(Credits: Ch. Konecny)

Collocations as linguistic "individuals": identifying collocational polysemy for bilingual lexicographic description (Italian-German)

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Introduction

➤ Collocations are not independent structures but are **embedded in a highly complex lexical "network"** (e.g. Lo Cascio 2007, 2016).

➤ Their emergence is inextricably linked to **semantic-cognitive processes** such as metaphor, metonymy, metaphtonymy and lexical absorption regarding their components, as these are often characterized by polysemy and activate specific valency patterns inside the collocation (cf. Siller-Runggaldier 2008, 2017; Konecny 2018, 2021).

➤ However, what seems to have been underestimated so far is the fact that collocations in turn represent **linguistic "individuals"** (Hausmann 2008: 6), i.e. independent lexical units that can have their own combination profiles, can themselves be polysemous and – especially in the case of verbal collocations – can give rise to different valency patterns (external syntax).

Introduction

"Auch die Kollokationen sind **Individuen**. Das Individualitätsprinzip der Sprache kennt keine Grenzen. Es erfasst alle sprachlichen Einheiten und geht von den Texten und Sätzen, deren Individualität jeder anerkennt, bis zu den Wörtern und Lexemen. Auch die Kollokation *eine Parade abnehmen* hat ihr **individuelles Kontextprofil**. Ich kann es ohne Corpusanalyse nicht vorhersagen. Aber es kann gar nicht anders sein, als dass bestimmte Verwendungsweisen häufiger, nötiger, üblicher sind als andere. So wie sich hinter den Wörtern die weite Landschaft der Kollokationen entfaltet, so breitet sich **hinter den Kollokationen die Kollokation der Kollokationen** aus, und so ist der Wortschatz einer Sprache eine unendliche Landschaft von Einheiten [...]."

(Hausmann 2008: 6; highlighting C. K.)

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Introduction

➢ The possible **polysemy of collocations** seems to have received less attention than is the case with idioms (see e.g. Dobrovol'skij 2014; Stumpf 2015; Mellado Blanco 2023).

➢ A possible explanation could be that collocations in the narrow, "base-oriented" notion (Hausmann 1984) are usually combinations of two concepts and allow for a wider range of variants and modifications, while idioms have an overall meaning as well as a higher degree of fixedness, and it is thus easier to accept that they function in a similar way to single words.

➢ <u>Aim</u>: draw attention to the potential polysemy of collocations that seems to have been neglected so far or addressed only sporadically (cf. Siepmann 2005), without having been reflected systematically in lexicographic description; showing some concrete examples and discussing in which way independent meanings can be distinguished from contextual variants for lexicographic purposes

Background

➢ Dictionary project "**Collocations Italian-German**" (Konecny/Autelli i.pr.)

➢ Project "**MetaCol**" ("Metaphorical collocations – syntagmatic relations between semantics and pragmatics"), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation; comparison of collocations in 4 languages (Croatian, German, English, Italian) with regard to their semantic motivations

➢ **Lemmas**: **nouns** used as a starting point because they are generally the part of speech that most frequently functions as a base within collocations, whereas adjectives and verbs only appear as bases when specified in more detail by an adverb (Hausmann 1985: 119)

➢ **Methods:**

1. introspection
2. consultation of existing dictionaries
3. creation of collocational profiles in **TenTen corpora** with the help of **Sketch Engine** → **manual check** and **qualitative interpretation** (Stojić / Košuta 2022: 15-21)

Background

l'UNGHIA	der **Nagel** (Fingernagel oder Zehennagel); die **Kralle**; der **Huf**, die **Klaue**

UNGHIA (Subjekt) + Verb

— **(a qcn.) si incarnisce un'unghia**
Il mio alluce mi fa molto male perché mi si è incarnita l'unghia.
— **l'unghia ricresce**
Se la matrice rimane integra, nel giro di qualche mese l'unghia ricresce normalmente.

— ein Nagel wächst (jmdm.) ein
Meine große Zehe tut mir sehr weh, weil mir der Nagel eingewachsen ist.
— der Nagel wächst nach
Wenn das Nagelbett unversehrt bleibt, wächst der Nagel in ein paar Monaten normalerweise nach.

Verb + UNGHIA (Objekt)

— **affilare le unghie**
  ⇔ **ARMA** (vgl. affilare le armi)
— **accorciarsi le unghie**
  accorciare le unghie a qcn.
Ti consiglio di accorciarti le unghie prima di giocare a tennis, altrimenti ti farai male.

— die Krallen wetzen [wörtl. und fig.]

— sich die Nägel kürzen, seine Nägel kürzen | stutzen
  jmdm. die Nägel stutzen | kürzen [z.B. einem Kind]
Ich rate dir, dass du dir vor dem Tennisspielen die Nägel scheidest, ansonsten wirst du dir weh tun.

Verb + Präposition + UNGHIA

— **graffiare (qcs. | qcn.) (con le unghie)**

Il mio cane, quando trova una porta chiusa, inizia a graffiarla con le unghie per farsela aprire.

— (jmdn.) (mit den Nägeln | Krallen) kratzen, an etw. (mit den Nägeln | Krallen) kratzen
Wenn mein Hund eine geschlossene Tür findet, beginnt er an ihr mit den Krallen zu kratzen, damit sie ihm geöffnet wird.

(Parts of the sample entry *unghia*, Autelli / Konecny in prep.)

Theoretical premises

➢ "Base-oriented" notion of collocations according to Franz Josef **Hausmann** (1979, 1984, 1985, etc.)

➢ (typically) **binary** structures (cf. Hausmann 1979: 191; 2004: 310ff.; Hausmann / Blumenthal 2006: 4):

- base = cognitively superordinate

- collocate = cognitively subordinate

collocation	*a disease / eine Krankheit / una malattia*	*breaks out / bricht aus / esplode*
structure	BASE	COLLOCATE
meaning	'disease'	'to start (immediately)'

➢ **encoding** starts from the **base** and then progresses to the collocator

Theoretical premises

➢ **base**: considered as semantically autonomous

➢ **collocator**: considered as semantically dependent on it
(cf. Hausmann 1984: 401; etc.)

➢ <u>BUT</u>: The base may be polysemous as well → the collocator
contributes to its disambiguation within the collocation:

  ▪ *espressione forbita* 'high-register expression'

  ▪ vs. *espressione stralunata* 'disturbed facial expression'

➢ Sometimes the base and collocator modify each other in terms of
meaning, moving some semantic features into the foreground or
background within a specific collocation:

  ▪ *ragazza madre* 'single (unmarried) mother' (Pirazzini 2011: 287f.)

➢ **Semi-idioms** interpreted as collocations: *buttare denaro dalla
finestra* 'to throw money down the drain' (*denaro* = base)

Theoretical premises

➢ collocator: possibility of **(near-)synonymous variants**, but mostly with different degrees of conventionality/(semi-)fixedness, registers, connotations etc.

> *eludere* [*geh.*] | *aggirare* [*ugs.*] *la legge = das Gesetz umgehen*
>
> *l'elusione della legge = die Gesetzesumgehung*
>
> *la legge facilmente* *eludibile* *= das leicht umgehbare | leicht zu umgehende Gesetz*

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

➢ → appearance of the same collocation within **different morpho-syntactic types**

➢ → **inherited valency structures**

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Theoretical premises

➢ The base-oriented notion of collocations is still **by no means obsolete** (Hausmann 2008: 6), despite the "new worlds" opened up by corpus analyses on a grand scale (which can be of great help in identifying collocations in the narrow/qualitative sense).

➢ This has also been confirmed repeatedly in studies dealing with collocations from different points of view, e.g.:

▪ **semantics and lexicology** (e.g. Ježek 2014, 2016; Stojić / Košuta 2021)

▪ **(meta)lexicography** (e.g. Lo Cascio 2016; Mollica 2023 – research in dictionary use)

▪ **language teaching** (e.g. Targońska 2018; Reder 2023)

▪ **psycholinguistic studies** (e.g. Fioravanti 2022)

Theoretical premises

Semantic types of collocations with regard to Italian (cf. Konecny 2010, 2021; for the first 3 types cf. partly also Aisenstadt 1979, 1981; Corpas Pastor 1996, 2003):

Type 1: the collocator has a specific meaning and a limited combinatorial potential (possible etymological motivation by metaphor or metonymy):

❖ *il sole* <u>*tramonta*</u> ('the sun sets', originally "disappears beyond the mountains")

❖ <u>*apparecchiare*</u> *la tavola* ('to set/lay the table')

❖ <u>*sgranchirsi*</u> *le gambe* ('to stretch one's legs', < *granchio* 'crab')

Type 2: the collocator is polysemous and used in a meaning deviant from its basic one, based on a lexicalized (but still transparent) metaphor or metonymy:

❖ *il sole* <u>*picchia*</u> ('there is a blazing sun', lit. "the sun is beating")

❖ <u>*custodire*</u> *un segreto* ('to keep a secret', lit.: "to sentinel a secret")

❖ *un parente (zio etc.)* <u>*acquisito*</u> ('an in-law (relative/uncle etc.)', lit.: "an acquired relative/uncle etc.")

❖ *pagare* <u>*sull'unghia*</u> ('to pay cash', lit. "on the fingernail"; semi-idiomatic)

❖ <u>*aprire*</u> *il libro / l'ombrello / il rubinetto / le tende* ('to open the book / umbrella...')

Theoretical premises

Type 3: the collocator is extremely polysemous or even semantically vague and can be used in several different contexts (→ partial overlap with light verb constructions in the case of abstract nouns as bases):

- ❖ _prendere_ _una decisione_ ('to take a decision')
- ❖ _fare_ _una domanda_ ('to put a question', lit. "make a question")
- ❖ _mettere_ _i denti_ ('to teeth ', lit. "to put the teeth")

Type 4: the collocator lexically "absorbs" a direct object, giving the combinations in this way a collocation status (for the phenomenon of "lexical absorption" see e.g. Blank 2001: 89; see also the studies on object omission by Lo Duca 2003: 17-25; Ježek 2003: 98f.; Cennamo 2015: 440-445):

- ❖ _il rubinetto perde_ [sc. _acqua]_ ('the faucet / tap is leaky / is dripping', lit. "is losing [sc. water]")
- ❖ _la macchina beve_ [sc. _benzina]_ ('the car consumes a lot', lit. "drinks [sc. petrol]")
- ❖ _il cellulare/il telefonino non prende_ [sc. _la linea]_ ('the mobile phone has no signal', lit. "doesn't take [sc. "the telephone network])
- ❖ _il portiere respinge_ [sc. _il tiro/la palla_] ('the goalkeeper blocks a shot', lit. "rejects [sc. a shot]")

Theoretical premises

➢ → Intrinsic link between the phenomenon/category of collocation and semantic specificity or polysemy, as well as general semantic-cognitive processes such as **metaphor, metonymy** and **lexical absorption** (in the sense of Blank 2001: 89).

➢ Collocational cohesion is strongly interrelated to **valency** (in the case of verbal or deverbal collocators), and they mutually influence each other (cf. Siller-Runggaldier 2017: 211).

➢ → **Correlations** between types of collocations from the semantic point of view and characteristics of valency (cf. Konecny 2018).

➢ Collocations are a phenomenon of multi-layered character, due to their "**intermediate nature**" (Fioravanti 2022: 174)

Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

Ambiguity of collocations:

➢ Like single words, also collocations as a whole can be **polysemous** and/or have different meanings and/or reading variants.

➢ If they contain (de)verbal collocators, they can also have **different valency schemes**.

➢ From an interlingual and lexicographic perspective, they are to be **translated differently** depending on the context.

➢ Advantage of **corpora**: large number of tokens and (con)texts

➢ If systematic descriptions of the various meanings of a collocation are still lacking → possibility of detecting **"new" contexts and/or meanings**, which one would not (immediately) think of (based on native language competence and introspection) and which can often not (all) be found in existing lexicographic works (not even in collocations dictionaries).

Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

➢ *latte* ('milk') → collocation: *dare il latte* 'breastfeed (a child)'

latte *nm*

AGGETTIVI *l.* acido, artificiale, biologico, condensato, detergente, fresco, intero, liofilizzato, macchiato, materno, omogeneizzato, pastorizzato, (parzialmente) scremato, vaccino, vitaminizzato

VERBO+COMPLEMENTO bere, bollire, dare, mungere, nutrirsi di *l.*, succhiare, versare

COSTRUZIONI *l.* di asina/capra/pecora ecc., *l.* di mandorle/riso/soia ecc., *l.* in polvere

(Tiberii 2012, s.v. *latte*)

Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

LATTE

V₁

prendere il latte materno, **succhiare** il latte ⇔ **dare** il latte | **togliersi, tirarsi** il latte || **mungere** il latte

A

latte **rappreso, coagulato, inacidito**; latte **rancido** | ◇ latte **macchiato** || latte **fresco**, latte **conservato**; latte **intero, scremato**; **concentrato, condensato**; **omogeneizzato, pastorizzato, sterilizzato**; **fermentato, cagliato**; latte **vaccino**, latte **di capra** | latte **materno**, latte **artificiale**

N

un **grumo** di latte | un **bicchiere**, una **tazza**, una **ciotola**, una **scodella**, una **brocca** di latte

(Urzì 2009, s.v. *latte*)

VERBO ~ **bere** il ~; **bollire** il ~ per sterilizzarlo; **centrifugare** il ~; **condensare** il ~; **dare** il ~ [allattare]; **levare** il ~ [svezzare]; **non avere** il ~ [riferito a donna o femmina di animale che dopo la gravidanza non produce latte]; **prendere** il ~ [succhiare il latte dal seno della madre]; **riscaldare/scaldare** il ~; **scremare** il ~ [togliere la parte grassa dal latte]; **succhiare** il ~ dal biberon; **versare** il ~ [mettere il latte in un recipiente]

(Lo Cascio 2012, s.v. *latte*)

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Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

latte s. m. [lat. *lac lactis*]. – 1. Liquido denso, bianco opaco, prodotto di secrezione delle ghiandole mammarie, alimento completo e indispensabile della prole dei mammiferi nel primo periodo di vita; è costituito essenzialmente di acqua, sostanze proteiche (spec. caseina), zuccheri (lattosio), grassi (trigliceridi dell'acido oleico, stearico, palmitico, capronico, butirrico, ecc.), vitamine (A, C, D e alcune del complesso B), sali minerali (prevalentemente fosfati di potassio e calcio). a. Con riferimento al latte come nutrimento dei bambini lattanti e al fenomeno fisiologico della secrezione lattea: *l. materno* o *della mamma*; *il l. della balia*; *succhiare il l.*, *poppare* *dare il l.*, *allattare*; *levare il l.*, *divezzare*; *nutrire a mezzo l.*, quando l'alimentazione a latte materno (o anche l'allattamento artificiale) è integrata con altri cibi; in altro senso, spec. in passato nell'uso fam., *prendere*, *avere un mezzo l.*, un'altra donna che aiuti nell'allattamento quando la madre abbia scarso latte; *la discesa* o *montata*, *la piena* o *colma*, *la tornata del l.*; *far andare via*, *mandare indietro il l.*, farne cessare la secrezione; fam., *le si è rimescolato*, *le si è guastato il l.*, per qualche spavento o grave inquietudine. Riguardo alla qualità e al potere nutritivo: *l. sciolto* o *acquoso*, *denso*, *nutriente*;

(Treccani online, s.v. *latte*)

◆ **làtte** A m 1 gener Milch f: ~ **di asina/capra/mucca/pecora**, Esel-/Ziegen-/Kuh-/Schaf(s)milch f; ~ **cagliato/condensato**, Dick-/Kondensmilch f; ~ **fresco**, Frischmilch f; ~ **intero**, Vollmilch f; ~ **magro/scremato**, Magermilch f; ~ **materno**, Muttermilch f; ~ **omogeinizzato**, H-Milch f; ~ **pastorizzato**, pasteurisierte Milch; ~ **in polvere**, Milchpulver n; ~ **in scatola**, Dosen-, Büchsenmilch f; ~ **umanizzato**, Säuglingsmilchpulver n, adaptierte Milchnahrung, humanisierte Milch; ~ **uperizzato**, H-Milch f, uperisierte Milch 2 bot {+FICO, VITE} Milch f, Milchsaft m 3 chim edil Milch f: ~ **di calce/magnesia**, Kalkmilch f 4 (*nella cosmesi*) Milch f: ~ ⌐**di bellezza**⌐/[**detergente**]/[**solare**], Gesichts-/Reinigungs-/Sonnenmilch f 5 gastr Milch f: ~ **di cocco/mandorle/soia**, Kokos-/Mandel-/Sojamilch f; ~ **bruleé**/[**alla portoghese**], ⌐Crême f brulée⌐/[Karamellpudding m, Karamellkrem f] B <inv> in funzione di agg {BIANCO} milch-; {COLORI} milchweiß ● **non avere** ~ (*non poter allattare*), {MADRE} keine Milch haben, nicht stillen können; **essere** *bianco* **come il** ~ (*bianchissimo*), schneeweiß sein; **avere ancora il** ~ **alla** *bocca* fig (*essere ancora un lattante*), noch ein Baby fam/Milchbart sein, noch feucht/nass/grün/[nicht trocken] hinter den Ohren sein fam; ~ **crudo** (*appena munto*), Rohmilch f; **da** ~ zoo (*non ancora svezzato*), {VITELLINO} Milch-; (*in odontoiatria*) {DENTE} Milch-; *dare* il ~ **a** qu (*allattare al seno*), jdn stillen; (*col biberon*), jdm Milch geben; *di* ~ (*che ha avuto la stessa balia*), {FRA-

(Giacoma/Kolb 2014, s.v. *latte*)

Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

dare il latte a qn./ un cucciolo

(Valency pattern: verb – direct object – indirect object)

1. {*FRAUEN/MÜTTER*} jdn. (*einen Säugling*, *ein Kind*) stillen/säugen, jdm. (*einem Säugling*) die Brust geben [*fig.*]
2. {*TIERE*} ein Junges säugen
3. {*PERSONEN*} jdm./einem Jungen Milch geben/ verabreichen [*geh.*], jdn./ein Junges mit Milch füttern
4. {*TIERE*} jdm. Milch geben/schenken

dare il latte

(Valency pattern: verb – direct object)

1. [*FRAUEN/MÜTTER*} stillen
2. {*TIERE, bes. Kühe und andere Rinderarten; Menschen/Frauen*} Milch geben/haben/bilden/ produzieren, milchen [*reg.; nur in Bezug auf Tiere*]
3. {*PERSONEN*} Milch geben/verabreichen [*geh.*] (z.B. in der Flasche)
4. {*PFLANZEN, FRÜCHTE*} Milch(saft) bilden/produzieren, Milchsaft führen

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

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Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

Inclusion of **sample sentences** according to precise criteria (on the basis of corpora, but often various modifications needed) :

1. *Molte mamme danno il latte fino ai 2-3 anni del bimbo.*

   Viele Mütter stillen ihr Kind, bis es 2-3 Jahre alt ist.

2. *Non avendo più latte ho dovuto iniziare a dare il latte in polvere a mia figlia quando aveva tre mesi.*

   Da ich keine Milch mehr hatte, musste ich anfangen, meiner Tochter Pulvermilch zu geben, als sie drei Monate alt war.

3. *I bufali maschi al contrario delle bufale non danno il latte.*

   Männliche Büffel geben im Gegensatz zu weiblichen keine Milch.

4. *I fichi non ancora maturi non danno il latte.*

   Feigen, die noch nicht reif sind, führen keinen Milchsaft.

Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

battere il tempo

1. {UHREN} die Zeit schlagen;
   [PENDEL] den Zeittakt vorgeben
2. {PERSONEN} (zur Musik) den Takt schlagen; (mit den Händen/dem Fuß) den Takt schlagen
3. [*Sport*] {PERSONEN} jmds. Zeit schlagen, zeitlich besser sein (als jmd.), eine bessere Zeit (als jmd.) schaffen
4. {PERSONEN} der Zeit ein Schnippchen schlagen

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

stringere i tempi

1. [*Musik*] {PERSONEN} schneller spielen
2. {PERSONEN} (zur Musik) den Takt schlagen; (mit den Händen/dem Fuß) den Takt schlagen
3. [*Sport*] {PERSONEN} jmds. Zeit schlagen, zeitlich besser sein (als jmd.), eine bessere Zeit (als jmd.) schaffen
4. {PERSONEN} der Zeit ein Schnippchen schlagen

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

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Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

dare la vita

dare la vita a qcn.|a un bambino

1. {FRAUEN/MÜTTER} jmdm.|einem Kind das Leben schenken

dare la (propria) vita (per qcn.|qcs.)

2.a. {PERSONEN} sein Leben (für jmdn.|etw.) geben | opfern, (für jmdn.|etw.) sein Leben lassen

2.b. {PERSONEN} [*fig*.] (für jmdn.|etw.) alles geben

dar(e) vita a qcs. [fig.]

3. {PERSONEN} etw. ins Leben rufen [*fig*.]

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

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Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

fare il/un ponte

costruire | erigere | fare | gettare un ponte (su qcs.)

1. {PERSONEN} eine Brücke (über etw. [_Dat_.]) (er)bauen | errichten, eine Brücke (über etw. [_Akk_.]) schlagen

fare il ponte

2. [_Sport_] {PERSONEN} die|eine Brücke machen

fare (il) ponte [_fig._]

3. {PERSONEN} (sich) einen|an einem Brückentag | Fenstertag [_österr_.] | Zwickeltag [_ostösterr_.] frei nehmen ('_an einem Tag zwischen zwei Feiertagen nicht arbeiten_'), (sich) ein verlängertes Wochenende machen

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

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Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

➤ Collocations cannot be considered in isolation from **idiomaticity:** Some (not few!) collocations can have **both a collocational and one (or more) secondary, idiomatic meaning(s)**
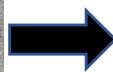
incrociare le braccia	1. {PERSONEN} die Arme verschränken ('fold one's arms') 2. {PERSONEN} [*fig*.] die Arbeit niederlegen; streiken ('don't work, (be on) strike')
	→ idiomatic meanings based primarily on **metonymy** (typical for collocations containing **somatisms**)

(pixabay)

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Collocations as linguistic "individuals"

mordersi | morsicarsi le labbra

1. sich [*Dat*.] auf die Lippen beißen [*versehentlich, z.B. beim Essen*]
2. [*fig*.] sich [*Dat*.] auf die Lippen beißen [*'es sich verbeißen, etw. zu sagen' oder 'bereuen, etw. gesagt zu haben'*]
⇔ **LINGUA** (vgl. mordersi la lingua)

bagnarsi le labbra

1. die Lippen benetzen, (sich [*Dat*.]) die Lippen anfeuchten
2. [*fig*.] sich [*Dat*.] die Kehle anfeuchten [*ugs*.] [*'etw. trinken'*]
⇔ **GOLA** (vgl. bagnarsi la gola)

stringere | serrare le labbra

1. die Lippen zusammenpressen | aufeinanderpressen | zusammenkneifen
2. [*fig*.] die Zähne zusammenbeißen

storcere le labbra (per qcs., *p.es.* ***per il disgusto****)*

1. die Lippen | den Mund (vor | wegen etw., z.B. vor Abscheu | Ekel) verziehen
2. [*fig*.] die Nase (über | wegen | angesichts etw. [*Gen*.]) rümpfen
⇔ **NASO** (vgl. storcere il naso)

(Konecny/Autelli in prep.)

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Implications for (bilingual) lexicography

➢ Need to distinguish between **different types of equivalence** (cf. Dobro-vol'skij 2014: 870f.; Mellado Blanco 2023: 279ff.):

1. equivalence at the level of language system (semantics, phraseology)

→ **2. equivalence at the lexicographic level**

⇒ **INTERMEDIATE** LEVEL; disregards individual translation solutions (text level), but is also not limited to the system level only; relevance of communicative situations and prototypical contexts; to be identified by lexicographers ideally through corpus analysis and the functioning of linguistic elements in concrete texts

⇒ **FUNCTIONAL** EQUIVALENCE (similarity of communicative functions)

3. equivalence at the text level (translation, translatology)

➢ functional equivalents of collocations (as well as of phrasemes in general) in another language are **not** necessarily collocations (phrasemes), but can also be represented by single words or free word combinations

Implications for (bilingual) lexicography

➢ Attempt at hypothesizing **whether certain groups of collocators or bases favour collocational polysemy** and the development of secondary (also idiomatic) meanings.

➢ <u>Not all collocations</u> seem to "qualify" for developing different meanings and/or different valency patterns, like e.g.:

➢ <u>collocations of the type "N (subject) + Verb"</u> that represent at the same time "fixed phrases" as defined by Burger (2015: 41-45), i.e. they already form whole sentences on their own;

➢ <u>collocations whose bases don't allow for (lots of) different inter-pretations</u> / refer to small referential classes or even unique referents (e.g. *il sole tramonta* 'the sun sets')

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Implications for (bilingual) lexicography

➢ Collocations that seem to be **more likely to developing different meanings** and/or valency patterns:

- collocations whose base is polysemous, and especially if one of its meanings belongs to a **special language** (sports, music etc.)

- collocations consisting of "Verb + N (object)" seem in general to be more likely to develop different meanings, especially:

    - those containing **verbs having a vague meaning** like *fare*, *dare*, *mettere* etc. (see the above semantic type 3)

    - those representing **somatisms**, i.e. containing body-part nouns as bases => idiomatic meaning based in most cases on metonymy or metaphtonymy

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Tante grazie!　Molte grazie!

Grazie assai…　Grazie mille!　Vi ringrazio!

Thank you for your attention.

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