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What Can You Give in Italian that You Can't Give in Russian?

A Contrastive Study of Constructions with the Light Verbs *dare* in Italian and *davat'/dat'* in Russian

Abstract. Light verb constructions (LVCs), which consist of a semantically reduced verb together with a noun (as the direct object or embedded in a prepositional phrase) conveying core lexical meaning to the combination, are widely used in both Russian and Italian. Contrastive research on LVCs in the two languages is practically non-existent. This study focuses on constructions formed by the Italian light verb *dare* 'to give' and the Russian light verb *davat'/dat'* 'to give', with a noun in the function of the direct object. The Construction Grammar model (Goldberg 1995, 2006) and the notion of a family of constructions were adopted to account for relatedness of LVCs within each language. Productive systematic metaphors that license extensions from the basic sense of the verbs were identified and convergences and divergences between the constructions of the two languages were established.

Key words: *light verb constructions, contrastive study, Construction grammar, Russian, Italian*

1. Introduction

Combinations of a semantically reduced verb together with a noun that conveys core lexical meaning to the combination, either in the direct object position (1, 2) or embedded in a prepositional phrase (3, 4), constitute a conspicuous class of idiosyncratic, yet semi-compositional and semi-productive constructions both in Italian and in Russian:

- (1) Italian: *prendere una decisione* 'to take a decision', *fare un'intervista* 'to do an interview';

- (2) Russian: *stavit' vopros* 'to put a question', *prinimat' učastie* 'to take part';
- (3) Italian: *mettere a confronto* 'to put in contrast', *prendere in considerazione* 'to take into consideration'.
- (4) Russian: *brat' pod ochranu* 'to put under protection' (lit. to take under protection), *stavit' pod somnenie* 'to put into doubt' (lit. to put under doubt).

Combinations such as these have been labelled *light verb constructions* (Jespersen 1946, Stein 1991), *delexical verb constructions* (Sinclair, Renouf 1988), *stretched verb constructions* (Allerton 2002) or *support verb constructions* (Mel'čuk 1996, Langer 2005), among other terms used. The criteria defining a light verb construction (LVC) vary depending on the chosen theoretical framework: for the purposes of this study a broad definition was adopted, embracing all combinations of a light verb and an eventive noun, including those which do not have a synonymous verb related to the noun.

Some scholars claim that light verbs have lost their semantic content and their role is limited to providing grammatical information to the predicate (Jespersen 1942: 117, Iordanskaja, Mel'čuk 2007: 239, Nordlund 2007: 84). Other studies based on material from several languages (Wierzbicka 1982, Alba-Salas 2002, Apresjan 2008, 2009; Samvelian et al. 2014) have demonstrated that light verbs display semantic preferences and their choice is not completely arbitrary, but is motivated by the meaning of the verb. Semantic classes of nouns that combine with a set verb can be identified, even though these generalizations are "probabilistic rather than rule-based" (Kopotev et al. 2016: 137).

Yet the choice of light verbs often differs cross-linguistically, and different light verbs may be used to denote the same situation in Italian and Russian:

- (5) *fare una diagnosi* 'to make a diagnosis' vs *stavit' diagnoz* 'to make a diagnosis' (lit. to put a diagnosis);
- (6) *fare un'intervista* 'to do an interview' vs *brat' interv'ju* 'to do an interview' (lit. to take an interview).

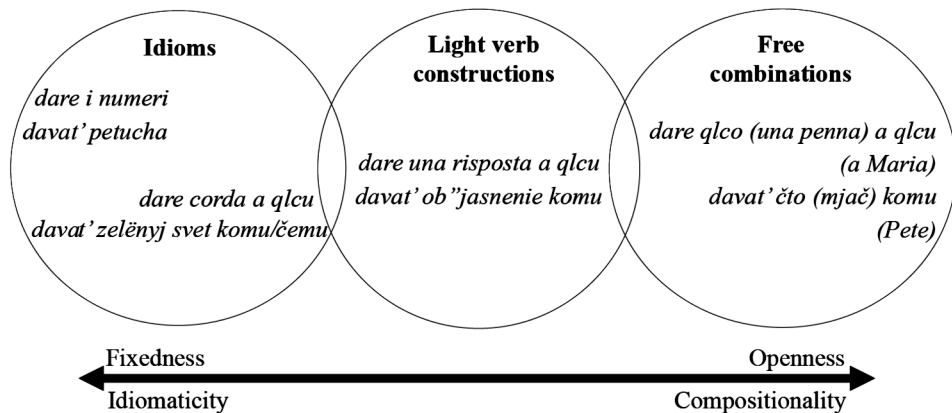
This is one of the reasons why acquisition of LVCs poses a real challenge for foreign language learners. There is a tendency for the interference of the learners' first language to cause errors in the production of these units (Altenberg, Granger 2001, Nesselhauf 2005, Gilquin 2007, Juknevičienė 2008).

Traditional foreign language teaching dealt with LVCs very randomly. Their acquisition relied mainly on learning various lists of units by heart without taking into account their frequency of use. Monolingual and bilingual Italian – Russian dictionaries also often treat LVCs unsystematically.

A contrastive study of LVCs in these two languages that detects differences and similarities and allows for some generalizations may be useful in the lexicographical and in the didactic fields. However, to date, only one contrastive study of Italian and Russian LVCs (Benigni, Cotta Ramusino 2011) has been conducted – on the Italian light verb *fare* ‘to do / to make’ and the Russian light verb *delat’* ‘to do / to make’.

This paper sets out to investigate LVCs with one of the most productive Italian light verbs *dare* ‘to give’ and its Russian counterpart *davat’/dat’* ‘to give’. These lie on a continuum between free and fixed instantiations of verbo-nominal combinations.

Figure 1. Continuum of verbo-nominal combinations with the Italian verb *dare* and the Russian verb *davat’/dat’*



Source: own research.

As depicted in Figure 1, this array can be represented as a gradient cline of idiomaticity (see Howarth (1998: 27), Nesselhauf (2005: 27–33)) with free combinations (7, 8) on the one side; and on the opposite idioms that more or less fixed and more or less semantically opaque¹, like lexically specified idioms (9, 10) and idioms with lexically open slots (11, 12):

(7) *dare qlco (una penna) a qlcu (a Maria)* ‘to give sth. (a pen) to sb. (to Maria)’;

(8) *davat’ čto (mjač) komu (Pete)* ‘to give sth. (a ball) to sb. (to Petja)’;

(9) *dare i numeri* ‘to lose one’s marbles’ (lit. to give numbers);

(10) *davat’ petucha* ‘to emit piercing sounds’ (lit. to give a rooster);

¹ On the motivation of idioms see Casadei (1996: 391).

(11) *dare corda a qlcu* ‘to listen to someone’ (lit. to give sb. a rope);

(12) *davat’ zelěnyj svet komu/čemu* ‘to give sb./sth. the green light’.

In the middle LVCs, where the meaning of individual words is retained to a certain extent, but substitutability of the components is restricted, are found:

(13) *dare una risposta a qlcu* ‘to give sb. an answer’;

(14) *davat’ ob’jasnenie komu* ‘to give sb. an explanation’.

Of course, these are not neatly separated classes and the boundary between them is often difficult to determine (Langer 2005: 188).

This paper is organised as follows: I begin with the corpora and the methodology employed (§ 2). The second section describes the primary meaning of the verbs (§ 3). Then several systematic metaphors that license extensions from the basic sense of the verbs are discussed (§ 4) and five groups of LVCs based on these metaphors in both languages are presented (§§ 4.1–4.5). Finally, the conclusions of this study are briefly discussed (§ 5).

2. Data and methodology

LVCs were extracted from the Italian Web 2016 (4,989,729,171 tokens) and Russian Web 2011 (14,553,856,113 tokens) corpora, accessed from the Sketch Engine corpus management system. The retrieval of combinations with the verb *davat’* followed by the accusative complement for Russian and with the verb *dare* and a direct object for Italian was carried out by using the Word Sketch search function. This identified 3,492,133 tokens sorted into 1559 types in Italian; and 2,946,415 tokens sorted into 1328 types in Russian. Manual processing of the first 550 types in both languages resulted in the elimination of a substantial amount of noise and free combinations, to obtain 352 LVCs in Italian and 308 LVCs in Russian.

Following the Construction Grammar approach, this analysis is based on the postulate that there is a continuum between lexicon and syntax and that highly idiomatic, idiosyncratic, unproductive patterns are not neatly separated from regular, productive ones (Fillmore, Kay 1996, Goldberg, Jackendoff 2004). All linguistic items are considered a construction “as long as some aspect of [their] form or function is not strictly predictable from [their] component parts”, and “even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency” (Goldberg 2006: 5).

Constructions that share some syntactic and semantic properties form a family. Establishing families of constructions helps “to capture generalizations across instances” (Goldberg 1995: 140) and “avoids assigning multiple and idiosyncratic senses for certain verbs” (Family 2014: 19). In a family of constructions there is a central construction that motivates other constructions through inheritance links. Postulating “inheritance allows us to capture the fact that two constructions may be in some ways the same and in other ways distinct” (Goldberg 1995: 72).

LVCs can be represented as usage-based conventionalized pairings which include a light verb and a nominal slot filled by a semantically restricted set of nouns, and which have a meaning that is entrenched in the language. They can be viewed as instances of an extension of the central sense of an argument structure in which they occur.

The Construction Grammar model and the notion of family of constructions were adopted in this study to account for relatedness between LVCs and prototypical non-fixed ditransitive structures with the verbs *dare* and *davat'* (for previous studies addressing LVCs as a family, or network, of constructions see Palancar (2003), Family (2009, 2014), Quochi (2016)). Productive systematic metaphors which motivate light verb uses were identified and similarities and differences between the constructions of the two languages were established.

3. Primary meaning of the verbs

When the verbs in question are used in their primary meaning, they denote a dynamic telic punctual action that brings about the transfer of a physical object from a volitional agent to a willing recipient (Goldberg 1995: 38), typically using the hands and, together with the object, they form the following pattern:

Form:

[X_{subj} *davat'* / *dare* Z_{obj1} Y_{obj2}]

Sagent: [+human]

Opatient: [+concrete]

Orecipient: [+animate]²

Meaning:

'X CAUSES Y TO RECEIVE Z'

² In Italian the theme is codified as the direct object and the recipient – as the indirect object introduced by the preposition *a*. In Russian the theme bears accusative case marking and the recipient argument bears dative case.

The most prototypical instances imply actual successful transfer (Goldberg 1995: 32) which involves a change in possession of the object together with a change of its location:

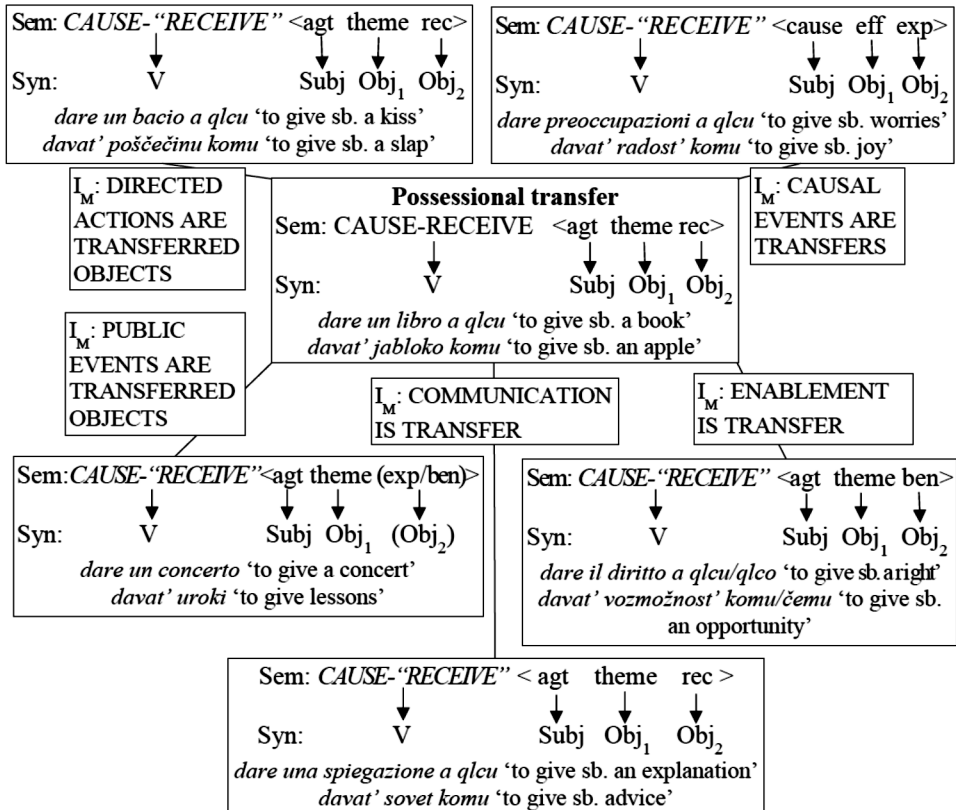
(15) *Lei ha dato un libro all'insegnante* 'She gave a book to the teacher'.

(16) *Mal'čik dal jabloko mame* 'The boy gave an apple to Mom'.

4. Systematic metaphors

Partially compositional ditransitive structures with the light verbs *dare* and *davat'* can be represented as extensions that inherit from the basic sense of the verbs via a metaphorical link. After retrieval, the relevant LVCs were classified according to different metaphors that seem to motivate them.

Figure 2. Naïve representation of the family of *dare*-LVCs and *davat'*-LVCs



Several systematic metaphors were identified in both languages, including: CAUSAL EVENTS ARE TRANSFERS, COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER, ENABLEMENT IS TRANSFER, DIRECTED ACTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS, and PUBLIC EVENTS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS. This does not imply that any noun that can be attributed to the semantic class, for example, of public events, is used with the verbs *dare* and *davat'*, but only that among the whole variety of possible collocates combined with these verbs, several semantically homogeneous groups motivated by a certain metaphor can be distinguished. Although, as mentioned above, light verbs display semantic preferences which can be represented as semantic classes of collocates, these generalizations are probabilistic and not rule-based.

Figure 2 shows a naïve representation of the family of constructions based on the verbs under study. Each extension is illustrated by a prototypical example in both languages.

4.1. Communication is transfer

One of the most conspicuous groups both in Italian and in Russian is formed by LVCs which designate communication. Communication is metaphorically represented as transfer (Reddy 1979, Goldberg 1995: 148), where the message is an object given by a mostly human Agent (or a text which metonymically stands for a human being) and the Addressee of the information is interpreted as the Recipient.

This group of LVCs can be schematically represented as follows:

Sem: CAUSE-“RECEIVE” ⟨ agt theme rec ⟩
 Syn: *dare/davat'* Subj Obj₁ Obj₂
 Subj: [+human] / [+text]
 Obj₁: [+communicative act]
 Obj₂: [+human]

Examples motivated by this metaphor and attested in the CORIS corpus of written Italian (17), and the Russian National Corpus³ (18) include:

(17) *Non sono in grado di darti una spiegazione precisa perché non conosco bene il linguaggio specialistico* 'I can't give you an exact explanation because I don't know the specialized language well'.

³ All the examples hereunder were extracted from the CORIS Corpus (for Italian) and from the Russian National Corpus (for Russian).

(18) *Ne možeš' li ty mne dat' sovet kak vydajuščijsja političeskij dejatel' našego vremena?* 'Can you give me advice as an outstanding political figure of our time?'

Table 1 lists, in descending order, the nouns that most frequently fill the nominal slot of the constructions of this group in the two languages.

Table 1. Nouns most frequently used in the direct object slot of LVCs denoting communicative act

Italian Web 2016			Russian Web 2011		
Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm	Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm
risposta 'answer'	97821	19,60	otvet 'answer'	92885	6,38
notizia 'news'	36715	7,36	sovet 'advice'	65659	4,51
consiglio 'advice'	35916	7,20	ob"javlenie 'announcement'	55064	3,78
informazione 'information'	32072	6,43	garantija 'guarantee'	41054	2,82
indicazione 'indication'	26203	5,25	informacija 'information'	36740	2,52
comunicazione 'announcement'	18832	3,77	rekomendacija 'recommendation'	34729	2,39
benvenuto 'welcome'	18488	3,71	pokazanija 'testimony', 'evidence'	29418	2,02
spiegazione 'explanation'	16389	3,28	ukazanie 'indication'	19132	1,31
giudizio 'judgement'	12642	2,53	soglasie 'consent'	17758	1,22
parere 'opinion'	9999	2,00	komanda 'command'	15007	1,03

Source: own research.

We can observe a wide margin of overlap between the light verb constructions in both languages. This semantic group can be further divided into subgroups, a few of which are:

- an order: *dare un ordine* – *davat prikaz* 'to give an order', *dare un compito* – *davat' zadanie* 'to give an assignment', *dare un comando* – *davat' komandu* 'to give a command';
- advice: *dare un consiglio* – *davat' sovet* 'to give advice', *dare una raccomandazione* – *davat' rekomendaciju* 'to give a recommendation', *dare suggerimento* – *davat' podskazku* 'to give a suggestion';

- a reaction to a verbal act: *dare una risposta – davat' otvet* 'to give an answer', *dare una smentita – davat' oproverženie* 'to give a denial', *dare una conferma – davat' podtverždenie* 'to give a confirmation';
- promise: *dare un'assicurazione – davat' zaverenie* 'to give assurance', *dare una garanzia – davat' garantiju* 'to give a guarantee';
- permission: *dare un permesso – davat' razrešenie* 'to give permission', *dare il consenso – davat' soglasie* 'to give consent';
- information: *dare un'informazione – davat' informaciju* 'to give information', *dare un annuncio – davat' ob''javlenie* 'to make an announcement' (lit. to give an announcement), *dare una comunicazione – davat' soobščenie* 'to make an announcement' (lit. to give an announcement).

There are also points of divergence between the LVCs denoting communication in the two languages. One quite productive subgroup in Italian that does not exist in Russian designates greetings:

- (19) *dare il benvenuto* 'to give a welcome', *dare la buonanotte* 'to say goodnight' (lit. to give goodnight), *dare un saluto*⁴ 'to give a greeting'.

To express the corresponding concept in Russian there is a simple verb (*privetstvovat'* 'to welcome', *privetstvovat' / zdorovat'sja* 'to greet') or a combination with a full verb (*poželat' spokojnoj noči* 'to say goodnight' (lit. to wish goodnight)).

4.2. Causal events are transfers

Another highly productive metaphor in both languages provides a link between the basic sense of the verbs *dare* and *davat'* and that of causation. Causal events are interpreted as transfers (Goldberg 1995:144, Lakoff, Johnson 1999: 195–199) of an effect (a physical or emotional state or a property) from the Cause, which is usually non-volitional and non-human, to a mostly human Experiencer.

The LVCs of this group form the following pattern:

Sem: CAUSE-“RECEIVE” ⟨ cause eff exp ⟩

Syn: *dare / davat'* Subj Obj₁ Obj₂

Subj: [±concrete], [±animate], [-volitional]

Obj₁: [+physical state] / [+emotional state] / [+property]

Obj₂: [±animate]

⁴ To express the same idea in Italian a construction with a light verb *fare* 'to do, to make' (*fare un saluto* 'to say hello', 'to give a greeting' lit. to make a greeting) or a simple verb *salutare* 'to greet' are more frequently used.

This metaphor licenses the occurrence of the light verbs *dare* and *davat'* in the following sentences:

- (20) *Guido, in quel gruppo di amici, era uno dei pochi a cui un'escursione in montagna dava una soddisfazione incredibile* 'Guido, in that group of friends, was one of the few to whom an excursion in the mountains gave incredible satisfaction';
- (21) *Oni ljubjat svoj gorod – i èto daët im sily dlja uspešnoj tvorčeskoj raboty* 'They love their city – and this gives them the strength for the successful work'.

The most frequent lexical fillers of the noun slot of this group of LVCs in both languages can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Nouns most frequently used in the direct object slot of LVCs designating causal events

Italian Web 2016			Russian Web 2011		
Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm	Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm
vita 'life'	195777	39,24	predstavlenije 'idea', 'insight'	52774	3,63
origine 'origin'	34216	6,86	žizn' 'life'	15087	1,04
sensò 'sense', 'meaning'	33994	6,81	sila 'strength'	13315	0,91
inizio 'start'	30237	6,06	znanie 'knowledge'	12703	0,87
forma 'form'	29709	5,95	načalo 'start'	12687	0,87
fastidio 'bother'	29230	5,86	oščuščenije 'feeling', 'sensation'	5833	0,40
idea 'idea'	28923	5,80	uverennost' 'confidence'	4756	0,33
importanza 'importance'	21753	4,36	otdych 'rest'	4542	0,31
forza 'strength'	21554	4,32	ponimanie 'understanding'	2887	0,20
valore 'value'	20725	4,15	čuvstvo 'feeling'	2434	0,17

Source: own research.

The Russian verb *davat'* combines only with nouns that have positive connotations, while the Italian verb *dare* is also used with nouns which designate negative emotional or physical states:

- (22) *dare fastidio a qlcu* 'to give sb. bother', *dare preoccupazioni a qlcu* 'to give sb. worries', *dare la nausea a qlcu* 'to give sb. nausea'.

4.3. Enablement is transfer

The metaphor ENABLEMENT IS TRANSFER licenses the conceptualization as a transferred physical object, of the assistance and advantage provided by the subject referent to the dative argument. The Beneficiary metaphorically receives favorable circumstances for the realization of the goal.

The schematic representation of this extension is the following:

Sem: CAUSE-“RECEIVE” ⟨ agt theme ben ⟩

Syn: *dare/davat'* Subj Obj₁ Obj₂

Subj: [±concrete], [±animate]

Obj₁: [+abstract]

Obj₂: [±concrete], [±animate]

The light verbs' uses motivated by this metaphor are exemplified in sentences (23–24):

- (23) *Esso dà il diritto alle università di brevettare scoperte nate dalla ricerca finanziata dal Governo e di concederle a società commerciali* 'It gives universities the right to patent discoveries arising from government-funded research and to grant them to commercial companies'.

- (24) *Ja polagaju, što nužno uveličivat' zarabotnuju platu, davat' vozmožnost' graždanam polučit' rabotu* 'I believe that it is necessary to increase wages, give citizens the opportunity to get a job'.

As can be seen from the list of nouns that most frequently fill the direct object slot (Table 3), the constructions in this group also present many cases of convergence between the two languages.

Table 3. Nouns most frequently used in the direct object slot of the LVCs designating enabling

Italian Web 2016			Russian Web 2011		
Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm	Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm
possibilità 'possibility'	82415	16,52	возможность 'possibility'	649093	44,60
contributo 'contribution'	59951	12,01	pravo 'right'	78535	5,40
spazio 'space'	48632	9,75	osnovanie 'basis'	31521	2,17
opportunità 'opportunity'	18580	3,72	šans 'chance'	21109	1,45
modo 'opportunity'	17905	3,59	preimuščestvo 'advantage'	19660	1,35
impulso 'impulse'	17525	3,51	povod 'reason', 'opportunity'	18722	1,29
diritto 'right'	17210	3,45	volja 'freedom'	15275	1,05
tempo 'time'	17209	3,45	tolčok 'push'	13581	0,93
aiuto 'help'	11735	2,35	svoboda 'freedom'	12412	0,85
accesso 'access'	9450	1,89	impul's 'impulse'	9041	0,62

Source: own research.

4.4. Directed actions are transferred objects

By virtue of the next metaphor, physical, perceptual and cognitive actions intentionally directed at a Recipient are interpreted as objects given (Goldberg 1995: 149, Turner, Fauconnier 1999: 411).

The first group of constructions designate an act where physical force is applied to a mostly animate non-willing Recipient (Maleficiary) causing some damage and can be schematically represented as follows:

Sem: CAUSE-“RECEIVE” ⟨ agt theme mal ⟩

Syn: dare/davat' Subj Obj₁ Obj₂

Subj: [+human]

Obj₁: [+action], [+contact]

Obj₂: [±animate], [-volitional]

The instances of the LVCs which form this group in both languages are exemplified in the following sentences:

- (25) *Uno di loro gli ha dato un calcio e lo ha fatto saltare in aria* 'One of them kicked it and blew it up'.
 (26) *Kogda ja vpervyje poceloval Svetlanu, ona dala mne poščečinu* 'When I first kissed Svetlana, she gave me a slap'.

As shown in Table 4, not only are there more nouns filling the nominal slot of the construction in Italian, but they are also more frequent.

Table 4. Nouns most frequently used in the direct object slot of the LVCs designating striking

Italian Web 2016			Russian Web 2011		
Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm	Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm
colpo 'blow'	8725	1,749	poščečina 'slap'	966	0,066
spinta 'push'	8699	1,743	pinok 'kick'	173	0,012
calcio 'kick'	4244	0,851	podzatylnik 'blow (on the back of the head)'	166	0,011
scossa 'shake'	3916	0,785	opleucha 'slap'	111	0,008
schiaffo 'slap'	1808	0,362			
pugno 'blow' (lit. fist)	1652	0,331			
pacca 'slap'	1475	0,296			
spallata 'shove with the shoulder'	1182	0,237			
sferzata 'whipping'	959	0,192			
botta 'blow'	932	0,187			

Source: own research.

The majority of nouns found within this group are deverbal, as in (27):

- (27) *dare un colpo* 'to give a blow', *dare una spinta* 'to give a push', *dare un calcio* 'to give a kick'.

This semantic group also includes denominal nouns with the suffix '-ata', which indicate the part of the body (28) or the instrument with which you strike a blow (29):

(28) *dare una spallata* 'to give a shove with the shoulder', *dare una testata* 'to give a head butt';

(29) *dare una martellata* 'to give a blow with a hammer', *dare una coltellata* 'to knife'.

In the construction *dare un pugno* 'to give a blow' (lit. to give a fist), the name of the instrument metonymically indicates the action for which it is used. To translate these constructions in Russian it is necessary to resort to the full verb *udarit'* 'to hit' followed by the instrument:

(30) *dare una testata* 'to give a head butt' > *udarit' golovoi* 'to hit with the head';

(31) *dare una martellata* 'to give a blow with a hammer' > *udarit' molotkom* 'to hit with a hammer';

(32) *dare un pugno* 'to give a blow' > *udarit' kulakom* 'to hit with the fist'.

The lexicalization of this concept in Russian may be entrusted in some cases to a construction with a noun derived from a noun which indicates the part of the body which receives the blow, as is the case with *davat' poščěčĩnu* 'to give a slap' (derived from *ščeka* 'cheek'), and *davat' podzatyľ'nik* (derived from *zatylok* 'the back of the head').

Another type of LVCs motivated by the metaphor DIRECTED ACTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS designates physical contact between the Agent and the Recipient of the action as represented in the scheme:

Sem: CAUSE-"RECEIVE" < agt theme rec >

Syn: *dare/davat'* Subj Obj₁ Obj₂

Subj: [+human]

Obj₁: [+action], [+contact]

Obj₂: [+animate], [+volitional]

This group is rather productive in Italian:

(33) *dare un bacio* 'to give a kiss', *dare un abbraccio* 'to give a hug', *dare una carezza* 'to give a caress', *dare un pizzico* (*un pizzicotto*) 'to pinch'.

In contrast, Russian only has simple verbs to express these actions: *celovat'* 'to kiss', *obnimat'* 'to hug', *laskat'* 'to caress', *ščipat'* 'to pinch'.

Relevant examples attested in the CORIS corpus include:

- (34) *Un giorno portai alla maestra una mela e lei mi diede un bacio* 'One day I brought the teacher an apple and she gave me a kiss'.
 (35) *Diede un pizzicotto sul naso a Sophie e ottenne una risatina* 'She pinched Sophie's nose and got a chuckle'.

Another divergence between the two languages is found in the Italian construction with a deverbal noun derived from the past participle, which denotes a non-durative singular physical (36) or cognitive action (37):

- (36) *dare una ripulita a qlco* 'to give sth. a clean', *dare una sistemata a qlco* 'to arrange sth.';
 (37) *dare una letta a qlco* 'to have a read', *dare una controllata a qlco/qlcu* 'to check sth./sb.'.

Sem: CAUSE-"RECEIVE" ⟨ agt theme rec ⟩

Syn: *dare/davat'* Subj Obj₁ Obj₂

Subj: [+human]

Obj₁: [+physical act] / [+cognitive act], [±contact]

Obj₂: [±animate]

To express the semantic value of brevity and uniqueness of the action in Russian we must resort to a main verb eventually accompanied by a modifying adverb, like *bystro* 'quickly'.

The peculiarity of this group of constructions compared to the previous two is that the Recipient is almost always a physical object, for instance:

- (38) *Ha acceso il forno e ha dato una spolverata alle tute che nell'armadio non hanno fatto la muffa* 'He has lighted the oven and given a dusting to the suits that didn't mold in the closet'.
 (39) *È bene abituarsi comunque a dare una controllata generale a qualunque oggetto (...)* 'However, it is good to get used to checking any object'.

4.5. Public events are transferred objects

The last metaphor to be discussed here motivates some instantiations of LVCs in both languages but has more occurrences in Russian than in Italian (see Table 5).

Table 5. Nouns denoting public events most frequently used in the direct object slot

Italian Web 2016			Russian Web 2011		
Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm	Lemma	Absolute frequency	Ipm
lezioni (pl.) ⁵ 'lessons'	4166	0,835	concert 'concert'	12106	0,832
festa 'party'	1387	0,278	urok 'lesson' (mostly pl.)	10696	0,735
concerto 'concert'	1340	0,269	master-klass 'workshop'	1999	0,137
spettacolo ⁶ 'performance', 'show'	202	0,040	spektakl' 'performance', 'show'	997	0,069
ricevimento 'reception, party'	95	0,019	press-konferencija 'press conference'	861	0,059
pranzo 'dinner'	79	0,016	obed 'dinner'	767	0,053
			zanjatie 'lesson' (mostly pl.)	687	0,047
			predstavlenije 'performance', 'show'	673	0,046
			bal 'ball'	634	0,044
			lekcija 'lecture'	550	0,038

Source: own research.

The theme argument of the LVCs of this group denotes a public event which is metaphorically interpreted as an object given:

(40) *dare una festa* 'to give a party', *dare ricevimento* 'to give a reception';

(41) *davat' press-konferenciju* 'to give a press conference', *davat' priëm* 'to give a reception', *davat' obed* 'to give a dinner'.

⁵ The singular form of the Italian noun *lezione* 'lesson' is used in the idiom *dare una lezione a qlcu* (lit. to give sb. a lesson), which expresses an act of punishment. The Russian idiom *davat' urok komu* (lit. to give sb. a lesson) means 'to teach sb. a lesson', 'to correct sb.'

⁶ The noun *spettacolo* 'show, performance' forms with the verb *dare* a collocation *dare uno spettacolo (teatrale)* 'to put on a show', but is also used idiomatically: *dare (uno) spettacolo* 'to make an exhibition of oneself'.

Performing educational services is also metaphorically interpreted as transferring an object to a recipient:

(42) *dare lezioni (di musica)* 'to give (music) lessons';

(43) *davat' uroki/zanjatja* 'to give lessons', *davat' master-klass* 'to give a workshop', *davat' lekciju* 'to give a lecture'.

Some of the LVCs are motivated by the metaphor SENSORY PERCEPTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS (Goldberg 1995: 148, Turner, Fauconnier 1999: 411, Paszenda 2017: 260):

(44) *dare un concerto* 'to give a concert', *dare uno spettacolo (teatrale)* 'to give a performance';

(45) *davat' koncert* 'to give a concert', *davat' spektakl' / predstavlenie* 'to give a performance'.

Schematically the LVCs forming this group can be represented in the following way:

Sem: CAUSE-“RECEIVE” ⟨ agt theme (ben/exp) ⟩

Syn: *dare/davat'* Subj Obj₁ Obj₂

Subj: [+human]

Obj₁: [+public event]

(Obj₂: [+human])

The Recipient argument is often not lexically profiled as its referent's identity is either irrelevant or unknown.

Some examples of this metaphorical extension found in the corpora are:

(46) *Graham aveva accettato di dare il primo concerto a Sydney il 15 febbraio* 'Graham had agreed to give the first concert in Sydney on February 15th'.

(47) *Stasera daremo una festa per tutti i nostri amici più cari* 'Tonight we are giving a party for all our dearest friends'.

(48) *I eščë ja davala chastnyje uroki russkogo jazyka i literatury dlja postupajuščich v universitet* 'I also gave private lessons in Russian language and literature for applicants to university'.

(49) *V subbotu v Teatre na Taganke budet dan tysjačnyj spektakl' po romanu Bulgakova "Master i Margarita"* 'On Saturday, in the Taganka Theater, will be performed the thousandth play based on Bulgakov's novel The Master and Margarita'.

5. Conclusions

Non-fully compositional ditransitive structures with the light verbs *dare* and *davat'*/*dat'* have the same syntactic structure and express the idea of transfer as prototypical non-fixed ditransitive constructions. The only difference is that the transfer in the light verb constructions is metaphorical and the transferred entity is abstract. LVCs can be presented as extensions that inherit from the basic sense of the verbs via a metaphorical link and that form a family of related constructions.

Systematic metaphors that license extensions from the primary meaning of the verbs *dare* and *davat'* have been identified and LVCs were grouped according to these extension mechanisms. The most productive metaphors in both languages are COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER, CAUSAL EVENTS ARE TRANSFERS, and ENABLEMENT IS TRANSFER. The domains largely overlap across the two languages, but some are richer in one language or the other.

The convergences and divergences between the constructions of the two languages resulting from this study may become the subject of further research on the phenomenon and may be taken into consideration while teaching Russian and Italian as a foreign language.

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**Was kann man in Italienisch geben, das man in Russisch nicht geben kann?
Die kontrastive Studie von den Funktionsverben *dare* in Italienisch
und *davat'*/*dat'* in Russisch**

Zusammenfassung

Funktionsverbgefüge, Konstruktionen aus einem Verb mit einem abgeschwächten semantischen Inhalt und einem der Konstruktion sinngebenden Substantiv in der Rolle des Akkusativobjektes (*prendere una decisione* 'eine Entscheidung treffen')

(wörtlich 'eine Entscheidung nehmen'), *stavit' vopros* 'eine Frage stellen') oder in einer Präpositionalphrase (*mettere a confronto* 'vergleichen' (wörtlich 'in den Vergleich stellen'), *brat' pod ochranu* 'unter Bewachung stellen' (wörtlich 'unter Bewachung nehmen')), bilden eine auffällige Klasse von idiosynkratischen, aber halbkompositionellen und halbproduktiven Konstruktionen in Italienisch sowie in Russisch. Diese Studie konzentriert sich auf Konstruktionen aus dem Funktionsverb *dare* 'geben' in Italienisch und dem Funktionsverb *davat' / dat'* 'geben' in Russisch und einem Nomen in der Rolle des Akkusativobjekts. Das Model der Konstruktionsgrammatik (Goldberg 1995, 2006), das einen einheitlichen Rahmen zur Untersuchung der Konstruktionen mit direkter sowie figurativer Bedeutung anbietet, und das Familienkonzept wurden angewendet, um die Verwandtschaft der Konstruktionen zu erforschen.

Halbkompositionelle ditransitive Konstruktionen mit dem Funktionsverb *dare* und *davat' / dat'* haben dieselbe syntaktische Struktur und drücken die Idee des Transfers aus wie prototypische nicht feste ditransitive Konstruktionen. Der einzige Unterschied ist, dass der Transfer in den Funktionsverbgefügen metaphorisch ist und die transferierte Einheit abstrakt ist.

Systematische Metaphern, die die Erweiterung der Grundbedeutung der Verben erlauben, wurden identifiziert und Funktionsverbgefüge wurden nach Erweiterungsmechanismen gruppiert. Die produktivsten Metaphern in beiden Sprachen sind KOMMUNIKATION IST TRANSFER, KAUSALE EREIGNISSE SIND TRASFER und ERMÖGLICHUNG IST TRANSFER.

Die in der Studie erschlossenen Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede zwischen den Konstruktionen in den zwei Sprachen können zum Gegenstand weiterer Forschung werden und beim Unterrichten des Russischen und des Italienischen als Fremdsprache berücksichtigt werden.