

## Abstracts

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**Elisenda Bernal**

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*Hacia un diccionario digital de afijos derivativos del catalán*

La representación de información gramatical en los diccionarios ha experimentado unos cambios importantes en los últimos años con los avances tecnológicos: la informatización de textos ha permitido considerar grandes cantidades de datos lingüísticos, lo cual ha dado como resultado análisis de lengua no fundamentados en la intuición del lingüista sino en la distribución de datos reales provenientes del uso contextualizado, hecho que ha repercutido en un aumento de información en las entradas de los diccionarios.

Este incremento, por útil que sea, presenta dificultades harto: por un lado, la información ocupa espacio, que es antieconómico; por el otro, no es siempre visto necesario, aunque, sin embargo, sirve a las necesidades de los usuarios; finalmente, los artículos largos a menudo no se leen íntegramente y dificultan la búsqueda de una información específica, lo cual puede desanimar al usuario en sus futuras consultas. Algunas de estas dificultades surgen porque el diccionario se ha concebido como una obra en la que se presenta la información de manera lineal, lo cual era evidente cuando los diccionarios sólo existían en papel pero no lo es tanto si se toman en cuenta las posibilidades tecnológicas actuales.

Las posibilidades que presenta la explotación del hipertexto como nuevo sistema de representación ha abierto nuevos caminos a la lexicografía, tal como se ejemplificará con la información morfológica relacionada con la derivación productiva de los afijos del catalán. Este modelo puede ser de utilidad para los lexicógrafos a la hora de sistematizar la información de las entradas, pero también las definiciones relacionadas por derivación, así como también se profundiza en el estudio de unas piezas frecuentemente olvidadas por los diccionarios.

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**Gaston Gross**

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*L'actualisation des prédicats dans un dictionnaire*

Il est une tradition bien établie qui sépare les ouvrages consacrés à la langue en dictionnaires, dont le rôle est le recensement des unités lexicales, appelées *mots pleins* et les grammaires qui parlent de l'agencement des mots en phrases et prennent en charge la description des mots « grammaticaux ». Cette dichotomie traditionnelle ne correspond plus aux exigences du traitement automatique. L'opposition entre mots pleins et mots « vides » est évidemment schématique. Parmi les mots dits « vides », il en est qui sont purement syntaxique, comme la conjonction *que*, qui introduit un argument phrastique après des verbes complétifs. Il en est de même de la préposition *de* dans le cas du génitif subjectif et du génitif

objectif. Il est clair qu'on ne peut pas parler de mots « vides » à propos de mots grammaticaux comme les déterminants, qui actualisent les substantifs-arguments et qui traduisent la quantification ou les relations anaphoriques ou cataphoriques. De même, un très grand nombre de prépositions ont une signification intrinsèques, comme les prépositions locatives (*sur, sous, contre*) et même certaines qui introduisent des compléments d'objets indirects (*lutter contre N, parler à quelqu'un de quelque chose*). On ne saurait affirmer non plus à propos des connecteurs qu'ils sont sémantiquement vides, alors que ce sont la plupart du temps des prédicats du second ordre.

Le traitement automatique des langues implique une description intégrée des structures grammaticales. On ne peut pas séparer artificiellement les niveaux syntaxique, sémantique et lexical, qui relèveraient de description autonomes et hétérogènes. Nous pensons que toutes les informations nécessaires à l'analyse d'un texte doivent figurer dans un dictionnaire, d'un type nouveau, qui est structuré de telle façon qu'il soit en mesure d'apporter les informations nécessaires à l'analyse des textes. Ce type de dictionnaire implique que l'entrée corresponde non pas un lexème mais à une phrase. Comme, on le sait une phrase est définie par deux types d'informations : d'une part, par un schéma d'arguments fonctionnant autour d'un prédicat du premier ordre et, d'autre part, par l'actualisation de cette structure. Cette actualisation est double : elle comprend la conjugaison du prédicats et la détermination des arguments.

L'objectif de cette communication est de montrer comme on peut introduire ces informations dans un dictionnaire d'un type nouveau, qui intégrerait les informations nécessaires à la reconnaissance du schéma d'arguments et à son insertion dans le temps. Nous monterons comment on peut faire figurer dans un dictionnaire la conjugaison des prédicats et la détermination des arguments.

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**Patrick Hanks** (Masarykova Univerzita)

**Elisabetta Jezek** (Università di Pavia)

*Building Corpus-Driven Pattern Dictionaries*

It is a truism that context determines meaning, but it is not always easy to decide what counts as a (relevant) context. Current dictionaries do not show how the different meanings that they propose for each word are related to usage. It is now over a quarter of a century since Fillmore proposed that meanings should be computed in terms of resemblance to a prototype rather than satisfaction of necessary conditions, and yet still no satisfactory inventory of prototypes exists. Fillmore's own project, FrameNet, proceeds frame by frame, not word by word. It tells us in great detail about the meaning of different frames and the different frame elements, but it does not tell us how to distinguish one sense of a word from another. A complementary project is needed, investigating the semantic relationship between the prototypical senses of each lexical item and the prototypical phraseology with which each sense is associated. The proposed *Pattern Dictionaries* for English and Italian are such projects.

A *Pattern Dictionary* is a dictionary of normal sentence patterns, created making use of the Corpus Pattern Analysis technique (CPA) (Hanks 2004; Hanks, Rumshisky, and Pustejovsky 2004; Hanks and Pustejovsky 2005). The focus is currently on verbs. Instead of attaching meanings directly to verbs in isolation, the lexicographer first analyses a large sample of corpus data for each verb, from

which patterns of normal usage are extrapolated. Only as a second step are meanings (expressed as one or more 'implicatures') attached to the individuated patterns. An implicature is anchored by the arguments to the relevant pattern, thus in English:

English Pattern: [[Aircraft]] touch {down}

Implicature: [[Aircraft]] arrives on the ground safely at its destination.

The *semantic type* [[Aircraft]] anchors this pattern for the verb *touch* to the relevant implicature. Information about it is stored in a shallow ontology of semantic types, showing:

1. relationship to other semantic types in a hyperonym tree: e.g. Aircraft < Vehicle < Artifact.
2. canonical lexical items that realize the specific grammatical relation - i.e. *lexical sets* (e.g. [[Aircraft]]: *plane, aircraft, airplane, jet, jumbo, Boeing*, etc.)
3. relevant attributes, in this case *wheels*. (A sentence beginning "As soon as the wheels touched down ..." implies that the wheels are those of an aircraft rather than a bus.)
4. regular alternations: for example, both *passengers* and *pilots* can be said to touch down, so there is a regular alternation between [[Aircraft]] and [[human]] in this pattern.

The *Pattern Dictionary of English Verbs* (in preparation) distinguishes the English intransitive phrasal verb *touch down* from 22 other patterns for the verb *touch*. Here are just two of them:

English Pattern: [[Human]] touch [[Physical Object]]

Implicature: [[Human]] puts their hand or finger(s) lightly on [[Physical Object]]

English Pattern: [[Event]] touch [[Human]]

Implicature: [[Event]] causes [[Human]] to feel sadness or other emotion

From a theoretical point of view, CPA raises many issues, among which are how to map lexical sets onto semantic types, and how to account for the relation among the various senses of a predicate. An electronic resource such as the *Pattern Dictionary* can serve various purposes, as a tool for message understanding, natural text generation, etc. It can constitute the source for the construction of a combinatorial dictionary for Italian based on corpus evidence (which is still lacking; see Jezek 2006). In our presentation, we will show how two independently constructed pattern dictionaries for different languages can be used to carry out cross-linguistic analysis of specific semantic verb classes.

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#### Ulrich Heid

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*Towards a Dictionary for Text Production*

The formulation of texts involves complex lexical and grammatical choices which depend on different kinds of lexical knowledge. For a given "concept", one may have the choice between several (near) synonyms (e.g. It. *controllare* vs. *verificare* vs. *esaminare*) and between morphologically related words (e.g. *controllare*<sub>V</sub> vs. *controlla*<sub>N</sub>). Individual words are polysemous (*controllare* in the sense of (i) *accertare*, (ii) *verificare* or (iii) *dominare*), and each reading may give rise to specific syntactic properties governing its insertion into the context of a sentence (e.g. *controllare* + indirect interrogative is possible only with (i) and (ii)). And next to single words, there exist closely related collocations (*controllare* vs. *sottoporre a un controllo*), but the alternatives may belong to different domains, registers or levels of style.

Typically all this information is somewhat present in dictionaries: to some extent and degree of detail, it is found in definition dictionaries (cf. e.g. Palazzi & Folena 1992); details of syntactic behaviour of words are described in specialized valency dictionaries (e.g. Blumenthal & Rovere 1998); lists of collocations are contained in some general dictionaries (e.g. Lo Cascio 2005), and few specialized collocation dictionaries have recently been published (e.g. OCDSE 2002, for English).

Howeverm the kinds of data mentioned above are often not related or not viewable together, in such dictionaries. For example, the syntactic insertion of collocations into texts is not described in detail in collocation dictionaries like REDES (Bosque 2004) or even OCDSE. What seems to lack most crucially, are relationships between the data which a dictionary provides about related words. Thus, it becomes hard for a user to relate, for example, the complements of a single word predicate and those of a semantically close collocation (*X controlla Y* vs. *X sottoporre Y a un controllo*, or Germ. *X erinnert Y<sub>AKK</sub> an Z* vs. *X bringt dem Y<sub>DAT</sub> das Z<sub>AKK</sub> in Erinnerung*).

We thus suggest to combine data on synonymy, syntactic valency, morphological derivation and collocation in a dictionary for text production.

This proposal may lead, however, to the need for non-trivial dictionary structures, as many of the data types suggested are rather relations than simple properties of words. Thus, at the level of lexical modeling, we suggest rather a network-like than a list-like model; it should consist of lexical objects, their properties, as well as relations between objects. Contrary to current practice in most printed dictionaries, not only readings of single words, but also of collocations and idiomatic expressions should have the status of lexical objects. Properties of the lexical objects may include their morphosyntactic behaviour, their syntactic valency, as well as restrictions of use with respect to a given domain, area, register, etc. Finally, the relational part should be much more developed than in most existing dictionaries, including not only lexical semantics relations (like

synonymy), but also morphological ones (e.g. verb vs. nominalization), or relations between single words and collocations. These properties of the dictionary's data model are close to those of the DiCo model (cf. Steinlin *et al.* 2004).

To be able to relate predicate-argument structures (cf. above, *X controlla Y vs. X sottopone Y a un controllo*), it will be necessary to make the link between the complements of synonymous, collocationally or morphologically related items explicit, for example by means of a reference to common elements at the level of the arguments; such common elements could be, for example, semantic roles, as provided by, e.g. FrameNet (Baker, Fillmore & Cronin 2003).

The above suggestions can in our view best be formalized in a computational model, and they impose important requirements on the (didactic) presentation of data in a dictionary. A hypertextual presentation or some sort of graphical display on a computer screen (e.g. entries in text boxes, related by lines symbolizing the relations) seem to be necessary.

In the presentation, we will discuss the need of users producing texts, an informal outline of a data model, as well as a few use cases which will show possibilities to present the data to the user.

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#### Alessandro Lenci

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*Encoding the Argument Structure of Predicates: Current Challenges and Future Perspectives*

The complex array of syntactic and semantic information defining the argument structure of predicative lexemes (such as verbs, adjectives and relational nouns) is still largely underrepresented in existing dictionaries. Usually, if present at all, it is at most confined to a small number of valence patterns referring to a limited set of allegedly subcategorized complements. However, it is well known that this represents just a tiny fraction of the relevant information concerning the syntagmatic properties of lexical items. Just to make a small example, verbs like *read* and *buy* are normally encoded as being both transitive, but nothing is said about the possibility for the former - but not for the latter - to occur with a whole

range of prepositional phrases expressing the amount of money, the seller, etc. Argument structure representation should therefore at least be extended to cover the following elements:

- an extended notion of syntactic and semantic frame including a larger number and types of phrases that can nevertheless typically co-occur with the predicate and contribute to characterize the scene or event that it expresses;
- the semantic properties of the predicate slots in terms of the role they play in the event, together their potential alternative syntactic realizations;
- the typical arguments that can be found as the predicate slot fillers.

Trying to cope with these challenges raises two types of independent and yet related issues:

- *how to represent such a wealth of complex information in a dictionary entry?*
- *how to collect relevant information?*

To answer the first question, it is necessary to design new layouts of dictionary entry, possibly also taking inspiration from current lexicographic experiences in computational semantics (e.g. FrameNet). On the other hand, the second question can be tackled by resorting to computational methods of text mining to automatically extract from corpora the predicate syntactic frames and their most typical slot fillers, together with reliable estimates of their prototypicality. To extend the "chemical" metaphor grounding the classical notion of valence, these two issues jointly point towards the need for a "quantum" revolution in our lexicographic representation of argument structure, in order to be able to capture its complexity and its wide spectrum of variation.

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#### Vincenzo Lo Cascio

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*La rete semantica nei futuri dizionari elettronici bilingui e multilingui*

Nel futuro i lemmi dei dizionari elettronici bilingui dovranno presentare oltre alla traduzione, anche la spiegazione nella lingua sorgente ed essere presentati sistematicamente nel loro contesto lessicale preferito (collocazioni, polirematiche, ecc.) con traduzione nell'altra lingua e spiegazione nella lingua di partenza. I dizionari dovranno permettere inoltre di navigare liberamente da una parola all'altra e da una lingua all'altra permettendo di risalire al significato delle parole e ricostruire la rete delle sinonimie e iperonimie.

In questo modo dovrebbe essere possibile ricostruire la rete semantica sottostante sia ai lemmi che alle locuzioni offrendo nel dizionario elettronico una visione diversificata delle informazioni e la possibilità opzionale di consultazione:

- a) partendo dai lemmi o dalla fraseologia per arrivare al significato e/o alla traduzione nell'altra lingua o
- b) partendo da un gruppo (ristretto) di categorie semantiche per arrivare alle forme linguistiche che il dizionario mette a disposizione nelle due o più lingue coinvolte.

Sfruttando il database relazionale sottostante al *Grande dizionario elettronico italiano-neerlandese* (Lo Cascio 2006), sarà fatto un tentativo di formalizzazione perché sia possibile costruire un dizionario elettronico bilingue o multilingue che offra tali possibilità di scelta.

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#### Ricardo Mairal

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*Building a Dictionary of Lexical and Constructional Templates in English and Spanish*

Dictionaries often code relevant syntactic information for the various senses of lexical entries. The procedure to carry out this task is generally based on inductive generalizations derived from a careful analysis of corpus-based concordances. The procedure is very solid but it still misses the possibility of giving users reliable clues as to some uses of lexical items which seem to go beyond the usual argument structure of predicates. Thus, when faced with sentences like the following: "The audience laughed the actor off the stage", "I finally felt like I was being listened into existence", "She loved me back into life" "Te sabes mía", "Te hacía en el Líbano", among many others, will generally be discarded by lexicographers since their structure cannot be directly predicted on the basis of the semantic and syntactic information associated with the lexical items "laugh", "listen", "love", "saber", "hacer". However, it may be possible for a dictionary to give users some reliable tools to account for such examples of language use. It can be done if the dictionary takes a theory-driven lexicological format with two internally linked levels of description, viz. lexical and constructional, together with a specification of the conditions that constrain the way in which the two levels interact.

Over the last two years, the research group LEXICOM ([www.unirioja.es/lexicom](http://www.unirioja.es/lexicom)) has developed a lexicological model termed "Lexical Constructional Model" (LCM), which is also meant to have a lexicographic format, a task that will be undertaken once the lexicological apparatus is finally shaped. The lexicographic dimension entails the compilation of a contrastive constructional dictionary structured in terms of five high-level conceptual domains (e.g., existence, movement, perception, cognition, and emotions).

The LCM arises from the concern to account for the relationship between syntax and all facets of meaning construction. The new framework builds up on insights from **Role and Reference Grammar** (RRG) (cf. Van Valin, 2005) and cognitively-oriented version of **Construction Grammar** (cf. Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004, Michaelis, 2003, González, 2006, etc.) in order to investigate the way lexical and constructional representations interact. The overarching assumption underlying this model is that while both functional and constructionist linguistic theories offer apparently valid assumptions, neither in itself is capable of providing a satisfactory explanation of meaning construction (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2006; 2007). Functional approaches seem to ignore the essential role that constructions play in determining the morphosyntactic structure of a predicate, a methodological stance which contrasts with the constructionist view that offer an oversimplified vision of the role of verb semantics because constructions are considered a better predictor of overall sentence meaning than verbal semantics, an issue that we beg to differ. The LCM, however, has the advantage of merging projectionist and constructionist approaches within the larger context of a theory of meaning construction, and thus combines the best of both worlds.

At the heart of the LCM (see figure 1) we find the notions of *lexical* and *constructional template*, which are the building blocks of the model. The principled interaction between lexical and constructional templates is regulated by what we call lexical-constructional subsumption. This should be understood as the

process whereby constructional templates can 'coerce' lexical templates, a process which is in turn regulated by a set of internal and external constraints (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2006).

A **lexical template** is a formal representation of a lexical unit and the world knowledge elements that affect its syntactic structure and consists of a *semantic specification* plus a *logical structure*. The logical structure formalism is constructed on the basis of the *Aktionsart* distinctions proposed in RRG (Van Valin, 2005). *Aktionsart* regularities are captured by the external variables of the template, specified in Roman characters and by an inventory of semantic primitives. Lexical templates also contain internal variables marked with Arabic numerals and coded in terms of lexical functions as propounded in Mel'cuk's *Explanatory and Combinatorial Lexicology* (cf. Mel'cuk, 1989; Mel'cuk & Wanner, 1996). These variables capture world-knowledge elements that relate in a way specific to the predicate defined by the lexical template. Consider the entry for a cognition predicate like *grasp*:

**Grasp:** [MagnObstr & Culm<sub>12</sub>[[ALL]]] know' (x, y).

**Constructional templates** make use of the same metalanguage as lexical templates, as evidenced by our proposed format of the caused-motion construction:

do' (x, [pred' (x, y)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT be-in' (y,z)]  
 pred' (x, y) CAUSE [BECOME NOT be-in' (y,z)]

Note that what is characteristic of this construction is that there is an induced phenomenon which causes a change of location. The second part is a recurrent pattern (e.g. BECOME NOT be-in' (y, z)) in every representation of the constructional template, while the first part varies between an activity and a state template.

Then, this lexicological apparatus also has a user-friendly format such that the output is a dictionary of syntactic constructions and their associated predicates together with the conditions that permit their co-occurrence. This dictionary will then account for the following issues:

- (i) The semantic and syntactic properties of the set of constructions that occur in English and Spanish, which will enable us to identify the exact properties of a family of constructions.
- (ii) The dictionary will also contain an onomasiological description of lexical entries, which will be structured in lexical domains. Each lexical entry will include a reference towards the type of syntactic constructions in which this can occur.
- (iii) The interaction between predicate semantics and constructions: we will stipulate the conditions under which a given predicate occurs within a construction, and, as a side effect, the type of constraints that act as filters to block out certain constructions.
- (iv) Constructional interaction: the specific relationships among constructions thus generating a semantic constructional network, e.g. the overlapping relations between the resultative and the caused-motion.

By way of a concluding remark, I should like to emphasize that all this work is being computationally implemented within an ontological scenario.

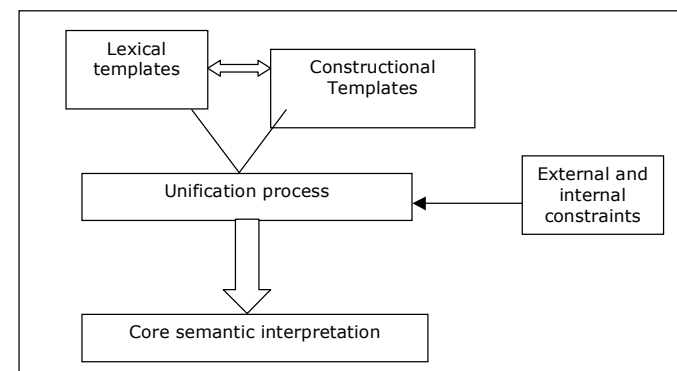


Figure 1. The central module of the *Lexical Constructional Model*

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*Hyperonyms and Collective Nouns*

In the thesaural part of a monolingual dictionary, hyperonyms and collectives nouns, if present, should be given an appropriate treatment and clearly distinguished from each other. As for the former, for instance, a register should be indicated. As for the latter, it should be specified whether they are mass uncountable or countable nouns and under which conditions they are countable.

In my presentation a tentative sketch of the thesaural section of an entry will be proposed, with a special view to its electronic implementation. In other words, when we query a CD- or online version of a dictionary, we should be in a position to ask for a specific name, for a set of X or whether X is a Y (ISA relation).

Recent dictionaries of linguistic terms (cf. Bußmann 2002 and its Italian translation) show that it is necessary to state clearly what a hyperonym is. According to Bußmann a test to find an hyponym L<sub>1</sub> and its hyperonym L<sub>2</sub> is to check whether "L<sub>1</sub> ist eine L<sub>2</sub>-Art". Such a test is misleading for the lexicographer, however, because it might lead to think that collective nouns and hyperonyms are one and the same thing. Also Lewandowski (1984) states that the relation hyperonym-hyponym can be "Ganzes-Teil, Allgemeines - Besonders, Konstante - Variante usw.". Such types of relations, however, were better distinguished later by Cruse (1986) and others.

In our opinion, in the thesaural part of a monolingual learner's dictionary, lexicographers should pay special attention to mark whether a word can be placed in a frame for definition or in examples such as "X is a Y" or "X is Y" (without article) or "X is a type of Y". Since language specificity is high in this field, the widespread use of this type of relation in general-knowledge tests should encourage linguists and philosophers of language to clear the ground.

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*Vers un dictionnaire bilingue des séquences figées*

Il s'agit d'exposer un certain nombre de repères méthodologiques pour la structuration d'un dictionnaire électronique des séquences figées. Comme ces séquences, de par leur polylexicalité, résistent aux méthodes de la lexicographie classique, leur description a accusé un grand retard qui mérite d'être rattrapé par l'apport des dictionnaires électroniques.

Trois points sont à retenir :

- le statut de la polylexicalité, en tant que caractéristique morphologique et l'impact qu'elle a sur le traitement lexicographique des séquences figées;
- l'apport des concepts d'unilexicalité et de plurilexicalité dans la distinction entre les séquences totalement figées et les séquences partiellement figées;
- la description de toutes les combinatoires internes des séquences partiellement figées.

Nous avons là les éléments essentiels de la configuration du dictionnaire électronique des séquences figées.

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*An Italian-English Dictionary of 'phraseologies': Is it Possible?*

Advanced learners engaged in production activities often use bilingual dictionaries even though these, unlike monolingual learner's dictionaries, ignore most of the information necessary for their purposes. To meet their needs Bogaards & Hannay have shown how a new type of electronic bilingual learner's dictionary can be produced by linking "the kind of information given in existing monolingual learner's dictionaries to the relevant elements from a standard bilingual lexicographic database" (2004: 474).

Most of the production-oriented information given in monolingual learner's dictionaries deals with grammatical and pragmatic aspects: in addition examples concerning collocations are usually reported. What is often left out is (explicit) information about the 'phraseologies' in which a given lexeme typically occurs. 'Phraseology' refers to the repeated syntagmatic relations between a given lexeme and other lexical or grammatical words analysed within the framework of corpus linguistics methodology. These relations reveal how a lexeme is or is not used in patterns which do not necessarily form collocations; users unaware of them and of their communicative role are likely to produce inappropriate or infelicitous combinations. In many cases the inappropriateness or infelicity is due to contrastive elements in the 'phraseologies' of a given lexeme and its equivalent in the foreign language. Examples concern in particular supposed true friends: often their respective collocational or colligational behaviours, semantic prosodies and phraseologies do not match their lexico-semantic friendship (Partington 1998; Tognini-Bonelli 2001; Nuccorini 2006).

Thus it is suggested that the Bogaards & Hannay model should be implemented with information about the relevant phraseologies of English lexemes. Examples will be illustrated, but long and detailed research will be necessary before an Italian-English dictionary of phraseologies becomes 'possible'.

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