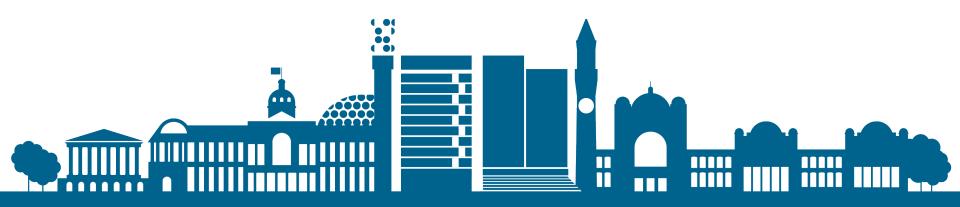


### Phraseology: A critical reassessment

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#### Overview

- □ The problem
- □ The standard solution
- Problems with the standard solution
- Psycholinguistics kills phraseology
- □ Phraseology rises again



□ 'Phraseology' is a very slippery term!



□ Ebeling and Hasselgård (2015)



#### □ Ebeling and Hasselgård (2015: 207):

"That language to a large extent relies on 'combinations of words that customarily occur' (Kjellmer 1991: 112) is now a generally accepted view in linguistics. Such combinations are said to constitute the phraseology, or phrasicon, of a language. Phraseology also refers to 'the study of the structure, meaning and use of word combinations' (Cowie 1994: 3168). A central assumption is that linguistic knowledge encompasses 'memorised sentences', 'lexicalized sentence stems' and 'phraseological expressions each of which is something less than a completely specified clause' (Pawley and Syder 1983: 205). Like Pawley and Syder, many linguists have subsequently observed that 'phraseology is one of the aspects that unmistakably distinguishes native speakers of a language from L2 learners' (Granger and Bestgen 2014 ...).

Despite having been on the linguistic scene for quite a long time, phraseology has only in recent years become acknowledged as an academic discipline in its own right (see Cowie 2006; Granger and Paquot 2008). Granger and Paquot (2008: 27) link this late scientific recognition to the field's unruly terminology and its vast and apparently unlimited scope."

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    - = 'structural property of language'



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= 'the use of multi-word units'



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    - = 'characteristic feature or property of language'



#### □ Hunston (2011: 93):

- "The phrase on the assumption that is particularly frequent: of the 63 instances of the assumption that in the corpus in question, 26 (41 per cent) are preceded by on. Most frequently (in all but six cases), the on is itself part of a verb + preposition combination such as is based on, rest on and relies on. We may conclude that 'assumptions' are most often construed as the foundation of other ideas. This is corroborated by other relatively frequent phraseologies, such as START/SET off with the assumption that (three instances), and arises/starts from the assumption that (two instances). Although no other phraseology is anywhere near as frequent, other noticeable phraseologies include MAKE the assumption that (five instances) and a set of instances that indicate a negative evaluation of the assumption."

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= 'multi-word unit(s)'

- □ Hunston (2011: 167):
  - "Phraseology has been interpreted in this book to mean:
    - the identification of sequences of words i.e.
       MWUs that play a role in the evaluative act
    - differentials in wordform frequency that can be used to establish likelihood of a kind of evaluation occurring
    - consistency in how particular kinds of textual item are evaluated within a specialised corpus."

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#### The standard solution

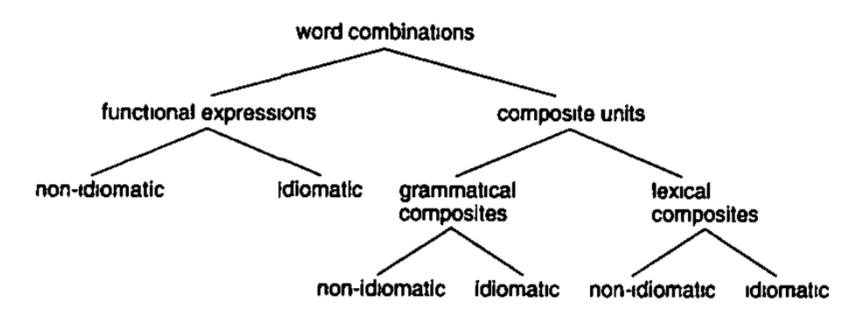
- Many scholars (e.g. Nesselhauf 2005; Granger and Paquot 2008; Ebeling and Hasselgård 2015) distinguish two broad 'approaches' to phraseology:
  - "the phraseological approach" vs "the frequency-based approach"
- □ I will prefer to use the terms "taxonomic approach" and "probabilistic approach"



- 'Phraseology' = subfield of linguistics (cf. biology, geology, theology, archaeology ...)
- □ 'Taxonomic' because main interest is in developing and working with formal taxonomies of phraseological units (e.g. Gläser 1986; Cowie 1998; Čermák 2009; Mel'čuk 2012)

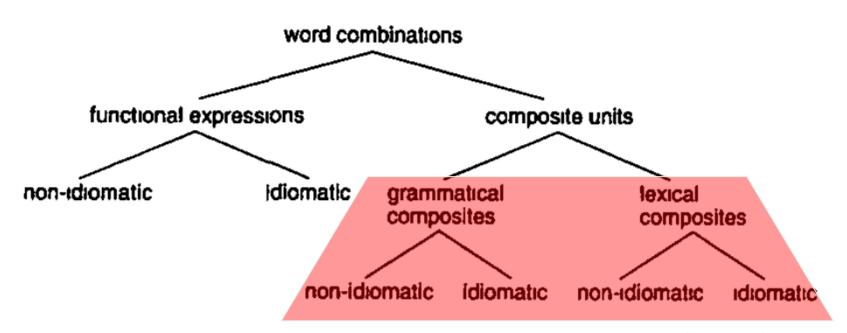


□ Case study example: Howarth (1998)





□ E.g. Howarth (1998):





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	free combinations	restricted collocations	figurative idioms	pure idioms
lexical composites verb + noun	blow a trumpet	blow a fuse	blow your own trumpet	blow the gaff
grammatical composites preposition + noun	under the table	under attack	under the microscope	under the weather



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```
probably late on Friday. This blew a fuse which put a backup charger out of
at it for half an hour when I blew a fuse at which point I set down my heat
     2000 </dt> HAROLD Wilson blew a fuse in 1969 when he discovered his
such that the player famously blew a fuse and was sent off in St Etienne. 
  missus Anna's bedroom - and blew a fuse when he realised the electrical
 now coach at Reading, almost blew a fuse as he celebrated  with the Royals
 bogey at the Road Hole, then blew a fuse.  Monty was on for a sizzling 60
  at the Road Hole - and then blew a fuse.  At one stage Monty was on for a
   40 seconds when his Toyota blew a fuse. mcrae said: 'It was a shame there
 heard yesterday. Singer Liam blew a fuse when Jim Hunter's lorry got stuck in
Strathclyde Uni's student bar blew a fuse when they saw the cans being given
   off but John Gardiner just blew a fuse. The fact is that sleeping
  I can't understand why Chic blew a fuse again. I thought he'd sorted himself
   him in a race and I nearly blew a fuse. I told him there was no way anybody
    as millionaire Keane, 27, blew a fuse and kicked her kung fu-style in the
 as someone's personal stereo blew a fuse and started blasting out a bit of
1999 </dt> FED-UP Colin mcrae blew a fuse after he was forced out of the New
 with the sound levels and he blew a fuse. He was obviously continuing from
 at half-time. Boss Colin Lee blew a fuse after Iffy Onuora's 28th-minute
    at the table, my computer blew a fuse.  I've been thinking about it
all stitched up and Tony Blair blew a fuse when he realised it was not," added
 crossed, short-circuited and blew a fuse."  We sort out our hurt feelings,
             <hd> DAY MR COOL BLEW A FUSE </hd> Confronted by filmmaker John
how hot she is. Caloundra fans blew a fuse. The next night she sashayed into
computer and printer today we blew a fuse. It was a couple of hours before the
   during the morning, but it blew a fuse. Then I was stuck in traffic for an
  by it all and that is why I blew a fuse." Cipollini's team tried to lighten
   occurred. Labour circuitry blew a fuse and the system failed. For all who
  excepted, of course) nearly blew a fuse trying to decide between the
```



```
whether the machine would blow a fuse or go into a sulk, the way it is
do? I'm not saying I will not blow a fuse one day. But, frankly, I prefer
We dare not lose or Incey will blow a fuse; Interview; Gary </hl> Neville;
 never lose is his ability to blow a fuse at the referee. He had a series of
 digital telly will make them blow a fuse. People who watch Sky or Ondigital
 trick in the book to make me blow a fuse. Roy Keane and Nicky Butt are also
  any moment Sir Charles would blow a fuse and scotch any possibility of
 frustration. It is as if we 'blow a fuse" after exerting ourselves, and
    where we might otherwise 'blow a fuse". It is occasionally seen in other
was so overloaded, he'd surely blow a fuse if he didn't lighten up soon. What
Warren. The Colonel's going to blow a fuse when he finds out, especially if
 in to Jacques. He's going to blow a fuse when he finds out about Miller." Can
    like most geniuses, he'll blow a fuse and do something stupid the pressure
 off and letting your toddler blow a fuse without giving in or getting angry,
  trying to adopt Siouxsie. I blow a fuse when I'm informed that the time has
 fam.) old peter les plombs to blow a fuse, explode with anger une raclee a
 the embarrassment. Daring to blow a fuse may be a prerequisite for making
  Even simple things made us 'blow a fuse".  Frequent surges of stress
into that suppressor or else I blow a fuse and out goes the power in my office.
    If she doesn't, she would blow a fuse. Escondido Principal Julie Ryan is
  outright she's a 40. She'll blow a fuse. I shall take in this 38d; of
 The Christmas lights will not blow a fuse. Sister will love sister, brother
  most languid of individuals blow a fuse. A Sunday newspaper critic wrote
     to cause trades unions to blow a fuse over public sector reform and
  ESB awards next year -- and blow a fuse. Let me now turn briefly to the two
  t say a word she's going to blow a fuse. So he says to <ZGY> me Ooh is it
```

must have been in danger of blowing a fuse. Spurs boss George Graham was `away could have been excused for blowing a fuse after his team squandered the chance its big launch -- after blowing a fuse. Bemused listeners could only hear for attitude problems, and blowing a fuse. He sounds as tense and hung-up as steadily, with Mrs Thatcher blowing a fuse, bring on a high-profile chap who an apology for "almost blowing a fuse" on an enthusiastic He shoots! He the human equivalent of blowing a fuse. Taking the first steps to The old Monty would have blown a fuse. But the new calmer, more controlled doesn't matter -- should have blown a fuse somewhere. It didn't. Somewhere or then he said, 'I've nearly blown a fuse in my computer trying to think of a wondered if the computer had blown a fuse. 'Do you speak or write any foreign to make - bank manager's blown a fuse. So we wish fair winds to all our he said. `But I seem to have blown a fuse." His laboratories have a number interpretations. He's blown a fuse several times when his insistence runs out and someone really blows a fuse." Sickened supporters chanted `Sack him snip at £4m. <hl> Lawrie blows a fuse; Football; Match report </hl> <dt> and SNP meet after Blair `blows a fuse" 432) </subh> <bl> By PETER smack by a parent who simply blows a fuse will not harm a child, but he says. the dodgy electricity supply blows a fuse. Say is astonished when LV, who has and Kev's quiet, but if he blows a fuse, watch out" - the prospects for



- □ BLOW a fuse: most instances are 'idioms', not 'restricted collocations'
- □ But which kind of 'idiom'- 'figurative' or 'pure'?
- □ Nesselhauf (2005): collapses into a single category of 'idioms':

#### idioms

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- 1. Categorization is inherently problematic
  - How 'fixed' are idiomatic expressions?
  - Classic example: KICK the bucket
  - lordanskaja & Mel'čuk (2009: 161):
    - "... in the notorious idiom kick the bucket the DirO bucket cannot be promoted to Subject – which is one of the defining properties of DirOs (\*The bucket was kicked, although the verb KICK has the passive)."



Join Date: May 2007

Posts: 4,386

#### Quote:

Originally Posted by name='Toxcity' Bungy is a poo and got rid of it for a GTX280 which then kicked the bucket.

I'm a poo yeah?? A Git. I didn't kick the bucket... The bucket was well and truly kicked by the time it got to me!!

#### Quote:

Originally Posted by name='gotmaxpower' :eyes:

Agreed! Need to hurry up and buy an X2 so I can have some Clear Sky goodness.

CPU: Intel Core i5 2500K @ 4700mhz - 47 x 100MHz Mobo: MSI P67A GD65 GPU: EVGA GTX 570 RAM: 2 x 4GB Mushkin LV 1.35v 1600MHz DDR3 HDD: 3 x 1TB Samsung Spinpoint F3's Case: CoolerMaster ATCS 840 - Custom House of Kolor paint job. PSU: Corsair HX750 Cooling: Custom WC - XSPC Delta V3, PA120.3, DDC Ultra with XSPC Res Top, 3/8" XSPC UV Green Tubing over 1/2" Barbs OS: Windows 7 Enterprise Edition 64-Bit

Ouote

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https://forum.overclock3d.net/showthread.php?t=20123&page=5



- 1. Categorization is inherently problematic
  - Some scholars have questioned whether there is really any such thing as a 'free combination'.
  - E.g. WANT + NP



- Nesselhauf (2003: 225):
  - "... want can be combined with a great number of nouns (want toys, a child, a drink, a car, truth etc.) and there are no arbitrary constraints on its combinability ..."



#### □ Frath and Gledhill (2005):

- "... three main types of nominal complement for want are listed in the Cobuild dictionary ... Starting with the most frequent usage, these include Noun Group complements expressing bald demands to a second person (I want you, I want an explanation from you Jeremy, What do you want?), resultatives expressing a goal (I want my boy alive, I want my car this colour, They began to want their father to be the same as other daddies) and very specifically a wish to have children (I want this baby very much). These are clearly very different but consistent collocational clusters. It would be unwise therefore to categorise the complements of such a frequently used verb as 'free combinations', and we are led to the conclusion that most other verbs, even high frequency ones, can display a similarly restricted set."

- How valid/helpful is the notion of 'free combination' for contrastive analysis?
  - E.g. HAVE + NP



- □ Coffee
  - English: have a coffee
  - French: prendre un café; Italian: prendere un caffè; Spanish: tomar un café
  - German: Kaffee trinken
  - Czech: Dát si kávu



- Dreams
  - English: <u>have</u> a dream
  - Japanese: 夢を<u>見る</u>

    yume o <u>mimasu</u>

    see a dream

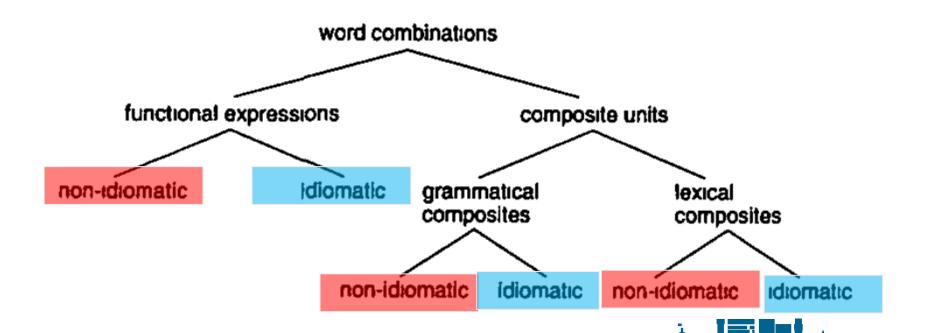


- Categorization is inherently problematic.
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  - are unreliable (e.g. the bucket was kicked).
  - reflect a static view of language; cannot account for change (e.g. "I'm so not going to do that")



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- 3. Assumption that it is possible to distinguish between phraseological and non-phraseological word combinations.

- □ phraseological combinations
- non-phraseological combinations



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- Assumption that it is possible to distinguish between phraseological and nonphraseological word combinations.
  - OK if you are a generativist (i.e. you believe that language is generated by grammatical rules).
  - This is a 'two systems' view of language: the traditional 'words and rules' model and the phraseological model run in parallel.
  - But perhaps a danger that phraseological model will always be seen as secondary or residual?

- Assumption that it is possible to distinguish between phraseological and nonphraseological word combinations.
  - Not OK if you are a cognitive/usage-based linguist (i.e. you believe that grammatical 'rules' are post-hoc generalizations about what language users do).
  - This is a 'one system' view; fundamentally incompatible with the idea of generative and phraseological systems running in parallel.

Historically associated with University of Birmingham (Sinclair, Hunston, Francis, Hoey, Stubbs, etc.)



- In this tradition, phraseology is defined as a characteristic feature of language, rather than a subfield of linguistics:
  - "the tendency of words to occur, not randomly, or even in accordance with grammatical rules only, but in preferred sequences" (Hunston 2002: 137)



- Why 'probabilistic'?
  - "the <u>tendency</u> of words to occur, not randomly, or even in accordance with grammatical rules only, but in preferred sequences" (Hunston 2002: 137)
  - "There are virtually no impossible collocations, but some are much more likely than others" (Sinclair 1966: 411).



- □ Sinclair (1966: 410-11):
  - "In grammar we look at the patterns of language as if they could be described by a large number of separate choices, each choice being from a small list of possibilities. In each case, the possibilities can be itemized in full, and we can talk of choosing one item rather than another. The choice between Active and Passive Voice in the verbal group in English offers a typical example of a grammatical system. Every verbal group is either one or the other, and there are only two possible choices."

□ "... But running parallel to grammar is lexis, which describes the tendencies of items to collocate with each other. A study of these tendencies ought to tell us facts about languages that cannot be got by grammatical analysis, since such tendencies cannot be expressed in terms of small sets of choices. One lexical item is not chosen rather than another, lexical items do not contrast with each other in the same sense as grammatical classes contrast. There are virtually no impossible collocations, but some are much more likely than others" (Sinclair 1966: 410-11).

- Much wider range of features included (Hunston 2002):
  - Collocations:
    - □ strong tea, powerful car, strong/powerful argument
  - Semi-fixed phrases/'units of meaning':
    - □ where there's smoke there's fire
    - □ no smoke without fire
    - □ sometimes there is smoke without fire
  - Grammatical preferences:
    - Manchester is hemmed in by industrial areas
  - Complementation patterns:
    - □ allow vs. prevent
- □ Semantic non-compositionality not a criterion.

- □ Little or no interest in developing comprehensive taxonomies of phraseological units:
  - "Unlike proponents of the classical [i.e. taxonomic] approach to phraseology, Sinclair and his followers are much less preoccupied with distinguishing between different linguistic categories and subcategories of word combinations or more generally setting clear boundaries to phraseology. In Sinclair's model of language, phraseology is central: phraseological items, whatever their nature, take precedence over single words" (Granger and Paquot 2008).



- Phraseological units are variously described
  - Phraseologies
  - Units of meaning
  - Meaning shift units
  - Grammar patterns
  - Collocational frameworks
  - N-grams/lexical bundles
  - Clusters
  - Semantic sequences ...
- □ Labels derive more from the methodologies used to extract units from corpora rather than from any theoretical considerations.

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	Taxonomic approach	Probabilistic approach
Categorization	Core aim of approach	Not interested; types of PU studied tend to be defined by methodology
Evaluation	Acceptability judgements; 'you can(not) say x'	Typicality judgements; 'x is frequent / statistically significant / attested / rare / not attested
Distinguish between phraseological and non-phraseological?	Yes	???



□ On the one hand, probabilistic researchers strongly argue that phraseology is a central component of language, and as mounting a fundamental challenge to the traditional 'words and rules' view.



- □ Sinclair (1991):
  - "The distinction has often been made between text and language on a dimension of abstraction. Language is an abstract system; it is realized in text, which is a collection of instances. This is clearly an inadequate point of view, because we do not end up with anything like text by 'generating' word strings from grammars" (p.102).

#### □ Sinclair (1991):

 "The decoupling of lexis and syntax leads to the creation of a rubbish dump that is called 'idiom', 'phraseology', 'collocation' and the like. If two systems are held to vary independently of each other, then any instances of one constraining the other will be consigned to a limbo for odd features, occasional observations, usage notes, etc. But if evidence accumulates to suggest that a substantial proportion of the language description is of this mixed nature, then the original decoupling must be called into question. The evidence now becoming available casts grave doubts on the wisdom of postulating separate domains of lexis and syntax" (p.104).

- □ Sinclair (1991):
  - "There is ultimately no distinction between form and meaning (p.7)."



- □ Hunston (2002: 138):
  - "Phraseology ... is more than just a collection of phrases: it encompasses all aspects of preferred sequencing as well as the occurrence of so-called 'fixed' phrases."
  - "... so-called 'fixed' phrases allow more variation than might be expected, and ... apparently unmotivated sequences of words turn out to be unexpectedly patterned. It is therefore unhelpful to propose a category of 'phrase' that is different from all 'non-phrases': the difference is one of degree only."

- On the other hand, the same scholars seem to be reluctant to fully embrace a 'onesystem' view of language.
- Classic example of this: Sinclair's idiom and open choice principles.



- □ Sinclair (1991: 109):
  - "[The open-choice principle] is a way of seeing language text as the result of a very large number of complex choices. At each point where a unit is completed (a word, phrase, or clause), a large range of choice opens up and the only restraint is grammaticalness".



- □ Sinclair (1991: 110):
  - "The principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments."



- □ Sinclair (1991: 108):
  - "The model of a highly generalized formal syntax, with slots into which fall neat lists of words, is suitable only in rare uses and specialized texts. By far the majority of text is made of the occurrence of common words in common patterns, or in slight variants of those common patterns. Most everyday words do not have an independent meaning, or meanings, but are components of a rich repertoire of multi-word patterns that make up text."



- □ Hunston (2002: 147-49):
  - "The idiom principle and the open choice principle together provide a theoretical account for two observations; that phraseology is extremely pervasive in English, and that phraseology alone cannot account for how sentences or utterances are made up."



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Distinguish between phraseological and non-phraseological?	Yes	???



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Distinguish between phraseological and non-phraseological?	Yes	Yes



- Criticizes 'traditional' slot-and-filler model of grammar but does not entirely reject it.
- □ Sinclair (1991: 109):
  - "[I]n order to explain the way in which meaning arises from language text, we have to advance two different principles of interpretation. One is not enough. No single principle has been advanced which accounts for the evidence in a satisfactory way."

- □ Reluctance of Sinclair et al to embrace a onesystem view of language seems to relate to their lack of interest in psycholinguistics.
- One exception to this: Michael Hoey's *lexical* priming theory (Hoey 2005)



#### Lexical priming

#### □ Hoey (2005):

- "collocation is a psychological association between words ... and is evidenced by their occurrence together in corpora ore often than is explicable in terms of random distribution" (p.5).



#### Lexical priming

#### □ Hoey (2005):

- "... the semantic and grammatical relationships a word or word sequence participates in are particular to that word or word sequence and do not derive from prior self-standing semantic and grammatical systems, though they do contribute to the posterior creation of those systems" (p.5).

#### Lexical priming

- □ Interestingly, there is no index entry for 'phraseology' in Hoey (2005)
- □ Hoey (2005) does not use the term 'phraseology' anywhere in this book (I think ... need to check this!)
- Instead he talks about 'naturalness'.



- □ Hilpert (2014: 22):
  - "Construction Grammar is a theory that takes a radically different perspective: knowledge of language is to be modelled as knowledge of constructions, and nothing else in addition."



- □ Hilpert (2014: 22):
  - "the line between the mental lexicon, containing knowledge of words, and the mental grammar, containing knowledge of rules, becomes increasingly blurry; so much so that Construction Grammarians propose to abandon it altogether. Instead, knowledge of language is seen as a large inventory of constructions, a construct-icon."

- Construction Grammar is fully compatible with (indeed, is a version of) usage-based theories of language.
- Abolishes the distinction between the phraseological and the non-phraseological.
- So would seem an ideal choice for phraseological research
- □ BUT: if *everything* is phraseological, then doesn't 'phraseology' as a meaningful concept cease to exist?

- As a lexicogrammatical concept, yes: Construction Grammarians generally do not use the term 'phraseology' at all – they have no need for it.
- □ E.g. no index entry for 'phraseology' in Hoffmann & Trousdale (2013), for example.
- □ So, is this the end for phraseology?
- □ No! It just needs to move to another level of description.

# Another way of conceptualizing phraseology

- □ Phraseology is "... the preferred way of saying things in a particular discourse" (Gledhill 2000: 1).
- Essentially the same as the 'everyday', non-technical meaning of the term.
  - phraseology | freizi bladzi noun (plural phraseologies) a particular mode of expression, especially one characteristic of a particular speaker or subject area: legal phraseology



# Another way of conceptualizing phraseology

- Both taxonomic and probabilistic views of phraseology are <u>lexicogrammatical</u>;
- Gledhill/everyday definition is fundamentally social, (i.e. at level of discourse practices rather than lexicogrammar)
- □ However, the empirical focus in this approach is still on linguistic features, so can be combined with other traditions of analysis.



## Example: analysis of academic disciplinary discourses

- □ Disciplinary discourses are both preferred ways of knowing and preferred ways of saying; form and meaning are (as always) inseparable.
- ☐ Gee (1989): "Being 'trained' as a linguist meant that I learned to speak, think, and act like a linguist, and to recognise others when they do so."



## Example: analysis of academic disciplinary discourses

- □ Learning to be a linguist (or a biologist, or an economist, etc.) is a process of apprenticeship into a specialized discourse community.
- A key aspect of this apprenticeship is learning the **phraseology** of this discourse community.



## Example: analysis of academic disciplinary discourses

#### □ the way(s) in which + cl

- There was criticism of the way in which the crisis was handled by the state government. (BNC)
- One of the main ways in which PtdOH is generated in the cell is by the activation of PLD, which hydrolyzes PC to produce PtdOH and choline. (Cell Biology)
- Eagleton traces the ways in which Heathcliff figures both a form of protest against the bourgeois capitalist forces of Thrushcross Grange and also the purest embodiment of those forces. (English Literature)

## the way(s) in which + cl: distribution across disciplines

Corpus	Frequency pmw
<b>BNC</b> written	56



### the way(s) in which + cl: distribution across disciplines

Corpus	Frequency pmw
	175
	94
	74
<b>BNC</b> written	56
	23
	5
	3
	2

## the way(s) in which + cl: distribution across disciplines

Corpus	Frequency pmw
Sociology	175
English Literature	94
History	74
<b>BNC</b> written	56
Economics	23
Nuclear Physics	5
Cell Biology	3
Electrical Engineering	2

## Terminology, Phraseology, Idiomaticity

- Terminology: technical lexis associated with a particular discourse community (e.g. stanza, polypeptides, opportunity cost);
- Phraseology: preferred ways of meaning and making meaning in a particular discourse community (e.g. the way(s) in which);
- Idiomaticity: 'naturalness' (nativelike usage) in a general language variety



#### Conclusion

- □ There are three (not two) main ways of conceptualizing 'phraseology'.
- □ All three views are useful and valid.
- □ The important thing is to be clear about how you are using the term, and to work with a definition that is consistent with what you fundamentally believe about language.



## Thank you!

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