Phraseology in children's literature: a contrastive analysis
Verkade, S.A.

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 translatant or even no translatant (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 translatants (see §5.8.). The translational equivalence shows a strong predominance of the semantic level over the formal level: well over three quarters of translatants have a high or total equivalence to their source phraseological unit from a semantic point of view, compared to slightly over one-fifth of translatants 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.
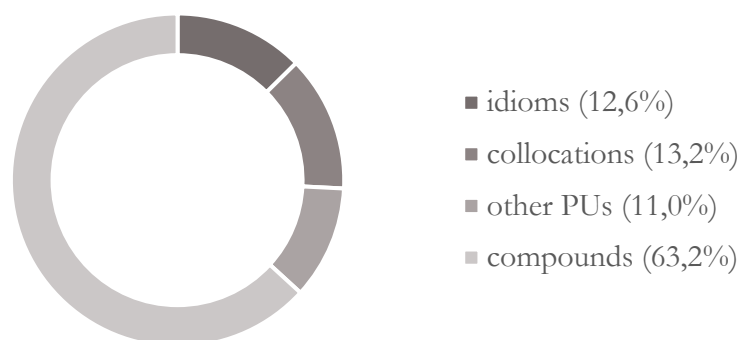
5.1. NL→IT: Type of phraseological unit

- idioms (12,6%)
- collocations (13,2%)
- other PUs (11,0%)
- compounds (63,2%)

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 translatants.

5.1.1. Idioms

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

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 translatant (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 translatant. 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 "TT" 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: <u>adesso</u> basta, con questo trallallare.

In the first example, *heden ten dage* has been translated with "mondo attuale", a free combination of words. While it is the clear translatant 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 translatants, 29,8% of the whole of translatants 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 <u>liet</u> hen niet <u>in de steek</u>.
IT 12   Aveva mantenuto la promessa, non li <u>aveva piantati in asso</u>.

Example 6 Idiom – collocation

NL 59   En ik zal ze vinden, al moest ik het hele huis <u>ondersteboven keren</u>.
IT 40   E io li troverò, dovessi <u>mettere sottosopra</u> 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 <u>zit</u> hij me <u>in de weg</u>.'
IT 13   Mettiamolo nell'angolo, perché qui <u>dà fastidio</u>.

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 translatants in Dutch and English).

Example 8 Idiom – compound

NL 74   'Nou, <u>tot kijk</u> dan,' riep de elektricien.
IT 52   <u>Arrivederci</u>, 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 <u>is</u> nog altijd <u>niet pluis</u> hier!' riep juffrouw Dingemans boos en angstig.
IT 113   — Ho già capito, <u>qui gatta ci cova</u>! — esclamò la signora Dingemans, adirata e impaurita.

Qui gatta ci cova is the only occurrence of a proverb, saying, or aphorism as a translatant. 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 translatant, around a third a non-phraseological translatant (32,1%), and slightly over a tenth have no translatant (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 <u>kwaad</u> <u>doen</u>. 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 <u>moeite kosten</u> 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 (*kwaad 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 translatant of *moeite kosten*, even though the sentence as a whole conveys an equivalent meaning.

The non-phraseological translatants 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 <u>kopjes gaf</u>. |
| 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 <u>strusciarsi con la testa contro di loro</u>. |

Example 13 Collocation – monorematic word

| NL 28 | De journalisten <u>namen</u> toen háár <u>foto</u>. |
| IT 17 | Allora i giornalisti <u>fotografavano</u> 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 equivalent[82].

Example 14 Collocation – collocation

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

Example 15 Collocation – other

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

Example 16 Collocation – idiom

| NL 30 | 'Kom,' fluisterde Nella Della dan, 'we zijn er, Wiplala. <u>Doe je best</u>.' |
| IT 19 | — Ecco — bisbigliava allora Nella Della — ci siamo, Uiplalà. Mi raccomando, <u>metticela tutta</u>. |

23,0% of the total occurrences of collocations (which leads to about two-fifths of the phraseological translatants) 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 translatant, however, uses the verb "essere": *essere in pericolo* is a transparent expression. In 7,5% of the cases the translatants 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 translatant.

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 translatants, 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 <u>in stilte</u> - in griezelige stilte, […].
IT 104   […] e tutto ciò accadeva <u>in silenzio</u>, in un silenzio impressionante.

Example 18 Other – collocation

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

Example 19 Other – idiom

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

Example 20 Other – compound

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

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 knipperen* in Example 19 is a fully transparent expression of often co-occurring lexemes: "knipperen" 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 translatants 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 translatant (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 verstopt, <u>voor de grap</u>,' zei Nella Della.
IT 115	— Probabilmente si è nascosto <u>per farci uno scherzo</u> — 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 <u>wijd open</u>.
IT 101	Andò a sedersi sulla sedia di velluto verde, allungò le gambe e appoggiò la borsa accanto a sé, con la tasca laterale <u>aperta</u>.

Example 23 Other – too freely translated

NL 8	Johannes en Nella Della <u>waren bezig</u> auto's uit te knippen uit de krant.
IT 3	Johannes e Nella Della <u>ritagliavano</u> 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 <u>warme maaltijd</u>, 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 translatant, is part of the Italian phraseological inventory of *Uiplalà* and hence analysed among the phraseological units discussed in Chapter 6.

but *wijd 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 translatant, "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 translatants 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 translatants 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) translatant. 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 translatant 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%).

- generically figurative (9,0%)
- metaphorically figurative (2,0%)
- metonymically figurative (0,7%)
- non-figurative, non-compositional (58,7%)
- non-figurative, and compositional (29,5%)
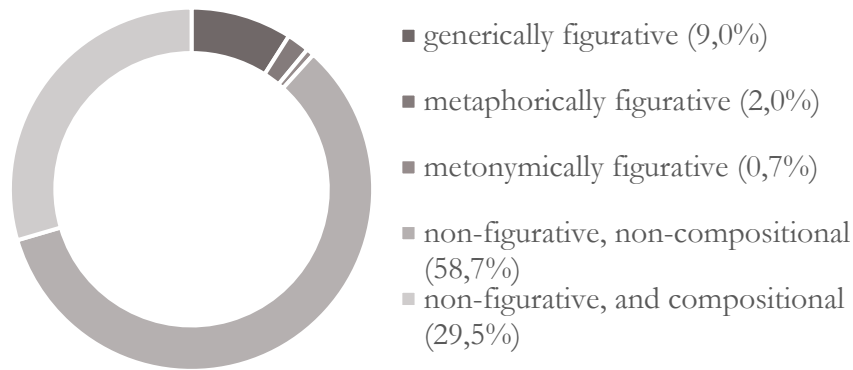
Figure 12 Types of meaning in Wiplala

5.2.1. Generically figurative

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

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 translatant	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 translatants; 93,6% of these, however, are non-phraseological translatants (monorematic words and free combinations of words). This is higher than the general amount of non-phraseological, compositional translatants: 68,2% of all Italian translatants is non-figurative and compositional[84]; 17,8% of these is phraseological, 82,2% is non-phraseological. The other types of meaning are much less common among the translatants 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   <u>In een oogwenk</u> was Johannes bij haar en hij nam de stenen poes op.
IT 6   <u>In un batter d'occhio</u> Johannes la raggiunse e sollevò la gatta.

Example 26 Generically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

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

Example 27 Generically figurative – metaphorically figurative

NL 158   'Ik kom weleens terug als alles weer <u>in de haak is</u>, […]!'
IT 113   Tornerò quando <u>si saranno calmate le acque</u>.

---

[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 translatant and, hence, do not have a type of meaning. 965 translatants out of 1415 Dutch phraseological units are compositional.

Example 28 Generically figurative – metonymically figurative

NL 62	Wat zouden m'n vrindjes <u>opkijken</u>, als ze me zo konden zien, dacht Johannes.
IT 42	Che <u>faccia farebbero</u> 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 <u>vliegend schoteltje</u>!'
IT 3	[…] o che qualcuno arrivasse dalla luna a bordo di una <u>navicella spaziale</u>!

Example 30 Generically figurative – too freely translated

NL 18	'Dat we een wiplala in huis hebben <u>is tot dáár aan toe</u>!' 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 themselves[85], 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 translatant 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 translatants 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 translatant	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 translatants; Example 31), and in some cases with non-figurative but agglutinated translatants (10,3%; Example 32), or generically or metaphorically figurative TLs (both 13,8%; Example 33-Example 36). 20,7% do not have a translatant.

Example 31 Metaphorically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

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

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

NL 44   Ze bleven allemaal <u>doodstil</u> staan.
IT 30   Rimasero <u>immobili</u>, <u>in silenzio</u>.

Example 33 Metaphorically figurative – generically figurative

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

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 translatant "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 <u>stokstijf</u> van verbazing.
IT 112   — Nella Della guardò e rimase <u>senza parole</u> per la sorpresa.

Example 35 Metaphorically figurative – metaphorically figurative

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

Example 36 Metaphorically figurative – metaphorically figurative

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

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 translatant, *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 translatant (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 translatant	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 <u>naar bed</u>, […].
IT 103   Non avevamo più coraggio di tornare <u>a letto</u>, […].

Example 38 Metonymically figurative – metaphorically figurative

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

Example 39 Metonymically figurative – non-figurative, compositional

NL 96   […] zonder dat ze het zelf merkte, <u>at</u> ze <u>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 translatants.

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 translatant	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 translatants of non-compositional phraseological units are presented below:

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

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

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

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

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

NL 89   […] en Nella Della lag <u>ondersteboven</u>, terwijl de kleine Wiplala bijna uit de mand rolde.
IT 63   […] mentre Nella Della finiva <u>a gambe all'aria</u> 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 <u>acht</u> op te <u>slaan</u>.
IT 112   […] ma era troppo impegnato a telefonare per <u>far</u>ci <u>attenzione</u>.

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

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

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 translatant. 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 translatant.

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

| NL 12 | En toen zag ik de pot met <u>pindakaas</u> […] …' |
| IT 6 | E ho visto il vaso del <u>burro d'arachidi</u> […] … |

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

| NL 53 | '[…] en <u>in een ommezien</u> zaten ze alle vier in de boodschappentas, die aan de muur hing. |
| IT 35 | […] e <u>in men che non si dica</u> 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 <u>boerenkool</u>. |
| IT 11 | Non so com'è successo. |

5.2.5. Non-figurative, and compositional

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

Type of meaning of TLs of non-figurative, non-compositional PUs	Amount of TLs	% 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 translatant	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 translatants are non-phraseological (77,6%): 44 are free combinations or words, 212 are monorematic

words. 208 of these non-phraseological translatants 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 translatants 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 translatants 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 translatant *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 translatant (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 <u>keken</u> ze <u>op</u> en zagen een man op hen afkomen. |
| IT 50 | Spaventati a morte, <u>alzarono gli occhi</u> e videro un uomo che si avvicinava. |

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

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

Example 55 Non-figurative, compositional – not translated

| NL 77 | 'Kijk eens, ik <u>ben</u> aan de leverkaas <u>bezig</u>.' |
| IT 55 | Guarda questa salsiccia di fegato. |

5.3. NL→IT: Structural composition

- CLMs (17,1%)
- Light verb constructions (8,1%)
- Expressions with preposition(s) (3,3%)
- Irriversible binomials (1,3%)
- Similes (1,2%)
- Compounds (63,2%)
- Other (5,9%)
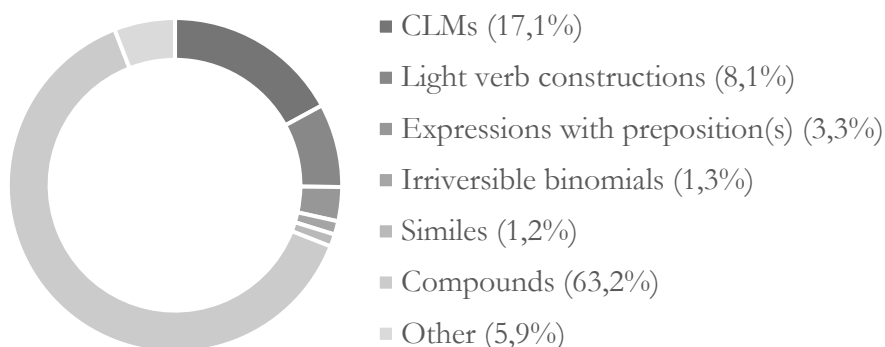
Figure 13 Structural compositions in Wiplala

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 translatants (see Table 9 for an overview[87]), 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 translatants 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 translatant (Example 58), which is relatively low compared to the rate among other structural compositions. Phraseological translatants 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).

PUs / TLs	CLM		LVC		EP		IB		Simile		Compound		Other		Total	
CLM	47	19,4%	6	5,3%	5	10,9%	0	0%	0	0%	53	5,9%	3	3,6%	114	8,1%
LVC	19	7,9%	45	39,5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	15	1,7%	2	2,4%	81	5,7%
EP	16	6,6%	0	0%	25	54,3%	0	0%	0	0%	11	1,2%	29	34,9%	81	5,7%
IB	0	0,0%	0	0%	0	0%	9	47,4%	0	0%	0	0,0%	0	0%	9	0,6%
Simile	0	0,0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	10	58,8%	2	0,2%	0	0%	12	0,8%
Compound	1	0,4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	19	2,1%	3	3,6%	23	1,6%
VPC	9	3,7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	33	3,7%	0	0%	42	3,0%
Other	32	13,2%	12	10,5%	3	6,5%	2	10,5%	1	5,9%	14	1,6%	4	4,8%	68	4,8%
Free comb. of words	56	23,1%	14	12,3%	4	8,7%	2	10,5%	2	11,8%	84	9,4%	16	19,3%	178	12,6%
Monorem. word	42	17,4%	22	19,3%	7	15,2%	0	0%	2	11,8%	559	62,5%	15	18,1%	647	45,7%
No translatant	20	8,3%	15	13,2%	2	4,3%	6	31,6%	2	11,8%	104	11,6%	11	13,3%	160	11,3%
Total	242	17,1%	114	8,1%	46	3,3%	19	1,3%	17	1,2%	894	63,2%	83	5,9%	1415	100%

Table 9 Structural composition in Wíplala

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 sud[88], 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 <u>goed humeur</u> was.
IT 22	Era così commosso e compiaciuto, che tornò subito di <u>buonumore</u>.

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 translatant, 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 translatant, 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 <u>boodschappen</u> voor ons <u>doen</u>?' vroeg Nella Della.
IT 37	— Potrebbe <u>farci</u> <u>la spesa</u>? — chiese Nella Della.

Example 66 LVC – CLM

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

Example 67 LVC – other

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

Example 68 LVC – monorematic word

NL 94	'Ik kan geen zieke mensen <u>beter maken</u>,' zei hij een beetje treurig.
IT 68	Non so <u>guarire</u> 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 <u>beter maken</u>,' zei Lotje.
IT 68	Magari Uiplalà può <u>far</u>mi <u>guarire</u>[89] - disse Carlotta.

Example 70 LVC – not translated

NL 49	En als ze daar <u>genoeg van hadden</u> gingen ze paardjerijden 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 translatant (4,3%) once because the translation was considered to free to be able to identify a translatant, once because the Dutch PU was not translated at all.

Example 71 EP – EP

NL 57	'Er staan een heleboel mensen <u>op straat</u>,' riep Johannes, […].
IT 39	— <u>In strada</u> c'è un sacco di gente — disse Johannes, […].

Example 72 EP – CLM

NL 43	En de deur was <u>op slot</u>!'
IT 29	E sì che la porta era <u>chiusa a chiave</u>!

Example 73 EP – other

NL 32	'Maar waarom, <u>in hemelsnaam</u>, Emilia?'
IT 21	Ma perché, <u>in nome del cielo</u>?

---

[89] Note that the translatants of *beter maken* in Example 68 and Example 69 are "guarire" and "fare guarire". The first is a transative 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 <u>op straat</u> […].
IT 78	Era meraviglioso rivedere la città con tutti quei palazzi, tutte quelle automobili, tutta quella gente <u>per la strada</u>.

Example 75 EP – monorematic word

NL 33	'Maar de poes is <u>op straat</u>,' zei juffrouw Emilia.
IT 21	Ma la gatta è <u>fuori</u> - 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 translatants (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 translatant because they have been translated too freely to identify a clear translatant (in 5 cases; Example 79) or have been left untranslated (1 case as shown in Example 80).

Example 76 IB – IB[90]

NL 149	'Dames en heren,' begon de minister.
IT 107	— <u>Signore e signori</u> — esordì il ministro.

Example 77 IB – other

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

Example 78 IB – free combination of words

NL 95	Haar vriendinnen soms, haar <u>neefjes en nichtjes</u>, […].
IT 69	[…] le sue amichette, <u>i cugini e le cugine</u>.

---

[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 <u>heen en weer</u> 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 <u>af en toe</u> 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 translatants 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 <u>zo nat als een dweiltje</u>.
IT 61   Mandava un fortissimo odore di aceto ed era <u>bagnato come un pulcino</u>.

Example 82 Simile – other

NL 55   'Ik zal <u>zwijgen als een pot</u>.
IT 37   <u>Sarò muta come un pesce</u>[91].

Example 83 Simile - free combination of words

NL 10   <u>Als een klein poezenstandbeeld zo stil</u> zat ze daar.
IT 4   Mosca era lì nell'angolo, <u>talmente immobile che sembrava di marmo</u>.

---

[91] The Italian translatant, *essere muto 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 <u>zo bang als een muis</u>, en dat waren ze ook. Zo bang als muizen.
IT 59	Ma quando sei piccolo come un topo, diventi altrettanto <u>pauroso</u>: e loro, infatti, erano paurosi come topi.

Example 85 Simile – too freely translated

NL 42	De schemerlamp was wel <u>zo groot als een huis</u>.
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 translatants 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 translatants 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 translatant (Example 93).

Example 86 Other – EP

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

Example 87 Other – LVC

NL 127	'<u>Nu dan</u>, ik zet jullie tussen de tralies van dit raam door, in de keuken, is dat goed?
IT 93	— E <u>va bene</u>, 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 voorschsijn 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
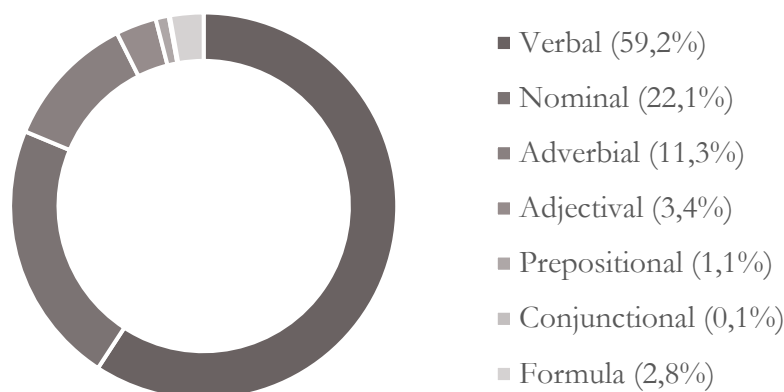
Figure 14 Lexical macro-categories in Wiplala

expressions[92], 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 conjunctional 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 translatant	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 translatant	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 translatant (10,5%; Example 97).

Example 94 Adjective – adjective

NL 154   'Leuk? Leuk om zo <u>piepklein</u> te zijn?
IT 111   — Bello? Era bello essere cosi <u>minuscoli</u>?

Example 95 Adjective – adjectival phrase⁹³

NL 32   […] en dan voel ik hoe <u>keihard</u> en <u>ijskoud</u> hij is.
IT 20   […] e sento che è <u>duro come un sasso</u> e <u>freddo come un ghiacciolo</u>.

Example 96 Adjective – noun phrase

NL 114   […] en eigenlijk was ze <u>doodsbang</u> voor de twee strenge, in 't zwart geklede dames.
IT 83   […] e aveva una <u>paura tremenda</u> 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 <u>vrijmoedig</u> 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 translatant is not clear ("other", 3,4%), while six adjectival PUs do not have a translatant at all (20,7%; Example 101).

Example 98 Adjectival phrase – adjectival phrase

NL 48   'Zo groot als muizen. In een reuzenhuis.'
IT 33   — Piccoli come topi in una casa gigantesca.

Example 99 Adjectival phrase – adjective

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

Example 100 Adjectival phrase – prepositional phrase[94]

NL 29   'Heus, kinderen, het is veel beter om hem nog een paar weekjes zo te laten.
IT 18   — Davvero, bambini, è molto meglio lasciarlo cosi ancora per un paio di settimane.

Example 101 Adjectival phrase – not translated

NL 80   Meneer Blom en de anderen kropen behendig naar het achterste donkerste hoekje achter een paar pakken macaroni.
IT 56   Svelti, 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 translatants are given in Table 11. 58,1% of Dutch phraseological adverbs has an adverbial translatant 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 translatant (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 translatant	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 translatant	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 <u>vliegensvlug</u> in de la naast haar bed.
IT 66	Prese il signor Blom e gli altri e li infilò <u>rapidamente</u> nel cassetto.

Example 103 Adverb – adverbial phrase

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

Example 104 Adverb – adjectival phrase

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

Example 105 Adverb – verb

NL 133   Ze moesten nu wel <u>hogerop</u>.
IT 98   Non restava che <u>salire</u>.

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 <u>loodrecht</u> 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 translatant in Italian, either because the translation is too free to identify a translatant, 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 translatants with an undefinable lexical category (1,7%; Example 111).

Example 107 Adverbial phrase – adverbial phrase

NL 15   Ik kan het SOMS, <u>per ongeluk</u>.
IT 8   Ci riesco solo qualche volta, così, <u>per sbaglio</u>.

Example 108 Adverbial phrase – adverb

NL 88   Nou, <u>in elk geval</u> bedankt.'
IT 62   Be', <u>comunque</u> 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 <u>arm in arm</u> 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	<u>Met vereende krachten</u> konden ze de kraan opendraaien en weer dicht […].
IT 34	<u>Unendo le loro forze</u> riuscivano ad aprire e a richiudere il rubinetto […].

Example 111 Adverbial phrase – other

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

5.4.3. Conjunction and conjuctional 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 is 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 Conjunctional PUs in Wiplala

Example 112

NL 115	'We zullen je ook niet ontslaan, <u>tenminste</u> niet direct, […].
IT 84	E non ti licenzieremo, <u>almeno</u> non subito, […].

Tenminste is a conjuctionally 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 translatants 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 translatant	32	11,6%
Noun phrase	38	2,7%	Noun	7	18,4%
			Noun phrase	25	65,8%
			Other	2	5,3%
			No translatant	4	10,5%
Nominal PUs	**313**	**22,1%**	**Total**	**313**	**200%**

Table 13 Nominal PUs in Wiplala

All nouns either have a nominal translatant (88,4%), or do not have a translatant 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 translatant (65,8% nominal phrases, 18,4% nouns; respectively Example 116 and Example 117) and 10,5% does not have a translatant (Example 118). In two instances (5,3%), the lexical category of the translatant is unclear (also Example 118).

Example 113 Noun – noun

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

Example 114 Noun – nominal phrase

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

IT 25   […] e sul grande <u>pianoforte a coda</u> 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 <u>kaarsenkroon</u> 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 <u>tappeto volante</u> […]!

Example 117 Nominal phrase – noun

NL 137   'Klaasje, schenk eens gauw een <u>kopje koffie</u>.
IT 101   Claudia, prepara subito un <u>caffè</u>.

Example 118 Nominal phrase – too freely translated + other

NL 144   Ze namen een voor een zijn hand en sprongen op de <u>begane grond</u>, nog steeds sprakeloos van verwarring over deze vreemde <u>gang van zaken</u>.
IT 104   Saltarono giù uno dopo l'altro, ancora sbalorditi per <u>quanto era accaduto</u>.

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 translatant, 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 <u>voorbij</u> een boekwinkel kwamen zei Johannes: 'Kijk daar eens, wat een drukte!'

IT 17   Quando passarono <u>davanti a</u> 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 afhangende klimplant, <u>halverwege</u> de theetafel en de boekenkast.

IT 97   In quel momento il signor Blom, Johannes e Nella Della erano su una pianta rampicante, <u>a metà strada</u> tra il tavolo e la libreria.

Example 121 Prepositional phrase – prepositional phrase

NL 142   Ze zaten in de bloembak, <u>te midden van</u> gekneusde planten en bloemen.
IT 104   Erano seduti nella fioriera, <u>in mezzo a</u>lle piante tutte rovinate.

Example 122 Prepositional phrase – 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.

5.4.6. 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 translatants 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 translatant	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 translatant	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 translatants (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 translatants have a very different nature: adjectives (1,1%; Example 127), an adverb and an adverbial phrase (0,4%; Example 128), formulae (0,4%), "other"

(0,2%). 11,3% of SCVs does not have a translatant 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 <u>overstemde</u> toch alles.
IT 53   Ora poteva gridare tranquillamente, perché il frastuono <u>copriva</u> ogni rumore.

Example 124 Verb – verb phrase

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

Example 125 SCV – verb

NL 11   Ik <u>zet</u> je hier <u>neer</u>, op de tafel.
IT 5   Ti <u>metto</u> qui, sul tavolo.

Example 126 SCV – verb phrase

NL 15   Heus, we <u>staan</u> ervoor <u>in</u>.
IT 7   Fidati, ti <u>diamo la nostra parola</u>.

Example 127 SCV – adjective

NL 11   <u>Pas op</u>, stoot je niet tegen de theepot.'
IT 5   <u>Attento</u> 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 <u>liep voorop</u>.
IT 50   Lo videro soltanto per un attimo, perché subito dopo si girarono e corsero via rapidi come fulmini, Uiplalà <u>per primo</u>.

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 translatants are verb phrases (Example 129), while 18,0% are verbs (Example 130). 9,5% of the Dutch phraseological verb phrases do not have a

translatant (Example 131). The remaining translatants 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 translatant had an undefinable lexical category (1,4%).

Example 129 Verb phrase – verb phrase

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

Example 130 Verb phrase – verb

| NL 91 | 'Natuurlijk zal ik jullie geen kwaad doen,' zei Lotje, en <u>kreeg een kleur</u>. |
| IT 65 | Ma certo che non voglio farvi del male - disse Carlotta, <u>arrossendo</u>. |

Example 131 Verb phrase – too freely translated

| NL 129 | 'Wie moet je opbellen als je <u>last</u> van spoken <u>hebt</u>? |
| IT 96 | Allora chi bisogna chiamare in questi casi? |

Example 132 Verb phrase – adjective

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

Example 133 Verb phrase – noun

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

Example 134 Verb phrase – formula

| NL 152 | '<u>Hartelijk gelukgewenst</u> met uw verjaardag.' |
| IT 108 | — <u>Tanti auguri</u> 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 translatants 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 translatant	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 translatant 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   <u>Tot straks</u> dan.'
IT 97   <u>A presto</u>, allora.

Example 136 Formula – other

NL 136   […] waarom ben je toen niet meegegaan? <u>Vertel op</u>!'
IT 99   […] perché non sei venuto con noi? <u>Su, racconta</u>!

Example 137 Formula – verb

NL 122   Alleen moet je onze poes nog terugbetinkelen, <u>weet je wel</u>?

IT 90   Però devi ancora ritrallallare la gatta, <u>ti ricordi</u>?

Example 138 Formula – verb phrase

NL 126   'Nou, <u>niets aan te doen</u>.
IT 92   — Ma ormai <u>non c'è più niente da fare</u>.

Example 139 Formula – adverb

NL 10   'Vlieg heeft iets, een muis <u>of zo</u>,' zei Nella Della […].
IT 4   Mosca ha trovato qualcosa, <u>probabilmente</u> un topo - rispose Nella Della, […].

Example 140 Formula – adverbial phrase

NL 17   'Ik woon, <u>om precies te zijn</u>, helemaal nergens meer.'
IT 9   Anzi, <u>in realtà</u> 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 <u>lieve hemel</u>, 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 translatants (Example 142, Example 143). 11,3% of SCVs do not have a translatant (Example 144), thus leaving 2,0% of translatants 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 translatant (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 translatant	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 <u>keek</u> Nella Della kwaad en toch ook angstig <u>aan</u>.
IT 4   <u>Guardava</u> Nella Della con aria seccata e allo stesso tempo timorosa, […].

Example 143 SCV – verb phrase

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

Example 144 SCV – not translated

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

Example 145 SCV – adjective

NL 11   <u>Pas op</u>, stoot je niet tegen de theepot.'
IT 5   <u>Attento</u> 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 <u>liep voorop</u>.
IT 50   Lo videro soltanto per un attimo, perché subito dopo si girarono e corsero via rapidi come fulmini, Uiplalà <u>per primo</u>.

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 translatant	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 given[96].

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 <u>paardjerijden</u> boven op de poes.

IT 33   E poi i bambini <u>salivano in groppa</u> alla gatta, […].

---

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

Example 149 noun – generically figurative

NL 105	Breng hem een <u>vingerhoed</u> sinaasappelsap.
IT 76	Portagli un <u>ditale</u> di succo d'arancia.

Example 150 Adverb – metaphorically figurative

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

Example 151 Adjective – metaphorically figurative

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

Example 152 SCV – non-figurative, non-compositional

NL 16	Heus, we <u>staan</u> ervoor <u>in</u>.
IT 7	Fidati, ti <u>diamo la nostra parola</u>.

Example 153 Noun – non-figurative, non-compositional

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

Example 154 SCV – non-figurative, compositional

NL 44	Toen hij <u>terugkwam</u>, zei hij: '[…].'
IT 30	Quando tornò disse: […].

Example 155 Adverb – non-figurative, compositionals

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

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

The large amount of compositional translatants is due to "other" phraseological TLs, and mostly non-phraseological TLs[97], that correspond to 71,9% of Dutch compounds. Only 16,4% of the Italian translatants 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 translatants 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 translatant ("other") has been used in a generically figurative way. All compound

---

[97] The 678 compositional translatants 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).

translatants have a non-figurative, non-compositional meaning. In the following some of these cases are exemplified[98]:

Example 156 Compositional – other

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

Example 157 Compositional – free combination of words

NL 22   Hij <u>zat vast</u> aan de stoel die ook van steen was geworden.
IT 14   [...] e per di più <u>era rimasto attaccato</u> 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 <u>opgegeten</u>.
IT 7   E se non l'avessi trallallata, lei mi avrebbe <u>mangiato</u>.

Example 159 Generically figurative – idiom

NL 139   'Daarna hebben we alles onderzocht, alles <u>overhoop gehaald</u> [sic], […].
IT 102   — Poi abbiamo cercato per tutta la casa, <u>buttato</u> tutto <u>all'aria</u>, […].

Example 160 Generically figurative – collocation

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

Example 161 Metonymically figurative – idiom

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

---

[98] In these next examples, the focus lies on the translatants of Dutch compounds. Hence, the descriptions of the examples refer to the nature of the translatants 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 translatant.

Example 162 Non-compositional – collocation + compound

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

Example 163 Non-compositional – idiom

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

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 translatants 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 translatant	104	11,6%
Total	**894**	**100%**

Table 23 Structural composition of TLs of compounds in Wiplala

While it is clear that the types of translatant "compound", "free combination of words", "monorematic word" and "no translatant" are attributed the same structural composition, phraseological translatants (besides compounds) have a wide variety of internal structures. Idioms, collocations and "other" types of phraseological translatants 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 translatants 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 translatants. 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 translatants[99]. 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 (*het 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 translatant	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 translatants 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 *het polsje voelen* (diminutive), as the patient is of very small stature.

Example 164 Standard – standard

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

Example 165 Formal – standard

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

Example 166 Spoken – informal

NL 34	'<u>Weet je wat</u>?' zei hij.
IT 22	— <u>State a sentire</u> — disse.

Example 167 Informal – standard

NL 43	'Wel verdraaid, ze zijn <u>'m gesmeerd</u>!' riep hij uit.
IT 29	— Ma... caspita, <u>se la sono svignata</u>! — esclamò.

Example 168 Obsolete – standard

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

Example 169 Other – other

NL 59	'Als we weer groot zijn, moet je hem <u>terugbetinkelen</u>, Wiplala.'
IT 40	Quando torneremo grandi devi <u>ritrallallar</u>lo, Uiplalà.

5.7. NL→IT: Use value

The use value tries to define what the connotation of the phraseological unit or translatant 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 translatants 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 translatants 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 <u>deed</u> de kast <u>open</u> om het theebusje te pakken.
    IT 4   […] e <u>aprì</u> la credenza per prendere la scatola del tè.

Example 171 Pejorative – neutral

    NL 22   We zijn allebei <u>broodmager</u>.
    IT 14   Siamo tutti e due <u>magri come chiodi</u>.

Example 172 Hyperbolic – neutral

    NL 44   Ze bleven allemaal <u>doodstil</u> staan.
    IT 30   Rimasero immobili, <u>in silenzio</u>.

Example 173 Hyperbolic – hyperbolic

NL 58 Ze kijken natuurlijk in de kasten en onder alle meubelen en <u>in alle hoekjes en gaatjes</u>!

IT 39 Guarderanno negli armadi e sotto i mobili e <u>in ogni angolo e fessura</u>!

Example 174 Interjectional – interjectional

NL 26 '<u>Dames en heren</u> stadgenoten,' zei de burgemeester.

IT 16 <u>Signore e signori</u>, concittadini - disse il sindaco.

Example 175 Derogatory – derogatory

NL 69 Mussen zijn brutaal. Net <u>straatjongens</u>.

IT 49 I passeri sono maleducati, come <u>ragazzacci di strada</u>.

Italian translatants 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 translatant	160	-	160	11,3%	-
Total	**1415**	**13**	**1428**	**100,9%**	**101,0%**

Table 27 Use value of TLs in Wiplala

97,0% of present translatants 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 translatants, but one translatant is ironically used. The two biggest changes compared to the Dutch use values, are in the hyperbolic and interjectional values: the hyperbolic translatants are cut in half compared to

Dutch hyperbolic PUs (0,5% compared to 1,0%; Example 173), while Italian has more interjectional translatants (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 translatants are summarised.

Semantic field	NL Main	% PUs characterised by	IT Main	% TLs 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 translatant	-	-	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 translatants and the whole of present translatants – 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 translatants that are considered a human activity relatively to the whole of possible translatants (1415; 17,8% in Italian compared to 22,8% in Dutch), the second percentage is calculated on the whole of present translatants, 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 translatants 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 translatant).

"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 translatants; many derive from phraseological units that are labelled as a "human activity". When adding the Italian translatants, 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 aangevallen.
IT 55   Nella Della aveva addentato 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 translatants derives from "human activity" PUs. The decrease in "human activity" translatants 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 translatants 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 tendence: from a formal point of view equivalence becomes less and less frequent the higher it gets, when from a semantic point of view equivalence grows[102] (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 translatants 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 equivalence[103].
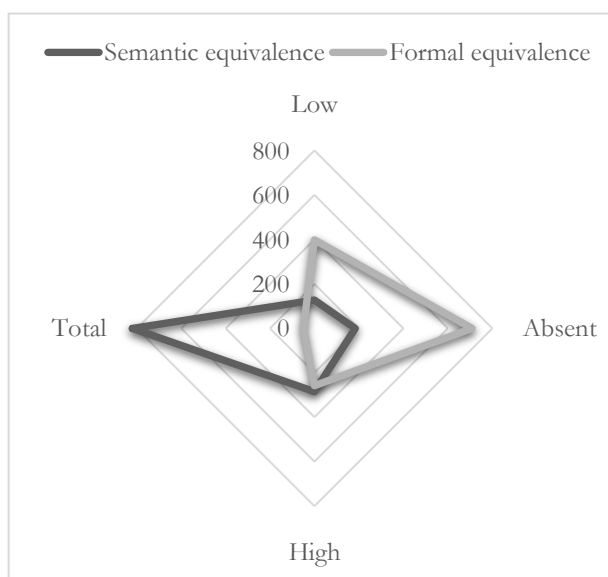

Figure 15 Inverted tendence of translational equivalence in Wiplala and Uiplalà

Example 177 Absent – absent

| NL 85 | Help, ik verdrink, ik kan me niet meer <u>vasthouden</u>. |
| IT 60 | Aiuto, affogo, non riesco a <u>stare a galla</u>! |

---

[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 translatant. 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.

Example 178 Absent – low

NL 18	Nella Della had <u>hutspot</u> gekookt met uien en <u>klapstuk</u>.
IT 11	Nella Della aveva preparato uno <u>stufato</u> di cipolle con le <u>costine di maiale</u>.

Example 179 Absent – high

NL 13	'Laten we hem maar in de hoek zetten want nu <u>zit</u> hij me <u>in de weg</u>.'
IT 21	Mettiamolo nell'angolo, perché qui <u>dà fastidio</u>.

Example 180 Absent – total

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

Example 181 Low – low

NL 19	Het was <u>boerenkool</u> geworden.
IT 11	[…] si era trasformato in <u>cavolo bollito</u>.

Example 182 Low – high

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

Example 183 Low – total

NL 152	Hij was niet gewend, <u>redevoeringen</u> te <u>houden</u> voor standbeelden die later ineens bleken te leven.
IT 109	Non era abituato a <u>pronunciare discorsi</u> davanti a statue che a un tratto diventano vive.

Example 184 High – high

NL 12	'Ik ben <u>weggestuurd</u> door de andere wiplala's,' snikte hij.
IT 6	Gli altri uiplalà mi hanno <u>cacciato via</u> - gemette, singhiozzando.

Example 185 High – total

NL 18	<u>In plaats van</u> die goeie hutspot die op tafel stond!'
IT 11	<u>Al posto di</u> quell'ottimo stufato che c'era in tavola!

Example 186 Total – total

NL 163	'Het is toch <u>in elk geval</u> heerlijk dat Lotje er is.
IT 116	<u>In ogni caso</u> 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 <u>word</u> je ook zo <u>bang</u> als een muis, en dat waren ze ook.
IT 59	Ma quando sei piccolo come un topo, <u>diventi</u> altrettanto <u>pauroso</u>: [...].

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'.