

Constructions and Context(s) 2022

Université Paris 8, Vincennes – St. Denis
9 November 2022

Book of Abstracts



Constructions and Context(s) 2022
9 November 2022 - Paris 8

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Presenters

Plenary

Pr. Dominique Legallois, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle

General Sessions

Timothy Colleman, Ghent University

Bernard Combettes, Université de Lorraine

Mathilde Dargnat, Université de Lorraine

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Evelyn Wiesinger, Universität Tübingen

Alexander Willich, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

Alexander Ziem, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

Campus Map

The event will be held in the Maison de recherche, the brown MR building on the map. Note that it is easiest to enter the BU building opposite the metro and cross the footbridge (Bâtiment pont on the map) to access the Maison de recherche.

For more information, visit <https://www.univ-paris8.fr/Acces-et-plans>



Conference Programme

9.30	Welcome & Registration		
9.50	Workshop opening Leclercq, Desagulier, Glynn		
10.00	Keynote Dominique Legallois (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle) L'imprégnation contextuelle des formes linguistiques		
11.00	Coffee break		
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11.30	Combettes & Dargnat L'« héritage » du contexte dans l'évolution des constructions	Erb Pronominal possessives in Modern Hebrew	
12.00	Pinson The adversative value of <i>by the same token</i>	Romain <i>et al.</i> Context, construal and constraints	
12.30	Lunch break		
14.00	Ivorra Ordines Un hambre que da calambre	Keromnes This construction would have had deserved more attention	
14.30	Raineri Déconstruction du sens en contexte ? User-related determinants in attitudes towards productivity	Van den Stock <i>et al.</i>	
15.00	Willich & Ziem Contexts in constructicography	Gavruseva Let's Drop the Object	
15.30	Coffee break		
16.00	Levshina & Lorenz The Principle of No Synonymy vs. communicative efficiency	Wiesinger Sémantique et pragmatique des constructions des verbes à particule	
16.30	Politt Turning a construction and its context into a usage recipe	Pahontu La construction <i>a fi pe cale</i> ‘être en voie de’ en roumain	
17.00	Tizón-Couto & Lorenz Co(n)text and the constructional status of coalesced variants	Pisciotta Beyond the written/spoken distinction	

Plenary Lecture

Dominique Legallois

Université Sorbonne Nouvelle

L'imprégnation contextuelle des formes linguistiques

La problématique de la trace se montre particulièrement précieuse pour penser et rendre compte de certains fonctionnements linguistiques, notamment le rapport entre les formes linguistiques (les constructions) et leur contexte d'usage ; nous voudrions illustrer ce propos tant sur le plan historique et social de la langue, que sur le plan individuel de la compétence des locuteurs, à partir de l'exemple de l'analyse d'une construction que nous notons « Passif¹ pour avoir Ppassé » (Cf. Legallois 2012 pour une première analyse). Cette construction se réalise souvent dans des énoncés « marqués » ou « connotés », c'est-à-dire portant certaines valeurs énonciatives remarquables - phénomène que nous désignons avec la linguistique contextualiste britannique (Louw, 1993 et Sinclair 1996), par le terme de prosodie sémantique. Ainsi, dans ces exemples :

- (1) Allemagne : un jeune homme de 20 ans tué pour avoir demandé le port du masque, vif émoi dans le pays. (La Dépêche)

où il s'agit pour le locuteur d'exprimer le caractère injuste et cruel d'une « sanction » dont la cause ou l'origine est interprétée comme une action légitime (≈ mort pour avoir fait son travail)

1 « Passif » renvoie à la forme grammaticale, ou bien à toute proposition dans laquelle un sujet subit une action.

- (2) Strasbourg : une caissière licenciée pour avoir acheté une patate douce et une baguette pendant sa pause (<https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr>)²

Ici, le caractère injuste de la sanction a pour origine une action tout à fait bénigne (≈ licenciée pour aucune raison sérieuse). L'effet émotionnel de ces emplois peut avoir pour valeur l'indignation. Mais d'autres valeurs (d'autres « prosodies ») ont cours, comme dans :

- (3) Un employé d'un hôpital renvoyé pour avoir sucé les orteils d'un patient (Internet)

dans lequel l'effet est plutôt une sorte d'incrédulité amusée. On le voit par ces exemples, la construction averbale est largement exploitée par la titrailler des articles journalistiques.

Face à ces emplois marqués, il convient également de mentionner un usage que l'on peut qualifier de neutre – c'est-à-dire sans prosodie sémantique marquée :

- (4) Adam C. encourt quatre ans de prison pour avoir battu et violé à deux reprises sa compagne en mars 2019 à Bruxelles (Sudinfo.be)

On pourrait considérer que ces prosodies font à chaque fois (c'est-à-dire à chaque emploi de la construction) l'objet d'une inférence de la part des lecteurs, à partir du lexique employé et du contexte. Le mécanisme inférentiel « occurrentiel » (c'est-à-dire, encore une fois, pour chaque occurrence rencontrée) n'est sûrement pas à négliger.

² Il est à remarquer que lorsque l'usage est neutre, la cause peut souvent faire l'objet d'une nominalisation (violer > violation ; battre > violence ; voler > vol, etc). Cette nominalisation renvoie à un délit recensé par le code juridique.

Néanmoins, pour interpréter le fonctionnement de telles constructions, nous voudrions défendre l'idée d'une dimension « intertextuelle » des formes grammaticales, ou encore l'idée qu'une occurrence nouvelle porte avec elle la trace de ces occurrences passées.

La notion de trace est convoquée dans notre réflexion pour deux de ses acceptations qui sont d'ailleurs développées par Ricoeur dans son travail sur la mémoire et l'histoire (Ricoeur 2000) : la trace empreinte et la trace mnésique. La trace empreinte a àvoir ici avec la dimension historique de la forme : la forme que nous analysons à son niveau schématique s'inscrit dans des parcours complexes qu'il faut concevoir en termes de traditions discursives – notion proposée par la romanistique allemande (Koch 1997, 2015, François et Legallois à par.) ; nous illustrerons et analyserons ces parcours dont voici les principales étapes.

1. Tradition Juridique (sanction) dans laquelle la valeur est neutre ; ainsi cet exemple d'une parole « juridique » imbriqué dans un récit :

(5) Jehan Trubert et son filz furent mis entre les mains du Prevost des mareschaux. Lequel Jehan Trubert ne tarda gueres que son proces ne luy fust faict, et son dicton signifié, qui portoit entre aultres ces motz : « Jehan Trubert pour avoir prins robé, un grand jument seroit pendu et estranglé, le petit ovecques luy. » DES PÉRIERS Bonaventure - Nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis (1558) : De la sentence que donna le Prevost de Bretaigne, lequel fit pendre Jehan Trubert et son filz. (p. 227)

2. Tradition de l'herméneutique religieuse dans laquelle on identifie l'origine de la valeur indignation présente dans l'exemple (1) :

(6) bienheureux ceux qui souffrent persecution pour la justice : parce que le royaume des cieux leur appartient. Tous ceux qui souffrent pour avoir bien fait, pour avoir donné bon exemple, pour avoir obéi simplement, et avoir confondu par leur exemple ceux qui ne vivent pas assez régulièrement (Bossuet, Méditations sur l’Evangile, 1704)

3. Tradition philosophique (critique) et particulièrement le corpus voltaire qui fait un emploi massif de la construction. Le type d’exemples ci-dessous est à l’origine de la valeur de l’exemple (2) – et la construction est l’illustration parfaite de l’ironie voltaire :

(7) N’est-ce pas la plus grande absurdité de penser que l’Être suprême punira à jamais un caloyer pour avoir mangé du lièvre, ou un Turc pour avoir mangé du porc ? (Voltaire, Le catéchisme de l’honnête homme, 1763)

4. Tradition médiatique et journalisme engagé. Clémenceau usera lui aussi de la construction de façon massive dans sa défense de Dreyfus :

(8) Picquart est renvoyé devant un conseil de guerre pour avoir dénoncé un traître et refusé de mentir (Clémenceau, L’Iniquité, 1899).

Ce parcours très schématique a pour terme la tradition médiatique moderne : l’emploi de la construction pour les titres d’articles, qui se caractérise par une exploitation que l’on pourrait dire exubérante, ce qui n’a pas échappé au site parodique Le Garofi qui propose de nombreux exemples :

- (9) Toulouse : Il se fait abattre de 46 balles pour avoir demandé un « pain au chocolat »
- (10) Un chauffeur de taxi en garde à vue pour avoir accepté la carte bleue

La trace ici est une empreinte, l'empreinte des différents emplois passés et que la forme a en quelque sorte mémorisés. Il s'agit là d'une réflexion sur la nature collective, sociale et historique, en langue, de la construction ; autrement dit, nous considérons que ce type de construction ne peut constituer une simple combinaison lexico-grammaticale, dont les effets seraient inférés, « calculés », à chaque occurrence. Nous voyons plutôt une forme imprégnée des différentes valeurs passées ; le contexte de chaque nouvelle occurrence serait en définitive un indice pour telles ou telles valeurs (indignation, incrédulité, etc.). À l'image d'une unité lexicale dont certains des emplois peuvent être dits connotés, les formes grammaticales aussi schématiques que « Passif pour avoir Ppassé », peuvent également posséder ce type de valeurs suprasegmentales. Mais le raisonnement ne vaut ici qu'au niveau social de la langue. Qu'en est-il pour la compétence de chaque individu ? Il nous semble que la notion de trace mnésique (Ricoeur 2000) en linguistique cognitive apporte des réponses intéressantes. Les travaux de linguistique cognitive portant sur la sociophonétique (notamment Goldinger 1996, Pierrehumbert 2001) ont montré la pertinence de la notion d'exemplaires. Dans la compétence d'un locuteur, un mot est associé à « l'ensemble des traces mnésiques des occurrences de ce mot [ou groupes de mots] perçues auparavant, accompagnées de détails phonétiques spécifiques de chacune de ces occurrences » (Chevrot, 2001 : 113). Les formes lexicales – et nous ajoutons, grammaticales – font l'objet d'une mémorisation complexe : à partir de ce que la linguistique cognitive nomme des usage events (Langacker 1987 : 67), c'est-à-dire des emplois concrets d'une

forme, les locuteurs mémorisent des informations qui ne sont pas seulement linguistiques (c'est-à-dire formelles), mais aussi d'ordre pragmatique et contextuel, allant jusqu'à la voix des locuteurs pour les informations du type sociophonétique – cf. Nardy et Duga 2011). Ainsi, la connaissance lexicale (et grammaticale) s'organise autour d'exemplaires (la mémorisation d'énoncés réels et de leur contexte) dont la mémoire garde la trace ; cette notion d'exemplaire est venue concurrencer celle de prototype depuis quelques années. En ce qui concerne la construction « Passif pour avoir Ppassé », nous faisons l'hypothèse, avec la linguistique cognitive, que les locuteurs stockent en mémoire des exemplaires et des clusters d'exemplaires correspondant aux différentes prosodies sémantiques (indignation, incrédulité, etc.) rencontrés lors de l'expérience discursive. Chaque nouvelle occurrence est confrontée à différents clusters de traces mnésiques des occurrences passées de cette forme, pour correspondre à l'interprétation la plus pertinente selon le contexte ; à son tour, cette nouvelle occurrence a un impact sur la représentation en mémoire de la construction.

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General Session Presentations

Bernard Combettes & Mathilde Dargnat

Université de Lorraine

L'« héritage » du contexte dans l'évolution des constructions: Pragmaticalisation et marqueurs de discours

Nous interrogerons la notion de construction en articulant les dimensions synchronique et diachronique. Notre objectif est de montrer, à travers l'analyse de trois « configurations » discursives, le rôle et la rémanence de phénomènes contextuels d'états antérieurs de la langue dans l'interprétation actuelle.

La première configuration concerne l'emploi de l'expression « *A dans la mesure où B* », et le passage de la manière (1) à la justification (2) :

- (1) C'est donc encore un optimisme, mais abaissé, dégradé, n'échappant aux contradictions de l'ancien que **dans la mesure où** il rend son propre idéal plus court, plus pauvre ou plus obscur et ses aspirations plus confuses. (Renouvier 1864)
- (2) La dignité de l'artiste, **dans la mesure où** elle existe, se voit ici automatiquement transférée au critique qui donne son temps à extraire de ces magmas invertébrés ordre et signification. (Gracq 1948)

La deuxième configuration est celle qui met en œuvre la construction « *A d'autant que B* » d'abord comparative (3) puis causale (4) :

- (3) **D'autant que** la mer avoit esté terrible et merveilleuse d'autant fust paisible et petit vent [...] (Barbatre 1480)

- (4) Les enfants peuvent clairement s'identifier aux Power Rangers, **d'autant que** ce sont des humains qui leur ressemblent. (Le Monde 1995)

Enfin, la troisième configuration sera exemplifiée par la construction en « *si* + adj. *que* A, B », d'abord comparative (5) puis concessive (6) :

- (5) Si li cort sus, **si armez comme** il estoit, et le fier par mi le hiaume. (La mort Artu, 1230) Il court vers lui, armé comme il était, ...
- (6) C'est celui-là qui enchante les ambitieux, c'est celui-là dont ils sont jaloux à l'extrême, **si petite que** soit la part qu'elle leur en fait. (Bossuet 1662)

Le contexte sera essentiellement envisagé comme le contexte linguistique, ou cotexte, mais nous ne nous interdirons pas quelques considérations pragmatiques d'ordre situationnel, par exemple à travers le processus de pragmatisation et d'intersubjectivisation (Traugott 2010). La notion de construction sera exploitée dans trois directions : le questionnement de la noncompositionnalité des figements lexicaux devenus marqueurs discursifs, la mise en Évidence d'un héritage de traits contextuels (par ex. ceux d'un contexte négatif ou d'une description en termes scalaires, etc.), la hiérarchisation des réalisations au sein d'une famille plus large présentant des caractéristiques communes (micro-, méso- et macro-constructions, cf. Traugott 2008, Trousdale 2012, 2015, Hoffmann 2013). La dimension corpus et analyse quantitative sera abordée à la marge, car la représentativité des données anciennes est discutable, mais elle sera utile pour questionner une éventuelle corrélation entre fréquence d'emploi, figement lexical et co(n)textuel et Évolution de l'interprétation. Les données sur lesquelles nous nous appuierons

sont extraites, pour l'Écrit, de Frantext (corpus intégral), du journal Le Monde, de la Base de Français Médiéval, et pour l'oral, de ESLO 1 et 2, Corpaix, CRFP, FRA80 et DECLICS. Les premiers résultats mettent en Évidence non seulement des « comportements » spécifiques à chaque construction étudiée (modes verbaux, restriction, etc.), mais aussi des aspects de l'Évolution plus généraux (détachement, changement de portée, etc.).

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Ittamar Erb

Tel Aviv University

Pronominal possessives in Modern Hebrew: the need for low-level, formally specified constructions

Modern Hebrew has two phrasal pronominal possessive constructions, a prepositional possessive (NP *sel*-POSS, e.g. *axot sel-i*, sister of-my, ‘my sister’), and a suffixed construction (N-POSS, e.g. *axot-i*, sister-POSS.1.sg, ‘my sister’). Within a usage-based analysis, I report corpus results supported by an acceptability judgment task and argue for at least three types of pronominal possessive constructions, two of which make reference to formally specified low-level constructions. This supports Ariel (2019), Goldberg (2019) and Sommerer & Baumann (2021) point that low-level constructions are a crucial part of grammar.

The corpus data consists of 824 tokens of pronominal possessives, extracted from 145 conversations of spoken Modern Hebrew (CoSIH; Maschler et al. 2021). Each token was tagged for its construction (prepositional\suffixed) and possessed nominal (*axot*, ‘sister’ in the above examples). Crucially for the current research, the definiteness of each token was tagged as well.

Only 5.6% (18/322) of the possessed nominal types appear in both constructions, suggesting that at least one of the constructions is specialized for specific nominals. Based on Baayen (2009), counts of nominal types were taken to measure the constructions’ productivity. The prepositional construction was found to be much more productive. This suggests that positing at least two types of constructions is warranted, one of which is formally specified:

- a. A productive prepositional construction, with an abstract possessed nominal slot. (NP+*sel*-POSS).

- b. Non-productive suffixed constructions specified for particular possessed nominals. (e.g. *iʃt*-POSS, ‘wife-‘POSS’).

However, morphosyntactic patterns of some prepositional tokens motivate positing yet another construction. While the suffixed construction is inherently definite, the prepositional construction may be definite or indefinite, depending on the occurrence of the definite article (*ha-*, ‘the’) (Berman 1978). However, a minority of prepositional tokens with possessed kinship terms are semantically definite despite the absence of a definite article. This can be verified based on other formal cues for definiteness, such as definite agreement on modifying adjectives (1), which is absent for indefinite common nouns (2):

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | ax | ʃel-i | ha-katan |
| | brother | of-POSS.1.SG | the-little |
| | My little brother | | |
| | (Family events, HC) | | |
| (2) | # ax | ha-katan | |
| | # brother | the-little | |
| | ?Little brother | | |

As (optional) definiteness seems to be conventionalized for these nominals only when possessed, these tokens justify positing another type of prepositional construction in the grammar:

- c. Non-productive prepositional constructions that may be definite without overt marking, specified for the possessed nominals. (e.g. *ax ʃel*-POSS, ‘brother of-POSS’).

To further support the postulation of this construction, acceptability judgments of different nominals in configurations such as (1) were collected. Initial data suggest that only specific possessed relational nouns are acceptable in these configurations, thus corroborating the claim for an additional construction type.

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Let's Drop the Object: Experimental study of implicit object constructions in American English

The topic of transitive structures with implicit (phonologically null) objects has received much attention in Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2001). Among natural languages, English is characterized by allowing mainly non-referential null objects (#Do you hoard money or spend _ too freely?); the use of referential null objects is highly constrained (Fillmore 1986) and differs from patterns in Romance languages (Cummins & Roberge 2004). Our paper investigates the hypothesis that English is a type of language that ‘exploits’ non-referential object constructions to trigger referential inferences (e.g. A: *What happened to all the vegetables?* B: *Well, Jacques has been chopping _ and dicing _ all afternoon*, from Cummins & Roberge 2004).

We designed an online experiment to address three questions: (i) speakers' acceptability preferences in discourse contexts where non-ref. (cognate) null objects are pitted against equivalents with overt non-ref. objects (Generic Condition A: *How can we save more money?* B: *We could start cooking _ at home/ cooking meals at home*); (ii) speakers' acceptability of non-ref. null objects in contexts where a [+ref.] interference is pragmatically plausible in relation to indefinite or definite antecedents (Conditions B (indef.) and C (def.); e.g. A: *Sarah just got a brand-new car!* B: *I hope she'll park _ in the garage/park it in the garage!*). 35 native speakers of AE (mean age 29, 17M/18F) took part in an online experiment (18 short dialogues, as above, with verbs clean, eat, park, play, explore, cook) in three conditions varying by type of antecedent (no antecedent or ‘generic’ and [+antecedent] (indefinite vs. definite); 18 distractor dialogues).

The task was to rank B's alternate responses on a 7-point scale and treat each dialogue as a sample of spoken English.

In the Generic condition, null cognate objects were preferred over lexically expressed (mean 6.77 (null) vs. 5.89 (overt); t-test $p < .0001$). In the referential conditions, overt (pronominal) objects were preferred over null (cognate) objects: Indef. Condition (mean 5.15 (null) vs. 6.65 (overt); t-test $p < .00001$) and Def. Condition (mean 5.02 (null) vs. 6.24 (overt), t-test $p < .00001$). Between-condition comparisons of null object rankings are as follows: t-test pairwise comparisons of generic vs. indef. and generic vs. def. are statistically significant (Bonferroni adjusted p-value for each is $< .0001$); indef. vs. def. are non-significant. The findings suggest that null objects are pragmatically felicitous in referential contexts, supporting the hypothesis that English allows much pragmatic flexibility in the use of non-referential null object constructions.

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Un hambre que da calambre. Exploring the extravagant nature of constructional idioms of PHYSIOLOGICAL NEEDS

In the last few years, the study of creativity has had a notable presence not only because of its theoretical interest but also because of the empirical research that has been carried out (see Hoffmann 2019, 2020). The analysis of linguistic creativity, however, represents a real challenge given the wide range of linguistic phenomena that we may encounter.

From the phraseological literature, the creative potential of idiomatic expressions has been explored under the assumption that novel utterances are the result of free combinations of constructions, as long as there are no conflicts (Goldberg 2006). In this line of research, the phenomenon of creativity has been tackled from different perspectives. For example, Mellado Blanco (2020) examines idiom modification as a cognitive phenomenon and advocates for the notion of entrenchment given the varied range of discursive realizations that constructions may adopt in discourse, or Ivorra Ordines (2022) analyses the role of analogical extensions as cognitive mechanisms to seek a greater expressivity of those lexicalized comparisons with high token frequency, such as the [*más feo que pegarle a un padre*] micro-construction.

Against this background, this study aims at exploring the extravagant nature of the intensifying constructional idioms of PHYSIOLOGICAL NEEDS, namely [*un hambre que X*] ‘to be very hungry’, [*una sed que X*] ‘to be very thirsty’, and [*un sueño que X*] ‘to be very sleepy’. With a corpus comprising 261 occurrences extracted from the esTenTen18 corpus (Sketch Engine), we seek to identify potential indicators of extravagance, such as word plays as

an attempt to entertain and ultimately be socially successful (example 1), hyperbolic situations to create particular meaning effects as a result of presenting a situation that may be not compatible with the reality (example 2), or typological marks with clear expressive intentions (example 3).

- (1) Y él me decía: "Usted es de buen cocinar, pero de poco apetito", y yo tenía **un hambre que parecían dos**, pero me iba tan tranquilo dejándolo disfrutar. (8698861260)
- (2) Y eso me gusta aún más, tengo **un hambre que no sé cómo no me he comido a media tripulación del barco**. (3605238720)
- (3) Dos horas y pico de viaje m's tarde llegué a la casa donde me alojaría una semana, muy contento con el calor pero con **una sed que ME IBA A DAR ALGO**, y me dicen, toma, bebe algo, y yo... (4897093377)

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**This construction would have had deserved more attention:
Double perfects and their contexts of use in English, German and
French**

In their seminal paper, Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor (1988) state their aim as establishing the centrality of linguistic phenomena that have previously been regarded as peripheral, leaving a place in grammar in particular “for spelling out non-predictable semantics and pragmatics that is frequently conventionally associated with particular constructions [...].” This has spawned a lot of research on specific constructions in various languages, but while there have been “increasing efforts to create constructicons: detailed inventories of form-meaning pairs to describe the grammar of a given language, following the principles of construction grammar” (Perek & Patten 2019), we are far from being done with the study of specific constructions.

This study focuses on double perfects in English, French and German as constructions observed in large reference corpora (resp. the COCA, Frantext and the DeReKo). These remarkably rare constructions are neither taught in first language nor second language education, and are largely absent from traditional grammars. Some linguists have claimed that they are dialectal and colloquial (Wilmet 2009); yet, they are to be found in the works of classic literary authors:

- (1) Enfin à quatre heures, nous en **avons eu fini**
(S. de Beauvoir).

And although double perfects, particularly in the German language, have been investigated by several linguists in recent years (e.g. Schaden 2009, Hafl 2016), most of these studies use made-up examples. Authentic ones, which might well be heuristically richer, are also harder to collect. And yet, a simple Google search of the string “had had” followed by the past participle of a given verb will sometimes yield nothing, and sometimes a series of similar occurrences. For instance, the verb “try” in English will often be used with a double past perfect to denote a suicide attempt:

- (2) She said her brother **had had tried** to self harm in previous years. (Daily Mail, UK)
- (3) By 1993, she **had had tried** to commit suicide several times. (Australian blog)
- (4) He **had had tried** to hang himself from a tree. (American blog)

But what we observe in a tagged subcorpus of the DeReKo is even more surprising: no less than 2 250 occurrences of a double perfect combined with a modal construction, the vast majority of them with the very same verb, *verdienen* (to deserve) are to be found in sports articles from different newspapers:

- (5) Wir **hätten** einen Sieg **verdient gehabt**.
We would have had deserved to win
- (6) Sie **hätten** mehr als einen Punkt **verdient gehabt**.
They would have had deserved more than just one point.

Such observations show why the study of verb forms should not be limited to an “abstract semantics” (Legallois & Patard 2017). With the help of a quantitative and qualitative study on tagged corpora of the double perfects in use in all three languages, we will investigate

why these constructions seem to attract particular verbs much more than others and be used in highly specific situations.

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The Principle of No Synonymy vs. communicative efficiency: The case of *want to/wanna*

There is ample psycholinguistic evidence that speakers behave efficiently, using shorter and less effortful constructions when the meaning is more predictable, and longer and more effortful ones when it is less predictable (Gibson *et al.* 2019; Levshina and Moran 2021). However, the Principle of No Synonymy requires that all formally distinct variants should also be functionally different (Goldberg 1995, 2019). These principles seem to be in conflict. Our case study focuses on *want to* + Infinitive and its reduced variant with *wanna*, which have very different stylistic and sociolinguistic connotations (Boas 2004; Lorenz 2020), and tests if the efficient trade-off between formal length and predictability is observed in this alternation. Our second goal is to create a multifactorial model of *wanna/want to* in British English, which integrates linguistic, sociolinguistic and stylistic contextual variables.

We extracted 9123 instances of *wanna/want to* + Infinitive from the spoken part of the British National Corpus. The instances were coded for several linguistic variables (negation and question contexts), sociolinguistic variables (age and sex of the speaker) and stylistic variables (text type, speech rate, and stylistic prosody of the infinitive, obtained from a Correspondence Analysis of the verbs and different text types in the BNC). Predictability was measured as informativity (surprisal) of *wanna/want to* given previous context and given the infinitive, and informativity of the infinitive given *wanna/want to*. These variables were tested as fixed effects in Bayesian mixed-effects regression models. The setting and the speaker ID, as well as the infinitives and grammatical subjects of

wanna/want to were treated as random effects (intercepts). Since some of the sociolinguistic and stylistic information was incomplete in the corpus, we fitted the models both on the data without the missing values, and on the data with imputed values, using an imputation algorithm (van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn 2011).

The models show that *wanna* is preferred more often in conversations, in fast speech and in speech produced by male and younger speakers. Moreover, it is more expected in contexts without negation and (to some extent) in questions. The effects of different contextual variables are additive. As for the question about communicative efficiency, the final models, with and without the imputed values, revealed that predictability increases the chances of the reduced variant only in fast speech. We conclude that efficient use of more and less effortful variants is restricted when two variants are strongly associated with different registers or styles.

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Etude des appariements formes/sens de la construction *a fi pe cale* ‘être en voie de’ en roumain. Une approche empirique

Cette étude discute la construction aspectuelle *a fi pe cale* (litt. ‘être en voie de’) en roumain, dans le cadre théorique des Grammaires de Construction. En accord avec les théories basées sur l'usage (Bybee 2010, Goldberg 2013), nous avons adopté deux méthodes exploratoires dans l'analyse des différences d'usage de cette construction : l'approche de corpus et l'approche expérimentale.

Dans un premier temps, notre analyse constructionnelle s'inscrit dans la ligne de Yoon et Gries (2016), mettant l'accent sur l'approche quantitative sur corpus. Nous discuterons le rôle du co(n)texte dans une double perspective : (i) diachronique (corpus de textes, 3000 occurrences) et (ii) synchronique (roTenTen16, 600 occurrences). Le principal objectif est de saisir comment les facteurs co(n)textuels influent sur l'interprétation de *a fi pe cale*. Pour cela, nous avons annoté nos occurrences selon une trentaine de paramètres morpho-syntaxiques (temps, mode, personne, nombre, voix, types de phrases, adverbes, etc.), sémantiques (animéité, agentivité, télicité, scalarité, Aktionsart, etc.) et pragmatiques (implicature annulée/renforcée). Notre analyse statistique de fréquence selon des paramètres précis permet de distinguer les emplois progressifs-proximatif (fr. *être en voie de*) des emplois proximatif (fr. *être sur le point de*) et avertis (fr. *faillir + infinitif*, Kuteva 1998). Résultats : en diachronie, les premiers usages aspectuels ont une sémantique progressive-proximative et remontent au XIXe siècle ; la combinatoire avec des noms est plus fréquente dans les premières étapes de la grammaticalisation ; en synchronie, la construction se combine plus avec des verbes qu'avec des noms, et a des emplois (progressifs)-

proximatifs au présent ; l'évolution du marquage temporel influe sur les emplois aspectuels : la fréquence de l'emploi au passé est corrélée avec l'augmentation des emplois avertisifs (l'effet de la fréquence sur la conventionnalisation d'une construction a été reconnu dans la littérature, p.ex. Bybee 2010) ; les appariements formes/sens rendent compte du chemin de grammaticalisation suivant : progressif --> proximatif --> avertif.

Dans un deuxième temps, nous avons mis en place deux expériences psycholinguistiques (Yes-No Task) suivant un protocole très rigoureux, afin de mieux décrire l'emploi avertif. Résultats : (i) L'avertif apparaît à la fois au passé composé et à l'imparfait dans des phrases mono-clausales. Cela montre que l'avertivité est une fonction sémantique, conventionnelle, et non pas pragmatique, comme suggéré pour d'autres constructions en contexte roman (Schwellenbach 2019). (ii) Le sens avertif est obtenu à la fois en combinaison avec des verbes d'achèvement et d'accomplissement (Vendler 1967). A la conférence, nous présenterons nos résultats statistiques et montrerons l'interaction temps (passé composé, imparfait) vs. *sémantique du verbe* (télicité, positivité).

Notre étude de la périphrase roumaine *a fi pe cale* est originelle à deux titres. Elle s'inscrit dans une approche constructionnelle, et elle est fondée sur des méthodes empiriques complémentaires.

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The adversative value of *by the same token*: From pragmatics to semantics

The construction *by the same token* is partly non-compositional (cf. ‘the sense of *token* becomes vague’ OED, s.v. *token*, n. def. 15). A corpus study on EEBO, CLEMT 3.0, COHA and COCA shows that the evolution of this construction is quite complex (Pinson, in press). The main phases of its evolution are summarized in Figure 1.

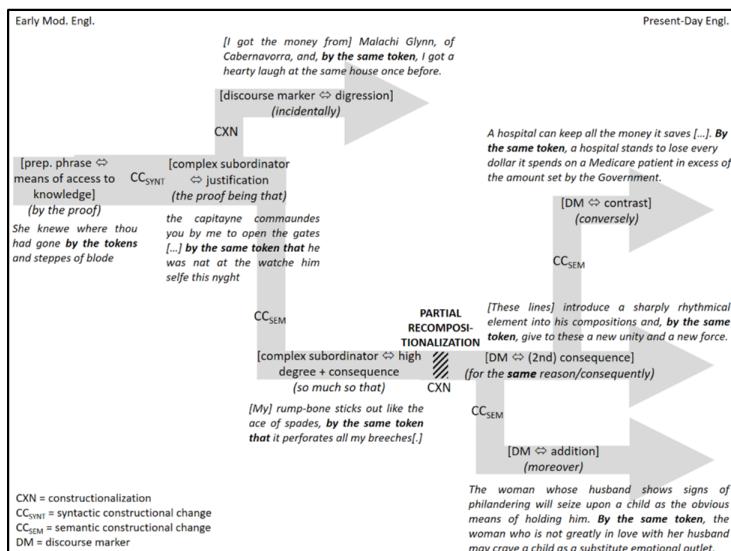


Figure 1. The evolution of *by the same token*

This paper focuses on the emergence of the adversative value of *by the same token*, which occurred in the 20th century. It is still absent from most dictionaries and may be said to rely mainly on context.

Significantly, the most frequent left collocate of *by the same token* in COHA was *and*, but in COCA it is *but*. The percentage of *but* compared to *and* was 34% versus 66% in COHA; it has surged to 75% versus 25% in COCA. This shows that the construction is becoming increasingly compatible with an adversative interpretation (cf. Lenker 2010: 192 on *yet*), but it also suggests that the adversative value of *by the same token* largely remains at the level of pragmatics, as a particularized invited inference (Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

My goal is to document the incipient semanticization of the adversative value of *by the same token*. It is notably attested by the presence, albeit rare, of alternative forms such as *at the same token*, and *on the same token* in COCA (17 and 31 occurrences respectively), which are due to constructional interferences with other adversative markers like *at the same time* and *on the other hand*. These constructional interferences or “phraseological transplants” (Legallois, 2013) can even lead to hybrid correlative constructions in the spoken section of COCA:

- (1) It was a double-edged sword. I had affection **on one hand** from somebody I wanted to care desperately, and **on the same token**, it was – I finally had control over what was going on. (COCA, SPOK, Ind_Geraldo, 1993)

This suggests that *by the same token* is being included by some speakers in the constructional network of adversative discourse markers and that the study of constructional interferences can shed light on the processes at play in semanticization.

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**Beyond the written/spoken distinction:
Dialogicity, plannability, and the constructions with *sembrare*
'seem' in Italian**

In our study we investigate the contextual constraints of three constructions with *sembrare* 'seem': *sembrare* + infinitive, *sembra che* 'it seems that', and *mi sembra che* 'it seems to me that'. Research from a functionalist perspective has found differences in their evidential meanings, both in Italian and other European languages (Cornillie 2007, Aijmer 2009, Musi 2015), and highlighted preferences in their extra-linguistic context of use, suggesting an effect of formal vs. informal style (Kratschmer 2006) and of written vs. spoken modality (Cornillie 2007). However, our hypothesis is that these accounts are not integrated and specific enough to explain the distribution of these constructions. Consequently, we advocate for a finer-grained subdivision of production contexts, modelled as textual genres, and analyse how these affect the distribution and evidential values of *sembrare* + infinitive, *sembra che* and *mi sembra che*. We extract 216 total occurrences of these constructions from the written Italian corpus CORIS (Rossini Favretti *et al.* 2002) and 189 from the spoken Italian corpora LIP (De Mauro *et al.* 1993) and KIParla (Mauri *et al.* 2019). Occurrences are coded for the textual type they are from, distinguishing between eight levels, ordered from the most dialogic/less plannable to the most monologic/plannable (Voghera 2017). We also code their evidential/epistemic value, distinguishing between five levels: Inference, Perception-based Inference, Reportive, Belief, and Memory. We test the correlation between the frequency of each construction and the textual type (treated as an

ordinal variable) using Spearman correlation test. Evidential(epistemic values are investigated via a finer-grained qualitative analysis. Results show that the plannability/monologicity of texts has a high positive correlation with *sembrare* + infinitive ($r = 0.952381$), a high negative correlation with *mi sembra che* ($r = -0.9761905$) and no correlation with *sembra che* ($r = 0.1666667$). This suggests a preference for the expression of the experiencer in dialogic contexts, and a dispreference for more integrated structures, like *sembrare* + infinitive, in unplanned contexts. Furthermore, there is also an effect on the meaning of the constructions: as an example, Perception-based Inference, typical of speech situations, is also present in dialogic written genres, while Memory meanings show up only in unplanned genres and not in Monologic speech. These findings encourage to further study contextual constraints on syntactic constructions, and to overcome a sharp distinction between written and spoken language by looking at them as two poles of a continuum from more to less dialogic/plannable texts.

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A functional brew: Turning a construction and its context into a usage recipe

The role of the linguistic context, or co-text (Catford 1965: 31), in which a construction appears can be viewed as twofold. First, it is crucial for identifying functional differences between constructions within a paradigm (Bergs & Diewald 2009, Author, Author). This applies especially to cases where near synonymous constructions are part of the same grammatical paradigm (Politt 2022, Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* 2011). Second, it can help in choosing the appropriate construction for the desired communicative function, therefore serving as additional means of helping both speakers and learners to identify and choose appropriate expressions (Boas 2022; Herbst 2016; Vander Haegen 2021).

These two roles of the context are necessarily interdependent. It is the identification of the functional differences between constructions within a paradigm which licenses choosing or learning the appropriate expression. Creating educational resources based on these premises can thus be understood as a two-stage process:

1. Preparing the ingredients: Identifying preferred context features of a construction, depicting its functional specification. Ideally, this is done in comparison to a functionally similar construction.
2. Brewing the usage recipe: The preferred context features and the identified functional specification show the typical usage of a construction, which in turn informs the creation of educational materials.

The present paper exemplifies this process with the German epistemic modal *mag* + V_{COMPL} as in (1), a construction assumed to be part of the grammatical category mood (Diewald 1999, Politt 2022).

- (1) Dabei **mag** ihm sein Outfit **geholfen haben**.
His outfit **might have helped** him with that.
(DWDS, Degenhardt 1999: 44)

6799 occurrences of epistemic *mag* + V_{COMPL} were compared to another member of mood, the epistemic modal *dürfte* + V_{COMPL}, as in (2).

- (2) Er **dürfte** an die zwanzig Jahre alt **sein**.
He **should be/probably is** around 20 years old.
(DWDS, Lebert 1999: 53)

Based on data from the DWDS Core Corpus of the 20th century (Geyken 2007), features of the co-text which are associated with the constructions are identified using Conditional Inference Trees and Random Forests. Typical features of the subject, the verbal complement, and the verbal scene together with the specific function of each construction within its paradigm can be then turned in to 'usage recipes' for educational purposes.

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Déconstruction du sens en contexte ?

Le cas de en situation de + NOM

La communication proposée porte sur l'expression française en situation de + NOM illustrée dans les exemples suivants :

- (1) Nous avons déjà débattu, longuement, du parcours scolaire des jeunes handicapés. La scolarisation des élèves **en situation de handicap** reste particulièrement difficile alors qu'ils sont plus de 76 000 dans le premier degré, 20 000 dans le second et 7 000 dans l'enseignement supérieur.
(<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/12/cra/2004-2005/153.asp>)
- (2) En 2002, les lieux d'accueil du Secours catholique ont été nettement plus sollicités que l'année précédente: ils ont en effet reçu quelque 687 000 familles ou personnes seules « **en situation de pauvreté** », contre 671 500 en 2001.
(https://www.humanite.fr/popup_print.php3?id_article=382126)
- (3) [Professeur :] Qui peut me donner un exemple d'expression politiquement correcte ? Kevin ?
[Elève :] On ne dit pas un con, on dit une personne **en situation de connerie**.
(<https://www.birdsdessines.fr/2020/08/26/politiquement-correct-4/>)

Perçue comme une expression militante d'inclusion sociale ou comme un euphémisme « politiquement correct » de plus, *en situation de + NOM* n'a pas d'entrée lexicographique traditionnelle.

Dans le discours des locuteurs ordinaires (Krieg-Planque 2013), son sémantisme et ses conditions d'emploi suscitent souvent interrogations, voire scepticisme ou résistance. Quel est donc le sens de cette expression et pourquoi fait-il débat ? Dans cette communication, je proposerai que l'ambivalence sémantique de *en situation de* + NOM résulte d'un conflit entre le sens de l'expression tel qu'issu des éléments qui la composent et l'interprétation qu'elle prend en contexte.

L'étude proposée associe les méthodes et outils de la linguistique de corpus au cadre théorique de la grammaire des constructions. Sur la base d'un échantillon aléatoire de 1000 occurrences de *en situation de* + NOM extrait du *Leeds corpus of Internet corpora*¹, j'analyse l'expression comme un idiom constructionnel (Goldberg 2006, Booij 2008) dont le sens non strictement compositionnel peut être défini comme « localisé à un instant t par rapport à une circonstance limitante dans le domaine (physique/psychique, économique, scolaire/professionnel ou socio-politique) spécifié par [NOM] ». En contexte, toutefois, les locuteurs emploient très majoritairement l'expression en référence à des catégories d'individus confrontés à des situations limitantes permanentes. Dès lors, on pourrait considérer que les facteurs co(n)textuels prévalent sur les éléments constitutifs de la construction au point d'en « déconstruire » le sens, la rendant in fine Équivalente aux expressions simples qu'elle a vocation à remplacer (*handicapé/pauvre* pour *en situation de handicap/pauvreté*, par exemple). Cette analyse confirmerait l'hypothèse du « tapis de course euphémique » (euphemism treadmill) de Pinker (1994) selon laquelle le renouvellement cyclique des expressions euphémiques typiques de la langue « politiquement correcte » (*infirme/invalide/arriéré >> diminué >> inadapté >> handicapé >> en situation de handicap*, par exemple) ne modifie pas les concepts sous-jacents. Discutant cette hypothèse, je proposerai que 1) le sens de la construction défini plus

haut est toujours présent, bien que souvent occulté par les variables co(n)textuelles en présence et que 2) à ce sens s'ajoute l'expression de l'adhésion du locuteur à un ensemble de pratiques visant à instaurer des normes de respect à l'égard de tous les individus. Suivant Cappelle (2017), je montrerai que cette information pragmatique non systématiquement inférable en contexte doit figurer dans la représentation formelle de la construction.

Notes de bas de page

1. <http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html>

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Context, construal and constraints: A case study of the English article system

The English article system, despite its apparent simplicity, remains a challenge for learners of English, more specifically those whose language does not have an article system. Traditionally, grammars for learners have relied on two main features to account for article choice: Specificity of the Referent (SR) and Hearer Knowledge (HK) (cf. Huebner's semantic wheel 1983, 1985) but often, these grammars blur the line between the two features. In this paper, we question what type of information a speaker must have access to in order to choose the appropriate article and what role construal plays in this choice.

We will first present a corpus study, for which we extracted 2000 contexts from the BNC that we annotated for Hearer Knowledge, Specificity of the Referent but also countability, number and elaboration. We fed this data to a decision tree analysis and a simple learning algorithm (Widrow-Hoff 1960). Both analyses revealed the predominance of HK as a crucial variable for the choice between the definite article *the* and the indefinite *a/an* but turned out to be less informative for the zero article.

Second, we will present an experimental study, which consisted in an online survey in a 3 alternative forced-choice format (3AFC) where participants had to choose between *the*, *the*, *a/an* or \emptyset . 180 native speakers of English were presented with texts from which we removed articles. Despite the fact that most participants retrieved the original article in about 80% of contexts, a number of contexts seemed more prone to variation, judging by the divergence in our

participants' responses. We therefore investigated which types of contexts yielded more variation by quantifying construal (i.e., how open to interpretation a context is) via the measure of Entropy. This measure allowed us to identify certain features that tend to constrain the choice of article and others that make it more open to interpretation. We find, for example, that contexts in which the referent was originally annotated as non-specific (SR-) are more open to construal and thus allow the use of different articles. On the other hand, SR+ contexts (i.e., with a specific referent) appear to be more constrained. HK is not particularly prone to high or low Entropy and as such seems more open to interpretation. These two studies led us to conclude that the English article system relies mostly on a feature that is both crucial and open to interpretation.

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Linguistic co(n)text and the constructional status of coalesced variants: Evidence from the production and perception of English semi-modals

This paper reviews reduction and contraction in English modalizing constructions of the type V-to-Vinf from the perspective of production, perception and mental representation. It is based on combined evidence from corpora (production) and an experimental study (perception). It sheds light on the constructional status of pronunciation variants, and on analogy links between forms.

A corpus study of spoken American English shows that reduction and contraction is an on-going process, though conventional contracted forms are (as yet) restricted to a few items such as *gonna*. Generally, reduction (articulatory ease) is restricted by a tendency to retain cues to morphological structure (explicitness) in spite of frequency or grammaticalization. Thus, we see that articulatory reduction ≠ promoted by factors such as speech rate, prosody, situation ≠ can lead to variant phonetic forms and strong reduction (e.g. “tryna” for *trying to*). But at the same time, we observe ‘conservative reduction’, i.e. a tendency in speakers to balance ease of articulation against maintaining morphological transparency.

For perception, a word-recognition experiment (cf. Sosa & MacFarlane 2002, Kapatsinski & Radicke 2009) tests how frequency information (string frequency and transitional probability) interacts with reduction in speech perception. The results show that listeners' access to V-to sequences is conditioned by both frequency information and reduction: hearers can often process elements more easily when they occur in a frequent or predictable sequence, that is,

they apply frequency information in a compositional manner (cf. Divjak & Caldwell-Harris 2015); yet we also find that reduction can be a cue to accessing a ‘chunked’ representation for the highest frequencies (cf. Blumenthal-Dramé 2018).

The combined evidence suggests that ‘chunking’, reduction and contraction are not a self-propelled process, even given high frequency. Rather, they are subject to intuitive negotiations in speaker-hearer interaction. Speakers tune their (reduced) speech signal to the ‘needs’ of the hearer; preferences in speech production inform speech perception in various ways. In particular, these effects go beyond the well-known ‘chunking effect’ of surface frequency.

For pronunciation variants to take hold and conventionalize as contractions, it takes favorable conditions in speaker-hearer interaction and in the cycle of production and perception. These conditions include frequency-based chunking, semantic bleaching and reduction-favoring phonological properties. In a constructional network, contractions like *gonna*, *wanna* and *gotta* are conventionalized constructions, and they exert a limited influence on less entrenched pronunciation variants such as “*havda*”, “*uzda*”, “*tryna*”, “*needa*” or “*preferda*”. We propose that this can be represented in a constructional framework that takes into account horizontal analogy relations and gradient constructional status of form-meaning pairings (cf. Croft 2005, Hilpert & Diessel 2018).

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User-related determinants in attitudes towards productivity

Constructions are rarely fully productive. In that sense, our linguistic creativity is “constrained in ways that can be hard to articulate” (Goldberg 2019: 1). So far, (partial) productivity has mostly been described from a corpus-based perspective, focusing on construction-internal measures, such as type frequency, hapax frequency (Baayen 2009; Zeldes 2012) and semantic similarity (Suttle & Goldberg 2011). Recent studies in usage-based grammar, however, show the significance of individual differences in linguistic knowledge (Dbrowska 2018; Verhagen 2019). Consequently, we can expect variation in the extent to which language users will (i) extend constructions creatively, and (ii) will accept creative extensions from other speakers. Moreover, creativity as such is likely to be influenced by individual variables, such as general intelligence and personality traits (Hofmann 2018). Yet, corpus-based investigations of productivity tend to abstract away from such user-related variables. The present study applies a cognitive sociolinguistic approach (Geeraerts *et al.* 2010) in a first attempt to investigate which user-related variables affect language users’ attitudes towards syntactic productivity/creativity.

This is done on the basis of a large-scale, internet-based acceptability rating experiment in which over 700 native speakers of Dutch rated both conventional and unconventional/ productive/creative instantiations of two selected Dutch argument structure patterns, namely the *weg*-pattern in (1) (Verhagen 2003) and the *krijgen*-passive in (2) (Colleman 2015), on a 7-point Likert scale.

- (1) Hij maakte/baande/danste/hopte zich een weg door de menigte.
- (2) Els kreeg een kaartje toegestuurd/afgeleverd/overhandigd.

Materials were selected on the basis of corpus frequencies of the types of verbs encountered in the patterns at stake, as well as the degree of semantic compatibility of the less frequent verbs to the construction, modelled by Vector Space Semantics. Preliminary visualizations of the acceptability rating experiment reveal considerable variation in how speakers judge the less conventional instantiations of the above-mentioned constructions. In explaining the attested variation, we consider the following three types of user-related variables: (i) ‘prototypical’ sociolinguistic variables such as age, gender and education, (ii) personality traits such as Extraversion, Openness and Conscientiousness ≠ measured through the BFI-2 questionnaire (Soto & John 2017), and (iii) cognition-related measures such as receptive vocabulary and print exposure. Exploratory analyses with conditional inference trees (Levshina 2020) indicate a potential effect of (i) age and proficiency in English for the weg-construction, and (ii) gender for the *krijgen*-passive. In a next step, mixed ordinal regressions will be employed to map the correlation between attitudes towards grammatical productivity and these variables.

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Sémantique et pragmatique des constructions des verbes à particule

Le rôle du contexte pour le concept de ‘construction’ est de plus en plus discuté au sein des Grammaires de Constructions, ce qui a récemment soulevé un débat plus fondamental sur la notion de ‘pragmatique’ et un possible lien entre les approches cognitives et formelles (cf. Cappelle 2017, Depraetere 2019, Finkbeiner 2019, Leclercq 2021). La présente contribution se concentre sur les constructions des verbes à particule, dont l'étude a été fortement marquée par la focalisation sur la sémantique de la particule, aussi bien dans les approches génératives et projectionnistes que dans les approches fonctionnelles et cognitives (cf. Snyder 2001, Cappelle 2005, Tyler & Evans 2003). Dans ce contexte, une différence typologique pour l'expression d'événements de mouvement a été postulé en ce qui concerne leur résultativité/télicité et/ou boundedness, qui permettraient une verbalisation par des verbes à particule notamment dans les langues germaniques, contrairement aux langues romanes (cf. Aske 1989, Beck & Snyder 2001, Slobin 2004, Folli & Ramchand 2006). Cette contribution part cependant de l'observation de Cappelle & Declerck (2005, 907 s.) selon laquelle les verbes à particule anglais avec *back* peuvent faire l'objet d'interprétations dépendant du contexte, comme par exemple dans :

- (1) a. They **walked** (all the way) **back** in an hour.
b. They grudgingly **walked back** for a minute or so.

Cette contribution compare les constructions telles que *go back*, *jump back*, *throw back*, etc. en anglais et *ir(se) (para) atrás*, *saltar*

(para) *atrás*, *echar(se)* (para) *atrás*, etc. en espagnol à partir d'exemples tirés du Corpus of Contemporary American English et du Corpus del Español web/dialects. Dans un premier temps, l'objectif est de déterminer dans quelle mesure l'interprétation aspectuelle est déterminée par la sémantique du verbe, de la particule et de la construction et/ou par des facteurs contextuels au niveau de la phrase et du discours et jusqu'à quel point il existe des parallèles et des différences entre les constructions anglaises et espagnoles. Les résultats seront ensuite discutés à la lumière de la distinction entre les quatre types de contenus qui peuvent être récupérés lors de l'interprétation d'un énoncé selon les critères croisés de la conventionnalité et de la vérifonctionnalité (cf. Gutzmann 2015). L'objectif de cette analyse est de parvenir à une distinction plus précise du rôle des aspects conventionnalisés et inférés et leur (non-) intégration dans les constructions des verbes à particule en anglais et en espagnol.

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Contexts in constructicography: Implementation and documentation of pragmatic information in the German FrameNet Constructicon

In recent years, the documentation of grammatical constructions in digital resources has more and more come into focus. As a result, a new methodological path has emerged, combining construction grammar and lexicography: "constructicography" (Lyngfelt 2018). Constructicography goes beyond case-study descriptions of constructions in that it aims to generalize formal and functional properties of constructions to be documented in a construction entry, while being inherently bonded with frame semantics in the sense of FrameNet (Boas, Lyngfelt & Torrent 2019). A challenge, however, is to account for contextual embeddings of constructions, leading to pragmatic interpretations that may arise at the level of individual instances, but can be generalized as being a major part of the construction's function (Finkbeiner 2019).

This contribution addresses two questions: (1) Which contextual factors are relevant for the documentation in a repository of constructions, in our case: the German FrameNet Constructicon (<http://german-constructicon.de/>)? (2) How can we implement findings on such phenomena using an integrated infrastructure of entries for grammatical constructions and semantic (as well as pragmatic) frames?

To find answers to these questions, two types of constructions are investigated for German: greetings (e.g. ‘Hello’, ‘How are you doing?’) and tag questions (e.g. ‘This is huge, isn't it?’), using data from a multilingually annotated TED talk (Czulo, Ziem & Torrent 2020). An overall goal is to show the need for pragmatic information

in construction entries to be used in a large repository of constructions. As a means for studying the functional properties of constructions, FrameNet provides an important foundation (Willich 2022), especially perspectivizing factors that cannot be captured with traditional valency-based semantic analyses. Following this line, we provide evidence for a variety of multiword units and constructions evoking other kinds context-bound pragmatic frames.

Some important results are to be expected. First, contextual factors play a role in a wide range of highly diverse constructions (Cappelle 2017), all of which need to be equally generalized and documented in a constructicographic resource. Second, the already canonical categories used in constructicography for the description of constructions (Fillmore, Lee-Goldman & Rhomieux 2012; Lee-Goldman & Petrucc 2018) need to be extended to a great deal in order to account for such a variety of phenomena. An important task is to examine the need for pragmatic frames, which reflect contextual factors of constructions more than traditional semantic frames.

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