stated in §4.2.2.1., for this research the choice was made to exclude fully transparent compounds where no other kind of agglutination or modification is present. The same is true for “traditional” PUs, i.e. those consisting in multiple graphic words, where semantically transparent expressions are included only if they have undergone some kind of agglutination or

modification on another level (usually morphosyntactic) – this is the “other” type of phraseological units. This means that all non-figurative, compositional compounds analysed in *Wiplala*, per definition, are separable (267 in total, of which 264 are separable complex verbs and the remaining three are separable pronominal adverbs).

Before further discussing the type of meaning of Dutch compounds, it is important to know their lexical category:

Lexical category of Dutch compounds		
Adjective	19	2,1%
Adverb	43	4,8%
Conjunction	1	0,1%
Noun	275	30,8%
Preposition	2	0,2%
Verb	4	0,4%
Separable complex verb	549	61,4%
Formula	1	0,1%
Total	894	100%

Table 17 *Lexical category of compounds in Wiplala*

As clearly comes forward from Table 17, over three-fifths of all compounds are a separable complex verb (61,4%), with just four non-separable verbal compounds (0,4%). Nouns constitute another rather large category (30,8%). The remaining compounds are adverbs (4,7%), adjectives (2,2%), and in some very rare occurrences, prepositions (0,2%), a conjunction (0,1%) and a formula (0,1%).

These lexical categories tend to be roughly respected in Italian, with the exception of them not always being single graphic words. For instance, separable complex verbs (see Table 18) remain of verbal nature in 86,7% of translantants (Example 142, Example 143). 11,3% of SCVs do not have a translantant (Example 144), thus leaving 2,0% of translantants to other lexical categories: mostly adjectives (1,1%; Example 145), an adverb and an adverbial phrase (both 0,2%;

Example 146), two formulae (0,4%; Example 147) and an lexically undefinable translantant (0,2%).

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Separable complex verb	549	38,8%	Adjective	6	1,1%
			Adverb	1	0,2%
			Adverbial phrase	1	0,2%
			Verb	362	65,9%
			Verb phrase	114	20,8%
			Formula	2	0,4%
			Other	1	0,2%
			No translantant	62	11,3%
Total	549	38,8%	Total	549	100%

Table 18 Lexical category of separable complex verbs in Wiplala

Example 142 SCV – verb

NL 10 Hij keek Nella Della kwaad en toch ook angstig aan.
 IT 4 Guardava Nella Della con aria seccata e allo stesso tempo timorosa, [...].

Example 143 SCV – verb phrase

NL 39 De ober holde weg en kwam even later terug [...].
 IT 26 Il cameriere se ne andò in fretta e tornò subito dopo [...].

Example 144 SCV – not translated

NL 81 Daar was Ali met een borstel en een doek om de boel schoon te maken.
 IT 57 Ed ecco arrivare Cali con una spazzola e uno straccio.

Example 145 SCV – adjective

NL 11 Pas op, stoot je niet tegen de theepot?
 IT 5 Attento a non sbattere contro la teiera.

Example 146 SCV – adverbial phrase

NL 72 Ze zagen hem maar één ogenblik, want het volgende ogenblik draaiden ze zich bliksemsnel om en renden weg. Wiplala liep voorop.
 IT 50 Lo videro soltanto per un attimo, perché subito dopo si girarono e corsero via rapidi come fulmini, Uiplalà per primo.

Example 147 SCV – formula

NL 95 Maar Lotje gaf hem een harde klap op zijn vingers en gilde: ‘Afblijven!’
 IT 69 Ma Carlotta gli aveva dato uno schiaffo sulle dita gridando: - Giù le mani!

Compared to the type of meaning of all phraseological units, there is a shift from a generically figurative meaning to a non-figurative, non-compositional meaning in compounds (Table 19):

Compounds TLs	Gen. figurative	Metaph. figurative	Non-fig., non-comp.	Non- fig., comp.	Total
Generically figurative	14	4	26	3	47 (5,3%)
Metaphorically figurative	1	2	0	0	3 (0,3%)
Metonymically figurative	1	0	0	1	2 (0,2%)
Non-fig., non- compositional	1	3	51	5	60 (6,7%)
Non-fig., compositional	16	8	424	230	678 (75,8%)
No translant	2	2	72	28	104 (11,6%)
Total	35 (3,9%)	19 (2,1%)	573 (64,1%)	267 (29,9%)	894 (100%)

Table 19 Type of meaning of compounds in *Wiplala*

In fact, while the relative amount of compositional and metaphorical compounds is almost equal to that of all phraseological units in *Wiplala*, the relative amount of non-figurative, non-compositional compounds is much higher (64,1% compared to 58,7%) and that of generically figurative compounds much lower (3,9% compared to 9,0%), while there are no metonymical compounds at all (0,7% among all phraseological units).

There is quite some difference, however, in the types of meaning between different lexical categories of compounds, as is shown in Table 20, and, from an inverse perspective, in Table 21 (following page).

Lexical category	Amount of PUs	Type of meaning	Amount of PUs	Total % per lexical category
Separable complex verb	549	generically figurative	23	4,2%
		non-compositional ⁹⁵	262	47,7%
		compositional	264	48,1%
Noun	275	generically figurative	3	1,1%
		non-compositional	272	98,9%
Adverb	43	generically figurative	5	11,6%
		metaphorically figurative	15	34,9%
		non-compositional	20	46,5%
		compositional	3	7,0%
Adjective	19	generically figurative	4	21,1%
		metaphorically figurative	4	21,1%
		non-compositional	11	57,9%
Verb	4	non-compositional	4	100%
Preposition	2	non-compositional	2	100%
Conjunction	1	non-compositional	1	100%
Formula	1	non-compositional	1	100%
Total	894		894	800%

Table 20 Type of meaning per lexical category of compounds in Wiplala

As stated before, all compositional compounds are mostly separable complex verbs (98,9%) and in some rare cases (1,1%) separable pronominal adverbs. It entails that 48,1% of separable complex verbs is fully transparent. The metaphorically figurative compounds are adverbs in roughly four-fifths and adjectives in one-fifth of the occurrences; this means that around one-fifth of adjectives has a metaphorical meaning, and 34,9% of adverbs. Generically figurative compounds are mostly SCVs (65,7%), but also some nouns (8,6%), adverbs (14,3%) and adjectives (11,4%). In the case of SCVs and nouns, however, compounds with a generically figurative meaning only constitute a small part – respectively, 4,2% and 1,1% of the total amount of SCVs and nouns.

⁹⁵ In this table “non-compositional” refers to “non-figurative, non-compositional”; “compositional” to “non-figurative, compositional”.

Within all lexical categories we find non-compositional meanings, most of these are either separable complex verbs (45,7%) or nouns (47,5%). A non-compositional meaning is the most common for all lexical categories, except for SCVs where a compositional meaning is slightly more recurrent (47,7% opposed to 48,1%). In the following several examples of different types of compounds and types of meaning are given⁹⁶.

Type of meaning	Amount of PUs	Lexical category	Amount of PUs	Total % per type of meaning
Generically figurative	35	Adjective	4	11,4%
		Adverb	5	14,3%
		Noun	3	8,6%
		SCV	23	65,7%
Metaphorically figurative	19	Adjective	4	21,1%
		Adverb	15	78,9%
Non figurative, non-compositional	573	Adjective	11	1,9%
		Adverb	20	3,5%
		Conjunction	1	0,2%
		Noun	272	47,5%
		Preposition	2	0,3%
		Verb	4	0,7%
		SCV	262	45,7%
		Formula	1	0,2%
Non figurative, compositional	267	Adverb	3	1,1%
		SCV	264	98,9%
Total	894		894	400%

Table 21 Lexical category per type of meaning of compounds in *Wiplala*

Example 148 SCV – generically figurative

- NL 49 En als ze daar genoeg van hadden gingen ze paardjerijden boven op de poes.
 IT 33 E poi i bambini salivano in groppa alla gatta, [...].

⁹⁶ Contrary to the descriptions of other examples, here they only refer to the Dutch compound and not to the Italian translant, as the nature of the translant is not the focus of this paragraph.

Example 149 noun – generically figurative

- NL 105 Breng hem een vingerhoed sinaasappelsap.
 IT 76 Portagli un ditale di succo d'arancia.

Example 150 Adverb – metaphorically figurative

- NL 100 En als zuster Tine binnenkomt, of iemand anders, dan verstoppen ze zich bliksemsnel.
 IT 73 E quando entra suor Tina o qualcun altro si nascondono in fretta.

Example 151 Adjective – metaphorically figurative

- NL 114 [...] en eigenlijk was ze doodsbang voor de twee strenge, in 't zwart geklede dames.
 IT 83 [...] e aveva una paura tremenda di quelle severissime signore vestite di nero.

Example 152 SCV– non-figurative, non-compositional

- NL 16 Heus, we staan ervoor in.
 IT 7 Fidati, ti diamo la nostra parola.

Example 153 Noun – non-figurative, non-compositional

- NL 16 'Kom, we gaan boterhammen eten bij de thee,' zei Nella Della [...].
 IT 9 Vieni, prepariamo dei panini da mangiare con il tè — propose Nella Della [...].

Example 154 SCV– non-figurative, compositional

- NL 44 Toen hij terugkwam, zei hij: '[...].'
 IT 30 Quando tornò disse: '[...].'

Example 155 Adverb – non-figurative, compositionals

- NL 11 'En waar kom je vandaan?' vroeg Nella Della.
 IT 5 E da dove vieni? - chiese Nella Della.

In Table 19 Type of meaning of compounds in Wiplala, the types of meaning of Italian translantants are also presented. Over three quarters (75,8%) of the Italian translantants of compounds is fully compositional. This can be explained by analysing what the type of translantants of compounds is (Table 22):

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TL	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TL	% of total
Phraseological TL	147	16,4%	Idiom	24	2,7%
			Collocation	48	5,4%
			Other PU	56	6,3%
			Compound	19	2,1%
Non-phraseological TL	643	71,9%	Monorematic word	559	62,5%
			Free word combination	84	9,4%
No TL	104	11,6%	Too freely translated	47	5,3%
			Not translated	57	6,4%
Total	894	100%	Total	894	100%

Table 22 Type of translantant of compounds in *Wiplala*

The large amount of compositional translantants is due to “other” phraseological TLs, and mostly non-phraseological TLs⁹⁷, that correspond to 71,9% of Dutch compounds. Only 16,4% of the Italian translantants of Dutch compounds is of phraseological nature, of which a large part is semantically transparent (“other”, 6,3%). The occurrences of other types of meanings are in the vast majority of cases found in phraseological TLs. Idiomatic translantants have either generically figurative meanings, are non-compositional, or, in one case, metonymical. Collocations are mostly non-compositional, but also generically figurative, and in two cases, once each, metaphorically and metonymically figurative. Once a semantically transparent phraseological translantant (“other”) has been used in a generically figurative way. All compound

⁹⁷ The 678 compositional translantants are 55 “other” TLs, 79 free combinations of words and 544 monorematic words. The remaining free combinations of words and monorematic words that are not compositional, are mostly figuratively used (3 free combinations of words, 15 monorematic words), or have a metaphoric meaning (2 free combinations of words).

translantants have a non-figurative, non-compositional meaning. In the following some of these cases are exemplified⁹⁸:

Example 156 Compositional – other

- NL 163 Hij kan nu erg goed tinkelen, dus ze zullen hem niet meer wegsturen.
 IT 116 Adesso sa trallallare molto bene, quindi non lo manderanno più via.

Example 157 Compositional – free combination of words

- NL 22 Hij zat vast aan de stoel die ook van steen was geworden.
 IT 14 [...] e per di più era rimasto attaccato alla sedia, che si era pietrificata anche quella.

Example 158 Compositional – monorematic word

- NL 13 ‘En als ik hem niet had betinkeld, dan zou hij me hebben opgegeten.
 IT 7 E se non l’avessi trallallata, lei mi avrebbe mangiato.

Example 159 Generically figurative – idiom

- NL 139 ‘Daarna hebben we alles onderzocht, alles overhoop gehaald [sic], [...].
 IT 102 — Poi abbiamo cercato per tutta la casa, buttato tutto all’aria, [...].

Example 160 Generically figurative – collocation

- NL 122 Ademloos keken de kleine persootjes onder het kastje toe, en ze zagen dat het een gloednieuwe aktentas was.
 IT 90 [...] videro che si trattava di una borsa nuova di zecca.

Example 161 Metonymically figurative – idiom

- NL 62 Wat zouden m’n vrindjes opkijken, als ze me zo konden zien, dacht Johannes.
 IT 42 Che faccia farebbero i miei amici, se mi vedessero così, pensò Johannes.

⁹⁸ In these next examples, the focus lies on the translantants of Dutch compounds. Hence, the descriptions of the examples refer to the nature of the translantants and not to the classification of the compounds. “Non-figurative” has been omitted to describe the “non-figurative, non-compositional” and “non-figurative, compositional” types of meaning, to avoid long descriptions. The first part of the description refers to the type of meaning, the second part to the type of translantant.

Example 162 Non-compositional – collocation + compound

- NL 78 Daar kropen ze weg tussen een pot pindakaas en een hele grote ontbijtkoek.
- IT 55 [...] nascondendosi tra un vaso di burro d'arachidi e un enorme panpepato.

Example 163 Non-compositional – idiom

- NL 152 De mensen op het plein namen Arthur Hollidee op de schouders en droegen hem rond.
- IT 109 La gente nella piazza sollevò Arturo Olla e lo portò in trionfo.

Already clear in Table 22, only a minimal part of Dutch compounds is translated with an Italian compound (2,1%); over three-fifths, on the other hand, is a monorematic word (62,5%). In Table 23 the structural composition of Italian translantants of Dutch compounds is summarised:

Structural composition of TLs	Amount of TLs	% of TLs
Co-occurrence of lexical morphemes	53	5,9%
Light verb construction	15	1,7%
Expression with preposition(s)	11	1,2%
Simile	2	0,2%
Compound	19	2,1%
Syntagmatic verb	33	3,7%
Other	14	1,6%
Free combination of words	84	9,4%
Monorematic word	559	62,5%
No translantant	104	11,6%
Total	894	100%

Table 23 Structural composition of TLs of compounds in *Wiplala*

While it is clear that the types of translantant “compound”, “free combination of words”, “monorematic word” and “no translantant” are attributed the same structural composition, phraseological translantants (besides compounds) have a wide variety of internal structures. Idioms, collocations and “other” types of phraseological translantants are mostly co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (5,9%), next, verb-particle constructions (syntagmatic verbs; 3,7%).

Other recurring structural compositions are light verb constructions (1,7%), expressions with one or more prepositions (1,2%), “other”, not further defined structural compositions (1,6%), and twice a simile (0,2%). All verbal structural compositions, i.e. VPCs and LVCs, translate Dutch separable complex verbs. 32 out of 53 co-occurrences translate nouns, 13 SCVs; 7 out of 11 expressions with one or more prepositions are translations of compound adverbs; 8 out of 14 “other” structural compositions are translantants of SCVs; the two similes translate compound adjectives.

A further classification of compounds would be very useful, for example by dividing them into endocentric and exocentric compounds. Another approach can be found in Libben et al. (2003), who divide compounds into four types based on the transparency of individual morphemes:

- 1) Both constituents are transparent;
- 2) Only the first constituent is transparent;
- 3) Only the second constituent is transparent;
- 4) Neither constituent is transparent.

While both approaches could be next steps towards a more detailed classification of (phraseological) compounds in the CREAMY framework, such a specific focus requires a significant amount of time and goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. These approaches will be investigated in a future study.

5.6. NL→IT: Language variety

In Table 24 the sociolinguistic variety of the phraseological units in *Wiplala* is presented, in Table 25 those of the Italian translantants. In the second column, the main values are stated; in the third, “secondary” values that also characterize the phraseological unit. As sociolinguistic variety is a *continuum*, not in every case it was possible to assign just one language variety. It was deemed necessary to add a secondary mark for 68 Dutch PUs, 4,8%. For Italian

translatants this amount was slightly lower: in 54 cases a secondary mark was added, 3,8% of the total of possible translatants⁹⁹. The percentages in the last column are calculated on the total amount of phraseological units with a certain sociolinguistic mark, either main or secondary.

Language variety PUs	Main	Secondary	Total	% PUs characterised by (main + secondary)
Standard	1342	3	1345	95,1%
Spoken	48	30	78	5,5%
Formal	2	6	8	0,6%
Colloquial	6	8	14	1,0%
Obsolete	-	18	18	1,3%
Other	17	3	20	1,4%
Total	1415	68	1483	104,8%

Table 24 Language variety of PUs in *Wiplala*

It is clear straight away that the vast majority (95,1%; Example 164) of Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* are part of standard language. More than 1 in 20 phraseological units are characteristic of spoken language; this is the main mark of 48 PUs (3,4%; Example 166), and the most common secondary mark. All secondary “spoken” marks are attributed to phraseological units that are firstly part of standard language. The few “formal” marks present among PUs in *Wiplala* all recur in instances of direct speech between adults (Example 165). On the other hand, only slightly more than half of the PUs with an informal main or secondary mark, recur in direct speech (Example 167). All 18 phraseological units with a secondary mark of obsolete language have a main mark as standard language. 10 of these are for the same compound, *kaarsenkroon*. Of the 20 PUs characterised by an “other” language variety, 17 are assigned only to “other”: this is the case of the separable complex verbs *terugbetinkelen*. While formed as to be

⁹⁹ 3,8% is based on 54 secondary marks for translatants of 1415 Dutch phraseological units. However, 160 Dutch PUs do not have a translatant in Italian, and, in consequence, do not have any sociolinguistic mark. If we calculate the secondary marks deemed necessary on the amount of present Italian translatants (1255) it is 4,3%.

directly understood by readers, “betinkelen” is a new verb, made up by the author to describe the magical activity of *wiplalas*. The three cases where “other” is a secondary mark are loanwords in two cases (both *eau de cologne*) and an adaptation of an idiom in one case (*bet polsje voelen*)¹⁰⁰.

Language variety TLs	Main	Secondary	Total	% TLs characterised by (main + secondary)	
				On total	On total present TLs
Standard	1189	3	1192	84,2%	95,0%
Spoken	12	13	25	1,8%	2,0%
Formal	-	1	1	0,1%	0,1%
Colloquial	39	37	76	5,4%	6,1%
Other	15	-	15	1,1%	1,2%
No translantant	160	-	160	11,3%	-
Total	1415	54	1469	103,8%	104,3%

Table 25 Language variety of TLs in *Wiplala*

If we calculate the percentages of sociolinguistic marks on the total of present TLs (thus based on the 1255 that get a language variety attributed, without counting the phraseological units that are too freely translated, or not translated at all; see last column of Table 25), we find very similar results in Italian. 95,0% of translantants is part of standard language (Example 164), with the one occurrence of formal language as a secondary mark part of direct speech between adults. The fifteen instances of an “other” language variety are all of the verb “ritrallallare”, invention of the Italian translator, as was the case for the Dutch *terugbetinkelen*. Interestingly, the two marks of spoken and colloquial language have switched importance: where spoken language characterised 5,5% and colloquial language 1,0% of PUs, in TLs they are typical of 2,0% and 6,1% (Example 166), respectively.

¹⁰⁰ In this case, *de pols voelen* has become *bet polsje voelen* (diminutive), as the patient is of very small stature.

Example 164 Standard – standard

- NL 127 Hij zette ze een voor een door het raam op de keukenvensterbank.
IT 99 Li infilò nei buchi della grata uno per uno, depositandoli sul davanzale della finestra.

Example 165 Formal – standard

- NL 138 ‘Dank u wel,’ zei hij, toen de koffie en de boterham voor hem stonden.
IT 90 Grazie - disse quando si trovò davanti il caffè e il dolce.

Example 166 Spoken – informal

- NL 34 ‘Weet je wat?’ zei hij.
IT 22 — State a sentire — disse.

Example 167 Informal – standard

- NL 43 ‘Wel verdraaid, ze zijn ’m gesmeerd!’ riep hij uit.
IT 29 — Ma... caspita, se la sono svignata! — esclamò.

Example 168 Obsolete – standard

- NL 123 ‘Toen zag ik uw prachtige antieke kaarsenkroon,’ ging de dokter voort.
IT 90 E ho visto il vostro splendido lampadario antico - spiegò il dottore.

Example 169 Other – other

- NL 59 ‘Als we weer groot zijn, moet je hem terugbetinkelen, Wiplala.’
IT 40 Quando torneremo grandi devi ritrallallarlo, Uiplalà.

5.7. NL→IT: Use value

The use value tries to define what the connotation of the phraseological unit or translant in question is in the co-text and broader context, if it has a particular effect on the receiver. The use value(s) of the Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* and those of their Italian translantants are summarised in Table 26 and Table 27. As for the language variety marks, the second column of percentages referred to Italian are calculated on the translantants present, excluding the amount of non- or too freely translated phraseological units.

Use value PUs	Main	Secondary	Total	% PUs characterised by (main + secondary)
Neutral	1373	-	1373	97,0%
Hyperbolic	14	-	14	1,0%
Euphemistic	1	-	1	0,1%
Derogatory	2	-	2	0,1%
Pejorative	13	4	17	1,2%
Sentimental	-	1	1	0,1%
Interjectional	11	9	20	1,4%
Derisive	-	1	1	0,1%
Jokingly	1	-	1	0,1%
Total	1415	15	1430	101,1%

Table 26 Use value of PUs in Wiplala

Almost all Dutch PUs are neutral (97,0%), and if a PU has a neutral use value, this is always the main value (Example 170). 14 out of 15 secondary use values are added to mainly neutral PUs, with just one (the one occurrence of “derisive”) added to a mainly pejorative PU. Besides some very rare euphemistic, derogatory (Example 175), sentimental, derisive and jokingly values, some PUs are pejorative (1,2%; Example 171), hyperbolic (1,0%; Example 172, Example 173), or interjectional (1,4%; Example 174).

Example 170 Neutral – neutral

NL 9 Ze deed de kast open om het theebusje te pakken.
 IT 4 [...] e apri la credenza per prendere la scatola del tè.

Example 171 Pejorative – neutral

NL 22 We zijn allebei broodmager.
 IT 14 Siamo tutti e due magri come chiodi.

Example 172 Hyperbolic – neutral

NL 44 Ze bleven allemaal doodstil staan.
 IT 30 Rimasero immobili, in silenzio.

Example 173 Hyperbolic – hyperbolic

- NL 58 Ze kijken natuurlijk in de kasten en onder alle meubelen en in alle hoekjes en gaatjes!
 IT 39 Guarderanno negli armadi e sotto i mobili e in ogni angolo e fessura!

Example 174 Interjectional – interjectional

- NL 26 ‘Dames en heren stadgenoten,’ zei de burgemeester.
 IT 16 Signore e signori, concittadini - disse il sindaco.

Example 175 Derogatory – derogatory

- NL 69 Mussen zijn brutaal. Net straatjongens.
 IT 49 I passeri sono maleducati, come ragazzacci di strada.

Italian translantants have very similar use values compared to their source phraseological units, which are summarised in Table 27:

Use value TLs	Main	Secondary	Total	% TLs characterised by (main + secondary)	
				On total	On total present TLs
Neutral	1217	-	1217	86,0%	97,0%
Hyperbolic	4	2	6	0,4%	0,5%
Ironic	1	-	1	0,1%	0,1%
Derogatory	3	1	4	0,3%	0,3%
Pejorative	10	4	14	1,0%	1,1%
Sentimental	1	-	1	0,1%	0,1%
Interjectional	19	6	25	1,8%	2,0%
No translantant	160	-	160	11,3%	-
Total	1415	13	1428	100,9%	101,0%

Table 27 Use value of TLs in *Wiplala*

97,0% of present translantants is neutral (Example 170), and the percentages for pejorative, derogatory (Example 175), and sentimental values are almost the same. In Italian there are no rare occurrences of euphemistic, derisive or jokingly translantants, but one translantant is ironically used. The two biggest changes compared to the Dutch use values, are in the hyperbolic and interjectional values: the hyperbolic translantants are cut in half compared to

Dutch hyperbolic PUs (0,5% compared to 1,0%; Example 173), while Italian has more interjectional translantants (2,0% compared to 1,4%; Example 174).

5.8. NL→IT: Semantic field

The parameter “semantic field” is rather problematic in its current conception. In §4.2.2.7. we have discussed these issues and possible future solutions. In Table 28 the main semantic fields of Dutch phraseological units in *Wiplala* and their Italian translantants are summarised.

Semantic field	NL Main	% PUs characterised by	IT Main	% TIs characterised by
Adolescence	1	0,1%	-	-
Animals	10	0,7%	7	0,5%
Behaviour	6	0,4%	44	3,1%
Causal relation	1	0,1%	1	0,1%
Clothing	1	0,1%	-	-
Cognition	16	1,1%	16	1,1%
Communication	74	5,2%	54	3,8%
Danger	4	0,3%	7	0,5%
Death	3	0,2%	2	0,1%
Family	4	0,3%	1	0,1%
Fantasy	21	1,5%	18	1,3%
Feelings and emotions	44	3,1%	46	3,3%
Five senses: hearing	7	0,5%	7	0,5%
Five senses: sight	44	3,1%	29	2,0%
Five senses: smell	3	0,2%	-	-
Five senses: touch	-	-	2	0,1%
Food	70	4,9%	60	4,2%
Four elements: water	1	0,1%	-	-
Generic	10	0,7%	11	0,8%
Human activity	323	22,8%	252	17,8%
Illness	7	0,5%	2	0,1%
Jobs	28	2,0%	35	2,5%
Materials – objects	131	9,3%	121	8,6%

Modality of action	56	4,0%	42	3,0%
Modality of events	-	-	2	0,1%
Movement	185	13,1%	141	10,0%
Music	-	-	1	0,1%
Negativity / worsening	3	0,2%	1	0,1%
Other	77	5,4%	65	4,6%
Physical action	102	7,2%	128	9,0%
Physical appearance	10	0,7%	17	1,2%
Plant kingdom	10	0,7%	4	0,3%
Positivity / improvement	10	0,7%	7	0,5%
Social relations	20	1,4%	12	0,8%
Spare time	1	0,1%	2	0,1%
Spatial relation	57	4,0%	44	3,1%
Temporal relation	75	5,3%	74	5,2%
No translant	-	-	160	11,3%
Total	1415	100%	1415	100%

Table 28 *Semantic field in Wiplala*

While the outline of the data in Table 28 speaks for itself, it is important to highlight some of the bigger changes from Dutch to Italian. The semantic fields where there is a larger difference (+ or – 1,5%) between Dutch and Italian are four (both calculated on the whole of possible translantants and the whole of present translantants – the categories remain four):

- 1) human activity (-5,0%/-2,7%¹⁰¹ in Italian);
- 2) movement (-3,1%/-1,8% in Italian);
- 3) physical action (+1,8%/+3,0% in Italian);
- 4) behaviour (+2,7%/+3,1% in Italian).

The first semantic field with a large change from Dutch to Italian, “human activity”, is also the semantic field to which both the most phraseological

¹⁰¹ The first percentage refers to the amount of translantants that are considered a human activity relatively to the whole of possible translantants (1415; 17,8% in Italian compared to 22,8% in Dutch), the second percentage is calculated on the whole of present translantants, thus minus the 160 non- or free translations (1255; 20,1% in Italian compared to 22,8% in Dutch). The same principle applies to the following percentages.

units, both the most translantants belong to. “Movement” is the second largest semantic field for both Dutch and Italian. Difficulty in translation does not seem to be the reason for the significant drop in Italian: phraseological units that belong to the semantic field of “human activity” have a lower rate of non- or too freely translated PUs, those in the field of “movement” a higher rate (8,4% among “human activity” PUs and 13,5% among “movement” PUs, compared to the average of 11,3% of PUs with no translantant).

“Physical action” is the fourth most common semantic field for Dutch PUs, and the third most common for Italian TLs. There is a significant increase in usage among Italian translantants; many derive from phraseological units that are labelled as a “human activity”. When adding the Italian translantants, bodily actions (such as *opendoen* / “aprire”, *neerzetten* / “appoggiare”, *optillen* / “sollevare”) have been taken in a more strict sense and were classified as physical actions more than human activities (even though they refer to activities that in that context only humans could perform). There are some cases, where there is a more distinct difference between Dutch and Italian, as shown in Example 176:

Example 176

NL 77	Nella Della was op een grote gele pruim <u>aangevallen</u> .
IT 55	Nella Della aveva <u>addentato</u> una grande prugna gialla.

While Dutch *aanvallen* describes the more general activity of ‘attacking’ food, ‘to start eating very eagerly’, Italian “addentare” refers more specifically to the physical action of ‘biting’.

Another semantic field with a significant increase among Italian TLs is that of “behaviour”; it is the tenth most common semantic field for TLs, only the 24th most common for Dutch PUs. Also in this case, there is a big affluence from “human activity” PUs: 43,2% of the behavioural translantants derives from “human activity” PUs. The decrease in “human activity” translantants compared

to Dutch PUs can be partially explained by the increase of these last two semantic fields in Italian.

5.9. NL→IT: Translational equivalence

All pairs of phraseological units and translantants are confronted to determine their translational equivalence, measured on a semantic and a formal level, and in four grades: absent equivalence, low equivalence, high equivalence, total equivalence. In Table 29 the translational equivalence between the phraseological units in the Dutch starting text and the Italian arrival text is presented, divided per level and grade. The values of semantic equivalence are given vertically per grade; the values of formal equivalence horizontally per grade. For instance: the value “98” in the third column and second row, is the amount of pairs with a semantically low, and formally absent translational equivalence.

Semantically Formally	Absent	Low	High	Total	Totals formally:
Absent	183	98	147	281	709 (50,1%)
Low	-	29	114	255	398 (28,1%)
High	-	-	23	235	258 (18,2%)
Total	-	-	1	49	50 (3,5%)
Totals semantically	183 (12,9%)	127 (9,0%)	285 (20,1%)	820 (58,0%)	1415 (100%)

Table 29 Translational equivalence between *Wiplala* and *Uiplalà*

From Table 29 it appears very clearly that in almost all cases, semantic equivalence prevails on formal equivalence: only in one case, formal equivalence is higher than semantic equivalence (Example 187). This is not surprising. In theory, for every phraseological unit a full semantic equivalent can be found; from a formal point of view, theoretic full equivalence for every PU is prevented by structural limitations. Furthermore, the predominance of semantic equivalence has been confirmed by the works in Koesters Gensini & Berardini

(2020), and for the Dutch-Italian language pair specifically Terrenato & Verkade (2020) and Verkade (2020).

The percentages of semantic and formal equivalence show an inverted tendency: from a formal point of view equivalence becomes less and less frequent the higher it gets, when from a semantic point of view equivalence grows¹⁰² (see Figure 15). Slightly more than half of Italian TLs does not formally correspond in any way to the Dutch PU it aims to translate. However, 58,0% of all translantants is a full semantic equivalent to its source. In the following, an example will be given for each possible equivalence-type, from absent to total equivalence¹⁰³.

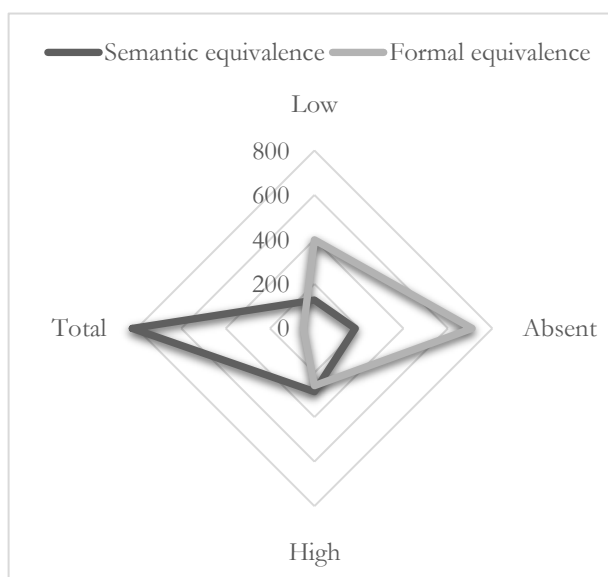


Figure 15 Inverted tendency of translational equivalence in Wiplala and Uiplala

Example 177 Absent – absent

NL 85 Help, ik verdrink, ik kan me niet meer vasthouden.
 IT 60 Aiuto, affogo, non riesco a stare a galla!

¹⁰² The first percentage for semantic equivalence (12,9%) is deviant. We must keep in mind that among the 183 pairs with no equivalence whatsoever on any level, 160 phraseological units have no translantant. If we take these pairs out of consideration, the tendency becomes even more clear: semantically absent (1,8%), low (10,1%), high (22,7%), total equivalence (65,3%); formally absent (43,7%), low (31,7%), high (20,6%), total equivalence (4,0%).

¹⁰³ The first part of the description of the examples refers to the grade of formal equivalence, the second part to the grade of semantic equivalence.

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Example 178 *Absent – low*

- NL 18 Nella Della had hutspot gekookt met uien en klapstuk.
IT 11 Nella Della aveva preparato uno stufato di cipolle con le costine di maiale.

Example 179 *Absent – high*

- NL 13 ‘Laten we hem maar in de hoek zetten want nu zit hij me in de weg.’
IT 21 Mettiamolo nell’angolo, perché qui dà fastidio.

Example 180 *Absent – total*

- NL 8 ‘[...] of ik wou dat er iemand van de maan kwam met een vliegend schoteltje!’
IT 3 [...] o che qualcuno arrivasse dalla luna a bordo di una navicella spaziale!

Example 181 *Low – low*

- NL 19 Het was boerenkool geworden.
IT 11 [...] si era trasformato in cavolo bollito.

Example 182 *Low – high*

- NL 152 De mensen op het plein namen Arthur Hollidee op de schouders en droegen hem rond.
IT 109 La gente nella piazza sollevò Arturo Olla e lo portò in trionfo.

Example 183 *Low – total*

- NL 152 Hij was niet gewend, redevoeringen te houden voor standbeelden die later ineens bleken te leven.
IT 109 Non era abituato a pronunciare discorsi davanti a statue che a un tratto diventano vive.

Example 184 *High – high*

- NL 12 ‘Ik ben weggestuurd door de andere wiplala’s,’ snikte hij.
IT 6 Gli altri uiplalà mi hanno cacciato via - gemette, singhiozzando.

Example 185 *High – total*

- NL 18 In plaats van die goeie hutspot die op tafel stond!
IT 11 Al posto di quell'ottimo stufato che c'era in tavola!

Example 186 Total – total

- NL 163 ‘Het is toch in elk geval heerlijk dat Lotje er is.
IT 116 In ogni caso è molto bello che Carlotta sia qui con noi.

Example 187 Total – high

- NL 84 Maar als je zo klein bent als een muis, dan word je ook zo bang als een muis, en dat waren ze ook.
IT 59 Ma quando sei piccolo come un topo, diventi altrettanto pauroso: [...].

Example 187 shows the only instance where semantic equivalence is lower than formal equivalence. Although *bang worden* and “diventare pauroso” are fully equivalent from a formal point of view, there is some difference from a semantic point of view. *Bang worden* means ‘to become frightened’, while “diventare pauroso” denotes a meaning on a deeper, more lasting level: ‘to become a person who is often or easily scared’.

6 *UIPLALÀ* IT→NL: ITALIAN PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS AND DUTCH TRANSLATANTS

The Italian translation of *Wiplala*, here assumed as the starting text, contains 1346 phraseological units. The analysis shows that less opaque phraseological units are more common in the (translated) Italian phraseological inventory of *Uiplalà*, and in general, non-phraseological ‘translatants’¹⁰⁴ are more common (see §6.1). The vast majority of Italian phraseological units have a non-figurative meaning, divided into compositional and non-compositional, the former particularly frequent because of the large amount of semantically transparent PUs (see §6.2). An interesting aspect of the Italian inventory is that

¹⁰⁴ In this case the Dutch text is assumed as ‘arrival text’. We do not claim that the Dutch text is a translation of the Italian text, or that the translated Italian phraseological units have influenced the original Dutch forms in any way. To avoid confusion regarding the direction of analysis, in the following we will refer to the Dutch portions of text corresponding to the Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* as “translatants”. The two scenarios where there is no ‘translatant’ will be referred to as “too freely translated” and “not translated”, as was the case for the first perspective (NL→IT). Furthermore, we will comment on the translated Italian phraseological inventory without repeating “translated” every single time, as this as well can cause confusion. Let it be clear that this does not mean we are not aware of the differences between source language Italian and target language Italian, and that we acknowledge that the results of the analysis here presented cannot be simply extended to original Italian. See Chapter 4 and n. 52 for a discussion of this bidirectional approach and the terminological choices it entails.

almost two-fifths of phraseological units are characterised by the presence of one or more prepositions. Co-occurrences of lexical morphemes and light verb constructions are also quite common (see §6.3.). The Italian inventory presents a large amount of adverbial expressions, as well as phraseological units of verbal nature and, to some extent, with a prepositional function. On the other hand, nominal constructions are much less common than in Dutch (see §6.4.). Both phraseological units and translantants belong mostly to standard language and have a neutral use value, but some discrepancies between the two languages are highlighted in §6.5. and §6.6.. While the semantic fields recur in relatively similar amounts among phraseological units and translantants, some differences between the languages and some issues regarding the current classification of semantic fields have come forward (see §6.7.). As was the case for translational equivalence between Dutch phraseological units and Italian translantants, semantic equivalence is dominant within this inverted perspective as well (see §6.8.).

In the following, quantitative data regarding the phraseological units in the Italian text and their Dutch translantants is presented, alongside with some examples for a first qualitative analysis, that will be further elaborated in Chapter 7 Bidirectional analysis (NL↔IT).

6.1. IT→NL: Type of phraseological unit

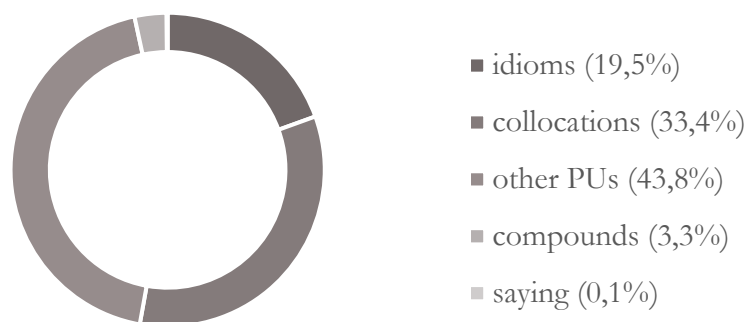


Figure 16 Types of PU in Uiplala

The types of phraseological units in Uiplalà are summarised in Figure 16, and confronted with the corresponding macro-type of translantants in *Wiplala* in Table 30. The most common type of (translated) Italian PU is “other” (43,8%), i.e. those phraseological units that are semantically transparent but have undergone another type of modification. A third of Italian PUs is a collocation (33,4%), almost one-fifth an idiom (19,5%). Contrarily to Dutch, only a very small amount of phraseological units in *Uiplalà* is a compound (3,3%). There is one saying in the Italian text (already discussed in §5.1.1., Example 9).

Type of PU	Amount of PU	% of total	Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TL	% of type of PU
Idiom	263	19,5 %	Phraseological TL	77	29,3%
			Non-phraseological TL	139	52,9%
			No TL	47	17,9%
Collocation	449	33,4 %	Phraseological TL	156	34,7%
			Non-phraseological TL	239	53,2%
			No TL	54	12,0%
Other	589	43,8 %	Phraseological TL	169	28,7%
			Non-phraseological TL	360	61,1%
			No TL	60	10,2%
Compound	44	3,3%	Phraseological TL	20	45,5%
			Non-phraseological TL	21	47,7%
			No TL	3	6,8%
Saying	1	0,1%	Phraseological TL	1	100%
			Non-phraseological TL	0	0%
			No TL	0	0%
Total	1346	100%	Total	1346	500%

Table 30 Macro-type of TLs in Uiplalà

In general, we can observe that usually (except for the one saying) non-phraseological translantants are the most common, followed by phraseological TLs and lastly cases where we have no translantant (because the PU in question has not been ‘translated’ at all, or because the ‘translation’ is too free to be able to identify a clear TL). Over half of all translantants are non-phraseological

(56,4%), while phraseological TLs compose roughly one-third (31,4%) and in 12,2% there is no translantant. Phraseological translantants can be idioms (18,4% of all phraseological translantants), collocations (23,4%), semantically transparent PUs (20,3%), or compounds (37,8%). Non-phraseological TLs can be either monorematic words or free combinations of words, the latter (54,4%) more common than the former (45,6%) in this category. The cases where there is no translantant are divided in not translated (37,2% of the PUs with no translantant) and too freely translated (62,8%).

In the following subparagraphs, every type of Italian PU will be discussed separately and more in-depth, and confronted with the various types of Dutch TLs.

6.1.1. Idioms

Almost one-fifth of the (translated) Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* is an idiom. The amount of idioms with no translantant is relatively high: 17,9% of Italian idioms does not have a translantant, opposed to 12,2% of all Italian PUs. The other two macro-categories, phraseological (29,3%) and non-phraseological TLs (52,9%), are thus relatively less frequent (see Table 31 for an overview).

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TLs	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TLs	% of total
Phraseological TL	77	29,3%	Idiom	42	16,0%
			Collocation	16	6,1%
			Other PU	7	2,7%
			Compound	12	4,6%
Non-phraseological TL	139	52,9%	Monorematic word	96	36,5%
			Free word combination	43	16,3%
No TL	47	17,9%	Too freely 'translated'	25	9,5%
			Not 'translated'	22	8,4%
Total	263	100%	Total	263	100%

Table 31 Idioms in *Uiplalà*

Phraseological translantants are mostly idioms (16,0% of the total amount of idioms; Example 188), followed by collocations (6,1%; Example 189), compounds (4,6%; Example 190) and lastly “other”, semantically transparent PUs (2,7%; Example 191).

Example 188 Idiom – idiom

- IT 22 Noi uiplalà ce l'abbiamo nel sangue, il trallallare.
 NL 34 [...] ik ben een wiplala en het tinkelen zit ons in het bloed.’

Example 189 Idiom – collocation

- IT 60 [...] ma domani, quando si accorgerà che il suo gatto è una statua, quella signora farà certamente un sacco di storie.
 NL 85 [...] maar als die mevrouw morgen merkt dat haar kat is versteend, zal ze vast groot misbaar maken.’

Example 190 Idiom – compound

- IT 99 Non facevano niente, si limitavano a tendere le orecchie, ma evidentemente non avevano sentito.
 NL 135 Ze deden niets en letten op, maar blijkbaar hadden ze niets gehoord.

Example 191 Idiom – other

- IT 9 — Anzi, in realtà non vivo più da nessuna parte.
 NL 17 ‘Ik woon, om precies te zijn, helemaal nergens meer.’

Non-phraseological translantants are either monorematic words or free combinations of words. It is striking to see how many non-phraseological TLs of Italian idioms are monorematic (36,5% of all TLs; Example 192), especially compared to free combinations of words (16,3%; Example 193), whereas on average free combinations are more common than monorematic words. This might be because large part of the Italian idioms translated with a monorematic word, is an adverbial phrase (61,5%), which relate to many Dutch adverbs (60,4%). Another 16,7% are Italian verb phrases, all relating back to Dutch verbs.

Example 192 Idiom – monorematic word

- IT 66 — Ti racconto per filo e per segno com'è andata — propose Johannes.
IT 91 'Ik zal het je precies allemaal vertellen,' zei Johannes.

Example 193 Idiom – free combination of words

- IT 109 Ora sei famoso e i tuoi libri vanno a ruba.
NL 152 Je bent nu heel beroemd en je boeken worden verkocht in alle winkels.

The above examples are clearly not full equivalents in Italian and Dutch – completely absent on a formal level, on a semantic level we find only partial equivalence. In Example 192, the Italian *per filo e per segno* has a more specific meaning: 'meticulously, in great detail'. "Precies", on the other hand, means 'exactly'; while quite close, the semantic equivalence can only be considered high and not total. Example 193 shows a bigger difference. The Dutch free combination "verkocht worden in alle winkels" 'to be sold in every shop', only has a low semantic equivalence with the Italian *andare a ruba* 'to be sold in large quantities and in little time'.

Non-phraseological translantants are divided into freely translated (9,5%; Example 194) and not translated (8,4%; Example 195), where that first category, on average, is usually more frequent.

Example 194 Idiom – too freely translated

- IT 30 — Partì di gran carriera e gli altri lo seguirono.
NL 46 Hij holde de gang door en de anderen renden mee.

Example 195 Idiom – not translated

- IT 53 — Dobbiamo fare in modo che le sigarette e i fiammiferi siano sopra le nostre teste — strillò il signor Blom.
NL 76 'We moeten de sigaretten en het doosje lucifers boven ons hoofd houden,' schreeuwde meneer Blom.

The Dutch "hollen" in Example 194 covers not only the speed (*di gran carriera*), but also the movement itself ("partire"), hence the reason *di gran carriera*

cannot be assigned a clear translantant. Example 195, on the other hand, shows how the Italian sentence is constructed diversely from the Dutch sentence: ‘we have to do something *in a way that causes* the cigarettes and matches to be above our heads’, whereas in Dutch the form is more direct ‘we have to hold above our heads [...]’.

6.1.2. Collocations

A third of Italian phraseological units is a collocation. More than a third of these has a phraseological translantant (34,7%), while over a half is a non-phraseological translantants (53,2%) and little less than an eight has no translantant (12,0%) – quite well in line with the average of all PUs. See Table 32 for an overview of the types of translantants of Italian collocations.

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TLs	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TLs	% of total
Phraseological TL	156	34,7%	Idiom	19	4,2%
			Collocation	41	9,1%
			Other PU	29	6,5%
			Compound	67	14,9%
Non-phraseological TL	239	53,2%	Monorematic word	102	22,7%
			Free word combination	137	30,5%
No TL	54	12,0%	Too freely ‘translated’	35	7,8%
			Not ‘translated’	19	4,2%
Total	449	100%	Total	449	100%

Table 32 Collocations in Uiplalà

Among phraseological translantants, not collocations (9,1% of all translantants of Italian collocations; Example 196), but compounds (14,9%; Example 197) are most frequent. “Other”, semantically transparent phraseological TLs respond to 6,5% of Italian collocations in Uiplalà (Example 198), idioms to 4,2% (Example 199).

Example 196 Collocation – collocation

- IT 22 La signorina Emilia scosse la testa.
NL 34 Juffrouw Emilia schudde haar hoofd.

Example 197 Collocation – compound

- IT 18 — Se fossi in lei, di notte gli riempirei il piatto di flocchi d'avena o di fagiolini.
NL 29 'Als ik u was, zou ik 's nachts zijn bord vullen met havermout, of peultjes.'

Example 198 Collocation – other

- IT 13 Poi vide la statua e lanciò un urlo.
NL 21 Toen zag ze het stenen beeld en gaf een gil.

Example 199 Collocation – idiom

- IT 58 — Be', tanto meglio — disse la padrona.
NL 82 'Zo, nou des te beter,' zei mevrouw.

In Example 196, *scuotere la testa* and *hoofd schudden* are equally as opaque (or transparent, depending on the point of view); in Example 198 the Dutch *een gil geven* is more transparent than the Italian *lanciare un urlo*, while *des te beter* in Example 199 is more opaque than *tanto meglio*. Even though *flocchi d'avena* and *havermout* might seem like a good pairing, the Italian collocation denotes the actual grain, 'oats' or 'rolled oats', while the Dutch compound is often, and in our opinion also in this co-text, used to indicate *havermoutpap*, 'oatmeal porridge'.

Non-phraseological translantants are divided into monorematic words (corresponding to 22,7% of Italian collocations; Example 200) and free combinations of words (30,5%; Example 201). Contrary to idioms, collocations are more frequently rendered by free combinations of words.

Example 200 Collocation – monorematic word

- IT 15 [...], ma Nella Della e Johannes la interruppero, mettendosi a parlare ad alta voce.
NL 24 [...], maar Nella Della en Johannes vielen haar in de rede en begonnen druk te praten.

Example 201 Collocation – free combination of words

IT 3	Il signor Blom <u>batteva a macchina</u> .
NL 8	Meneer Blom zat te <u>tikken op zijn schrijfmachine</u> .

The cases in which Italian collocations do not have a translantant, are more often caused by a free translation (7,8% of all collocations; Example 202), in line with the average for all PUs, but untranslated collocations do occur as well (4,2%; Example 203).

Example 202 Collocation – too freely translated

IT 61	Senza dire una parola, si guardarono intorno <u>in cerca di</u> un nascondiglio adatto.
NL 85	Zonder een woord te zeggen, keken ze uit naar een geschikte schuilplaats.

Example 203 Collocation – not translated

IT 57	Ma non si trattava di un incidente vero e proprio; anzi, era stato evitato <u>per miracolo</u> .
NL 82	Maar het wás geen echt ongeluk; het was alleen maar bijna een botsing geweest.

6.1.3. Other phraseological units

Most Italian phraseological units are semantically transparent (“other” 43,8%). More than three-fifths of these, a relatively large amount, have a non-phraseological translantant (61,1%); about one in ten has no translantant (10,2%), and less than three-tenths has a phraseological translantant (28,7%). The types of Dutch TLs of semantically transparent Italian PUs are summarised in Table 33.

The most common type of TL among phraseological translantants is compounds (10,9%; Example 204), followed by the same type of PU, “other” (8,5%; Example 205), collocations (7,1%; Example 206) and lastly idioms (2,2%; Example 207).

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TLs	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TLs	% of total
Phraseological TL	169	28,7%	Idiom	13	2,2%
			Collocation	42	7,1%
			Other PU	50	8,5%
			Compound	64	10,9%
Non-phraseological TL	360	61,1%	Monorematic word	196	33,3%
			Free word combination	164	27,8%
No TL	60	10,2%	Too freely 'translated'	41	7,0%
			Not 'translated'	19	3,2%
Total	589	100%	Total	589	100%

Table 33 Other PUs in Uiplalà

Example 204 Other – compound

- IT 41 — Il piccione è disposto a darci un passaggio — disse in fretta Uiplalà.
 NL 60 ‘De duif wil ons meenemen,’ zei Wiplala haastig.

Example 205 Other – other

- IT 95 — E allora siamo arrivate noi e abbiamo acceso la luce — continuò la signorina Adele.
 NL 129 ‘En wij zijn toen gekomen en hebben het licht aangedraaid,’ zei juffrouw Adèle.

Example 206 Other – collocation

- IT 29 Magari il contabile li ha fatti uscire per errore.
 NL 43 Misschien heeft de boekhouder ze bij ongeluk losgelaten, [...].

Example 207 Other – idiom

- IT 104 Saltarono giù uno dopo l'altro, ancora sbalorditi per quanto era accaduto.
 NL 142 Ze namen een voor een zijn hand en sprongen op de begane grond, [...].

A third of all translantants of “other” Italian PUs is monorematic (33,3%; Example 208), while free combinations of words are a bit less common (27,8%; Example 209). Free translations that lead to no translantant respond to 7,0% of “other” PUs (Example 210), while 3,2% is not translated at all (Example 211).

Example 208 Other – monorematic word

- IT 3 — Vorrei avere un tappeto volante o che qualcuno arrivasse dalla luna a bordo di una navicella spaziale!
- NL 8 ‘Ik wou dat we een vliegend tapijt hadden of ik wou dat er iemand van de maan kwam met een vliegend schoteltje!’

Example 209 Other – free combination of words

- IT 36 — Che fatica, dovremo tirar fuori il pane un'altra volta.
- NL 53 ‘Wat zal het ons een moeite kosten om dat brood weer naar beneden te brengen.

Example 210 Other – too freely translated

- IT 103 [...] che ormai credevano davvero di avere avuto le allucinazioni.
- NL 141 Ze geloofden nu bijna dat alles wat er gebeurd was, helemaal niet écht gebeurd was.

Example 211 Other – not translated

- IT 92 Fino a un minuto prima eravamo nascosti tutti e quattro sotto l'armadietto e l'abbiamo anche chiamato: «Vieni, Uiplalà, nella borsa!»
- NL 126 [...] want hij zat samen met ons onder het kastje en we hebben nog geroepen: “Kom, Wiplala, de tas in!”

6.1.4. Compounds

Macro-type of TL	Amount of macro-TLs	% of total	Type of TL	Amount of TLs	% of total
Phraseological TL	20	45,5%	Idiom	3	6,8%
			Collocation	0	0%
			Other PU	0	0%
			Compound	18	38,6%
Non-phraseological TL	21	47,7%	Monorematic word	19	43,2%
			Free word combination	2	4,5%
No TL	3	6,8%	Too freely ‘translated’	2	4,5%
			Not ‘translated’	1	2,3%
Total	44	100%	Total	44	100%

Table 34 Compounds in Uiplalà

Among the 1346 phraseological units in *Uiplalà* there are 44 compounds (3,3%). A relatively large part of these has a phraseological translantant (45,5%), but non-phraseological translantants are still more frequent (47,7%) (see Table 34). Just three compounds have no translantant (6,8%); two of these can be attributed to free translations (4,5%; Example 212), while one is in no way present in Dutch (2,3%; Example 213):

Example 212 Compound – too freely translated

IT 28	[...] e la lampada con il <u>paralume</u> raggiunse le dimensioni di una casa.
NL 42	De schemerlamp was wel zo groot als een huis.

Example 213 Compound – not translated

IT 20	Prova a trallallare e ritrallallare qualsiasi cosa ti capiti <u>sottomano</u> , qui in casa, per vedere se ci riesci.
NL 31	Je moet maar van alles betinkelen hier in huis, om te zien of het gaat.'

The non-phraseological translantants are almost all monorematic words (43,2% of all translantants of Italian compounds; Example 214), while there are just two free combinations of words (4,5%; Example 215):

Example 214 Compound – monorematic word

IT 31	Per fortuna era buio, e poterono camminare lungo il bordo del <u>marciapiede</u> senza essere visti.
NL 46	Het was gelukkig donker en ze konden dus voorzichtig aan de rand van het <u>trottoir</u> lopen zonder dat iemand hen zag.

Example 215 Compound – free combination of words

IT 56	— Qui è davvero troppo pericoloso. Ci sarà pure un magazzino, nel <u>retrobottega</u> .
NL 80	'Hier is het ook veel te gevaarlijk. Er zal toch wel een magazijn zijn, ergens <u>achter de winkel</u> ?'

It comes as no surprise that most of the phraseological translantants are compounds (38,6% of all TLs; Example 216). Three Italian compounds have

been rendered as idioms in Dutch (6,8%; Example 217), whereas collocations and “other” PUs are not present.

Example 216 Compound – compound

- IT 55 [...] nascondendosi tra un vaso di burro d’arachidi e un enorme panpepato.
 NL 78 Daar kropen ze weg tussen een pot pindakaas en een hele grote ontbijtkoek.

Example 217 Compound – idiom

- IT 51 — Arrivederci — disse il custode.
 NL 73 ‘Tot kijk,’ zei de suppoost.

6.1.5. Proverb, saying, aphorism

The only saying in *Uiplalà*, and in our corpus for that matter, has already been discussed in Example 9, from the perspective of Dutch. For clarity it is reported below in Example 218:

Example 218 Saying – idiom

- IT 113 — Ho già capito, qui gatta ci cova! — esclamò la signora Dingemans, adirata e impaurita.
 NL 158 ‘Ik zie het al! Het is nog altijd niet plus hier!’ riep juffrouw Dingemans boos en angstig.

Qui gatta ci cova has a phraseological translantant: the Dutch idiom *niet plus zijn*.

6.2. IT→NL: Type of meaning

More than four-fifths of Italian phraseological units are non-figurative (42,6% compositional, 38,8% non-compositional; see Figure 17). This comes as no surprise considering the large amount of semantically transparent PUs (“other”); all non-figurative, compositional PUs belong to this category. Quite some PUs have a generically figurative meaning (14,3%); 2,8% of PUs has a

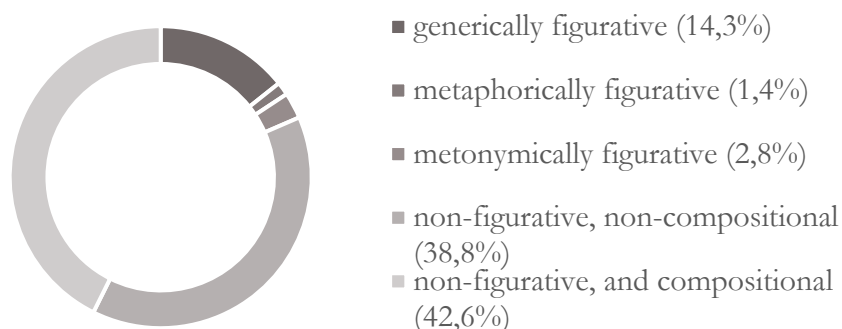


Figure 17 Types of meaning in Uiplalà

metonymical meaning, 1,4% a metaphorical one. The amount of phraseological units per type of meaning and subdivided again per type of meaning of its translantants, is given in Table 35¹⁰⁵.

Type of meaning PU	Amount of PUs	% of PUs	Type of meaning TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs
Generically figurative	193	14,3%	Generical	38	19,7%
			Metaphorical	5	2,6%
			Metonymical	0	0%
			Non-compositional	31	16,1%
			Compositional	93	48,2%
			No translantant	26	13,5%
Metaphorically figurative	19	1,4%	Generical	6	31,6%
			Metaphorical	0	0%
			Metonymical	1	5,3%
			Non-compositional	0	0%
			Compositional	10	52,6%
			No translantant	2	10,5%
Metonymically figurative	38	2,8%	Generical	3	7,9%
			Metaphorical	0	0%
			Metonymical	3	7,9%
			Non-compositional	0	0%

¹⁰⁵ For better readability, in the column "Type of meaning TL", "Generical", "Metaphorical" and "Metonymical" are used to indicate generically, metaphorically and metonymically figurative meanings. "Non-compositional" and "Compositional" refer to the two types of non-figurative meanings.

			Compositional	22	57,9%
			No translantant	10	26,3%
Non-figurative, non-compositional	522	38,8%	Generical	13	2,5%
			Metaphorical	8	1,5%
			Metonymical	0	0%
			Non-compositional	121	23,2%
			Compositional	313	60,0%
			No translantant	67	12,8%
Non-figurative, compositional	574	42,6%	Generical	4	0,7%
			Metaphorical	3	0,5%
			Metonymical	0	0%
			Non-compositional	74	12,9%
			Compositional	434	75,6%
			No translantant	59	10,3%
Total	1346	100%	Total	1346	500%

Table 35 Type of meaning in Uiplalà

Dutch translantants are largely non-figurative and compositional (64,8%), mostly due to the large amount of non-phraseological translantants. In fact, 84,1% of these compositional translantants is non-phraseological, only 15,9% phraseological. 16,8% of the translantants has an overall agglutinated meaning (non-compositional), 4,8% is generically figurative, 1,2% metaphorical and 0,3% metonymical. 12,2% of the Italian PUs does not have a translantant, and, therefore, does not have a type of meaning. In the following subparagraphs, all types of meaning will be discussed separately.

6.2.1. Generically figurative

One-seventh of Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* has a generically figurative meaning. These PUs are of all types: mostly idioms (55,4%) and collocations (30,1%), but also some “other” PUs, compounds, and the one saying present in our corpus. Although most translantants still have a non-figurative, compositional meaning (48,2%; Example 219), this amount is significantly lower than the average of compositional TLs for all types of meaning of the Italian PUs

(64,8%). 88,2% of these compositional translantants is of non-phraseological nature. The amount of generically figurative TLs is significantly higher than average (19,7% opposed to 4,8%; Example 220), indicating that PUs and translantants at least partially use the same kind figurativeness to convey their meaning. 16,1%, in line with the average for all PUs, has a non-figurative, non-compositional meaning (Example 221); 2,6% has a metaphorical meaning (Example 222), slightly higher than the average. Also slightly higher than the average for all PUs, is the amount of generically figurative PUs with no translantants (13,5%; Example 223).

Example 219 Generically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

- IT 12 — Un... un... un folletto in carne e ossa — balbettò.
 NL 20 ‘Een-een-echt kaboutertje,’ stamelde hij.

Example 220 Generically figurative – generically figurative

- IT 19 L'intenzione era di ritrasformare il povero poeta in una persona normale, in carne e ossa.
 NL 30 De bedoeling van dit alles was om de arme dichter Hollidee weer in een gewoon mens van vlees en bloed te veranderen.

Example 221 Generically figurative – non-figurative, non-compositional

- IT 109 Strinse la mano ad Arturo, ma sembrava seccato, perché quanto era accaduto gli sembrava sconveniente.
 NL 152 Hij gaf Arthur een hand, maar hij keek kwaad, want hij vond het een onfatsoenlijke gang van zaken.

Example 222 Generically figurative – metaphorically figurative

- IT 50 Scivolarono giù per quattro piani di scale come saette, mentre Johannes e Nella Della lanciavano gridolini di gioia.
 NL 71 Ze gleden langs de leuningen van vier trappen en Johannes en Nella Della kraaiden van vreugde toen ze daar zo pijlsnel roetsten.

Example 223 Generically figurative – too freely translated

- IT 93 E attraversarono la cucina a tentoni, diretti verso la scala.
 NL 127 En ze zochten hun weg door de donkere keuken, in de richting van de trap.

6.2.2. Metaphorically figurative

The few metaphorically figurative Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* have mostly non-figurative, compositional translantants (52,6%; Example 224), all of these are of non-phraseological nature. The others are generically figurative (31,6%; Example 225), once metonymical (5,3%; Example 226) and twice not translated (10,5%; Example 227). No metaphorical Italian PU has a metaphorical Dutch TL. The amount of generically and metonymically figurative translantants is relatively high compared to the average of PUs (respectively, 4,8% and 0,3%), while the amount of non-figurative translantants is relatively low (non-compositional 16,8%, compositional 64,8%). Metaphorical translantants thus seem to have a higher correspondence among figurative translantants.

Example 224 Metaphorically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

- | | |
|--------|---|
| IT 77 | [...] dove abita una simpatica vecchietta che vi accoglierà <u>a braccia aperte</u> , e dove sarete al sicuro. |
| NL 106 | [...] waar een aardige oude dame woont, die jullie <u>heel hartelijk</u> zal ontvangen en waar je veilig zult zijn. |

Example 225 Metaphorically figurative – generically figurative

- | | |
|--------|---|
| IT 101 | [...] — lei forse penserà che <u>abbiamo qualche rotella fuori posto</u> , ma... in questa casa ci sono i fantasmi! |
| NL 138 | [...] ‘u zult misschien zeggen dat wij <u>niet goed in ons hoofd zijn</u> , maar – er zijn spoken hier in huis!’ |

Example 226 Metaphorically figurative – metonymically figurative

- | | |
|-------|---|
| IT 10 | Andarono tutti a dormire, ma <u>nel cuore della notte</u> Nella Della si svegliò con una piccola mano sul viso. |
| NL 17 | <u>Midden in de nacht</u> werd Nella Della wakker van een klein handje op haar gezicht. |

Example 227 Metaphorically figurative – not translated

- | | |
|-------|--|
| IT 11 | Così Uiplalà, <u>in un lampo</u> , aveva trasformato lo stufato in un enorme gelato alla vaniglia. |
| NL 18 | En daar had die stoute Wiplala de hele schaal met hutspot veranderd in een schaal vol vanilleijs. |

6.2.3. Metonymically figurative

A small part of Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* has a metonymical meaning (2,8%). The majority of these have non-figurative, compositional translantants (57,9%, of which 90,9% is non-phraseological; Example 230), but the amount is below the average of compositional TLs (64,8%). There are no non-figurative, non-compositional translantants (needless to add, very much below the average of 16,8%). Both generically figurative and especially metonymically figurative translantants are relatively many (both 7,9%, compared to the averages of 4,8% for generically and 0,3% for metonymically figurative TLs; respectively, Example 228 and Example 229). The amount of metonymically figurative Italian PUs with no translantant is also very high: 26,3% compared to the average of 12,2% (Example 231). It seems that Italian metonymical PUs have a low amount of structurally similar TLs in Dutch, which often leads to non-phraseological translantants (20 out of 22 compositional TLs). On some occasions, however, very similar structures do exist and lead to relatively large amounts of figurative translantants.

Example 228 Metonymically figurative – generically figurative

- IT 39 — Pian piano e in punta di piedi, ovviamente.
 NL 70 ‘Heel voorzichtig, natuurlijk, en op onze tenen.

Example 229 Metonymically figurative – metonymically figurative

- IT 102 Non avevamo più coraggio di tornare a letto, [...].
 NL 139 We durfden niet meer naar bed, [...].

Example 230 Metonymically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

- IT 91 Claudia accompagnò il dottore e chiuse la pesante porta di legno alle sue spalle.
 NL 124 De zware voordeur sloeg achter hem dicht en hij stond op de stoep.

Example 231 Metonymically figurative – too freely translated

- IT 67 Adesso è come se fossimo in esilio e abbiamo l'impressione di avere tutto il mondo alle calcagna.
 NL 93 Wij zijn nu vluchtelingetjes geworden en we hebben het gevoel of de hele wereld ons achterna zit.⁷

6.2.4. Non-figurative, non-compositional

As mentioned in the introduction of this paragraph, over four-fifths of Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* have a non-figurative meaning; 38,8% of the total amount of PUs are non-compositional. Three-fifths of these have a compositional translantant in Dutch (60,0%, of which 86,9% is non-phraseological; Example 232). Quite a large amount has a non-figurative, non-compositional meaning (23,3%, significantly higher than the average of 16,8%; Example 233). Besides some generically or metaphorically figurative translantants (respectively 2,5% - Example 234 and 1,5% - Example 235), 12,8% have no translantant (Example 236).

Example 232 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- IT 57 Si scambiarono sguardi disperati e Nella Della si mise a piangere.
 NL 81 Ze keken elkaar hulpeloos aan en Nella Della begon te huilen.

Example 233 Non-figurative, non-compositional – non-figurative, non-compositional¹⁰⁶

- IT 35 Nella Della si guardò intorno, in cerca di un nascondiglio in cui la signora Dingemans non potesse arrivare con l'aspirapolvere.
 NL 52 Nella Della keek haastig rond of ze ergens een schuilplaats zag waar juffrouw Dingemans met haar stofzuiger niet zou kunnen komen.

Example 234 Non-figurative, non-compositional – generically figurative

- IT 19 Sono un buono a nulla.
 NL 31 Ik ben een prul.⁷

¹⁰⁶ Both *aspirapolvere* and *stofzuiger* are considered non-compositional, because their overall meaning exceeds the mere sum of their constituents: we have a specific kind of household appliance in mind, that collects more than just dust (“*polvere*”, “*stof*”).

Example 235 Non-figurative, non-compositional – metaphorically figurative

- IT 29 Intanto i nanerottoli nel cassetto stavano zitti zitti, osavano a malapena respirare.
 NL 43 Het kleine gezelschap in de la hield zich muisstil, ze durfden nauwelijks te ademen.

Example 236 Non-figurative, non-compositional – not translated

- IT 27 — Me ne sono dimenticato, e poi, a dire il vero, pensavo che dieci fiorini fossero molti soldi.
 NL 40 ‘Ik heb vergeten te kijken hoe duur het was, en ik dacht dat tien gulden een hele hoop geld was.’

6.2.5. Non-figurative, and compositional

The type of meaning that is the most frequent among both phraseological units and translantants, is non-figurative and compositional. More than three quarters of these PUs have a compositional translation (75,6%; Example 237), significantly higher than the average among all PUs (64,8%). At the same time, all other types of meaning are relatively less frequent among compositional PUs. Non-compositional translantants amount to 12,9% (Example 238), generically and metaphorically figurative translantants only to respectively 0,7% (Example 239) and 0,5% (Example 240). In 10,3% of compositional PUs, no translantant is present (Example 241); this could indicate that fully compositional PUs are more easily conveyed in other languages.

Example 237 Non-figurative, compositional – non-figurative, compositional

- IT 7 Vuoi anche tu una tazza di tè, Uiplalà?
 NL 14 Wil je ook een kopje thee, Wiplala?’

Example 238 Non-figurative, compositional – non-figurative, non-compositional

- IT 9 Uiplalà Uiplalà per il bosco se ne va, d’inverno si scoppia e d’estate si gela, [...].
 NL 16 Wiplala Wiplala, buiten in ’t woud, ’s winters is ’t gloeiend en ’s zomers is ’t koud.

Example 239 Non-figurative, compositional – generically figurative

- IT 92 Chiacchierò tanto che gli altri non riuscirono a dire una parola, finché il signor Blom agitò le mani e gridò: [...].
- NL 124 Hij praatte zo lang en zo druk, dat het moeilijk was er een woord tussen te krijgen, maar eindelijk zwaaide meneer Blom met zijn kleine armpjes en riep: [...].

Example 240 Non-figurative, compositional – metaphorically figurative

- IT 51 Rimasero perfettamente in silenzio, cercando di riprendere fiato nell'oscurità.
- NL 72 Doodstil hielden ze zich en ze hijgden geluidloos daarbinnen in die donkere zak.

Example 241 Non-figurative, compositional – too freely translated

- IT 41 Il piccione si appollaiò sulla botte per l'acqua piovana [...].
- NL 61 De duif zat op de regenton [...].

6.3. IT→NL: Structural composition

The Italian phraseological units in Uiplalà are divided into eight structural compositions (see Figure 18). The most frequent of these are expressions featuring one or more prepositions (39,5%). Almost a quarter of Italian PUs is characterised by a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes (24,1%). Light verb constructions make up 13,2% of the Italian phraseological inventory in Uiplalà, “other” structural compositions 9,8%, verb-particle constructions (syntagmatic verbs) 7,2%. Compounds, similes and irreversible binomials have a

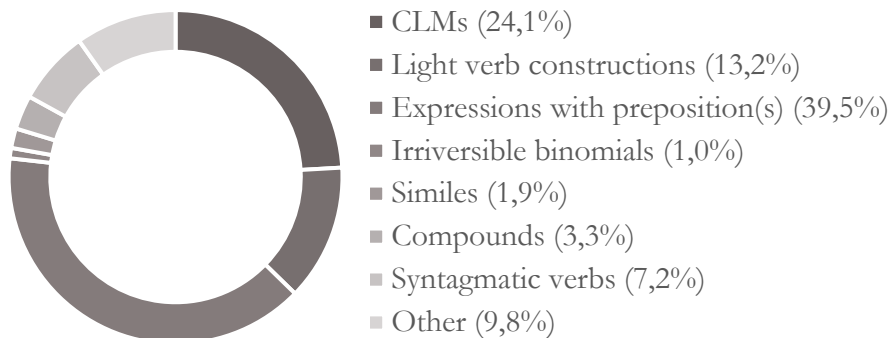


Figure 18 Structural compositions in Uiplalà

PUs TLs	CLM		LVC		EP		IB		Simile		Compound		VPC		Other		Total	
CLM	69	21,2%	18	10,2%	9	1,7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	9	9,3%	14	10,6%	119	8,8%
LVC	10	3,1%	37	20,9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	7	5,3%	54	4,0%
EP	5	1,5%	0	0%	26	4,9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0,8%	32	2,4%
IB	2	0,6%	0	0%	0	0%	8	61,5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	10	0,7%
Simile	0	0,0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	11	42,3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	11	0,8%
Compound	62	19,1%	11	6,2%	20	3,8%	0	0%	7	26,9%	17	38,6%	36	37,1%	7	5,3%	160	11,9%
Other	3	0,9%	2	1,1%	28	5,3%	0	0%	0	0%	3	6,8%	0	0%	1	0,8%	37	2,7%
Free comb. of words	81	24,9%	52	29,4%	123	23,1%	3	23,1%	7	26,9%	2	4,5%	37	38,1%	41	31,1%	346	25,7%
Monorem. word	68	20,9%	36	20,3%	234	44,0%	2	15,4%	1	3,8%	19	43,2%	12	12,4%	41	31,1%	413	30,7%
No TL	25	7,7%	21	11,9%	92	17,3%	0	0%	0	0%	3	6,8%	3	3,1%	20	15,2%	164	12,2%
Total	325	24,1%	177	13,2%	532	39,5%	13	1,0%	26	1,9%	44	3,3%	97	7,2%	132	9,8%	1346	100%

Table 36 Structural composition in Úrplála

much lower frequency: respectively 3,3%, 1,9% and 1,0% of the PUs. In Table 36 the Italian structural compositions are confronted with the structural compositions of the Dutch translantants they relate to.

The most common types of structural compositions among the Dutch translantants, as was clear from the types of TLs (§6.1.) are those regarding non-phraseological TLs: monorematic words (30,7%) and free combinations of words (25,7%). Just as the non-phraseological TLs, the 12,2% of Italian PUs without a translantant (not present in Dutch or too freely ‘translated’), also have a repetition of their type of TL in the field for structural composition. The phraseological TLs are divided into seven structural compositions: compounds (11,9%), co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (8,8%), light verb constructions (4,0%), “other” structural compositions (2,7%), expressions with one or more prepositions (2,4%), similes (0,8%) and irreversible binomials (0,7%).

6.3.1. Co-occurrence of lexical morphemes

Almost a quarter of Italian phraseological units is characterised by a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes. In 45,8% of cases, they relate to a monorematic word (20,9%; Example 248) or a free combination of words (24,9%; Example 249) in Dutch, while 7,7% has no translantant (Example 250). Among phraseological TLs, the same type of structural composition is the most common (21,2%; Example 242), but compounds also recur often (19,1%; Example 243). The other structural compositions are much less frequent: light verb constructions in 3,1% (Example 244), expressions with one or more prepositions 1,5% (Example 245), “other” structural compositions in 0,9% (Example 246), and irreversible binomials in 0,6% of cases (Example 247).

Example 242 CLM – CLM

IT 97 — Compose il numero e rimase in attesa.
 NL 132 Ze draaide het nummer en wachtte.

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Example 243 CLM – compound

- IT 17 Guardate, tutti i clienti della libreria escono con le sue raccolte di poesie sotto il braccio.
NL 27 Kijk maar, de mensen komen naar buiten met zijn gedichtenbundels in de hand.'

Example 244 CLM – LVC

- IT 27 Si sedettero, e il maitre chiuse la porta a chiave e andò a chiamare la polizia.
NL 41 Daar zaten ze en de nare hotelman deed de deur vanbuiten op slot en ging de politie waarschuwen.

Example 245 CLM – EP

- IT 29 E sì che la porta era chiusa a chiave!
NL 43 En de deur was op slot!'

Example 246 CLM – other

- IT 22 — State a sentire — disse.
NL 34 'Weet je wat?' zei hij.

Example 247 CLM – IB

- IT 106 [...] ed erano talmente felici che ogni tanto si mettevano a ballare e a saltellare.
NL 148 [...] en ze waren zo gelukkig dat ze af en toe dansten en huppelden [...].

Example 248 CLM – monorematic word

- IT 26 A Uiplalà andò di traverso un pezzo di noce e tossi per un quarto d'ora, [...].
NL 39 Wiplala verslikte zich in een nootje en kuchte wel een kwartier, [...].

Example 249 CLM – free combination of words

- IT 28 Si sentì girare la testa e intorno a lui tutto diventò enorme.
NL 42 Hij werd heel duizelig en draaierig en hij zag alles om zich heen reusachtig groot worden.

Example 250 CLM – too freely translated

- IT 29 — Bravo Uiplalà! — disse Nella Della con un sospiro di sollievo.
NL 42 'O Wiplala, wat leuk!' zuchtte Nella Della.

6.3.2. Light verb constructions

Uiplalà has 177 light verb constructions, 13,2% of all phraseological units present in the text. Most phraseological translantants are also light verb constructions (20,9% of all translantants of LVCs; Example 251). Other phraseological translantants are co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (10,2%; Example 252), compounds (6,2%; Example 253) and two translantants with a structural compositions that does not fit within any of the other categories (1,1%; Example 254). However, almost half of Italian light verb constructions have a non-phraseological translantant: monorematic words (20,3%; Example 255) or free combinations of words (29,4%; Example 256). 11,9% of LVCs does not have a translantant (Example 257).

Example 251 LVC – LVC

- IT 108 Poi si guardò intorno un po' spaesato e disse: — Ho fame.
 NL 152 Toen keek hij een beetje hulpeloos naar al die mensen en zei: 'Ik heb honger.'

Example 252 LVC – CLM

- IT 14 — Sì, è vero che abbiamo fame.
 NL 22 'Ja, wij lijden honger.

Example 253 LVC – compound

- IT 59 La padrona ripose nel frigorifero le anguille e le aringhe e i salami; poi mise tutto in ordine.
 NL 82 De mevrouw legde alle paling en haring en worst in de ijskast; ze ruimde overal een beetje op.

Example 254 LVC – other¹⁰⁷

- IT 37 — Va benissimo, ma riuscirà davvero a non dirlo a nessuno?
 NL 55 'Dat is allemaal goed en wel, maar zou ze het echt aan niemand vertellen?'

¹⁰⁷ *Va benissimo* is a peculiar case of the light verb construction *andare bene*, here used as a discourse marker (classified among the formulae in the parameter “lexical category”).

Example 255 LVC – monorematic word

- IT 54 — Adesso possiamo fare colazione — esclamò Nella Della.
 NL 77 ‘Nu kunnen we ontbijten,’ riep Nella Della.

Example 256 LVC – free combination of words

- IT 26 — Bene — disse il signor Blom — adesso pago e poi facciamo ancora quattro passi in città.
 NL 39 ‘Ziezo,’ zei meneer Blom, ‘nu ga ik afrekenen en dan gaan we nog een beetje wandelen in de stad.

Example 257 LVC – not translated¹⁰⁸

- IT 66 — So che devono mangiare qualcosa, perché il contro-incantesimo faccia effetto.
 NL 91 ‘Ik weet dat er iets is, wat je moet eten.

6.3.3. Verb-particle constructions (syntagmatic verbs)

Syntagmatic verbs are a typical Italian structural composition, similar to verb-particle constructions in other languages, as, to some extent, separable complex verbs in Dutch. 7,2% of the analysed Italian PUs is a syntagmatic verb, 46,4% of which have a phraseological translant in Dutch. Most of these are compounds, all separable complex verbs (37,1% of the total of syntagmatic verbs; Example 258), the others co-occurrences of lexical morphemes, all the same pair of PU and TL (9,3%; Example 259). Most non-phraseological translantants are free combinations of words (38,1% of all syntagmatic verbs; Example 260), but monorematic words are also quite frequent (12,4%; Example 261). For a relatively small amount of Italian VPCs it is impossible to identify a clear translant in Dutch (3,1%; Example 262).

Example 258 VPC – compound

- IT 45 — Ho visto quella statua, lassù sopra il Palazzo, che andava via e poi tornava.
 NL 66 ‘Ik heb gezien dat dat beeld daar bovenop het Paleis wegliep en weer terugkwam.’

¹⁰⁸ The subordinate clause is added in Italian.

Example 259 VPC – CLM

- IT 47 Si era appena svegliato e si guardava intorno sorpreso.
 NL 67 Hij was juist wakker geworden en keek verbaasd om zich heen.

Example 260 VPC – free combination of words

- IT 21 Johannes lanciò un'occhiata al copriteiera e vide che Uiplalà era sgusciato fuori.
 NL 33 Johannes keek naar de theemuts en zag dat Wiplala er half onder vandaan kwam.

Example 261 VPC – monorematic word

- IT 111 — Nemmeno io vorrei torbare indietro, è solo che alcune cose mi piacevano.
 NL 154 ‘Ik wil ook niet meer terug, ik vond alleen sommige dingen leuk.’

Example 262 VPC – too freely translated

- IT 14 Fu una faticaccia, ma alla fine riuscirono a portarlo fuori.
 NL 22 Het was een toer, maar eindelijk stonden ze op straat.

6.3.4. Expressions with one or more prepositions

The most common structural composition of Italian phraseological units is that characterised by one or more prepositions (39,5%). A surprisingly large amount of these has either no translantant in Dutch (17,3%; Example 269) or a non-phraseological translantant (67,1%), divided into monorematic words (44,0%; Example 267) and free combinations of words (23,1%; Example 268). Only 15,6% has a phraseological translation, mostly divided into three categories:

- 1) “Other” structures, i.e. those that do not fit within any of the other structural compositions (5,3%; Example 263);
- 2) Expressions characterised by the presence of one or more prepositions (4,9%; Example 264);
- 3) Compounds (3,8%; Example 265).

Some Italian expressions with one or more prepositions relate back to a Dutch co-occurrence of lexical morphemes (1,7%; Example 266).

Example 263 EP – other

- IT 37 Ma un paio di giorni fa eravamo in un ristorante e non potevamo pagare il conto [...].
- NL 54 Maar een paar dagen geleden waren we in een restaurant en we konden de rekening niet betalen [...].

Example 264 EP – EP

- IT 86 Trovarono un nascondiglio sicuro appena in tempo, sotto il mobiletto antico.
- NL 118 En juist op tijd konden ze een veilig heenkomen zoeken onder het antieke notenhouten kastje.

Example 265 EP – compound

- IT 52 L'elettricista scoppiò di nuovo in una fragorosa risata.
- NL 73 De elektricien begon opnieuw heel hard te bulderen van het lachen.

Example 266 EP – CLM

- IT 77 [...] e accanto a lui Johannes, Nella Della e Uiplalà che piangevano a dritto.
- NL 106 Naast hem stonden Johannes, Nella Della en Wiplala, en huilden tranen met tuiten.

Example 267 EP – monorematic word

- IT 25 — Qui non si può stare con i gomiti sul tavolo e bisogna bisbigliare e non si può ridere ad alta voce.
- NL 37 'Je mag hier niet met je ellebogen op tafel en je moet hier fluisteren en je mag niet hard lachen.'

Example 268 EP – free combination of words

- IT 53 [...] che afferrarono le sigarette e i fiammiferi, ma non arrivarono sino in fondo alla tasca.
- NL 76 Hij greep de sigaretten en de lucifers, maar voelde niet dieper in zijn zak.

Example 269 EP – too freely translated

- IT 43 E indicò la strada piena di traffico in cui le automobili e i tram avanzavano a fatica [...].
- NL 64 En hij wees voor zich uit naar beneden, naar de Voorburgwal, waar de auto's en de trams langs kropen, [...].

6.3.5. Irreversible binomials

Only a few phraseological units in *Uiplalà* are irreversible binomials (1,0%). Most of these have phraseological translantants in Dutch, all of the same structural composition: irreversible binomials (61,5%; Example 270). The other translantants are non-phraseological: free combinations of words (23,1%; Example 271) and monorematic words (15,4%; Example 272). All Italian irreversible binomials have translantants in Dutch.

Example 270 IB – IB

- IT 92 Prima o poi quelle tremende signore lo acchiapperebbero.
 NL 126 Dan wordt hij vroeg of laat gevangen door die deftige dames.’

Example 271 IB – free combination of words

- IT 75 — Prima o poi ci riuscirò — disse.
 NL 103 ‘Ik kan het misschien wel eens een keer,’ zei hij.

Example 272 IB – monorematic word

- IT 30 Il signor Blom lo seguì brontolando, e anche Nella Della e Johannes
 arrivarono sani e salvi.
 NL 44 Meneer Blom volgde hem jammerend en Nella Della en Johannes
 kwamen ook veilig beneden.

6.3.6. Compounds

A small part of the Italian phraseological inventory in *Uiplalà* is a compound (3,3%). Similar parts of translantants are phraseological and non-phraseological, while 6,8% does not have a translantant in Dutch (Example 277). The phraseological translantants are almost all compounds as well (38,6% of total amount Italian compounds; Example 273). The remaining phraseological TLs have an “other” structural composition (6,8%; Example 274). The non-phraseological TLs are mostly monorematic words (43,2%; Example 275), while just two are free combinations of words in Dutch (4,5%; Example 276).

Example 273 Compound – compound

- IT 35 Ora stava appendendo il cappotto all'attaccapanni.
NL 52 Nu stond ze stil, ze was bezig haar jas op de kapstok te hangen.

Example 274 Compound – other

- IT 51 Allora io vado. Arrivederci.
NL 73 En dan ga ik maar. Nou tot ziens dan.'

Example 275 Compound – monorematic word

- IT 51 Era una giacca da uomo appesa a un basso appendiabiti, tanto che il bordo sfiorava il pavimento.
NL 72 Het was een mannenjas die over een laag krukje hing, zodanig dat de zak van de jas de grond raakte.

Example 276 Compound – free combination of words

- IT 91 Siete state estremamente gentili a permettermi di ammirare quel capolavoro da vicino.
NL 124 Ik vind het buitengewoon vriendelijk van u, dat u mij even hebt toegestaan dat prachtige stuk van dichtbij te bekijken.'

Example 277 Compound – too freely translated

- IT 96 — Esiste un Servizio Acchiappafantasmi, o cose del genere?
NL 129 Is er ergens een Centrale Spokendienst of zoiets?'

6.3.7. Similes

A small part of the phraseological inventory of *Uiplalà* are similes (1,9%). Interestingly, Italian similes very often have a phraseological Dutch translant (69,2%) – more than double of the average of all PUs (31,4%). As a consequence, the amount of non-phraseological TLs is relatively low (30,8% opposed to the average 56,4%). All similes have a translant. The most frequent structural composition of the Dutch translants is also similes (42,3%; Example 278), but interestingly compounds are also quite common (26,9%; Example 279). Non-phraseological translants are mostly free combinations of words (26,9%; Example 280) and once a monorematic word (3,8%; Example 281).

Example 278 Simile – simile

- IT 40 — Un ragno grande come un cane!
 NL 59 ‘Een spin, zo groot als een hond!’

Example 279 Simile – compound

- IT 27 — Ma... ma ora che ci penso, a casa non ci sono soldi — bofonchiò il signor Blom, diventando rosso come un gambero.
 NL 41 ‘Maar – maar – thuis heb ik ook geen geld,’ zei meneer Blom met een vuurrode kleur.

Example 280 Simile – free combination of words

- IT 38 E stanotte dormiremo come pascià nei nostri lettini delle bambole nuovi.
 NL 55 ‘In elk geval slapen we vannacht heerlijk in onze nieuwe poppenbedjes.

Example 281 Simile – monorematic word

- IT 30 Ormai gli occhi del cameriere erano grandi come piattini.
 NL 46 De ogen van de kelner werden steeds groter.

6.3.8. Other structural compositions

Almost one in ten Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* has a structural composition that does not fit within any of the other, defined structural compositions. It comes as no surprise that these “other” PUs have a wide variety of structural compositions in Dutch, and that over three-fifths has a non-phraseological translantant. In equal amount, these are free combinations of words and monorematic words (both 31,1%, respectively Example 286 and Example 287). 15,2% does not have a translantant in Dutch (Example 288). The most common structural composition among phraseological TLs is that of co-occurrences of lexical morphemes (10,6%). Light verb constructions and compounds recur equally (both 5,3%, respectively Example 282 and Example 283), while only once a Dutch translantant is an expression with one or more prepositions (0,8%; Example 284), and twice an “other” structural composition (1,5%; Example 285).

Example 282 Other – LVC

- IT 113 — Ho già capito, qui gatta ci cova! — esclamò la signora Dingemans, adirata e impaurita.
 NL 158 ‘Ik zie het al! Het is nog altijd niet plus hier!’ riep juffrouw Dingemans boos en angstig.

Example 283 Other – compound

- IT 69 Ma Carlotta gli aveva dato uno schiaffo sulle dita gridando: - Giù le mani!
 NL 95 Maar Lotje gaf hem een harde klap op zijn vingers en gilte: ‘Afblijven!’

Example 284 Other – EP

- IT 35 [...] e in men che non si dica s’infilarono tutti e quattro dentro la sporta della spesa che era appesa al muro.
 NL 53 ‘[...] en in een ommezien zaten ze alle vier in de boodschappentas, die aan de muur hing.

Example 285 Other – other

- IT 31 — Ha qualche rotella fuori posto — commentarono gli altri camerieri.
 NL 46 ‘Hij is niet helemaal in orde,’ zeiden de andere kelners.

Example 286 Other – free combination of words

- IT 109 E si fecero largo in mezzo alla folla.
 NL 153 En ze drongen zich tussen de menigte door om hun eigen huis te bereiken.

Example 287 Other – monorematic word

- IT 44 — Pensa che il mondo vada in rovina se lui non lo tiene sulle spalle!
 NL 65 ‘Hij denkt dat de wereld vergaat als hij het ding niet op zijn nek heeft!’

Example 288 Other – too freely translated

- IT 113 — Adesso — disse Johannes e si avvicinò quatto quatto con il fazzoletto in mano.
 NL 158 ‘Nu,’ fluisterde Johannes en hij sloop naderbij, zijn zakdoek in de hand om het engeltje daarin te vangen.

6.4. IT→NL: Lexical category

Phraseological units in Uiplalà are most often of adverbial nature (36,6%) (see Figure 19). The second most common lexical category is that

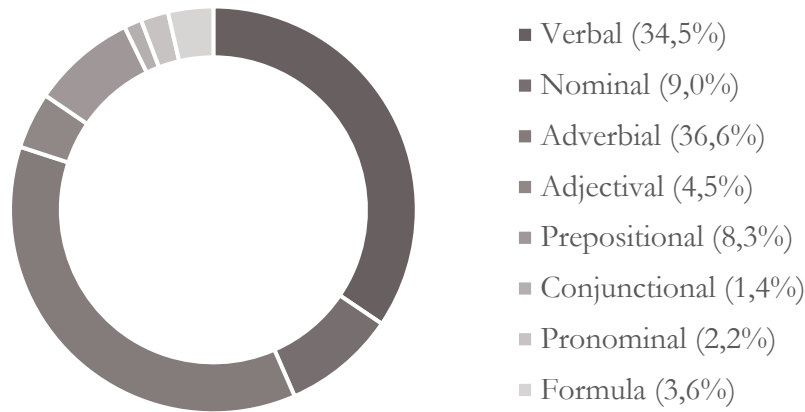


Figure 19 Lexical macro-categories in Uiplalà

regarding verbs (34,5%). Nominal (9,0%) and prepositional (8,3%) PUs also recur quite frequently. The other lexical macro-categories are not quite as frequent: adjectival PUs (4,5%), formulae (3,6%), pronominal PUs (2,2%) and, especially, conjunctional PUs (1,4%). The 164 (12,2%) Italian phraseological units without a Dutch translantant are (clearly) not assigned a lexical category. The remaining Italian phraseological units, however, are fragmented in many Dutch lexical categories – more than those present among the Italian PUs because of their division in single and multiple graphic words.

In Figure 20 the lexical macro-categories of Dutch translantants are shown. The most common lexical category among Dutch TLs is that of verb phrases (20,8%), that, together with verbs (5,2%) and separable complex verbs (5,0%), leads to about one-third of translantants of verbal nature. Very common are also TLs of adverbial nature: 14,8% of TLs is an adverb, 14,9% an adverbial phrase. 6,6% of Dutch TLs is a noun, 1,6% a noun phrase; prepositions make up 5,6%, prepositional phrases 1,1%. Adjectives compose 3,3% of Dutch translantants, adjectival phrases 1,9%. In 2,3% of cases, translantants have an “other” lexical structure, while 2,0% are formulae. Quite rare are pronominal phrases (1,1%), pronouns (0,6%), conjunctions (0,7%) and conjunctional phrases (0,3%). Besides translantants of verbal (or rare pronominal) nature, in all other

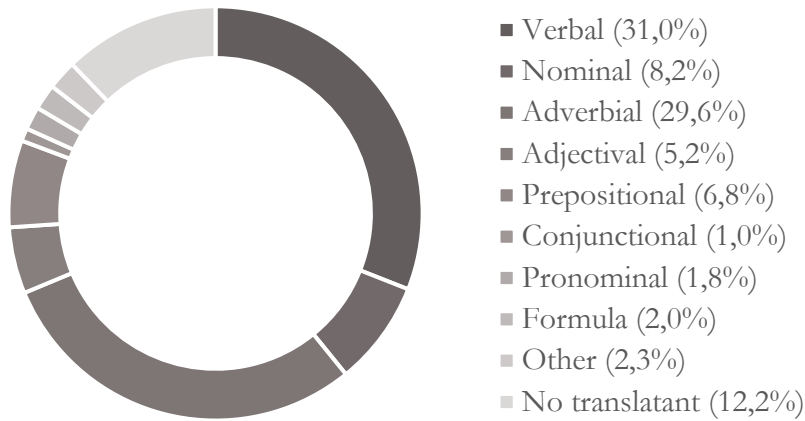


Figure 20 Lexical macro-categories of TLs in *Uiplalà*

macro-categories, the single graphic word variant (either a monorematic or a compound word), is more frequent. This was to be expected due to the relatively large amount of non-phraseological, monorematic and phraseological compound translantants.

In the following, the lexical categories will be further discussed divided by macro-category, e.g. both adverbs and adverbial phrases in the same subparagraph. Given the fragmentary rendering in Dutch of some Italian lexical categories, not all lexical categories of translantants will be included in the examples.

6.4.1. Adjectival phrase

All Italian phraseological units of adjectival nature, are phrases (i.e. there are no adjectival compounds). The lexical categories of their translantants are summarised in Table 37.

Over half of adjectival PUs in *Uiplalà* have a translantant of the same lexical nature: 30,0% are adjectives (Example 289), 23,3% are adjectival phrases (Example 290). Quite some PUs have either an adverb (5,0%; Example 291) or an adverbial phrase (13,3%; Example 292) as a translantant. In some rare cases, Italian adjectival PUs relate to a verb phrase (3,3%), a noun (1,7%) or a noun

phrase (1,7%; Example 293), or “other” lexical structures (6,7%; Example 294). 15,0% of Italian adjectival PUs do not have a translantant in Dutch (Example 295).

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Adjectival phrase	60	4,5%	Adjective	18	30,0%
			Adjectival phrase	14	23,3%
			Adverb	3	5,0%
			Adverbial phrase	8	13,3%
			Noun	1	1,7%
			Noun phrase	1	1,7%
			Verb phrase	2	3,3%
			Other	4	6,7%
No translantant	9	15,0%			
Adjectival PUs	60	4,5%	Total	60	100%

Table 37 Adjectival PUs in Uiplalà

Example 289 Adjectival phrase – adjective

- IT 97 In una casa per bene, su un bel canale, come la nostra!
 NL 131 In een fatsoenlijk huis op een keurige gracht!

Example 290 Adjectival phrase – adjectival phrase

- IT 7 Lo preparo subito, papà — esclamò Nella Della, felice come una pasqua.
 NL 14 ‘Ik zal thee zetten, vader,’ zei Nella Della stralend van geluk.

Example 291 Adjectival phrase – adverb

- IT 50 Lo videro soltanto per un attimo, perché subito dopo si girarono e corsero via rapidi come fulmini, Uiplalà per primo.
 NL 72 Ze zagen hem maar één ogenblik, want het volgende ogenblik draaiden ze zich bliksemsnel om en renden weg.

Example 292 Adjectival phrase – adverbial phrase

- IT 92 — Così disse il dottore, contento come una pasqua.
 NL 124 Zo praatte dokter Vink in zijn blijdschap.

Example 293 Adjectival phrase – noun phrase

- IT 39 Erano piccoli piccoli nella loro grande casa.

NL 57 Kleine kabouterijtjes waren ze, in hun eigen grote huis.

Example 294 Adjectival phrase – other

IT 35 Come possiamo commemorarla, se è vivo e vegeto?

NL 150 Hoe kunnen we u herdenken als u daar gewoon staat te leven?

Example 295 Adjectival phrase – too freely translated

IT 12 Era fuori di sé dalla gioia. Esclamò: — Un folletto!

NL 20 Hij begon te stralen van geluk en zei: 'Jij bent een kabouter!'

6.4.2. Adverb and adverbial phrase

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Adverb	4	0,3%	Adverb	2	50,0%
			Conjunction	1	25,0%
			No translantant	1	25,0%
Adverbial phrase	488	36,3%	Adjective	24	4,9%
			Adjectival phrase	2	0,4%
			Adverb	179	36,7%
			Adverbial phrase	175	35,9%
			Noun	2	0,4%
			Preposition	4	0,8%
			Prepositional phrase	4	0,8%
			Pronoun	4	0,8%
			Verb	6	1,2%
			Verb phrase	1	0,2%
			SCV	1	0,2%
			Other	6	1,2%
			No translantant	80	16,4%
Adverbial PUs	492	36,6%	Total	492	200%

Table 38 Adverbial PUs in Uiplalà

A large part of the Italian phraseological inventory in *Uiplalà* is of adverbial nature (36,6%). Almost all of these phraseological units are adverbial

phrases. In Table 38 the lexical categories of the Dutch translantants of Italian adverbial PUs are summarised.

Only four of the Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* are adverbs (per definition, compounds). Half of these have an adverb as a translantant (Example 296), one a conjunction (Example 297), and one does not have a translantant.

Example 296 Adverb – adverb

- | | |
|--------|--|
| IT 93 | Ma torni a cercarci <u>domattina</u> . |
| NL 127 | Maar komt u <u>morgenochtend</u> nog eens naar ons zoeken. |

Example 297 Adverb – conjunction

- | | |
|-------|--|
| IT 21 | [...] e che stava per trasformare in pietra la signorina Emilia: <u>dopotutto</u> , lei lo desiderava tanto. |
| NL 33 | Hij begreep dat Wiplala op het punt stond om juffrouw Emilia in steen te betinkelen, <u>omdat</u> ze dat zo graag wou. |

Adverbial phrases, however, are the most common lexical category among Italian PUs. Almost three quarters of these have an adverbial translantant: 36,7% is an adverb (Example 298), 35,9% an adverbial phrase (Example 299). The next most common lexical category among translantants is an adjective (4,9%; Example 300). Other lexical categories have very rare occurrences: adjectival phrase (0,4%), verb (1,2%; Example 301), verb phrase (0,2%), separable complex verb (0,2%), pronoun (0,8%; Example 302), preposition and prepositional phrase (both 0,8%), noun (0,4%), “other” lexical structures (1,2%; Example 303). 16,4% of Italian phraseological adverbial phrases has no translantant in Dutch (Example 304).

Example 298 Adverbial phrase – adverb

- | | |
|-------|--|
| IT 7 | [...] e il signor Blom rimase impietrito. <u>Alla lettera</u> . |
| NL 13 | [...], en meneer Blom was versteend. Maar dan ook <u>letterlijk</u> versteend. |

Example 299 Adverbial phrase – adverbial phrase

- IT 71 Il dottore la guardò a lungo, in silenzio, [...].
 NL 97 De dokter keek haar een hele poos zwijgend aan [...].

Example 300 Adverbial phrase – adjective

- IT 116 — Una volta o l'altra tornerà — disse Carlotta, che era rimasta ad ascoltare in silenzio.
 NL 163 ‘Misschien komt hij nog wel eens terug,’ zei Lotje, die al die tijd had gekeken en stil had geluisterd.

Example 301 Adverbial phrase – verb

- IT 80 Gli tennero a galla la testa e lo trascinarono via a nuoto.
 NL 111 Ze hielden zijn hoofd boven en zwommen met hem door de gracht [...].

Example 302 Adverbial phrase – pronoun

- IT 53 Dentro la tasca, il signor Blom e Nella Della si aggrappavano l'uno all'altra, impauriti.
 NL 75 Binnenin de zak hielden meneer Blom en Nella Della elkaar angstig bij de mouw.

Example 303 Adverbial phrase – other

- IT 91 [...] e provavano un immenso piacere all'idea che un estraneo, per giunta un dottore, fosse tanto interessato al magnifico lampadario.
 NL 123 [...] en ze vonden het heerlijk dat er een vreemdeling kwam, en nog wel een dokter, die belang stelde in hun kaarsenkroon.

Example 304 Adverbial phrase – too freely translated

- IT 55 — Sia ben chiaro — stava dicendo — rubare e mangiare a sbafo è una cosa deplorabile.
 NL 77 ‘Kijk,’ zei hij, ‘ik vind stelen en snoepen uit een winkel schandelijk.’

6.4.3. Conjunctional phrase

The Italian phraseological inventory contains very few conjunctional phrases (1,4%), and no conjunctional compounds. The lexical categories of their Dutch translantants are summarised in Table 39.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Conjunctive phrase	19	1,4%	Adverbial phrase	1	5,3%
			Conjunction	7	36,8%
			Conjunctive phrase	3	15,8%
			Preposition	1	5,3%
			No translantant	7	36,8%
Conjunctive PUs	19	1,4%	Total	19	100%

Table 39 *Conjunctive PUs in Uiplalà*

Slightly over half of Italian conjunctive phrases has a conjunctive translantant in Dutch: 36,8% a conjunction (Example 305) and 15,8% a conjunctive phrase (Example 306). Once a translantant is an adverbial phrase, once a preposition (both 5,3%). It is interesting to notice that the amount of conjunctive PUs without a translantant is very high (36,8%); the reason might be that Italian and Dutch sentences often do not follow the same structure (Example 307), and in Dutch it is not always necessary to make the conjunction explicit (Example 308).

Example 305 Conjunctive phrase – conjunction

- IT 5 [...] e strinse la mano appena appena, in modo che l'ometto non potesse scappare.
 NL 11 Ze had haar hand wat steviger om het kleine mannetje heen gelegd, zodat hij niet kon ontsnappen.

Example 306 Conjunctive phrase – conjunctive phrase

- IT 51 Era una giacca da uomo appesa a un basso appendiabiti, tanto che il bordo sfiorava il pavimento.
 NL 72 Het was een mannenjas die over een laag krukje hing, zodanig dat de zak van de jas de grond raakte.

Example 307 Conjunctive phrase – not translated

- IT 103 Le parole del dottore avevano tranquillizzato le signore a tal punto che ormai credevano davvero di avere avuto le allucinazioni.

- NL 140 Door de prettige, rustige manier waarop de dokter sprak, waren de dames al helemaal gekalmeerd. Ze geloofden nu bijna dat alles wat er gebeurd was, helemaal niet écht gebeurd was.

Example 308 Conjunctional phrase – not translated

- IT 77 E anche Carlotta singhiozzava, tanto che il cuscino era umido.
 NL 106 En Lotje zelf lag ook te snikken, haar kussen was helemaal vochtig.

6.4.4. Noun and noun phrase

9,0% of Italian phraseological units is of nominal nature: 2,3% a noun (compounds) and 6,7% a noun phrase. Nominal PUs very frequently have a nominal TL (Table 40). Italian nouns have a nominal translantant in 93,5% of the occurrences, 90,3% are nouns (Example 309) and in one case (3,2%) a noun phrase. Once a noun is an adverbial phrase in Dutch (Example 310), once there is no translantant (both 3,2%).

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Noun	31	2,3%	Adverbial phrase	1	3,2%
			Noun	28	90,3%
			Noun phrase	1	3,2%
			No translantant	1	3,2%
Noun phrase	90	6,7%	Adjective	3	3,3%
			Adverb	2	2,2%
			Noun	56	62,2%
			Noun phrase	18	20,0%
			Verb phrase	1	1,1%
			Other	1	1,1%
Nominal PUs	121	9,0%	Total	121	200%

Table 40 Nominal PUs in Uiplalà

Example 309 Noun – noun

- IT 112 Probabilmente si era staccato perché i ficcanaso che tempo prima avevano invaso la casa ci erano andati a sbattere contro.

- NL 156 Het was van de klok afgebroken, waarschijnlijk doordat de indringers er te hard tegen hadden gestoten.

Example 310 Noun – adverbial phrase

- IT 56 — Qui è davvero troppo pericoloso. Ci sarà pure un magazzino, nel retrobottega.
 NL 80 ‘Hier is het ook veel te gevaarlijk. Er zal toch wel een magazijn zijn, ergens achter de winkel?’

Noun phrases, on the other hand, have a nominal translantant in 82,2% of occurrences: 62,2% is a noun (Example 311), 20,0% a noun phrase (Example 312). Noun phrases more often than nouns have no TL in Dutch (10,0%; Example 314). The remaining Italian noun phrases have adjectival phrases (3,3%), adverbs (2,2%), a verb phrase (1,1%; Example 313) and one “other” lexical structure (1,1%) as TLs.

Example 311 Noun phrase – noun

- IT 63 Annusava e fiutava e Johannes si ritirò in fretta dietro il grappolo d’uva.
 NL 89 Ze snuffelde en snoof en Johannes trok zich haastig terug achter de druiventros.

Example 312 Noun phrase – noun phrase

- IT 60 C'erano mele e frutta secca mista.
 NL 85 Er waren gedroogde appeltjes en tutti frutti.

Example 313 Noun phrase – verb phrase

- IT 65 O ci userebbero come cavie per le loro cosiddette Ricerche Scientifiche.
 NL 91 Of ze zullen ons Wetenschappelijk Onderzoeken.

Example 314 Noun phrase – too freely translated

- IT 96 — Ma cara Luisa! — esclamò la signorina Adele. — I fantasmi non vanno a nascondersi nei cestini della carta straccia!
 NL 131 ‘Maar lieve Louise,’ zei juffrouw Adèle, ‘spoken gaan niet in de prullenmand zitten!’

6.4.5. Prepositional phrase

The Italian phraseological inventory is composed of 8,3% of prepositional phrases; almost all of these also have a structural composition characterised by one or more preposition. Table 41 summarises the lexical categories of Dutch translantants.

73,2% of Italian prepositional phrases have a prepositional translantant in Dutch, mostly prepositions (63,4% of the Italian PUs in this category; Example 315), but also some prepositional phrases (9,8%; Example 316). 8,0% of prepositional PUs has an adjectival phrase as a translantant (Example 317), 1,8% an adverbial phrase, once an adverb, once a conjunction (both 0,9%) and twice an “other” lexical structure (1,8%; Example 318). 13,4% of Italian phraseological prepositional phrases has no translantant in Dutch (Example 319).

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Prepositional phrase	112	8,3%	Adjectival phrase	9	8,0%
			Adverb	1	0,9%
			Adverbial phrase	2	1,8%
			Conjunction	1	0,9%
			Preposition	71	63,4%
			Prepositional phrase	11	9,8%
			Other	2	1,8%
			No translantant	15	13,4%
Prepositional PUs	112	8,3%	Total	112	100%

Table 41 Prepositional PUs in *Uiplala*

Example 315 Prepositional phrase – preposition

- IT 80 L'anatra passò sotto diversi ponti e tuffò più volte il becco nell'acqua, in cerca di qualcosa di commestibile; [...].
- NL 112 De eend zwom onder verscheidene bruggen door, dook nu en dan met de snavel naar iets eetbaars, [...].

Example 316 Prepositional phrase – prepositional phrase

- IT 62 Era pronto a difendersi, in caso di bisogno.

NL 88 Hij was van plan om zich te verdedigen, in geval van nood.

Example 317 Prepositional phrase – adjectival phrase

IT 44 Conteneva soltanto un paio di vecchie poltrone, un tavolo e un grande letto.

NL 65 Enkel een paar heel ouderwetse leunstoelen, een tafel en een groot bed.

Example 318 Prepositional phrase – other

IT 113 — Adesso la nostra domestica se n'è andata e dobbiamo sbrigare le faccende domestiche da soli, e tutto per colpa degli scherzi di Uiplalà.

NL 158 'Nu is onze hulp weggelopen en we moeten het hele huishouden zelf doen, en dat komt allemaal door dat getinkel van die stoute Wiplala.

Example 319 Prepositional phrase – too freely translated

IT 73 Il dottore si chinò su di lei e disse: — E per questo che adesso stai meglio, eh?

NL 100 De dokter boog zich voorover, en zei: 'En daardoor komt het, dat jij beter bent geworden, hè?

6.4.6. Pronominal phrase

All except one of the pronominal phrases in the Italian phraseological inventory, are of the same kind of constructional idiom: “tutt* e [cardinal number]”, e.g. *tutti e due*. The lexical categories of the Dutch translantants are given in Table 42.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Pronominal phrase	30	2,2%	Adverbial phrase	6	20,0%
			Pronoun	4	13,3%
			Pronominal phrase	16	53,3%
			No translantant	4	13,3%
Pronominal PUs	30	2,2%	Total	30	100%

Table 42 Pronominal PUs in Uiplalà

Two-thirds of the pronominal phrases have a translantant of the same nature. Most are also pronominal phrases (53,3%; Example 320), some are

pronouns (13,3%; Example 321). One-fifth is an adverbial phrase (20,0%; Example 322), while 13,3% has no translantant (Example 323).

Example 320 Pronominal phrase – pronominal phrase

- | | |
|--------|--|
| IT 103 | Ma quello scrivere a macchina e quel pianoforte li abbiamo sentiti <u>tutte e tre!</u> |
| NL 140 | Maar dat tikken van de schrijfmachine en dat pianospel – we hebben het <u>alle drie</u> gehoord! |

Example 321 Pronominal phrase – pronoun

- | | |
|--------|--|
| IT 101 | — Nel cuore della notte, verso le tre - per caso eravamo sveglie <u>tutte e due</u> , [...]. |
| NL 138 | Middenin de nacht, om een uur of drie – we waren toevallig <u>allebei</u> wakker [...]. |

Example 322 Pronominal phrase – adverbial phrase

- | | |
|-------|---|
| IT 13 | Stavano proprio spostando il povero poeta di pietra, <u>tutti e tre</u> insieme, [...]. |
| NL 21 | Ze waren net <u>met hun drieën</u> bezig de arme stenen dichter te verslepen [...]. |

Example 323 Pronominal phrase – not translated

- | | |
|-------|--|
| IT 40 | Si nascosero <u>tutti e quattro</u> sulla vite, tra le grandi foglie, [...]. |
| NL 59 | Daar zaten ze, verborgen tussen de grote bladeren [...]. |

6.4.7. Verb and verb phrase

More than one-third of the Italian phraseological inventory is of verbal nature. 35,0% of these is a light verb construction, 34,6% a co-occurrence of lexical morphemes, 20,7% a verb-particle construction (syntagmatic verbs), 8,9% has an “other” structural composition, and very few occurrences (0,6%) are similes. The lexical categories of Dutch translantants of Italian verbal PUs are summarised in Table 43.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Verb	1	0,1%	SCV	1	100%
Verb phrase	463	34,4%	Adverb	5	1,1%
			Adverbial phrase	6	1,3%
			Conjunctive phrase	1	0,2%
			Noun	2	0,4%
			Noun phrase	1	0,2%
			Verb	64	13,8%
			Verb phrase	273	59,0%
			SCV	64	13,8%
			Formula	3	0,6%
			Other	13	2,8%
No translantant	31	6,7%			
Verbal PUs	464	34,5%	Total	464	200%

Table 43 Verbal PUs in Uiplalà

The one compound verb present in the Italian phraseological inventory of *Uiplalà* (0,1%) relates to a separable complex verb in Dutch (Example 324):

Example 324 Verb – SCV

IT 96 Capovolve il cestino, ma ne caddero fuori soltanto alcuni pezzetti di carta.
 NL 131 Ze keerde de prullenmand om, maar er vielen enkel een paar propjes papier uit.

The Italian verb phrases have a verbal translantant in 86,6% of occurrences. Most of these translantants are also verb phrases (59,0% of all verbal PUs; Example 325), the others verbs (13,8%; Example 326) and separable complex verbs (13,8%; Example 327). The remaining translantants have an “other” lexical structure (2,8%; Example 328), are adverbial phrases (1,3%) or adverbs (1,1%; Example 329), formulae (0,6%), nouns (0,4%; Example 330), a noun phrase (0,2%), or a conjunctive phrase (0,2%). Only a relatively small amount of verbal PUs does not have a translantant in Dutch (6,7%, compared to the average of 12,2%; Example 331).

Example 325 Verb phrase – verb phrase

- IT 54 Tirarono un sospiro di sollievo.
NL 76 Ze slaakten alle vier een zucht van verlichting.

Example 326 Verb phrase – verb

- IT 17 Per tutta la settimana la gente prese d'assalto le librerie per comperare le poesie di Olla.
NL 27 Die hele week bestormden de mensen de boekwinkels om Hollidees gedichten te kopen.

Example 327 Verb phrase – SCV

- IT 89 Claudia si tirò indietro e il dottor Fink entrò.
NL 122 Klaasje trok zich terug en dokter Vink stapte binnen.

Example 328 Verb phrase – other

- IT 98 [...] e avevano una gran paura perché le signore continuavano a guardarsi intorno.
NL 133 [...] en het griezelige was nu dat de dames zo goed opletten en telkens hun ogen over de hele kamer lieten dwalen.

Example 329 Verb phrase – adverb

- IT 90 Comunque non c'era dubbio che il dottor Fink l'avesse fatto apposta, a mettere la borsa in posizione così invitante.
NL 122 Maar er was geen twijfel aan of dokter Vink had opzettelijk die tas daar zo uitnodigend neergezet.

Example 330 Verb phrase – noun

- IT 12 Puoi restare qui con noi, Uiplalà, e puoi essere sicuro che ti tratteremo bene, ma, per favore, non fare più incantesimi.
NL 19 Je mag hier blijven wonen, Wiplala, we zullen goed voor je zorgen, maar asjeblijft geen toverkunsten meer.

Example 331 Verb phrase – too freely translated

- IT 7 Non ho potuto fare a meno di trallallarla!
NL 13 Ik móést hem betinkelen!

6.4.8. Formula

A small amount of Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* is a formula (a ritual phrase). Table 44 summarises the lexical categories of their translantants.

Lexical category of PU	Amount of PUs	% of total PUs	Lexical category of TL	Amount of TLs	% of TLs per category
Formula	48	3,6%	Adverb	7	14,6%
			Adverbial phrase	1	2,1%
			Verb phrase	3	6,3%
			SCV	1	2,1%
			Formula	24	50,0%
			Other	5	10,4%
			No translantant	7	14,6%
Formulae	48	3,6%	Total	48	100%

Table 44 *Formulae in Uiplalà*

Half of the Italian formulae also have a formula as a translantant in Dutch (50,0%; Example 332). Quite some have an adverbial translantant, either adverbs (14,6%; Example 333) or once an adverbial phrase (2,1%). In some cases the translantant is a verb phrase (6,3%; Example 334), a separable complex verb (2,1%), or has an “other”, unclear lexical structure (10,4%; Example 335). 14,6% of Italian formulae does not have a translantant in Dutch (Example 336).

Example 332 *Formula – formula*

- IT 36 Anche il signor Blom si affacciò e disse solennemente: — Buongiorno, signora Dingemans.
 NL 54 Meneer Blom stak ook zijn hoofd uit de tas en zei plechtig: ‘Goedendag, juffrouw Dingemans.’

Example 333 *Formula – adverb*

- IT 60 — Va bene — acconsenti il padre [...].
 NL 85 ‘Goed,’ zei hun vader, ‘maar niet te veel meer snoepen hoor.’

Example 334 *Formula – verb phrase*

- IT 108 — Tanti auguri di buon compleanno.
 NL 152 ‘Hartelijk gelukgewenst met uw verjaardag.’

Example 335 Formula – other

- IT 18 — Va bene — rispose la signorina Olla e se ne andò, sospirando.
 NL 29 ‘Ik zal het doen,’ zei mejuffrouw Hollidee. En ze ging zuchtend weg.

Example 336 Formula – not translated

- IT 63 Non chiamare nessuno, per favore!
 NL 89 Trek je hand terug en roep niemand!

6.5. IT→NL: Language variety

The sociolinguistic variety of phraseological units in *Uiplalà* is summarised in Table 45, those of their Dutch translantants in Table 46. As was the case for the language variety in *Wiplala* (§5.6.), both main and secondary values are considered. A total of 26 secondary marks were deemed necessary in the description of Italian PUs (1,9%), 21 were used in the description of Dutch translantants (1,6%). The percentages in the last column regarding Dutch refer to the amount of main and secondary marks on the total of present TLs (i.e. 1182, not considering the 164 cases in which there is no translantant, and hence, there is no sociolinguistic mark).

Language variety PUs	Main	Secondary	Total	% PUs characterised by (main + secondary)
Standard	1254	2	1256	93,3%
Colloquial	88	22	110	8,2%
Spoken	3	-	3	0,2%
Technical-specialist	-	2	2	0,1%
Other	1	-	1	0,1%
Total	1346	26	1372	101,9%

Table 45 Language variety of PUs in *Uiplalà*

Language variety TLs	Main	Secondary	Total	% TLs characterised by (main + secondary)	
				On total	On total present TLs
Standard	1148	2	1150	85,4%	97,3%
Colloquial	2	2	4	0,3%	0,3%
Spoken	30	12	42	3,1%	3,6%
Formal	-	1	1	0,1%	0,1%
Obsolete	-	1	1	0,1%	0,1%
Regional	-	1	1	0,1%	0,1%
Other	2	2	4	0,3%	0,3%
No translantant	164	-	164	12,2%	-
Total	1346	21	1367	101,6%	101,8%

Table 46 Language variety of TLs in Uiplalà

The vast majority of Italian phraseological units belong to standard language (93,2%; Example 337-Example 340). However, 8,2% of PUs is characterised by colloquial, informal language: for four-fifths this is the main sociolinguistic mark, one-fifth is marked primarily as standard language (Example 341-Example 342). The other present language varieties recur very rarely: spoken language in 0,3% of PUs, “other” just once (0,1%; Example 343) and twice, as a secondary mark, technical-specialist language or jargon (0,1%; Example 344).

The Dutch translantants also belong mostly to standard language (97,3% of present TLs, i.e. minus the 12,2% of cases with no translantant; Example 337, Example 339, Example 341, Example 344), but spoken language is much more frequent than among the Italian PUs (3,6%; Example 338). However, the colloquial, informal variety that was so common in the Italian PUs, is almost inexistent among Dutch translantants (0,3%; Example 340-Example 341). Twice a TL has an “other” variety as a main mark (Example 343); once, as a secondary mark, a TL was deemed formal, once obsolete, once regional (Example 339).

Example 337 Standard – standard

IT 71 Carlotta scosse la testa con tristezza.

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NL 97 Lotje schudde haar hoofd.

Example 338 Standard – spoken

IT 22 Chiedimi il permesso, prima.

NL 34 Wanneer je dus aan het tinkelen slaat, vraag dan eerst aan mij of het mag.

Example 339 Standard – standard + regional

IT 25 Da un angolo sbucò un altro cameriere, come un pupazzo a molla che salta fuori da una scatola.

NL 37 Er kwam nog een kelner uit een hoek, als een duveltje uit een doosje.

Example 340 Standard – colloquial

IT 73 Una volta è venuta la suora a misurararmi la temperatura [...].

NL 100 Eén keer kwam de zuster om mij te temperaturen [...].

Example 341 Colloquial + standard – colloquial

IT 31 — Ha qualche rotella fuori posto — commentarono gli altri camerieri.

NL 46 ‘Hij is niet helemaal in orde,’ zeiden de andere kelners.

Example 342 Colloquial – spoken

IT 92 — Ma ormai non c'è più niente da fare.

NL 126 ‘Nou, niets aan te doen.

Example 343 Other – other

IT 8 A trallallare prima la gatta e poi quel signore. E poi a ritrallallarlo indietro.

NL 14 ‘Ik kon de poes betinkelen en ik kon die heer betinkelen. En ik kon die heer weer terugbetinkelen.’

Example 344 Standard + technical-specialist – standard

IT 28 [...] la biro che c'era sopra cominciò a somigliare all'albero maestro di una nave [...].

NL 42 [...] de balpen die erop lag werd zo groot als de mast van een schip.

6.6. IT→NL: Use value

The use value(s) of the Italian phraseological units in *Uiplalà* and those of Dutch translantants are summarised in Table 47 and Table 48. In this case as

well, the last column regarding Dutch shows percentages calculated on the translantants present, excluding the 164 cases in which there is no translantant.

Again, the vast majority of both Italian and Dutch phraseological units and translantants, have a neutral use value (respectively, 93,8% and 94,0%;

Example 345). Both for Italian and Dutch, very few secondary use values were deemed necessary. 2,5% of Italian PUs is characterised by a pejorative use value (Example 346), 1,9% is interjectional (Example 347-Example 348). In Dutch pejorative translantants are slightly less common (1,9%; Example 346), while interjectional TLs recur somewhat more frequently (2,4%; Example 347). Some PUs have a hyperbolic use value (1,0%; Example 349), a few are derogatory (0,8%; Example 350-Example 351), and even fewer have a sentimental value (0,2%), or have been used in an ironic, flattering, or jokingly way (all 0,1%). The relative amounts of the use values for Dutch translantants are not that different: some are used in a hyperbolic way (0,8%; Example 349), and very few are derogatory (0,5%; Example 351), sentimental (0,3%) or flattering (0,1%). Twice a Dutch translantant has a euphemistic use value (0,2%).

Use value PUs	Main	Secondary	Total	% PUs characterised by (main + secondary)
Neutral	1261	-	1261	93,8%
Hyperbolic	13	-	13	1,0%
Ironic	1	-	1	0,1%
Derogatory	10	1	11	0,8%
Pejorative	31	2	33	2,5%
Sentimental	3	-	3	0,2%
Interjectional	22	3	25	1,9%
Flattering	2	-	2	0,1%
Jokingly	2	-	2	0,1%
Total	1345	6	1351	100,4%

Table 47 Use value of PUs in Uiplalà

Use value TLs	Main	Secondary	Total	% TLs characterised by (main + secondary)	
				On total	On total present TLs
Neutral	1111	-	1111	82,5%	94,0%
Hyperbolic	10	-	10	0,7%	0,8%
Derogatory	5	1	6	0,4%	0,5%
Pejorative	23	-	23	1,7%	1,9%
Sentimental	3	-	3	0,2%	0,3%
Interjectional	27	1	28	2,1%	2,4%
Flattering	1	-	1	0,1%	0,1%
Euphemistic	2	-	2	0,1%	0,2%
No translantant	164	-	164	12,2%	-
Total	1346	2	1348	100,1%	100,2%

Table 48 Use value of TLs in *Uiplalà**Example 345 Neutral – Neutral*

- IT 4 Mosca soffiò, ci fu una breve zuffa e poi, tutto d'un tratto, un silenzio di tomba.
- NL 10 Ze hoorde een gek geluidje, ze hoorde Vlieg blazen, er was een kort gevecht en toen ineens was het doodstil.

Example 346 Pejorative – pejorative

- IT 113 La creaturina mise sottosopra le carte del signor Blom, e fece cadere un vaso da una mensola.
- NL 158 Het haalde in de vlucht meneer Bloms papieren overhoop, het trok een bloempot van een plank.

Example 347 Interjectional – interjectional

- IT 20 — No, per carità! — esclamò il signor Blom spaventato.
- NL 31 ‘Asjeblijft niet!’ riep meneer Blom verschrikt.

Example 348 Interjectional – neutral

- IT 43 — Al contrario! Vuole farlo vivere — bisbigliò Nella Della.
- NL 63 ‘Hij maakt hem juist levend,’ fluisterde Nella Della.

Example 349 Hyperbolic – hyperbolic

- IT 72 Carlotta tacque e guardò il dottore, notando con sollievo che non aveva l'aria divertita e non era spaventato a morte.
- NL 99 Lotje zweeg even en keek onopvallend naar de dokter. Ze zag tot haar opluchting dat hij niet spottend keek en ook niet dodelijk verschrikt, [...].

Example 350 Derogatory – neutral

- IT 6 I tuoi amici ti hanno cacciato via?
- NL 12 Weggestuurd door je eigen vriendjes?

Example 351 Derogatory – derogatory

- IT 112 Probabilmente si era staccato perché i ficcanaso che tempo prima avevano invaso la casa ci erano andati a sbattere contro.
- NL 156 Het was van de klok afgebroken, waarschijnlijk doordat de indringers er te hard tegen hadden gestoten.

6.7. IT→NL: Semantic field

The most frequent semantic fields for Italian phraseological units are “spatial relation” (16,8%), “temporal relation” (10,9%), “modality of action” (10,3%), “human activity” (8,2%) and “physical action” (7,8%). In Table 49 the semantic fields of *Uiplalà*'s phraseological inventory and its Dutch translantants are summarised. See §4.2.2.7. for a discussion of this parameter and the problematic classification through the current semantic fields.

Semantic field	IT Main	% PUs characterised by	NL Main	% TLs characterised by
Animals	8	0,6%	3	0,2%
Behaviour	29	2,2%	17	1,3%
Causal relation	18	1,3%	8	0,6%
Childhood	2	0,1%	1	0,1%
Clothing	2	0,1%	2	0,1%
Cognition	16	1,2%	12	0,9%
Communication	56	4,2%	46	3,4%
Danger	6	0,4%	12	0,9%
Family	-	-	1	0,1%

Fantasy	1	0,1%	4	0,3%
Feelings and emotions	75	5,6%	47	3,5%
Five senses: hearing	13	1,0%	9	0,7%
Five senses: sight	33	2,5%	41	3,0%
Five senses: smell	-	-	2	0,1%
Five senses: touch	-	-	2	0,1%
Food	42	3,1%	34	2,5%
Four elements: water	2	0,1%	-	-
Generic	9	0,7%	23	1,7%
Human activity	110	8,2%	102	7,6%
Human character	6	0,4%	5	0,4%
Illness	5	0,4%	3	0,2%
Jobs	6	0,4%	3	0,2%
Materials – objects	48	3,6%	47	3,5%
Modality of action	139	10,3%	152	11,3%
Modality of events	38	2,8%	-	-
Movement	52	3,9%	56	4,2%
Negativity / worsening	3	0,2%	4	0,3%
Other	90	6,7%	51	3,8%
Physical action	105	7,8%	98	7,3%
Physical appearance	27	2,0%	21	1,6%
Plant kingdom	4	0,3%	5	0,4%
Positivity / improvement	14	1,0%	16	1,2%
Social relations	12	0,9%	24	1,8%
Spatial relation	226	16,8%	203	15,1%
Temporal relation	147	10,9%	127	9,4%
Weather	2	0,1%	1	0,1%
No translantant	-	-	164	12,2%
Total	1346	100%	1346	100%

Table 49 Semantic fields in Uiplalà

Most semantic fields have relatively similar amounts among Italian phraseological units and Dutch translantants. There are, however, some bigger discrepancies. For instance, the semantic field of “spatial relation” is more frequent among Italian PUs (16,8%) than in Dutch translantants (15,1%). Still, if

we base the relative amounts of Dutch on the amount of present translantants, 17,2% of those are characterised by a spatial relation – more than Italian. Does this mean that many “spatial” Italian PUs have no translantant in Dutch? 190 out of the 226 PUs within the semantic field of “spatial relation” have a translantant within the same field in Dutch (Example 352). 23 out of the remaining 36 indeed have no translantant in Dutch – but this is fully in line with the average of no translantants, and even below it (10,2% compared to 12,2%). The remaining 13 PUs have translantants in six different semantic fields, mostly “danger” (6 out of 13; Example 353).

Example 352 Spatial relation – spatial relation

- | | |
|-------|--|
| IT 21 | — L’ho vista <u>per strada</u> poco fa. |
| NL 33 | ‘Ik zag ’m <u>op straat</u> lopen, zojuist.’ |

Example 353 Spatial relation – danger

- | | |
|--------|---|
| IT 77 | [...] dove abita una simpatica vecchietta che vi accoglierà a braccia aperte, e dove sarete <u>al sicuro</u> . |
| NL 106 | [...] waar een aardige oude dame woont, die jullie heel hartelijk zal ontvangen en waar je <u>veilig</u> zult zijn. |

Other bigger differences, where a particular semantic field is more frequent among the Italian PUs than among Dutch TLs, are “other” (6,7% in Italian, 3,8% in Dutch), “feelings and emotions” (5,6% in Italian, 3,5% in Dutch), “modality of events” (2,8% in Italian, not used for the description of Dutch translantants). Italian “other” PUs have no translantant in 20,0% of occurrences, and have the same type of semantic field in only 26,7% (Example 354). The other translantants – as is to be expected in this case, where no other semantic field was fitting for the Italian PUs – have a wide variety of semantic fields, some common ones being “social relations” (20,0%; Example 355) and “generic” (12,2%; Example 356).

Example 354 Other – other

- IT 11 Al posto di quell'ottimo stufato che c'era in tavola!
 NL 18 In plaats van die goeie hutspot die op tafel stond!

Example 355 Other – social relations

- IT 92 Fino a un minuto prima eravamo nascosti tutti e quattro sotto
 l'armadietto [...].
 NL 126 [...], want hij zat samen met ons onder het kastje [...].

Example 356 Other – generic

- IT 22 — È molto gentile da parte sua — disse.
 NL 34 ‘Het is erg vriendelijk van u,’ zei ze.

The Italian PUs within the semantic field of “feelings and emotions” have translantants within the same field in most cases (57,3%; Example 357); others belong to a variety of fields, the most common “physical action” (12,0%). As Example 358 shows, this has to do with the fact that sometimes the Dutch translantants focusses more on the action of the body itself, whereas the emotion is prevalent in Italian.

Example 357 Feelings and emotions – feelings and emotions

- IT 106 — Io ho ancora un po’ paura della gente.
 NL 148 ‘Ik ben een beetje bang geworden van mensen.’

Example 358 Feelings and emotions – physical action

- IT 104 — Che bella libreria — disse, alzando gli occhi sul mobile, e... rimase di stucco.
 NL 142 ‘Wat hebt u een bijzonder mooie boekenkast,’ begon hij en hij liet zijn oog langs de boekenkast naar omhoog glijden en – hij staarde, staarde.

“Modality of events” has not been used to describe Dutch translantants. The Italian PUs within this semantic field relate mostly to Dutch TLs within the field of “modality of action” (44,7%; Example 359) and “temporal relation”

(34,2%; Example 360). It is clear these fields have an overlap, that has caused the difference in use between the two languages¹⁰⁹.

Example 359 Modality of events – modality of action

- IT 97 — Per caso la guida telefonica è aperta alla pagina dove c'è il nome del dottor Fink.
 NL 132 'Het telefoonboek ligt heel toevallig opengeslagen bij de naam van dokter Vink.

Example 360 Modality of events – temporal relation

- IT 37 E la casa era di nuovo pulita, come sempre di venerdì.
 NL 55 En het hele huis was weer schoon, zoals altijd vrijdags.

“Modality of action” and “Generic”, on the other hand, are more frequent among Dutch translantants (10,3% in Italian, 11,3% in Dutch; 0,7% in Italian, 1,7% in Dutch).

6.8. IT→NL: Translational equivalence

Semantically Formally	Absent	Low	High	Total	Totals formally
Absent	174	65	107	251	597 (44,4%)
Low	-	16	104	273	393 (29,2%)
High	-	-	29	273	302 (22,4%)
Total	-	-	-	54	54 (4,0%)
Totals semantically	174 (12,9%)	81 (6,0%)	240 (17,8%)	851 (63,2%)	1346 (100%)

Table 50 Translational equivalence between Uiplalà and Wiplalà

The translational equivalence, in this case, measures the grade of equivalence between the phraseological units present in the Italian translation

¹⁰⁹ As stated in §4.2.2.7., the classification of semantic fields is rather problematic in CREAMY, and would benefit from a more rigorous system like the UCREL Semantic Analysis System. A future study on the implementation of this classification in CREAMY will need to be conducted.

(here our starting text), and the portions of text that correspond to it in the Dutch source text (here our arrival text). This data is summarised in Table 50. The data regarding the semantic level are given vertically per grade; the values of the formal level are shown horizontally per grade. For instance, “107” in the second row, fourth column, indicates that 107 pairs of phraseological units and translantants have a formally absent, semantically high equivalence.

Among the 174 pairs of PUs and TLs with no equivalence whatsoever on either level, are the 164 cases where an Italian PU has no TL in Dutch (12,2%). Hence, only 10 pairs with a translantant have zero equivalence (0,7%, which leads to 32,2% of pairs with a translantant where there is no equivalence on the formal level, and 0,7% on the semantic level). More than three-fifths have a full semantic equivalent (63,2%); but only 4,0% of pairs achieve total formal equivalence. The translational equivalence between PUs in *Uiplalà* and TLs in *Wiplala* confirms the inverted pattern (see Figure 21) that we have seen not only in §5.9. for Dutch PUs and Italian TLs, but also in other texts and language pairs: semantic equivalence is consistently higher than – and at least equal to – formal equivalence. From a formal point of view, the lower the grade of equivalence, the more frequent; from a semantic point of view, the higher the grade of equivalence, the more frequent. In the following, an example of each kind of equivalence is given¹¹⁰:

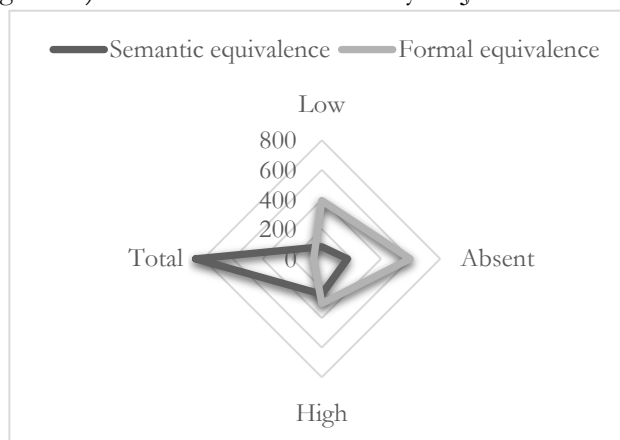


Figure 21 Inverted tendency of translational equivalence in *Uiplalà* and *Wiplala*

¹¹⁰ In the description of the examples, the first part refers to the grade of formal equivalence, the second part to the grade of semantic equivalence.

Example 361 Absent – absent

- IT 91 — Naturalmente, dottore, lo guardi pure con calma.
 NL 123 ‘Natuurlijk, dokter, kijkt u gerust.’

Example 362 Absent – low

- IT 56 [...] avevano comunque la possibilità di nascondersi tra i barattoli in fondo e le ultime confezioni di panpepato.
 NL 78 [...] dan nog konden ze zich tussen de achterste potten en de achterste ontbijtkoeken verbergen, [...].

Example 363 Absent – high

- IT 73 E quando entra suor Tina o qualcun altro si nascondono in fretta.
 NL 100 En als zuster Tine binnenkomt, of iemand anders, dan verstoppen ze zich bliksemsnel.

Example 364 Absent – total

- IT 21 [...] e avrebbero tanto desiderato poterle dire: non preoccuparti, un giorno o l'altro ci riuscirà.
 NL 32 En ze hadden zo graag willen zeggen: Lieve Emilia, maak je niet bezorgd, vandaag of morgen lukt het wel.

Example 365 Low – low

- IT 107 La statua strabuzzò gli occhi e sbadigliò.
 NL 150 Het standbeeld knipperde met de ogen en geeuwde.

Example 366 Low – high

- IT 65 E se, ci trovassero farebbero un sacco di storie e ci rinchiuderebbero per metterci in mostra a pagamento.
 NL 91 En als ze ons zouden vinden, dan maken ze enorm spektakel en willen ons opsluiten om ons te laten bezichtigen voor geld.

Example 367 Low – total

- IT 9 [...] e tagliarono a dadini una fetta di pane col burro di arachidi, e lui era sempre più felice.
 NL 16 Hij kreeg een boterham in heel kleine dobbelsteentjes gesneden. Met pindakaas, en hij werd steeds tevredener.

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Example 368 High – high

- IT 97 — Ho un'idea, Luisa — esclamò a un tratto la signorina Adele.
NL 131 'Ik krijg ineens een idee, Louise,' zei juffrouw Adèle plotseling.

Example 369 High – total

- IT 6 In un batter d'occhio Johannes la raggiunse e sollevò la gatta.
NL 13 In een oogwenk was Johannes bij haar en hij nam de stenen poes op.

Example 370 Total – total

- IT 3 — Vorrei avere un tappeto volante o che qualcuno arrivasse dalla luna a bordo di una navicella spaziale!
NL 8 'Ik wou dat we een vliegend tapijt hadden of ik wou dat er iemand van de maan kwam met een vliegend schoteltje!'

7 BIDIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS (NL↔IT)

In this paragraph both points of view (NL→IT and IT→NL) will be combined: which conclusions can we draw from the analysis of the phraseological units in the Dutch source text and their translantants in the Italian target text, and vice versa from the Italian phraseological units in the starting text and the Dutch portions of text corresponding to them? And how does a bidirectional approach help us to better understand phraseology across languages?

It is interesting to highlight that both the Dutch and the translated Italian text contain similar amounts of phraseological units: 1415 in Dutch, 1346 in Italian. As will become clear in the following, the nature of these phraseological units varies immensely. It is quite unexpected that the Italian text almost has the same amount of PUs as the Dutch text: in a previous research (Terrenato & Verkade 2020, Verkade 2020) the amount of Dutch PUs was almost double the amount of Italian PUs¹¹¹, and among Dutch PUs only separable complex verbs were included, but no other compounds. To put that into context: excluding all compounds besides SCVs, *Wiplala* contains 1070 PUs. It is clear that these results cannot be fully compared, not only because of the different limitations of PUs,

¹¹¹ 1527 Dutch PUs versus 790 Italian PUs.

but also because in the previous project the starting text was of a different genre (novel: *The Cloven Viscount* by Italo Calvino) and, more importantly, an original Italian text with a Dutch translation. Is this major difference caused by source text interference? Do specific translation strategies for Children's Literature play a role? These are just some of the questions that come to mind regarding this issue, that seems worthy of further investigation elsewhere.

7.1. NL↔IT: Types of phraseological units

A first, very evident difference between Dutch and Italian PUs in *Wiplala/Uiplalà* is the enormous amount of compounds in Dutch: 63,2% of Dutch PUs is a compound, opposed to only 3,3% of Italian PUs. That means the other types of PUs are not only relatively, but also numerically much more frequent in Italian (see Table 51; also cf. Figure 11 and Figure 16).

Type of PU	Amount NL	% NL	Amount IT	% IT
Idiom	178	12,6%	263	19,5%
Collocation	187	13,2%	449	33,4%
Other	156	11,0%	589	43,8%
Compound	894	63,2%	44	3,3%
Saying	-	-	1	0,1%
Total	1415	100%	1346	100%

Table 51 Types of phraseological units in Dutch and Italian

Whereas in Dutch the three types of phraseological units besides compounds have relatively similar recurrence, in Italian the more semantically transparent, the more common the type of PU: “other” (43,8%), collocations (33,4%), idioms (19,5%). Both Dutch and Italian PUs mostly have non-phraseological TLs (58,3% and 56,4% respectively). Less than a third of PUs have a phraseological translantant (30,4% for Dutch, 31,4% for Italian). 11,3% of Dutch PUs do not have a translantant in Italian, versus 12,2% of Italian PUs without a Dutch TL. While the percentages are very similar, there is a big difference in Dutch between idioms, collocations, “other” PUs, and compounds: the first three types have mostly phraseological translantants in Italian, while

compounds have very few phraseological TLs and many non-phraseological TLs. In Italian, while there are quite big differences between types, these percentages are more stable: non-phraseological TLs are always more common than phraseological TLs¹¹².

The difficulty of ‘translation’ roughly follows semantic transparency/opacity in both Dutch and Italian: the more opaque, the more difficult¹¹³. Idioms seem to be the hardest type of PU to convey: they have the highest amount of cases where there is no translant (12,4% in Dutch→Italian, 17,9% in Italian→Dutch). Next, Dutch compounds in 11,6% of cases lack an Italian translant. Collocations follow for both NL→IT and IT→NL with no translant in, respectively, 11,2% and 12,0% of occurrences. The “other” (semantically transparent) PUs have TLs the most often (no TL in 8,3% of cases in NL→IT and 10,2% in IT→NL). Only 6,8% of Italian compounds does not have a Dutch TL, and the one Italian saying has a TL as well (0% of no TL).

Idioms thus seem to be the type of PU that cause the most difficulties in ‘translation’. That is not only suggested by the lack of TLs, but in Dutch also by the amount of phraseological and non-phraseological translants. Excluding the compounds, that have many monorematic and thus non-phraseological translants in Italian, Dutch idioms relatively have the least phraseological translants (48,3%), and the most non-phraseological translants (39,3%). For Italian idioms the situation is a bit different. While the amount of idioms without a

¹¹² The only exception is the one saying present in Italian (0,1%), that has an idiom as a translant in Dutch and hence 100% of phraseological TLs. Cf. §6.1.5..

¹¹³ May it be clear that this is a generalisation, based on the data gathered in the parameter “type of phraseological unit”, that indicates the semantic transparency/opacity of PUs and the type of translant. A future study could focus only on the cases in which there is no translant: it might be possible to pinpoint different strategies and motives in the broader co-text that lead to untranslated, or too freely translated phraseological units. Another study could focus on the other parameters of phraseological and non-phraseological TLs: which parameters tend to correspond or, on the contrary, differ? And is it possible to identify specific translation strategies when a translator prefers a non-phraseological solution above a phraseological unit?

Dutch translantant is very high (17,9%), the amount of phraseological translantants is relatively not the lowest (29,3%, opposed to 28,7% of “other” PUs), and the amount of non-phraseological translantants is relatively not the highest (52,9%, opposed to 61,1% and 53,2% among “other” PUs and collocations, respectively). This means that other types of PUs in Italian more often than idioms have a non-phraseological translantant, but this does not change the difficulty the percentage of no translantants suggests: for 9,5% of Italian idioms no translantant could be indicated because the Dutch text was too free, and 8,4% has not been “translated” at all.

Collocations have no translantant in 11,2% of Dutch cases and 12,0% of Italian cases. The amounts of phraseological and non-phraseological translantants differ greatly, however. 56,7% of Dutch collocations have an Italian phraseological translantant, opposed to only 34,7% of Italian collocations with a Dutch phraseological TL. Non-phraseological TLs correspond to 32,1% of collocations in Dutch, but to 53,2% in Italian.

The same inversion between phraseological and non-phraseological translantants can be found among the “other” type of PUs, those which are semantically transparent. 58,3% of “other” Dutch PUs have a phraseological TL, and 33,3% a non-phraseological TL; in Italian 61,1% have a non-phraseological TL and only 28,7% a phraseological TL. 10,2% of Italian “other” PUs have no translantant, mostly because the Dutch text was too free to identify a clear TL (7,0%), and in less cases because the PU is not present at all in Dutch (3,2%). Dutch “other” PUs, however, are left untranslated more often (5,8%), while only 2,6% is translated too freely into Italian to identify a clear TL.

The situation of compounds is very different – not only between the two texts, but their use in both languages as well. Dutch tends to compounding, and Italian does not. Dutch makes massive use of separable complex verbs, while Italian does have a verb-particle construction (syntagmatic verbs), but not as a

(peculiar kind of) compound¹¹⁴. The Dutch compounds are 894, and compose 63,2% of all phraseological units in *Wiplala*; Italian compounds are only 44, 3,3% of PUs in *Uiplalà*. Just three of these have no translant in Dutch (6,8%), and the amount of phraseological and non-phraseological TLs is rather similar (45,5% and 47,7%, respectively). The former macro-category consists mostly in Dutch compounds (38,6% of the total amount of Italian compounds), while the latter consists mostly of monorematic, simple words (43,2%). It is striking that even with the enormous amount of compounds in the Dutch text, Dutch TLs to Italian compounds are more often monorematic. The Dutch compounds have a very different outcome in Italian: 62,5% of translantants are a monorematic word, and only 2,1% a compound in Italian (which mostly underlines the enormous amount of compounds in Dutch). Among the phraseological TLs, idioms, collocations and “other” PUs are more common than compounds (2,7%, 5,4% and 6,3% respectively), thus showing the preference of multiple word units as opposed to compounds. This data illustrates that, indeed, the use of compounds in Dutch and Italian is very different.

7.2. NL↔IT: Types of meaning

The vast majority of both Dutch (88,3%) and Italian (81,4%) phraseological units have no figurative meaning. Those PUs are either fully compositional (NL 29,5%, IT 42,6%) or non-compositional (NL 58,7%, IT 38,8%), i.e. the overall meaning does not equal the sum of the single constituents and is agglutinated. It is interesting to notice that the amount of compositional PUs in Italian, and the amount of non-compositional PUs in Dutch, are significantly higher. In the former case, this has to do with the high quantity of

¹¹⁴ Also see §7.3. and §7.4. on separable complex verbs in Dutch and syntagmatic verbs in Italian. Given the frequency of separable complex verbs and the challenges they pose not only for translators but also for language learners, it would be very useful to carry out a detailed study on SCVs and the nature of their translantants in Italian and other languages.

the “other” type of PU, i.e. those which are semantically transparent. All non-figurative, compositional PUs are of the “other” type. In the latter case, the large amount of non-compositional PUs is due to the frequent occurrence of compounds. Over two-thirds of Dutch non-figurative, non-compositional PUs is a compound; and the majority of compounds (64,1%) have a non-compositional meaning.

A total of 11,7% of Dutch phraseological units has a figurative meaning, versus 18,6% of Italian PUs. In both texts, most of those are generically figurative (NL 9,0%, IT 14,3%). In Dutch relatively more metaphoric (2,0%) than metonymic (0,7%) PUs are present, while in Italian a metonymical meaning (2,8%) is more common than a metaphorical one (1,4%).

As for the translantants: both Dutch (64,8%) and Italian TLs (68,2%) are mostly non-figurative and compositional, because the majority of translantants are not a phraseological unit (NL→IT 69,6%, IT→NL 68,6%). The other types of meaning are thus much, much less common among translantants – especially considering that PUs without a TL, naturally, do not have a type of meaning (NL→IT 11,3%, IT→NL 12,2%). The largest decrease, both in the Dutch and Italian starting texts, can be found in the non-figurative, non-compositional meaning: 58,7% of Dutch PUs have this type of meaning, while it characterizes only 10,2% of Italian translantants. For the Italian → Dutch pair this reduction is smaller, but still significant: from 38,8% of Italian PUs to 16,8% of Dutch TLs. This data suggests that in general the non-figurative, agglutinated meaning is more frequent in Dutch than in Italian. Generically figurative translantants, overall, are more common in Italian: while 14,3% of Italian phraseological units is characterised by a generically figurative meaning, and only 4,8% of Dutch translantants, Italian translantants of Dutch PUs almost maintain the same level of generically figurative meanings (NL 9,0%, NL→IT 8,4%). Both in metaphorically (NL→IT 1,3%, IT→NL 1,2%) and metonymically (NL→IT

0,5%, IT→NL 0,3%) figurative meanings, there is a small reduction in frequency between PUs and TLs.

7.3. NL↔IT: Types of structural composition

The structural composition of the Dutch and Italian phraseological inventory varies greatly. Table 52 illustrates these differences.

Type of structural composition	Amount NL	% NL	Amount IT	% IT
Compound	894	63,2%	44	3,3%
Co-occurrence of lexical morphemes	242	17,1%	325	24,1%
Light verb construction	114	8,1%	177	13,2%
Other	83	5,9%	132	9,8%
Expression with preposition(s)	46	3,3%	532	39,5%
Irreversible binomial	19	1,3%	13	1,0%
Simile	17	1,2%	26	1,9%
Syntagmatic verb	-	-	97	7,2%
Total	1415	100%	1346	100%

Table 52 Types of structural composition in Dutch and Italian

As discussed throughout this chapter, the major difference between Dutch and Italian, that impacts all results, is the vast use of compounds in the Dutch phraseological inventory (63,2%) compared to the Italian inventory (3,3%). The typical Dutch verb-particle construction, separable complex verbs, is included in these compounds (61,4% of compounds, 38,8% of total amount of Dutch PUs). In Italian, however, verb-particle constructions are considered separately in the type of structural composition, as they always form a multiword expression. These syntagmatic verbs make up 7,2% of the Italian phraseological inventory. Just 37,1% of these have an SCV as a translantant. Light verb constructions recur more often in Italian (13,2%) than in Dutch (8,1%), even though in general verbal PUs are more frequent in Dutch (see §7.4). One might suspect that the so frequently used Dutch separable complex verbs are equivalents of Italian light verb constructions, but this is not the case: only 6,2% have a SCV as a translantant. Just 20,9% of Italian LVCs is also a LVC in Dutch. Almost half (49,7%) have a free combination of words or a simple, monorematic

word as translantant, and 11,9% have no translantant. Dutch LVCs have a LVC translantant in 39,5% of cases; 31,6% have a non-phraseological translantant (free combination of words or monorematic word), 13,2% have no translantant.

The structural composition that characterises most Italian phraseological units (39,5%), is that of expressions with one or more prepositions. Given the lexical categories of Italian phraseological units, this comes as no surprise. In fact, adverbial and prepositional PUs are very frequent in the Italian inventory (see §7.4. for a discussion), and 73,1% of expressions with (a) preposition(s) are adverbial phrases, and 20,7% prepositional phrases. Dutch, on the other hand, has much less phraseological units of adverbial and prepositional nature, and only 3,3% of PUs has a structural composition characterised by the presence of one or more prepositions.

Co-occurrence of lexical morphemes is a very common structural composition in both Dutch and Italian, but significantly more frequent in the latter (17,1% versus 24,1%). Most Dutch co-occurrences are a verb phrase (62,8%), which means co-occurrences characterise 53,5% of all verb phrases, while the remaining ones are mostly light verb constructions. 14,5% of Dutch co-occurrences is a nominal phrase – almost all the nominal phrases in the Dutch inventory, except for three irreversible binomials. Adverbial phrases compose 12,0% of co-occurrences, which are only 24,8% of all adverbial phrases; adverbial PUs thus have mostly different structural compositions. That is confirmed by the amount of Italian adverbial co-occurrences: only 15,1% of co-occurrences are an adverbial phrase, which means only 10,0% of adverbial PUs are characterised by that structural composition. Most adverbial PUs (79,7%) are, in fact, an expression with (a) preposition(s). Almost half (49,2%) of Italian co-occurrences are verb phrases – in other words, 34,6% of verb phrases are a co-occurrence, a similar amount to light verb constructions (35,0%). Many Italian co-occurrences (27,7%) are of nominal nature. Indeed, nominal phrases are more common in Italian than in Dutch (see §7.4.), and all Italian nominal phrases are co-

occurrences of lexical morphemes. This explains almost two-thirds of the increase of co-occurrences in Italian compared to Dutch¹¹⁵.

The “other” structural composition, i.e. the category that houses phraseological units that do not fit well into any of the other compositions, is more common among Italian phraseological units (9,8%) than in Dutch (5,9%). 34,9% of the latter have an Italian translantant structurally characterised by a preposition, while 50,6% has either a non-phraseological translantant or no translantant. On the other hand, over three quarters (77,3%) of Italian “other” phraseological units have a translantant in Dutch that is non-phraseological or not present.

Both irreversible binomials and similes compose similar parts of the phraseological inventories, respectively 1,3% and 1,2% in Dutch, and 1,0% and 1,9% in Italian.

7.4. NL↔IT: Lexical categories

Most Dutch phraseological units are verbal (59,2%), nominal (22,1%) or adverbial (11,3%). Italian translantants – keep in mind that 11,3% of Dutch PUs has no translantant, which, naturally, means these have no lexical category – tend to roughly follow these amounts (51,9% are verbal, 20,0% nominal, 8,6% adverbial). Italian phraseological units, however, are divided very differently into lexical categories: 36,6% are adverbial, 34,5% verbal, and 9,0% nominal. Dutch translantants roughly correspond to these percentages, considering 12,2% of Italian PUs without a TL in Dutch: 29,6% are adverbial, 31,0% are verbal, 8,2%

¹¹⁵ The Italian phraseological inventory has 325 co-occurrences of lexical morphemes, the Dutch inventory 242 – a difference of 83 phraseological units. As Italian has 90 nominal phrases (all co-occurrences) and Dutch 38, 35 of which are co-occurrences, this means Italian has a “surplus” of 55 nominal co-occurrences of lexemes compared to Dutch, i.e. 66,3% of the original difference. While this is an interesting method to see where phraseological inventories differ, naturally it does not take into account other factors, such as the different amounts of phraseological units (1415 in Dutch and 1346 in Italian).

are nominal. The drop from adverbial PUs to TLs is, however, quite big. In Table 53 the lexical (macro-)categories of both Dutch and Italian phraseological units are illustrated.

Lexical categories of PUs	NL	% NL	IT	% IT
Verbal	837	59,2%	464	34,5%
verb phrase	284	20,1%	463	34,4%
verb	4	0,3%	1	0,1%
separable complex verb	549	38,8%	-	-
Nominal	313	22,1%	121	9,0%
noun phrase	38	2,7%	90	6,7%
noun	275	19,4%	31	2,3%
Adverbial	160	11,3%	492	36,6%
adverbial phrase	117	8,3%	488	36,3%
adverb	43	3,0%	4	0,3%
Adjectival	48	3,4%	60	4,5%
adjectival phrase	29	2,0%	60	4,5%
adjective	19	1,3%	-	-
Prepositional	16	1,1%	112	8,3%
prepositional phrase	14	1,0%	112	8,3%
preposition	2	0,1%	-	-
Conjunctival	1	0,1%	19	1,4%
conjunctival phrase	-	-	19	1,4%
conjunction	1	0,1%	-	-
Pronominal	-	-	30	2,2%
pronominal phrase	-	-	30	2,2%
Formula	40	2,8%	48	3,6%
Total	1415	100%	1346	100%

Table 53 Lexical categories of phraseological units in Dutch and Italian

It is clear that the majority of Dutch phraseological units are of verbal nature (59,2%), while only slightly over a third of Italian phraseological units have a verbal function. This is mostly due to the large amount of separable complex verbs in Dutch (38,8%). In fact, Italian has more verb phrases than Dutch (34,4% versus 20,1%). These verb phrases only cover separable complex verbs (for

instance by the use of syntagmatic verbs) for a very small part, but are mostly used to express concepts for which non-phraseological expressions are used in the Dutch text (49,5%). The same is true for Dutch separable complex verbs: only 20,4% are translated with a verb phrase (of which roughly three-fifths are phraseological), and 66,3% are a verb, of which only one verb is a compound (and thus considered of phraseological nature).

Nominal phraseological units are also much more frequent in Dutch than in Italian (22,1% versus 9,0%). This is due to the large amount of non-compositional compound nouns in Dutch (19,4% of the total amount of PUs), whereas in Italian these compound nouns only account for 2,3% of the total amount of PUs. The Italian nominal compounds have a noun as Dutch translantant in 90,3% of the cases, half of which are compounds as well. The Italian translantants to Dutch compound nouns, however, are nouns in 66,9% and noun phrases in 21,5% of cases. Only 9,2% of the noun translantants are compounds, while 55,9% of the nominal phrases are of phraseological nature. On the other hand, as was the case for verb phrases, phraseological nominal phrases are more frequent in Italian (6,7% versus 2,7% in Dutch). Only one in five (20,0%; of which 83,3% are of phraseological nature) have a multiple word nominal translantant in Dutch, while 62,2% is a noun (73,2% of which is a compound). While the tendency of Dutch to compounding was a given, this data illustrates that this is the case also for agglutinated compounds, for which phraseological nominal phrases are used in Italian.

On the contrary, adverbial phraseological units recur much more frequently in Italian (36,6% versus 11,3% in Dutch). Almost all of these PUs are adverbial phrases, just four are adverbial compounds. 16,4% of these does not have a translantant in Dutch, a significantly large amount if compared to the average of 12,2%. In 53,8% of the cases, the Dutch text is too free compared to Italian and no clear translantant could be identified; in 46,3% of the cases the Italian PU had no correspondence whatsoever in Dutch. 36,7% of Italian

phraseological adverbial phrases have an adverb as translantant in Dutch, almost all (92,7%) simple, monorematic words. Only 35,9% is also an adverbial phrase, of which 64,0% is a free combination of words. It is thus clear that Italian recurs frequently to adverbial phraseological units, which more often than not have no phraseological equivalent in Dutch. The Dutch adverbial PUs are also mostly adverbial phrases (8,3%), but adverbs are more frequent than in Italian (3,0% versus 0,3% in Italian). 18,6% of the adverbs do not have a translantant in Italian, and only 11,6% is also an adverb in Italian, all monorematic words. 46,5% is an adverbial phrase, of which three-fifths are of phraseological nature. Dutch phraseological adverbial phrases have more success when translated into Italian: 12,8% (just slightly above average) does not have a translantant, but 66,7% is also an adverbial phrase – of phraseological nature in 84,6% of cases. The data of Dutch PUs and their Italian TLs confirms the high frequency of phraseological adverbial phrases in Italian.

Prepositional phraseological units are also very common in Italian and not in Dutch (8,3% versus 1,1%). All prepositional PUs, except two compounds in Dutch, are prepositional phrases. Most Dutch prepositional PUs have a prepositional phrase as translantant in Italian, all except one are of phraseological nature. Thrice a Dutch prepositional PU has been translated with an adverbial phrase into Italian; two have no translantant. Most Dutch translantants to Italian prepositional PUs, however, are single graphic word prepositions (63,4%), of which 91,5% is monorematic. The few prepositional phrases (9,8%) are mostly free combinations of words (72,7%).

What comes forward from a general outlook on lexical categories among PUs in Dutch and Italian, is that Dutch PUs in *Wiplala* are heavily lexical. Only one PUs is properly functional (a compound that is actually an adverb, but has a conjunctive function; see §5.4.3.). In Italian conjunctive phrases are a bit more frequent (1,4%). Especially if we consider prepositional and pronominal expressions to be mostly functional and not lexical, 12,0% of Italian PUs is

functional, against only 1,2% of Dutch PUs. Verbal and nominal phraseological units only make up for over four-fifths (81,6%) of the Dutch phraseological inventory, against 43,5% of the Italian inventory. This difference seems very much worthwhile to further investigate, especially in the light of second language learning and teaching.

7.5. NL↔IT: Language varieties

Both Dutch and Italian phraseological units and their translantants in *Wiplala/Uiplalà* tend to belong to standard language: 95,1% of Dutch PUs, 95,0% of TLs present in Italian, 93,3% of Italian PUs and 97,3% of present Dutch TLs. Some other recurring language variety marks are “spoken” and “colloquial”. While spoken language is more common among Dutch PUs (spoken 5,5%, colloquial 1,0%), colloquial language is more common in Italian TLs (spoken 2,0%, colloquial 6,1%). This trend can be found in the Italian → Dutch language pair as well. 8,2% of PUs is characterised by colloquial language, and just 0,2% by spoken language, whereas spoken language is more common among Dutch TLs (3,6%) and colloquial language almost inexistent (0,3%). Although colloquial and spoken language partially overlap, it seems worthwhile to further investigate this difference in future research.

7.6. NL↔IT: Use values

The vast majority of both Dutch and Italian phraseological units and translantants have a neutral use value: 97,0% of Dutch PUs and 97,0% of Italian TLs, and 93,8% of Italian PUs and 94,0% of Dutch TLs¹¹⁶. The most frequent

¹¹⁶ Other studies that have used the same parameters but with an Italian novel as a starting text and arrival texts in a variety of languages (including Dutch) confirm “neutral” as the most common use value (see single studies in Koesters Gensini & Berardini 2020). The use values other than “neutral” might mostly depend on the contents of the texts in the corpus, but it is also possible that some general tendencies for the use of particular values in different genres could be identified. While the present analyses could contribute data

non-neutral use values are interjectional, pejorative, and hyperbolic. Interjectional values are a bit more frequent in translantants (NL 1,4% → IT 2,0%; IT 1,9% → NL 2,4%), it is not clear why this is the case. Pejorative (NL 1,2% → IT 1,1%; IT 2,5% → NL 1,9%) and hyperbolic (NL 1,0% → IT 0,5%; IT 1,0% → NL 0,8%) use values are a bit less frequent in translantants.

7.7. NL↔IT: Semantic fields

The most frequent semantic field among Dutch phraseological units (22,8%) and Italian translantants (17,8%) is “human activity”. Next, “movement”, for 13,1% of Dutch PUs and 10,0% of Italian TLs. While the semantic field “materials – objects” characterises 9,3% of Dutch PUs and 8,6% of Italian TLs, “physical action” is more frequent among translantants (9,0%), and less frequent among phraseological units (7,2%). Both “human activity” and “physical action” are also among the most common semantic fields for Italian PUs and Dutch TLs, but do not recur as frequently as was the case for the Dutch → Italian pairing (“human activity” IT 8,2%, NL 7,6%; “physical action” IT 7,8%, NL 7,3%). The most common semantic fields are “spatial relation” (IT 17,1%, NL 15,1%), “temporal relation” (IT 10,6%, NL 9,4%), and “modality of action” (IT 10,3%, NL 11,3%). The shift in frequency of semantic fields is related to the different lexical nature of the Dutch and Italian phraseological inventories. The semantic fields of “human activity”, “movement” and “physical action” refer to actions, designated almost exclusively¹¹⁷ by phraseological units (and translantants) of

to such a cause, more specific research on use values is needed to be able to draw any (partial) conclusions.

¹¹⁷ 98,5% of Dutch PUs within the semantic field of “human activity” are of verbal nature (verb phrase, compound verb, separable complex verb). The same is true for “movement” (95,1%, and specifically 92,4% of separable complex verbs) and “physical action” (91,2%). The remaining phraseological units within these fields of non-verbal nature, are mostly of adverbial nature, with some exceptions for nouns. These three semantic fields house 51,4% of verb phrases within the Dutch phraseological inventory, 3 out of 4 compound verbs, and 79,8% of separable complex verbs.

verbal nature – much more common in Dutch. The semantic field “materials – objects” is used exclusively for nominal phraseological units¹¹⁸ – also much more frequent in Dutch. On the other hand, “spatial relation”, “temporal relation” and “modality of action” typically refer to adverbial and prepositional phraseological units¹¹⁹, that characterise the Italian phraseological inventory.

7.8. NL↔IT: Translational equivalence

As discussed in the previous paragraphs on translational equivalence (§5.9. and §6.8.), semantic equivalence almost always prevails on formal equivalence. From a semantic point of view, the higher the grade of equivalence the more frequent, while this is the opposite on a formal level (the higher the grade of equivalence, the lower the frequency). In fact, 78,1% of pairs of a Dutch phraseological unit and an Italian translant have a high or total semantic equivalence, and 78,2% low or no equivalence whatsoever on a formal level. Italian phraseological units and their Dutch translants have a high or total semantic equivalence in 81,1% of cases, and an absent or low formal equivalence in 73,6% of cases.

In general, equivalence is higher, both on semantic and formal level and on every grade, between Italian phraseological units and Dutch translants¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ 93,1% are non-compositional compound nouns, the remaining 6,9% nominal phrases. 44,4% of all non-compositional noun compounds refer to materials or objects; 23,7% of all nominal phrases.

¹¹⁹ The semantic field of “spatial relation” is used for Italian adverbial phraseological units in 59,3% of occurrences, 58,8% for adverbial phrases and 0,4% for adverbs; 34,5% is a prepositional phrase. Adverbial PUs are even more common within the semantic field of “temporal relation”: 83,7% is an adverbial phrase, 0,7% an adverb. Within this semantic field a prepositional nature is less common (3,4%). Similar results can be found for the field of “modality of action”: adverbial phrases make up 85,6% of the PUs, adverbs 0,7% and prepositional phrases 2,9%. These three semantic fields house over three quarters (76,8%) of the very common Italian phraseological adverbial phrases, 3 out of 4 compound adverbs, and 77,7% of prepositional phrases.

¹²⁰ From absent to total equivalence on semantic level: 12,9% – 6,0% – 17,8% – 63,2%, versus NL→IT 12,9% – 9,0% – 20,1% – 58,0%. From absent to total equivalence on

There does not seem to be a specific reason. The amount of phraseological units with no translant is higher for Italian PUs (12,2%) than for Dutch PUs (11,3%), which impacts equivalence negatively (by default absent both on semantic and formal level). As it is perceived as more difficult and complex to translate a phraseological unit with a phraseologism in the target language, which could cause lower equivalence, one might expect there to be more non-phraseological translantants in the Italian → Dutch pairing. However, the amount of Dutch non-phraseological translantants is lower (56,4% versus 58,3% of non-phraseological Italian translantants of Dutch phraseological units), and the amount of phraseological translantants higher (31,4% versus NL→IT 30,4%).

formal level 44,4% – 29,2% – 22,4% – 4,0%, versus NL→IT 50,1% – 28,1% – 18,2% – 3,5%.

8 CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In the first part of this dissertation, we outlined the theoretical and methodological issues concerning our research. In Chapter 2 contrastive linguistics, phraseology and Translation Studies were discussed, and how these disciplines interact in our study. Although phraseology can be seen as the primary field in which this dissertation is positioned, the approach to the analysis of phraseological units comes from contrastive linguistics: we have confronted Dutch phraseological units with their Italian translantants, and Italian phraseological units with their Dutch translantants. The problematic conventional criteria for phraseological units were reviewed, thus highlighting the far from discrete, but rather gradual and heterogeneous character of phraseology. Translation Studies add a layer of interdisciplinarity due to the choice of our corpus. The need to study phraseological units in their pragmatic context has steered us towards a literary text and its translation, as they can be considered parallel texts. Furthermore, the much-debated concept of equivalence is deemed a useful parameter in the analysis of the translation of phraseological units, alongside more linguistic parameters.

Specifically, a Dutch children's book and its Italian translation have been chosen as a corpus, because both the author and the translator are expected to base their phraseological choices, just like their linguistic and cultural choices in

general, on what they assume the phraseological competence of their young receivers is. In this way, we had a possibility to evaluate how Children's Literature can contribute to the identification of a core phraseological inventory. In Chapter 3 we addressed specific issues regarding Children's Literature, that mostly revolve around the asymmetrical power relationships that characterise the children's books industry. The child addressee does not have any possibility to give input, because adults (producers, intermediaries and buyers) do all the decision-making. Furthermore, the exchange of CL between different cultures is very imbalanced: some cultures export enormous amounts of children's books, but import very few; others import a great deal. The globalisation and commercialisation of the industry only reinforce this imbalance. This means that translation is a crucial link, and translators need specific strategies. The expectations of the translators are high, because of the cultural importance of children's books and the norms, values and views of society they should reflect. The choice between a foreignizing or domesticating approach is thus a very difficult one. Although there is no doubt about the importance of Children's Literature in language acquisition, there is no consensus on the use of children's books in second language teaching. Some scholars argue that the understanding of CL might be challenging for L2 learners, while others argue it is excellent material to acquire a larger vocabulary and build L2 proficiency. However, both students and teachers use children's books. In the last paragraph of Chapter 3, some studies on phraseology in Children's Literature are discussed.

We have outlined our methodology and research instruments in Chapter 4. The CREAMY platform has been a crucial asset for the annotation and analysis of the phraseological units and their translantants. A total of twenty fields are available to carry out a detailed and systematic contrastive analysis. The most important parameters are "type of phraseological unit" and "structural composition", which separate a semantic and syntactic analysis level, that in other research are mostly intertwined. The other parameters used for the analysis are

“type of meaning”, “lexical category”, “language variety”, “use value”, “semantic field”, and “translational equivalence”. Aside from CREAMY, an aligned corpus was created to ease the annotation process and Excel was used to make up for more complex functions the platform does not yet provide¹²¹.

The empirical part of this research is contained in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The findings regarding the analysis of the Dutch phraseological units and their Italian translantants are presented in Chapter 5. An interesting aspect of the Dutch phraseological inventory is the massive presence of compounds, compared to the more prototypical multiword expressions. Idioms, collocations and “other” PUs recur in similar amounts. However, the more opaque expressions are, the more likely they are to have a non-phraseological translantant or no translantant. Idioms thus have the least phraseological translantants in Italian compared to collocations and especially semantically transparent phraseological units. Only a relatively small part of the Dutch phraseological inventory is characterised by a figurative meaning. This is also due to the criteria used for the inclusion (or exclusion) of expressions in our phraseological inventory: there is a large amount of compounds and separable complex verbs, as a result of which the vast majority of PUs are non-figurative – but most of these have a non-compositional meaning¹²². From a structural point of view, the multiword expressions in the inventory are mostly co-occurrences of lexical morphemes or light verb constructions. Over three-fifths of the compounds (almost two-fifths of the whole inventory) are separable complex verbs. This also means that the Dutch inventory is in large part of verbal nature; nominal and, to a lesser extent, adverbial constructions are also common. The translational equivalence between

¹²¹ Excel was used to carry out cross-searches of both phraseological units in the starting text and translantants in the arrival text, by selecting one or more properties (e.g. metonymical idioms that have a semantically transparent translantant belonging to the semantic field of “physical action”). The search and analysis options CREAMY provides are described in §4.2.3.

¹²² Excluding these kinds of units from analyses would lead to a restricted view on the problems and difficulties that phraseology causes.

the Dutch phraseological units and Italian translantants shows a strong predominance of the semantic level over the formal level.

In Chapter 6 the analysis of the inverted perspective is presented, regarding the Italian phraseological units and their Dutch translantants. Whereas the amount of phraseological units is very similar to those present in the Dutch text, the composition of the inventory is very different. There is only a small amount of compounds – which highlights the tendency of Dutch to compounding – but a large part of the inventory consists in semantically transparent phraseological units. The Dutch translantants of Italian phraseological units are most often of non-phraseological nature. Although Italian PUs as well mostly have non-figurative meanings, compositional expressions are much more frequent than in Dutch due to the large amount of semantically transparent PUs. From a structural point of view, almost two-fifths of the Italian inventory is characterised by the presence of one or more prepositions; as was the case for Dutch, co-occurrences of lexical morphemes and light verb constructions are the next most common structural compositions. There is a massive shift in lexical nature between Dutch and Italian phraseological units – adverbial and (to a lesser extent) prepositional expressions are a lot more common in Italian, and verbal and nominal expressions a lot less common. As was the case for translational equivalence in the first analysis, semantic equivalence is rather high, especially compared to the rather low formal equivalence.

In Chapter 7 these two perspectives have been combined in a bidirectional analysis. Whereas some aspects of the phraseological inventories are rather similar, some significant differences were highlighted. One of those is the aforementioned presence of compounds and (among compounds) separable complex verbs in Dutch; although Italian has a verb-particle construction similar to SCVs, these syntagmatic verbs are over five times less frequent in Italian. On the contrary, all other types of phraseological units (idioms, collocations, “other” PUs, sayings) are more frequent in Italian. This also has consequences for the

type of meaning. Whereas a similar percentage of phraseological units is non-figurative, we find a big discrepancy in compositional and non-compositional constructions. The latter is much more frequent in Dutch due to the presence of compounds, while the former is much more frequent in Italian due to the relatively large amount of semantically transparent PUs. The internal structure of the phraseological units in Dutch and Italian also shows major differences. Compounds continue to dominate the phraseological inventory of Dutch also from a structural point of view, but Italian phraseological units are often characterised by the presence of prepositions. The second and third most common structural compositions for both Dutch and Italian – co-occurrences of lexical morphemes and light verb constructions – are both more frequent in Italian.

Phraseological units of verbal nature are much more common in the Dutch phraseological inventory. However, most of these are separable complex verbs, and Italian verb phrases are actually more common than Dutch verb phrases. These verb phrases only partially cover separable complex verbs, and almost half correspond to a non-phraseological expression in Dutch. Most separable complex verbs have a simple verb translant in Italian. Nominal phraseological units also recur much more frequently in the Dutch phraseological inventory, because of the presence of non-compositional noun compounds. Adverbial phraseological units, on the other hand, have many more occurrences in the Italian inventory, that mostly have no phraseological equivalent in Dutch. The different nature of the phraseological units between the two languages becomes really clear when contrasting verbal and nominal PUs: they make up 81,6% of the Dutch, and only 43,5% of the Italian phraseological inventory. Learners of Dutch, even at a low proficiency level, will need to deal with compounds, and especially with the notoriously difficult separable complex verbs. Learners of Italian, on the other hand, are confronted with many adverbial phrases that are often characterised by the presence of prepositions.

Translational equivalence, on the contrary, has the same tendency in the two analyses. The higher the grade of equivalence on the semantic level, the more frequent it is. On a formal level, this is the opposite: the higher the grade of equivalence, the lower the frequency. Comparing the two perspectives as a whole, equivalence between the Italian phraseological units and the corresponding portions of text in Dutch is higher – both on a semantic and on a formal level – than between the Dutch phraseological units and their Italian translantants.

Given the immense amount of data this summary cannot be exhaustive, but some findings have been highlighted. It is now necessary to put these in a broader perspective, and try to answer the questions at the base of this research. As for the first question (*What are the similarities and differences between the Dutch and (translated) Italian phraseological inventories?*), in the foregoing we have illustrated some of the similarities and differences between the Dutch and (translated) Italian phraseological inventories, and much more detailed analyses can be found in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Some of the more striking ones are, for instance:

- The different lexical nature of the inventories (verbal and nominal PUs compose 81,6% of the Dutch inventory, only 43,5% of the Italian inventory);
- The high amount of compounds in the Dutch phraseological inventory (63,2%) and of multiword expressions in the Italian inventory (96,7%);
- A high amount of non-figurative, non-compositional phraseological units in Dutch compared to Italian (58,7% vs. 38,8%);
- The presence of prepositions that characterises many Italian phraseological units (39,5% vs. 3,3% in Dutch).

Naturally, these findings refer to this specific corpus, and will need to be confronted with those of other corpora – both of Children's Literature and Adult Literature. One of the limitations of this research is that without confronting our data in a broader perspective, we cannot be certain our findings have a general value, too. For example, the style of the author and the translator might have a

significant influence on phraseological choices, as well as the translation strategies implemented by the translator, but also influence of other professionals during the publication process and source text interference.

The second question (*What equivalence is there between Dutch phraseological units translated into Italian, and translated Italian phraseological units in their original Dutch*) has also been addressed in the foregoing. The findings regarding the inverted tendency of semantic and formal equivalence (high or total semantic equivalence: NL-IT 78,1%, IT-NL 81,1%; absent or low formal equivalence NL-IT 78,2%, IT-NL 73,6%) are corroborated by other research that has applied the same methodology with a corpus of Adult Literature¹²³. This indicates that our findings might not be limited to phraseological inventories of only Children's Literature.

The third and last question (*How can a study of phraseology in Children's Literature contribute to identifying a core phraseological inventory of a language?*) is more challenging to answer. Some indications come from the language varieties used in our corpus. The vast majority of PUs are part of standard language, both in Dutch and Italian, but some are mainly part of spoken and/or colloquial language. The few formal phraseological units and translantants all recur in instances of direct speech between adults. This does not confirm nor dispute that Children's Literature could be used to identify a core phraseological inventory, but does give us some direction for future research. Some other interesting insights come from the usage marks that are added consistently in the Italian reference dictionary¹²⁴. Some of them refer to the *Nuovo vocabolario di base della lingua italiana* (De Mauro 2016). This list of circa seven thousand words combines a frequency dictionary with words that are considered "available" to most language users, even if they do not have a frequent occurrence. Lemmata marked "Fondamentale" belong to the circa two thousand most frequently used words that cover around 86% of the total occurrences. Lemmata marked with "Alto

¹²³ See single chapters on different language pairs in Koesters Gensini & Berardini (2020).

¹²⁴ Unfortunately, this is not the case for the Dutch reference dictionary.

uso” belong to the approximately three thousand words that cover around 6% of the occurrences. “Alta disponibilità”, on the other hand, is used to mark words that do not occur frequently but are understandable by most language users because they refer to objects or actions that concern everyday life. Not part of the *Vocabolario di base*, are the lemmata marked “Comune” (these words are generally understood by those who have a medium to high education level) and “Tecnico-specialistico” (words used mostly in technical or scientific contexts). Over one-third (35,7%) of Italian phraseological units in our corpus has no description in the reference dictionary. All PUs that do have a description (64,3%), also have a usage mark. These usage marks have the following frequencies: Fondamentale 12,0%, Alto uso 4,6%, Alta disponibilità 1,4%, Comune 80,4%, Tecnico-specialistico 1,6%. This means that over half of the phraseological inventory in *Uiplalà* is “common” (51,7% of all PUs, with or without a description). However, these usage marks are not always directly attributed to a phraseological unit. Often PUs do not have a separate description, but are included in the description of one of their lemmata. This distorts the view we have of the actual usage marks of phraseological units, and is why further research will be necessary to evaluate if this is a viable approach. Other approaches could be to confront the phraseological units found in corpora of Children’s Literature (for instance separated by age groups of the intended readership) with those found in different corpora, and with frequency data.

Several other prospects for further research have been suggested in the course of this dissertation, including:

- An investigation into the different internal structures of phraseological compounds, for example by dividing them into endocentric and exocentric compounds, or by dividing them into four subtypes based on the transparency of the single constituents;
- A specific study on the internal structures of phraseological units, in order to identify a limited amount of structural compositions that cover

most structures, while avoiding any overlap between different subcategories;

- An attempt to identify the convergence and divergence between the current semantic fields used on CREAMY and the *UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)*, in order to replace the whole system for all studies conducted on the platform to guarantee comparability;
- A closer look at the similar amounts of phraseological units in the Dutch and translated Italian text, which provided an unexpected result when compared to previously conducted research with an original Italian and translated Dutch text;
- A study specifically on the phraseological units that have not been translated or have been too freely translated: why is this the case? Do translation strategies play a role? How does this difficulty in translation relate to the semantic opacity of phraseological units?
- A study on the difference between phraseological and non-phraseological translantants: which parameters tend to correspond or, on the contrary, differ? Is it possible to identify specific translation strategies when a translator prefers a non-phraseological solution above a phraseological unit?
- A detailed study on the norms underlying our corpus and deviances from those, that might be caused by source text interference (translationese);
- A closer look at the evidence present in our corpus for Berman's deforming tendency "The destruction of expressions and idioms";
- A case study on Dutch adjectival compounds like *ijskoud* and *keihard*, that are translated with similes into Italian.

Although the data collected and analysed in this dissertation cannot prove that Children's Literature is, indeed, a fruitful corpus for the identification of a core inventory of phraseology, it has provided several indications on possible approaches. Our hypothesis that CL can be used as one of text types for the

identification of a core phraseological inventory stands, and future studies in this direction might be able to further clarify the issue. The research presented here can, however, directly contribute both on a theoretical and practical level to all disciplines involved. No investigation had been conducted yet on Dutch phraseology in Children's Literature, let alone in a contrastive manner with Italian. The detailed contrastive analysis and the mapping of similarities and differences between the Dutch and translated Italian phraseological inventories have offered both intra- and interlinguistic insights and can provide data for future studies in the field of (contrastive) linguistics, phraseology, and Translation Studies.

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SAMENVATTING IN HET NEDERLANDS

Fraseologische eenheden (FE) vormen uitdagingen voor zowel vertalers als taalleerders. Voor vertalers bestaan die uitdagingen voornamelijk in het vatten van de figuratieve of niet-compositionele betekenis van (deels) niet-transparante fraseologische eenheden en het vinden van een geschikte translatant in de doeltaal, dat niet alleen de denotatieve betekenis van de fraseologische eenheid in de brontekst dekt, maar ook de connotatieve betekenis. Voor taalleerders is niet alleen het begrip van fraseologische eenheden in de doeltaal een uitdaging, maar ook de productie ervan – zelfs als de FE semantisch transparant zijn.

Hoewel fraseologie een cruciaal onderdeel van taal is, wordt de interactie ervan met het leren en onderwijzen van tweede talen voornamelijk bestudeerd in hogere bekwaamheidsniveaus of specifieke registers. De aanwezigheid en aard van fraseologische eenheden op lagere taalniveaus hebben daarentegen zeer weinig aandacht gekregen. We kunnen er echter van uitgaan dat er een kern binnen het fraseologische inventaris van een taal bestaat die vergelijkbaar is met een kernwoordenschat: welke fraseologische eenheden komen zo vaak voor dat taalleerders ze ook op lagere niveaus nodig hebben? Wat is de aard van deze fraseologische eenheden? Waar bevinden zij zich op het continuüm van semantische transparantie: neigen ze meer naar het volledig compositionele of niet-compositionele uiteinde? Hebben ze vaak een figuratieve betekenis? Welke structuur hebben deze fraseologische eenheden? Het vaststellen van een dergelijk kerninventaris blijft een desideratum.

Eén van de doelen van dit onderzoek is het evalueren hoe een corpus van kinderliteratuur bij zou kunnen dragen aan het vaststellen van fraseologische

kerninventarissen. Daarvoor zijn het Nederlandse kinderboek *Wiplala* (Annie M.G. Schmidt, 1957) en de Italiaanse vertaling *Uiplalà* (vertaald door Laura Pignatti, 1995) met elkaar vergeleken. Die contrastieve benadering is niet alleen nuttig vanuit een interlinguïstisch standpunt, maar kan ook intralinguïstisch onderzoek te stade komen omdat nauwkeurige en adequate beschrijvingen van de individuele talen nodig zijn om een vergelijking te kunnen maken.

Door de contrastieve analyse kunnen de gelijkenissen en verschillen in het Nederlandse en het (vertaald) Italiaanse fraseologische inventaris worden vastgesteld, net als de semantische, syntactische en pragmatische connotaties die er dikwijls voor zorgen dat professionele vertalers gedwongen zijn de brontekst te manipuleren om specifieke denotatieve én connotatieve kenmerken over te brengen in de doeltekst. Het is daarom cruciaal om fraseologische eenheden in hun pragmatische context te bestuderen. Het uitvoeren van een dergelijk onderzoek vergt een parallelle tekst. In deze analyse is gekozen voor een literaire brontekst en zijn vertaling, die in het geheel als parallelle teksten kunnen worden beschouwd. De specifieke eigenschappen van kinderliteratuur, waar constant rekening mee moet worden gehouden, maken dit een extra interessant corpus en doen geen afbreuk aan de adequaatheid ervan voor de studie van fraseologie.

De vragen die ten grondslag liggen aan deze dissertatie zijn als volgt:

- I. Wat zijn de gelijkenissen en verschillen tussen het Nederlandse en het (vertaald) Italiaanse fraseologische inventaris?
- II. Wat voor equivalentie is er tussen Nederlandse fraseologische eenheden vertaald naar het Italiaans, en vertaalde Italiaanse fraseologische eenheden in hun originele Nederlands?
- III. Hoe kan een onderzoek naar fraseologie in kinderliteratuur bijdragen aan het ontdekken van het fraseologisch kerninventaris van een taal?

Deze dissertatie bestaat uit twee delen: theoretisch-methodologische aspecten (Hoofdstukken 2-4) en empirische analyses (Hoofdstukken 5-7). Volgend op een introductie (**Hoofdstuk 1**), zijn in **Hoofdstuk 2** het theoretisch

kader en de onderzoeksvelden contrastieve taalkunde, fraseologie, en vertaalwetenschap aan bod gekomen. In de eerste paragraaf worden de relevante ontwikkelingen binnen de contrastieve taalkunde besproken, in de tweede paragraaf ligt de focus op fraseologie. Daarin wordt aandacht besteed aan de ontwikkelingen binnen de discipline en wordt ook specifiek naar een contrastieve benadering gekeken. Daarnaast worden de drie klassieke criteria (polilexicaliteit, stabiliteit, idiomaticiteit) voor fraseologische eenheden onder de loep genomen, en worden terminologie- en classificatiekwesties bediscussieerd. Vertaalwetenschap is het onderwerp van de derde paragraaf, waarin met name de discussie rond het “equivalentie”-concept naar voren wordt gebracht. In de laatste paragraaf wordt besproken hoe de verschillende onderzoeksgebieden samenkomen in deze dissertatie.

In **Hoofdstuk 3** staan kwesties omtrent kinderliteratuur centraal. Asymmetrische machtsverhoudingen spelen daarin een belangrijke rol. Volwassenen (auteurs, redacteuren, uitgevers, recensenten, boekhandelaren, ouders, et cetera) nemen namelijk alle beslissingen in de kinderboekensector, terwijl het beoogde publiek (kinderen) geen input kan geven. Bovendien veroorzaken globalisering en commercialisering onbalans in de uitwisseling van kinderliteratuur tussen culturen. Vertaling is een essentieel onderdeel van deze sector, en men verwacht vaak van vertalers dat zij de brontekst aanpassen aan de normen, waarden en de visie op kindertijd van de lezerscultuur, waarvoor specifieke vertaalstrategieën vereist zijn. Het belang en het gebruik van kinderboeken in taalverwerving en taalonderwijs worden daarnaast besproken, net als specifieke studies van fraseologie in kinderliteratuur.

Alhoewel kinderliteratuur voornamelijk gericht is aan moedertaalsprekers en niet aan tweedetaalleeders, worden kinderboeken wel gebruikt door taalleeders om vooruitgang te boeken, zowel in een klasomgeving als in individuele studie. Daar komt bij dat van auteurs, vertalers en alle andere professionals die betrokken zijn bij de publicatie van kinderliteratuur wordt

verwacht dat ze in het bijzonder aandacht besteden aan het taalniveau en aan taalvariëteit. Zowel de auteur als de vertaler baseren hun taalkeuzes (en daarbinnen hun fraseologische keuzes) op de aannames die zij doen over de nog gelimiteerde kennis van taal, fraseologie en cultuur die het jonge publiek heeft. Om die redenen kan kinderliteratuur een goed uitgangspunt zijn voor het bestuderen van een kerninventaris van fraseologische eenheden.

De methodologie gebruikt voor het empirische gedeelte van dit proefschrift is uiteengezet in **Hoofdstuk 4**. In de eerste paragraaf wordt het corpus beschreven, in de tweede paragraaf ligt de focus volledig op het CREAMY-platform dat is gebruikt voor de annotatie van de fraseologische eenheden in het corpus. Naast de algemene werking van het platform komen voornamelijk de individuele parameters aan bod waarop de analyse berust. In de laatste paragraaf worden andere onderzoeksinstrumenten beschreven die zijn gebruikt voor de annotatie en analyse.

In het tweede gedeelte van dit proefschrift (Hoofdstukken 5-7) worden de empirische analyses uiteengezet. In **Hoofdstuk 5** worden de resultaten beschreven van de analyse van de fraseologische eenheden in de Nederlandse brontekst en de Italiaanse vertalingen daarvan. In **Hoofdstuk 6** is het perspectief omgedraaid: de Italiaanse doelttekst wordt als 'begintekst' gebruikt en alle fraseologische eenheden daarin aanwezig worden geanalyseerd samen met de daaraan corresponderende gedeeltes in de originele Nederlandse tekst. Deze twee analyses worden in **Hoofdstuk 7** gecombineerd. Zowel de verschillen en gelijkenissen tussen de twee inventarissen worden beschouwd, alsook de equivalentie tussen fraseologische eenheden en hun 'translatanten'.

In het slothoofdstuk (**Hoofdstuk 8**) worden de belangrijkste bevindingen besproken en zijn enkele van de mogelijke vooruitzichten voor verder onderzoek uiteengezet.

RIASSUNTO IN ITALIANO

Le unità fraseologiche (UF) rappresentano sfide sia per traduttori, che per apprendenti di lingue. Per traduttori, queste sfide consistono principalmente nel cogliere il significato figurativo o non-composizionale di unità fraseologiche non-trasparenti o solo parzialmente trasparenti e nel trovare un traduceute adatto nella lingua d'arrivo, che copra non solo il significato denotativo dell'unità fraseologica nel testo di partenza, ma anche il suo significato connotativo. Per apprendenti non solo la comprensione delle unità fraseologiche nella lingua bersaglio è una sfida, ma anche la loro produzione – persino se le UF sono trasparenti dal punto di vista semantico.

Sebbene la fraseologia sia una parte cruciale della lingua, la sua interazione con l'apprendimento e l'insegnamento di lingue seconde è studiata principalmente in livelli di competenza linguistica elevati o in registri specifici. Diversamente, la presenza e la natura delle unità fraseologiche a livelli di competenza inferiori hanno ricevuto pochissima attenzione. Tuttavia, possiamo supporre che ci sia un nucleo all'interno dell'inventario fraseologico di una lingua, simile a un vocabolario di base: quali unità fraseologiche sono così comuni che anche apprendenti meno avanzati ne hanno bisogno? Qual è la natura di queste unità fraseologiche? Dove si posizionano sul continuum di trasparenza semantica: tendono all'estremo composizionale, o non-composizionale? Sono frequentemente cariche di significati figurativi? Che struttura hanno? L'identificazione di un tale nucleo è ancora un *desideratum*.

Uno degli obiettivi di questa ricerca è quello di valutare come un corpus di letteratura d'infanzia potrebbe contribuire all'identificazione di inventari fraseologici di base. Sono stati messi a confronto il libro d'infanzia nederlandese *Wiplala* (Annie M.G. Schmidt, 1957) e la traduzione italiana *Uiplalà* (di Laura Pignatti, 1995). Questo approccio contrastivo è utile non solo dal punto di vista interlinguistico, ma anche dal punto di vista intralinguistico, in quanto per il confronto sono necessarie descrizioni accurate e adeguate delle singole lingue.

L'analisi contrastiva consente di determinare le convergenze e le divergenze negli inventari fraseologici nederlandese e italiano (tradotto), nonché le connotazioni semantiche, sintattiche e pragmatiche che spesso costringono traduttori professionisti a manipolare il testo di partenza al fine di trasmettere specifiche caratteristiche denotative e connotative nel testo d'arrivo. È dunque fondamentale studiare le unità fraseologiche nel proprio contesto pragmatico. Per lo svolgimento di un tale indagine è necessario l'utilizzo di un testo parallelo. In questa analisi, la scelta è caduta su un testo letterario e la sua traduzione, che complessivamente possono essere considerati testi paralleli. Le caratteristiche specifiche della letteratura d'infanzia, che vanno costantemente tenute a mente, rendono il corpus ancor più interessante, e non ne compromettono l'adeguatezza per la descrizione e l'analisi della fraseologia.

Le domande di ricerca alla base di questa tesi di dottorato sono:

- I. Quali sono le convergenze e le divergenze fra l'inventario fraseologico nederlandese e quello dell'italiano (tradotto)?
- II. Che equivalenza c'è fra le unità fraseologiche nederlandesi tradotte in italiano, e fra le unità fraseologiche italiane e le parti di testo corrispondenti ad esse nel testo originale nederlandese?
- III. Come può una ricerca sulla fraseologia nella letteratura d'infanzia contribuire a identificare l'inventario fraseologico di base di una lingua?

Questa tesi di dottorato si compone di due parti: aspetti teorico-metodologici (Capitoli 2-4) e analisi empirica (Capitoli 5-7). A seguito di

un'introduzione generale (**Capitolo 1**), il **Capitolo 2** presenta il quadro teorico e i campi di ricerca linguistica contrastiva, fraseologia e traduttologia. Nel primo paragrafo sono discussi gli sviluppi rilevanti della linguistica contrastiva, mentre il secondo paragrafo è incentrato sulla fraseologia. Si delineano i principali sviluppi della disciplina, con particolare riguardo per l'approccio contrastivo. Inoltre, vengono esaminati i tre criteri classici (polilessicalità, stabilità, idiomatichità) per le unità fraseologiche e vengono discussi problemi di terminologia e di classificazione. La traduttologia è l'oggetto del terzo paragrafo, in cui è evidenziato soprattutto la discussione intorno al concetto di "equivalenza". Nell'ultima sezione è discussa l'intersezione di queste diverse aree di studio nella presente ricerca.

Il **Capitolo 3** si concentra sulla letteratura d'infanzia, profondamente segnata da relazioni di potere asimmetriche. Gli adulti (autori, redattori, editori, critici, librai, genitori, eccetera) prendono tutte le decisioni nel settore, mentre il maggiore pubblico di destinazione (bambini) non può fornire input. Inoltre, la globalizzazione e la commercializzazione causano squilibri nello scambio di letteratura per l'infanzia fra diverse culture. La traduzione è una parte essenziale di questo settore, e spesso ci si aspetta che i traduttori adattino il testo di partenza alle norme, ai valori e alla visione dell'infanzia della cultura dei lettori, per cui sono richieste strategie di traduzione specifiche. In più, sono affrontati l'importanza e l'utilizzo dei libri per l'infanzia nell'acquisizione e nell'insegnamento delle lingue, così come lo sono studi specifici di fraseologia nella letteratura d'infanzia.

Benché la letteratura d'infanzia sia rivolta principalmente a madrelingua e non ad apprendenti di una lingua seconda, i libri per l'infanzia sono frequentemente utilizzati dagli apprendenti per avanzare le proprie competenze, sia in aula che nello studio individuale. Inoltre, ci si aspetta che gli autori, i traduttori e tutti gli altri professionisti coinvolti nella pubblicazione di letteratura d'infanzia prestino particolare attenzione al livello linguistico e alla varietà

linguistica. Sia l'autore che il traduttore basa le proprie scelte linguistiche (e, dunque, le proprie scelte fraseologiche) sulle ipotesi che fa sulla ancora limitata conoscenza della lingua, della fraseologia e della cultura che il giovane pubblico di destinazione ha. Per questi motivi, la letteratura d'infanzia può essere un buon punto di partenza per identificare e studiare un inventario fraseologico di base.

La metodologia utilizzata per la parte empirica della presente tesi di dottorato è illustrata nel **Capitolo 4**. La prima sezione descrive il corpus utilizzato per lo studio empirico, la seconda si concentra interamente sulla piattaforma CREAMY utilizzata per l'annotazione delle unità fraseologiche presenti nel corpus. Oltre al funzionamento generale della piattaforma, sono principalmente affrontati i singoli parametri su cui si basa l'analisi. Nell'ultima sezione si descrivono altri strumenti di ricerca utilizzati per l'annotazione e l'analisi.

La seconda parte di questa tesi (Capitoli 5-7) espone le analisi empiriche. Il **Capitolo 5** descrive i risultati dell'analisi delle unità fraseologiche presenti nel testo originale nederlandese e dei traduttori di esse nel testo italiano. Nel **Capitolo 6**, la prospettiva è invertita: il testo d'arrivo italiano viene utilizzato come testo di partenza, e tutte le unità fraseologiche in esso presenti sono analizzate insieme alle parti corrispondenti nel testo originale nederlandese. Queste due analisi sono combinate nel **Capitolo 7**. Si considerano sia le convergenze e le divergenze tra i due inventari, sia l'equivalenza tra le unità fraseologiche e i loro 'traduttori'.

Il capitolo finale (**Capitolo 8**) esamina i principali risultati e illustra alcune delle possibili prospettive per future ricerche.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Suze Anja Verkade, born on March 15th 1994 in Dordrecht, The Netherlands, graduated from Erasmiaans Gymnasium in 2011. In 2012 she started two bachelor degrees at Leiden University, which sparked her interest in Linguistics. She obtained her Bachelor of Arts in Italian Language and Culture cum laude in 2015, and her BA in Classics in 2016. Directly after, she started a two-year master program in Linguistics at Sapienza University of Rome, graduating in 2019 with 110/110 cum laude. Her thesis on Dutch – Italian contrastive phraseology in Italo Calvino’s *Il visconte dimezzato* was the input for two publications. In 2019 Verkade obtained a PhD-position with a scholarship at Sapienza University of Rome and started her research on phraseology in Children’s Literature, in Dutch, Italian, and English, under the supervision of prof. dr. Sabine E. Koesters Gensini. Halfway through her program a cotutelle agreement was reached between Sapienza University of Rome and Leiden University, and Verkade continued her research in The Netherlands, both at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics and the Dutch Language Institute, under the supervision of prof. dr. Frieda Steurs and prof. dr. Niels O. Schiller. This dissertation covers a large part of her PhD research. During her PhD, Verkade has also collaborated with other scholars on studies involving multilingual phraseology, language teaching and learning, and Translation Studies.