Expressions and structures of the delexical verb KANΩ ["MAKE" / "DO"] in Modern Greek language: A corpus-based approach to newspaper articles¹.

Marianna N. Christou Postgraduate research student in Greek language and lexicography at the University of Birmingham (UK)

1. Introduction

This is perhaps the first lesson to be learned from corpus study. Language cannot be invented; it can only be captured. (Sinclair 1997: 31)

In this study I intend to explore the usage of the Modern Greek verb $KAN\Omega^2$ by means of a sub-corpus extracted from the 30-million-word written Hellenic National Corpus (HNC) developed by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (ILSP) in Greece. In the belief that there is a cline of semantic differentiation between fixed expressions with figurative meaning on the one hand, and 'simple' collocations of KAN Ω with nouns on the other, I stress the need for applying this cline to language research. In addition, I present arguments for the explanation of the syntactic distribution of such phrases, which would contribute to the understanding of delexical structures.

For the purposes of this study, I start with some methodological issues. Next, I adopt the term *cline* of idiomaticity for the development of a theoretical framework that supports the generalised structure of KAN Ω + noun, and divides all the instances of my sub-corpus into five categories. Subsequently, I refer to the distribution of the verb and its complement within either the same or different clauses. Finally, I discuss the significance of adopting the proposed cline of idiomaticity in dictionary-making, since this proposes a shift of the lexical load that a lexicographer needs to clarify and describe.

2. Methodology

This study, as has already been mentioned, is corpus-based, since it was built on a sample (see Appendix I) extracted from the HNC (on-line access: <u>http://hnc.ilsp.gr</u>).

2.1. The data extracted from the corpus and their processing

The whole corpus of my study was compiled by means of a lemma query. As the question posed initially was the examination of the role that the (delexical) verb KAN Ω plays in Modern Greek language, I expected that real data – even limited in number – would yield some fruitful results to this end. Thus, I restricted the lemma query of the verb KAN Ω to a particular *medium* (two of the most popular Greek newspapers, $E\lambda ev\theta e potv\pi i \alpha}$ and To $B\eta\mu\alpha$, see Hatzigeorgiu *et al.* 2000: 1737), genre (informative texts) and topic (related to society). It has to be noted, though, that I made no further selection (e.g. according to more specific genre or topic), with the intention of achieving at least a representativeness "for certain high frequency linguistic features" (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 78). Therefore, my sub-corpus was at the same time small – compared with the whole 30-million-word HNC – and sufficient for the needs of the present research.

To be more precise about the identity of the corpus used, this consisted of selected articles written between 1993 and 1997. The results showed 6,200 texts (4,851 from $E\lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho \sigma t v \pi i \alpha$ and 1,349 from *To* $B\eta \mu \alpha$), within which 4,236 instances (tokens) of the lemma KAN Ω were automatically extracted. Then, all examples were processed by use of WordSmith Tools (henceforth WordSmith).

¹ I would like to thank Mrs. Maria Gavriilidou, Head of the Electronic Lexicography Department of the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (ILSP) in Athens, and Mr. Nikos Hatzigeorgiu, Head of the ILSP branch in Xanthi, for the invaluable information they provided me with concerning the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC). I am also grateful to Professor Emeritus Geoffrey N. Leech, Dr. Andrew Wilson, and Mr. Philip King for their help and useful comments on this study. ² Greek verbs are capitalised, when they are used as lemmas.

WordSmith, developed by Mike Scott³, proved to be an invaluable tool for the processing even of a language with an alphabet other than the roman. It provided the concordance for the instances extracted from the sub-corpus (see Appendix II), since the equivalent Greek tool can only be applied to the whole HNC for the moment. Nevertheless, WordSmith was by no means the most perfect and accurate solution to my problem. This became more obvious when I saved the HNC concordance output (4,236 instances) to file, and then ran Wordsmith on it. By virtue of some partial incompatibility between the two programmes, I had to remove some incomplete, misread or unrecognisable sentences manually. After that, 4,059 tokens of the lemma KAN Ω underwent a closer examination on an advanced stage of research. Subsequently, I sorted out the instances that I would later use by adding extra information in the *set* column of the concordance (Categories A, B, C and D, see section 3.2. ff.). Next, I both resorted the whole sub-corpus and weeded out the sentences that would be of no interest to me (Category E, see section 3.2.5.). Thus, I ended up with 2,139 instances.

Since the annotation of the corpus used was considered an essential prerequisite for this research, I added simple tags⁴ manually. It is important to acknowledge here that this (non-machine-aided) procedure may not be one hundred percent accurate and reliable; however, the aims of the present study were accomplished, since all problems encountered were solved to a great extent.

2.2. Problems encountered and their solutions

The table below illustrates some of the problems encountered, although not always anticipated throughout the manipulation of the data. Moreover, it is also hereby shown how I temporarily (i.e. for the purposes of the present study) solved them, along with how I perceive their potential amelioration.

Problems encountered	Temporary solutions	Future solutions
 no reliable parsers / taggers for the Modern Greek language available for the moment 	 manual annotation of the verb and the noun only across all 2,139 instances 	 ⇒ improvement of the existing tools (of the ILSP) and / or development of new ones
 consequence of the previous problem: Greek text untagged – no possibility of identifying the systematic co- occurrences 	 ✓ related to the preceding problem: practice on a combination of WordSmith, Excel and Notepad to find collocations 	 ⇒ part of the above problem: amelioration of the concordance tool, so that it can carry out more complex commands
 partial incompatibility between the number of results of the HNC (4,236) and their insertion to the WordSmith programme (4,059) 	 ✓ manual elimination of the (few) incomplete, misread or unrecognisable examples 	 ⇒ improvement of both the WordSmith programme and the Greek tool for concordance (the latter does not accept a query on a particular sub-corpus)
 large amount of instances (4,236) needed for a representative (insofar as possible) sample of newspaper articles 	✓ reduced number of instances (2,139) taken into account – a theory based on their closer reading	 ⇒ incorporation of all instances found could have a further impact on this theory, i.e. either consolidate it or modify it
 significant imperfections of the HNC (e.g. words not disambiguated yet) 	 ✓ reliance placed on the trustworthiness of the results 	⇒ enhancement of the morphological lexicon and machine-aided disambiguation

Table 2.2.: Problems encountered and their (temporary and future) solutions

³ For more information on WSmith see McEnery and Wilson (ibid. 211).

⁴ Leech and Smith (1999: 24) have demonstrated that annotation is useful for 'inputting' information, whereas a concordance programme helps in 'outputting' information from a corpus.

Problems encountered (cont.)	Temporary solutions (cont.)	Future solutions (cont.)
 only one sentence of the corpus available, the one containing the node word (need for tracing back for more context, which was impossible using the WordSmith concordance) 	 work simultaneously at three levels: results and context (HNC), concordance (WordSmith) and manual annotation (Notepad) 	 ⇒ expansion of the number of sentences that the HNC allows on its web interface (e.g. by allowing users to define by themselves the amount of context needed)
 certain limits of space and time 	\checkmark a general theory introduced	⇒ evaluation and review of the work done

3. Data analysis

3.1. Different approaches to the notion of 'delexical structures'

Until recently, there has been no attempt to standardise the terminology through which verbonominal structures (Stein 1991: 4, Nakas 2000: 125 ff.)⁵ are defined. That is, several of the terms suggested refer either to the verb itself or to the noun. More precisely, the idea of [semantically] 'empty' or 'light verbs' (Jespersen 1942: 117 ff.), on the one hand, has led modern theory to extremes, i.e. this has been both rejected (by Stein 1991: 15) and adopted (by Biber *et al.* 1999: 428). On the other hand, the labels of 'eventive object' and 'deverbal noun' (ibid. 128 and 428, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 750 ff.)⁶ are, among other labels, attributed to the noun that collocates with verbs of this kind.

In this study, I shall use the term 'delexical verbs' as defined by Sinclair et al. (1998: 147):

[t]here are a number of very common verbs which are used with nouns as their object to indicate simply that someone performs an action, not that someone affects or creates something. These verbs have very little meaning when they are used in this way.

for two reasons: first, in order to benefit from corpus evidence to support the cline of semantic shift for the delexical structures, and second, in order to complement the definition in Babiniotis' dictionary (2002: 246), in which it is stated that the meaning of a verb sometimes takes the form of a periphrasis instead of being represented by a cognate simple verb/lexeme⁷. As we shall see later, even though there is not always such a possibility of substituting the periphrasis for a simple verb deriving from the noun's stem, we still define the verb as delexical. In this sense, we accept that the 'lexical load' is carried by the second part of the phrase (Live 1973: 31).

As regards the present study, the results of the concordance of the verb KAN Ω revealed a variety of word-classes (e.g. noun, adjective, article, adverb, pronoun, preposition, conjunction etc.) that are commonly combined with it. However, the major issue of my concern will be the collocations of this verb with its nominal complements (nouns / noun phrases).

3.2. Collocations of the delexical verb KAN Ω + (noun / noun phrase): the cline of idiomaticity

Adopting Sinclair's terminology (1991: 115), KAN Ω could be regarded as a 'node', and its complement – any noun / noun phrase, in this case – could be considered its 'collocate' in that

[c]ollocation is the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text ... Collocations can be dramatic and interesting because unexpected, or they can be important in the lexical structure of the language because of being frequently repeated (ibid. 170).

⁵ In his article (1968), Nickel introduces the equivalent concept of "complex verbal structures", while Live (1973: 32) preferably accepts a 'phrasal form' of the 'light verbs'.

⁶ Stein (1991: 2) and Allan (1998: 2-3) provide a more general overview of the terminology used in the past.

⁷ Using the term *simple* (= *single-word*) *verb* I have translated the Greek μονολεκτικό ρήμα (e.g. δηλώνω ["state"] instead of KANΩ δήλωση ["make a statement"]) which a) constitutes one word, b) has an equivalent meaning with the periphrasis and c) should be contrasted to (English) *phrasal verbs* (two or more words).

On the one hand, before looking into the corpus, I surmised that the core meaning of the verb would be expanded as well as restricted to some extent, since KAN Ω is among the most common verbs in Modern Greek (cf. "make" / "do"⁸ (English), "faire" (French), "machen" / "tun" (German), "hacer" (Spanish), etc.). A closer examination of the corpus, on the other hand, allowed me to provide concrete examples in support of the theory that I will develop next. Having named this *cline of idiomaticity*, on the basis of a proposal by Biber *et al.* (1999: 1026), I shall further suggest five distinct Categories.

3.2.1. Category A: KAN Ω + noun = fixed expression with figurative meaning (KAN $\Omega \varphi \tau \epsilon \rho \dot{\alpha}$)

The first Category comprises instances of fixed (idiomatic) expressions with the verb KAN Ω , which have figurative meaning. The term 'fixed expressions' denotes that, whereas the verb conjugates regularly, the collocate remains uninflected, e.g. KAN $\Omega \ \varphi \tau \epsilon \rho \dot{\alpha}$ ["vanish"], KAN $\Omega \ \theta \rho \alpha \dot{\sigma} \sigma \eta$ ["be popular"], KAN $\Omega \ < \kappa \dot{\alpha} \tau \iota > \varphi \dot{\nu} \dot{\lambda} \dot{\lambda} \sigma \kappa \alpha \iota \ \varphi \tau \epsilon \rho \dot{\sigma}$ ["search sth. thoroughly"]. Furthermore, it has to be made clear that adjectives modifying the nominal complement of the verb KAN Ω do not frequently intervene, except in cases where they form part of the expression, e.g. KAN $\Omega \ \tau \alpha \ \sigma \tau \rho \alpha \beta \dot{\alpha} \ \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha$ ["turn a blind eye to sth."] (but not * KAN $\Omega \ (\tau \alpha) \ \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha$), KAN $\Omega \ \chi \rho \nu \sigma \dot{\epsilon} \zeta \ \delta \sigma \nu \lambda \epsilon i \dot{\epsilon}$ ["earn a lot of money"] (but, KAN $\Omega \ \delta \sigma \nu \lambda \epsilon i \dot{\epsilon}$ has a totally different (literal) meaning). Similarly, an indirect object of the verb is sometimes essential for the syntactic structure to be considered as grammatical, as in KAN $\Omega \ < \sigma \epsilon \kappa \dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \iota \rho \sim \beta i \alpha \alpha \beta i \omega \tau \sigma$ ["make life unbearable for sb."].

Finally, examples of rather informal or colloquial set phrases mentioned in the newspaper articles have been incorporated in the same Category, given that they constitute collocations: KAN $\Omega \kappa \epsilon \varphi \iota$ ["feel like doing sth."], (different from KAN $\Omega < \kappa \epsilon \pi 0 \iota \circ v > \kappa \epsilon \varphi \iota$ ["like one's company"]), KAN $\Omega \pi \alpha \iota \chi v \iota \delta \iota$ ["take the initiative"], KAN $\Omega \kappa \circ v \mu \epsilon v \iota \circ \iota$ ["be in control" / "be the boss"].

3.2.2. Category B: KAN Ω + noun = semi-fixed expression with figurative meaning (KAN Ω (+ adj.) $\beta \eta \mu \alpha$)

Category B includes set phrases that have *figurative meaning*, since they do not originate directly from the literal content of the words in question, which is similar to the previous case. The difference, though, lies in that in the second Category the (idiomatic) expressions are *semi-fixed*, i.e. allow adjectives, pronouns, articles, etc. to intervene and modify the noun, e.g. KANΩ *έva αποφασιστικό* $\beta \eta \mu a$ ["take a decisive step"], KANΩ *εντυπωσιακή στροφή* ["take an impressive change in direction"]. Moreover, it should be clarified that some of the adjacent groups of this kind can be used both in the singular and plural. Here are some examples: KANΩ μια αριστοτεχνική κίνηση ["do a masterstroke"] and KANΩ τις απαραίτητες κινήσεις ["act as is necessary"], KANΩ προσεκτικό άνοιγμα <προς κάποιον> ["try carefully to approach sb. / sth."] and KANΩ κάποια ανοίγματα ["try to approach sb. / sth. somehow"]. Similarly, KANΩ παρατήρηση and KANΩ παρατηρήσεις ["reprimand sb. for doing / saying sth."] appear in both numbers. However, the findings of the corpus analysis underpinned the fact that there are also some set phrases, which are commonly applicable to either number, e.g. KANΩ *έρωτα* ["make love"] (but not * KANΩ *έρωτες*), KANΩ θυσίες ["make sacrifices"] (occurring only in plural in my corpus, although it has a (less frequent) singular, as well).

In this Category, account is taken of standardised Greek expressions in the singular only, such as KAN $\Omega \chi \rho \eta \sigma \eta$ [only in the sense of "take drugs" / "drink alcohol" etc.], KAN $\Omega \tau \sigma \gamma \delta \rho \sigma$ ($\tau \sigma \delta \kappa \delta \sigma \mu \sigma \nu$) [for "disseminating information around the world"] and KAN $\Omega \alpha \pi \epsilon \rho \gamma i \alpha \pi \epsilon i \nu \alpha \varsigma$ ["go on a hunger strike"], as well.

3.2.3. Category C: KAN Ω + noun = main delexical structure with literal meaning (KAN Ω $\delta \eta \lambda \omega \sigma \eta$)

While figurative meaning was reflected in the previous two Categories, where the verb KAN Ω had an idiomatic and not a delexical function, Category C provides instances of what I have called *main delexical structures with literal meaning*. These are: *main*, in contrast with the subordinate ones (as explained below), because they can easily be substituted for a simple verb which shares the same meaning and stem with the collocate (noun, in most cases); *delexical structures*, as their most meaningful item is the noun; and *literal*, since they are meant in the noun's original sense.

⁸ Altenberg and Granger (2001: 173-175) place the English verbs 'make' and 'do' among *high frequency verbs*, which are interesting from a cross-linguistic perspective.

It is not surprising that the most frequent main delexical structure found in articles from the Greek press is by far the phrase KAN $\Omega \delta \eta \lambda \omega \sigma \eta$ ["make a statement"]. A similarly high rate of the cognate verb $\Delta H \Lambda \Omega N \Omega$ was also anticipated and eventually found (see Appendix III). These significant occurrences can be explained by the actual fact that eminent persons of public life, such as Prime Ministers, Ministers, VIPs, etc., make official statements, which the reporters note down. This also alludes to the question of why half of the most popular structures in this Category are closely related to speech acts (cf. KAN $\Omega \alpha v \alpha \varphi o \rho \dot{\alpha}$ ["make reference to sb. / sth."], KAN $\Omega \pi \rho \dot{\sigma} \tau \alpha \sigma \eta$ ["make a suggestion"], KAN $\Omega \pi \alpha \rho \dot{\omega} \rho \sigma \eta$ ["make an announcement"].

It could be further argued here that the combination of verb and noun makes the foregrounding of information much easier in a language such as Greek, where the order of the sentence constituents could be characterised as either loose or rather variable in terms of focalisation. Following this argument, we can shed light on cases, such as $\pi\rho\sigma\pi\alpha\dot{\theta}\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\epsilon$ ["he made an attempt"], $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\sigma$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\alpha\nu$ ["they checked"] and $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\alpha\nu$ ["they searched"], where emphasis is placed on the noun (for the syntactic distribution of the verb KAN Ω , see also section 3.3. below).

A special emphasis is also placed on collocates that not only precede the node, but are modified as well, e.g. $\alpha \rho \chi \eta \gamma \kappa \eta / \epsilon \pi \iota \theta \epsilon \tau \kappa \eta \epsilon \mu \varphi \alpha \nu \epsilon < o X.>$ ["X. appeared as leader / having an aggressive attitude"]. Lastly, as regards the delexical KAN $\Omega \chi \rho \eta \sigma \eta$ ["make use of sth."] (in its literal sense, instead of "use"), the concordance of the corpus showed that this is most commonly combined with another noun in the genitive, nothing intervening between KAN Ω and $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \eta$ in most cases.

3.2.4. Category D: KAN Ω + noun = subordinate delexical structure with literal meaning (KAN $\Omega \lambda \delta \gamma o$)

The fundamental difference between this and the previously discussed group of expressions lies in that the structures which are brought together in Category D are still *delexical* (so as to complement Babiniotis' definition (2002: 246), see 3.1.), but *subordinate*, in this case. I shall call subordinate those patterns that cannot be substituted for a simple verb, purely because no such verb derives from the noun's stem in Greek, for instance KAN Ω κακό ["do harm"] and its opposite, KAN Ω καλό ["do good to sb."], KAN Ω παρέα ["keep sb. company"], KAN Ω φασαρία ["make noise"].

In some similar cases, even though the cognate simple verb may exist, it can derive from an older tradition of Greek, such as Ancient Greek or even $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\varepsilon\dot{\nu}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ (*katharevousa*), and therefore may nowadays have neither the same meaning nor the same use. For example, KAN $\Omega \lambda \dot{\alpha}\theta\sigma\varsigma = \sigma\varphi\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ ["make a mistake"] is rather distinct from $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\dot{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ["be concealed"], even though they share the same stem; KAN $\Omega \delta\iota\dot{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\rho\sigma$ ["converse with sb."] is currently much more preferable than the 'antiquated' $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\dot{\varepsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha\iota$ having the same meaning; and KAN $\Omega \dot{\varepsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\eta$ ["make a plea"] cannot be replaced by $\varepsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega$ ["make an appeal"], since the latter is restricted to juridical terminology.

The following three collocations are subordinate delexical structures, as well, for their basic meaning is close to the literal one proposed by the noun: KAN $\Omega \lambda \delta \gamma \sigma$ ["refer to sth."] (cf. $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \omega$ ["say"]), KAN $\Omega \mu \nu \epsilon i \alpha$ ["make reference to sb. / sth."] (cf. $\mu \nu \eta \mu \sigma \nu \epsilon i \omega$ ["mention"]), KAN $\Omega \tau \eta \nu \epsilon \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \xi \eta$ ["make a strong impression"] (cf. $\epsilon \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \tau \omega$ ["surprise"]). The first structure is considerably the most common of this Category (cf. also KAN $\Omega \delta \eta \lambda \omega \sigma \eta$ in Category C), whereas the collocate of the second is usually modified by the adjective $i\delta i a i \tau \epsilon \rho \eta$ ["special"] (KAN $\Omega i \delta i a i \tau \epsilon \rho \eta \mu \nu \epsilon i a$). In the third phrase the article $\tau \eta \nu$ is essential and adds sense to the meaning of $\epsilon \nu \tau \tau \omega \sigma \sigma i a \xi \omega$; it can be thus dissociated from the main delexical structure KAN $\Omega \epsilon \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \xi \eta = \epsilon \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \tau \tau \omega$ ["surprise"].

3.2.5. Category E: KAN Ω + noun = lexical structure – both items carry a literal lexical load (KAN Ω *ένα* πάρτι)

The last Category of this *cline of idiomaticity* is composed of combinations of KAN Ω with any noun, so that both the verb and its complement carry a literal lexical load. In fact, these are neither idiomatic nor delexical, but still constitute an extreme of the cline, since they "retain the core meaning" of the verb (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1027). In this way, the core meaning of KAN Ω is expanded to multiple semantic fields, thus revealing the polysemy of this word (e.g. KAN Ω bearing the meaning of "arrange an event" (KAN Ω *éva* $\pi \dot{\alpha} \rho \pi \eta$), "broadcast" (KAN $\Omega \mu \alpha \epsilon \kappa \pi o \mu \pi \eta$), "construct", "produce", "create", "accomplish", "commit", etc.). However, due to the fact that these *lexical structures* are too many to be identified even in such a small corpus and, additionally, require a lot of space and time for their analysis, they are not discussed here.

To sum up, the following diagram illustrates the cline of idiomaticity, as described in section 3.2:



Diagram 3.2.: The cline of idiomaticity of the verb KAN Ω

3.3. Syntactic distribution of the node KANΩ and its (noun) collocates

It has already been mentioned (in 3.2.3.) that the (noun) collocates can either precede or follow the node (verb). To demonstrate this, the table below charts the frequency of occurrence of nouns before and after the verb, as well as before the subordinate clause (there were no findings in relation to nouns following the subordinate clause) in numbers. (NB: *freq.* indicates absolute frequency, i.e. frequency of occurrences out of 2,139 instances):

Table 3.3.: The frequency of syntactic distribution of the node KAN Ω and its (noun) collocates
(Categories A-D)

Category	noun following verb (same clause)		noun preceding verb (same clause)		noun: main clause verb: subordinate clause			
	hits	freq. (%)	hits	freq. (%)	hits	freq. (%)	Total	
<i>A</i> .	44	2.06	3	0.14	2	0.09	49	
В.	173	8.09	11	0.51	17	0.79	201	
С.	928	43.38	199	9.30	243	11.36	1,370	
D.	491	22.95	17	0.79	11	0.51	519	
Total	1,636		230		273		2,139	

3.3.1. Distribution within the same clause

According to the above results, the noun is most likely to follow the verb, when they are both found in the same clause (main or subordinate). This is not surprising, since it is commonplace for the complement (object) to come after the predicate in Modern Greek, in a 'natural' order of sentence constituents (Subject-Verb-Object / Verb-Subject-Object, see also Clairis and Babiniotis 1999: 298 ff.).

3.3.2. Distribution within different clauses: noun first

More interesting, however, is the case of collocate preceding the node, since this offers flexibility to the syntax of the sentence and causes the foregrounding of information. By placing the noun – i.e. the item that carries the lexical load chiefly in Categories C and D – first, emphasis is given to the complement, while the reader's attention is drawn to the 'unexpected' order of the constituents. As Table 2 indicates, in approximately one third of the cases the noun comes before the verb, which is highly significant for the focalisation of the main information provided. As a final point, I should clarify that the subordinate clauses were almost exclusively relative clauses that facilitated the structure 'Object-Verb-Subject,' thus highlighting simultaneously the first and the last position of the constituents' occurrence, again because of the disturbed 'natural' order, as described earlier.

4. Implementing the cline of idiomaticity in relation to dictionary-making

Having analysed the theoretical framework of the cline of idiomaticity, it would be of supreme importance to show a way of utilising it during the compilation of a dictionary. The contribution of each separate Category could be summarised as follows:

- □ *Category A* provides all fixed expressions that have figurative meaning and usually constitute an obstacle for the foreign language learner. Furthermore, phrases of this Category are commonly used by native speakers.
- □ *Category B* provides the semi-fixed expressions with figurative meaning, which are quite helpful for the understanding of metaphor in language. In addition, the Category in question designates frequent collocations of nouns being modified by adjectives and other word-classes.
- \Box *Category C* offers the analysis of a simple verb into its main delexical structure, which has literal meaning and can be used alternatively, in accordance with the speaker's / writer's intentions. The delexical structure has the advantage of the noun being both broadly modified and extensively preferred in a focussed (i.e. preceding the verb) position.
- \Box *Category D* supports the subordinate delexical structure that cannot be substituted for a verb deriving from the noun's stem (the substitution is possible in the previous case). Nevertheless, structures of this Category are potentially replaced by a synonymous, simple verb with literal meaning, and synonyms belong to the lexicographer's field of research.
- \Box *Category E* is equally essential for the dictionary's needs, since it reveals a thesaurus of multiple lexical meanings of a word. Moreover, polysemy can be examined to a significant extent through real examples extracted from a corpus.

5. Synopsis of the results and conclusion

For the needs of the present study, I used a sub-corpus of the more extensive HNC developed by the ILSP in Greece. This sub-corpus consisted of articles from two popular Greek newspapers (medium) and was representative of informative texts (genre) with social content (topic). My main concern was to look into the usage of the common verb KAN Ω ["make" / "do"] and for this reason I adopted and put forward a theory on a cline of idiomaticity.

With the help of the WordSmith software and by adding tags to the nodes and collocates that I would later use, I worked out the concordance of the corpus and focussed on the colligation of KAN Ω + noun. I then divided the latter into five main Categories, according to the semantic load that the verb carried within the phrase. Thus, I suggested that there is a cline for KAN Ω + noun, which ranges from fixed (idiomatic) expressions with figurative meaning (Category A) to lexical structures, where both items carry a literal meaning (Category E). In the middle, there exists what I called 'semi-fixed expressions with figurative meaning' (Category B), as well as the two Categories of (main and subordinate) delexical structures (Categories C and D, respectively).

Having looked through the grammatical, lexical and semantic structure, I brought up the issue of the syntactic distribution of the phrases in question. My results attempted to make clear that the collocate commonly follows the node in these cases, while the noun often precedes the verb, when there is a relative clause following.

Finally, I tried to highlight the usefulness of the cline of idiomaticity for lexicographic purposes. Given that most expressions and set phrases constitute a problematic field for learners, they should be adequately and appropriately described in the dictionary. Moreover, the delexical structures offer a wide range of possibilities for noun modification, foregrounding or focus, whereas a variety of collocations can be explained through the polysemy of the verb. However, these are matters that remain to be further analysed, since they go beyond the scope of the present research.

References

Allan Q 1998 Delexical Verbs and Degrees of Desemanticization. Word 49(1): 1-17.

Altenberg B, Granger S 2001 The Grammatical and Lexical Patterning of MAKE in Native and Nonnative Student Writing. *Applied Linguistics* 22(2): 173-194.

Babiniotis G 2002 Λεζικό τής Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας (με σχόλια για τη σωστή χρήση των λέζεων) (δεύτερη έκδοση). [Dictionary of Modern Greek Language (with Comments on the Correct Usage of Words) (second edition)]. Athens, Lexicology Centre (in Greek).

Biber D, Johansson S, Leech G, Conrad S, Finegan E 1999 Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English. London, Longman.

Clairis Chr, Babiniotis G 1999 $\Gamma \rho a \mu \mu \alpha \tau i \kappa \eta \tau \eta \varsigma N \epsilon \alpha \varsigma E \lambda \lambda \eta v i \kappa \eta \varsigma (\delta o \mu o \lambda \epsilon i \tau o v o v v i \alpha \kappa \eta) II.$ To $\rho \eta \mu \alpha$: H opyávoo $\tau o \psi \mu \eta v \psi \mu \alpha \tau o \varsigma$. [Modern Greek grammar (structural-functional – communicative) II. The verb: The organization of the message]. Athens, Greek Letters (in Greek).

Hatzigeorgiu N, Gavrilidou M, Piperidis S, Carayannis G, Papakostopoulou A, Spiliotopoulou A, Vacalopoulou A, Labropoulou P, Mantzari E, Papageorgiou H, Demiros I 2000 Design and Implementation of the Online ILSP Greek Corpus. *LREC 2000 Proceedings* 3: 1737-1742.

Jespersen O 1942 A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, part 6: Morphology. Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard.

Leech G, Smith N 1999 The Use of Tagging. In van Halteren H (ed), *Syntactic Wordclass Tagging*, vol. 9, *Text, Speech and Language Technology*. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp 23-36.

Live A H 1973 The Take-Have Phrasal in English. Linguistics: An International Review 95: 31-50.

McEnery T, Wilson A 2001 *Corpus Linguistics* (second edition). Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Nakas Th 2000 $\Gamma \lambda \omega \sigma \sigma \sigma \varphi i \lambda \delta \lambda \sigma \gamma i \kappa \delta B'$: $M \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \tau \eta \gamma \lambda \omega \sigma \sigma \kappa \kappa \alpha i \tau \eta \lambda \delta \gamma \sigma \tau \epsilon \chi \nu i \alpha$ (έκτη έκδοση). [Studies on language and literarure, B' (sixth edition)]. Athens, Parousia (in Greek).

Nickel G 1968 Complex Verbal Structures in English. International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching (IRAL) 6: 1-21.

Quirk R, Greenbaum S, Leech G, Svartvik J 1985 A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. London, Longman.

Sinclair J 1991 Corpus, Concordance, Collocation. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Sinclair J M 1997 Corpus Evidence in Language Description. In Wichmann A, Fligelstone S, McEnery T, Knowles G (eds) *Teaching and Language Corpora*. London, Longman, pp 27-39.

Sinclair J M et al. (eds) 1998 Collins COBUILD English Grammar. London, Collins.

Stein G 1991 The Phrasal Verb Type 'to Have a Look' in Modern English. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching (IRAL)* 29: 1-29.

Appendices

5.1. Appendix I: A sample of the results from the HNC

Edit View	Favorites Tools Help				Alles and a second s	_
	Search Mark Fa	vorites 🍘 Media 🏼 🖓	3. 4 m . 9 h			
	ww.xanthi.ilsp.gr/corpus/results.asp				▼ @Go	Links Norton AntiVirus
10					``	<u> </u>
		A	τοτελέσμα	τα		
	Αρχική σελίδα	Στοιχεία Χρήστη	Επιλογή κειμένων	Προτάσεις	Πληροφορίες	
	δεσμό (link) για την πρότα		, ,		•	
ηγούμενη Σ	ελίδα Επόμενη Σελίδα	(Σελίδα 2 σε συν	ολο 5 σελίδων - 1000 Γ		1236 προτασεων)	
Ιρόταση			Κείμενο Πρό			
<u>106196</u>	Ειδική αναφορά <mark>έκανε</mark> στην ικανότητα των Ενόπλων Δυνάμεων να αποτρέψουν οποιαδήποτε ενέργεια εκ μέρους της Άγκυρας και τόνισε ότι προσπάθεια της κυβέρνησης είναι να βελτιώνει διαρκώς το αξιόμαχό τους.					
106275	Η εφημερίδα έγραφε, ότι η Άγκυρα έκανε στροφή 180 μοιρών στο θέμα της Γαύδου προσπαθώντας να χαμηλώσει τους τόνους.					
106292	Αυτά τα πράγματα κάνουν κακό στον τόπο μας.					
	Παυλόπουλος, που ρωτήθηκε για το θέμα, είπε πως δεν έχει να <mark>κάνει</mark> καμία δήλωση και πως θα υπάρξει απάντηση από την πλευρά του προέδρου του κόμματος.					
<u>106366</u>			ε πως δεν έχει να κάνει	καμία δήλωση και πω	ς θα υπάρξει απάντη	ιση από την πλευρά
106366 106274		τος.				ιση από την πλευρά
	του προέδρου του κόμμα	roς. <mark>νε</mark> δηλώσεις αναφερι θεται και να ακούει τ	όμενος σε χθεσινό δημο ους κινδυνολογούντες,	σίευμα της εφημερίδα	ς Χουριέτ.	
106274	του προέδρου του κόμμα Ο Τούρκος υπουργός έκα Και η πολιτεία, αντί να κά	roς. <mark>νε</mark> δηλώσεις αναφερι θεται και να ακούει τ και να προσελκύσουμ δα, ο Γκιονενσάι, ερι	όμενος σε χθεσινό δημο ους κινδυνολογούντες, ε επισκέπτες.	σίευμα της εφημερίδα θα έπρεπε να <mark>κάνει</mark> ό	ς Χουριέτ. ,τι μπορεί για να λύι	σει τα προβλήματα
<u>106274</u> <u>106316</u>	του προέδρου του κόμμα Ο Τούρκος υπουργός έκα Και η πολιτεία, αντί να κά που υπάρχουν στα νησιά Σύμφωνα με την εφημερί	τός. νε δηλώσεις αναφερι θεται και να ακούει τ και να προσελκύσουμ δα, ο Γκιονενσάι, ερι ς για τη Γαύδο.	όμενος σε χθεσινό δημο ους κινδυνολογούντες, ε επισκέπτες, ντηθείς σχετικά, επανέλ	σίευμα της εφημερίδα θα έπρεπε να <mark>κάνει</mark> ό	ς Χουριέτ. ,τι μπορεί για να λύι	σει τα προβλήματα
106274 106316 105279	του προέδρου του κόμμα Ο Τούρκος υπουργός έκα Και η πολιτεία, αντί να κά που υπάρχουν στα νησιά Σύμφωνα με την εφημερί θέμα νομικού καθεστώτου	τός. νε δηλώσεις αναφερι θεται και να ακούει τ και να προσελκύσουμ δα, ο Γκιονενσάι, ερι ς για τη Γαύδο. σας κάνει γυναίκα το	όμενος σε χθεσινό δημο ους κινδυνολογούντες, ε επισκέπτες. οτηθείς σχετικά, επανέλ ου, θα δεχόσουν;.	σίευμα της εφημερίδα θα έπρεπε να κάνει ό αβε τα περί έρευνας r	ς Χουριέτ. ,τι μπορεί για να λύι του κάνει η Άγκυρα	σει τα προβλήματα
<u>106274</u> 106316 105279 105906	του προέδρου του κόμμα: Ο Τούρκος υπουργός έκα Και η πολιτεία, αντί να κά που υπάρχουν στα νησιά Σύμφωνα με την εφημερί θέμα νομικού καθεστώτα Αν βρισκόταν κάποιος να	röç, ve δηλώσεις αναφερι θεται και να ακούει τ και να προσελκύσουμ δα, ο Γκιονενσάι, ερις ς για τη Γαύδο. σας κάνει γυναίκα το ι η πολιτική της Τουρ ημα στο πανεπιστήμιο	άμενος σε χθεσινό δημο ους κινδυνολογούντες, ε επισκέπτες. ωτηθείς σχετικά, επανέλ ω, θα δεχόσουν;. κίας, με τον επεκτατισμ δεν υπήρχαν οδηγίες γ	σίευμα της εφημερίδα θα έπρεπε να κάνει ό αβε τα περί έρευνας r ό της να θέλει να τον	ς Χουριέτ. ,τι μπορεί για να λύι του κάνει η Άγκυρα κάνει σαφή.	σει τα προβλήματα για το αν τίθεται
106274 106316 105279 105906 106211	του προέδρού του κόμμα: Ο Τούρκος υπουργάς έκα Και η πολιτεία, αντί να κά που υπάρχουν στα νηπά Σύμφωνα με την εφημερί θέμα νομικού καθεστώτα Αν βρισκόταν κάποιος να Σήμερα άμως έχει αλλάξε Μάνα που σε κανένα μάθ	τός. νε δηλώσεις αναφερι Βεται και να ακούει τι και να προσελκύσουμ ίδα, ο Γκιονεναάι, ερι ς για τη Γαύδο. ας κάνει γυναίκα τα ας κάνει γυναίκα το τι η πολιτική της Τουρ ημα στο πανεπιστήμια ε ακάλυπτες επιταγέε. γηγός του τουρκικού	όμενος σε χθεσινό όημο ους κινδυνολογούντες, ε επισκέπτες, υτηθείς σχετικά, επανέλ του, θα δεχόσουν;. κίας, με τον επεκτατισμ δεν υπήρχαν οδηγίες γ 5	αίευμα της εφημερίδα Θα έπρεπε να κάνει ό αβε τα περί έρευνας r ό της να θέλει να τον να το τι πρέπει να κάν	ς Χουριέτ. ,τι μπορεί για να λύι του κάνει η Άγκυρα γ κάνει σαφή. /ει ένας πατέρας ποι	σει τα προβλήματα για το αν τίθεται υ λάτρευε τα παιδιά

5.2. Appendix II: A sample from the WordSmith Tools concordance



5.3. Appendix III: The frequency of main delexical verbs (Category C) and their cognate simple ones

Delexical verb	Hits	Hits	Lexical verb
KANΩ δήλωση ["make a statement"]	243	5,000+	$\Delta H \Lambda \Omega N \Omega$
KANΩ αναφορά ["make reference <to sb.="" sth.="">"]</to>	78	3,428	ΑΝΑΦΕΡΩ
KANΩ πρόταση ["make a suggestion"]	72	935	ΠΡΟΤΕΙΝΩ
KANΩ χρήση ["make use <of sth.="">"]</of>	54	972	ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΠΟΙΩ
KANΩ προσπάθεια ["make an attempt"]	50	1,006	ΠΡΟΣΠΑΘΩ
ΚΑΝΩ (την) εμφάνιση (μου) ["appear"]	34	897	ΕΜΦΑΝΙΖΩ
KANΩ έλεγχο ["control" / "check"]	33	451	ΕΛΕΓΧΩ
KANΩ παρέμβαση ["interfere"]	28	153	ΠΑΡΕΜΒΑΙΝΩ
KANΩ έρευνα ["search" / "carry out research"]	24	181	ΕΡΕΥΝΩ
KANΩ ανακοίνωση ["make an announcement"]	19	1,655	ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΝΩ