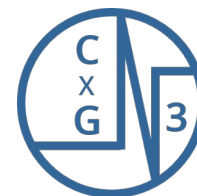


# Constructions in the Nordics 3 (CxGN 3)

Kiel, 19–20 September 2022



## Abstracts (in chronological order)

### Från verbklass-specifikt till verb-specifikt och vidare neråt: Befästning på olika taxonomiska nivåer i svenskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion

Fredrik Valdeson

Inom konstruktionsgrammatiken beskrivs konstruktioner ofta som hierarkiskt ordnade i taxonomiska nätverk (t.ex. Croft & Cruse 2004, Hilpert 2019). En och samma konstruktion kan vara befäst på flera olika nivåer i nätverket. Ett klassiskt exempel på detta är engelskans *kick the bucket* 'dö' (exemplet ursprungligen från Fillmore m.fl. 1988), som i egenskap av ett lexikaliserat uttryck är befäst som en egen konstruktion i sin helhet, samtidigt som det lånar (eller ”ärver”) sin syntax från den mer övergripande transitiva konstruktionen [Subj Verb Obj], som även den rimligen bör betraktas som en väl befäst konstruktion i engelska (se även Croft & Cruse 2004).

En annan välkänd konstruktion är engelskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion [Subj Verb Obj Obj]. Denna konstruktion har under de senaste femhundra åren eller så genomgått en semantisk specialiseringsprocess, från att ha varit kompatibel med en rad olika betydelser till att framför allt förknippas med att uttrycka överföring (se Coleman & De Clerck 2011, Zehentner 2019). Den översta nivån i konstruktionens taxonomiska nätverk har sjunkit från det Zehentner (2019) kallar ”indirect affectedness” (på svenska ungefär ”indirekt påverkan”) till transfer (dvs. överföring). Överföringsbetydelsen förefaller vara väl befäst i engelskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion, vilket också har lett till att konstruktionen är produktiv. Det är förmodligen just det faktum att engelskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion är relativt tydligt avgränsad som har gjort den till ett ofta återkommande exempel på argumentstrukturkonstruktion och testlaboratorium för alla möjliga studier med konstruktionsgrammatisk inriktning.

Svenskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion tycks, liksom den engelska, ha genomgått ett visst mått av semantisk specialisering och på samma sätt som sin engelska motsvarighet har den svenska dubbelobjektskonstruktionen utvecklats mot en mer renodlad överföringsbetydelse (Valdeson 2021). Av allt att döma uppvisar emellertid den svenska dubbelobjektskonstruktion en betydande semantisk spretighet i jämförelse med den engelska, åtminstone om man jämför Goldbergs (1995) redogörelse för engelskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion med de resultat som Valdeson (2021) presenterar för den svenska motsvarigheten. För det första verkar inte överföringsbetydelsen vara lika starkt befäst i den svenska konstruktionen, vilket åskådliggörs av det faktum att exempelvis produktionsverb sällan förekommer i konstruktionen (även om sådana exempel är fullt grammatiska, t.ex. bygga ngn ett hus). För det andra verkar svenskans dubbelobjektskonstruktion i högre utsträckning utgöras av en samling verb-specifika konstruktioner (jfr Croft 2003) av typen beröva ngn ngt eller rentav verb+direkt objekt-specifika konstruktioner som exempelvis göra ngn sällskap eller vända ngn ryggen) (jfr Valdeson 2021:194). Framför allt vad gäller många av de verb+direkt objekt-specifika konstruktionerna förefaller det långsökt att hänföra dem till en övergripande överföringsbetydelse. Här krävs alltså en annan typ av förklaring än en tydlig gemensam semantisk nämnare.

I mitt föredrag kommer jag att diskutera hur man kan se på en argumentstrukturkonstruktion som är starkare befäst på lägre nivåer än på mer övergripande nivåer. Jag kommer även att diskutera och utvärdera olika me-

toder som skulle kunna användas för att avgöra vad som ska betraktas som en verb-specifik eller verb+direkt objekt-specifik konstruktion.

## Vara och bada: Ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt perspektiv på de nordiska pseudosamordningarnas uppkomst

Klas Hjortstam

Verbsamordningar består prototypiskt av en verbfras på var sida om konjunktionen *och* (jfr (1)). När V1 är semantiskt lättare än V2 ges konstruktionen ofta enhändelsestolkning och kallas för pseudosamordning (jfr (2)).

- (1) *Hon solar och badar.*
- (2) *Hon är och badar.*

Pseudosamordningar har länge varit vanliga i de fastlandsskandinaviska språken och deras syntaktiska och semantiska karaktäristika har beskrivits i ett flertal artiklar och monografier. Min presentation kommer att handla om uppkomsten av pseudosamordningar ur ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt perspektiv. De frågor som ställs är:

- Kan ledföljdsförändringar och kontextdriven reanalys i samspel ha legat bakom uppkomsten av en eller flera pseudosamordningar?
- Hur kan dessa förändringar i så fall beskrivas med hjälp av bruksbaserad konstruktionsgrammatik?

Som exempel används (pseudo)samordningen [*vara och* VERB], vilken har undersökts diakront i Hjortstam (2020, 2021). I materialet hade [*vara och* VERB] fram till mitten av 1500-talet alltid en rumsbetecknande bestämning (rBest) i direkt anslutning till förstaverbet (jfr (3)). Idag kan [*vara och* VERB] ha efterställd, eller helt sakna, rBest ([*vara och* VERB {rBest/Ø}]) (jfr (4), (5)). Exakt vad verbet *vara* betecknar i dessa varianter är öppet för diskussion, men verbet förefaller i alla händelser ha övergett sin ursprungliga enda uppgift: att tillsammans med en rBest helt enkelt peka ut platsen för aktionen.

- (3) *the waro oppa akrenom oc plæghdho* (SjT) 'de var på åkern och plöjde'
- (4) *Hon har varit och hälsat på kungen på slottet*
- (5) *Han är och köper godis*

De första förekomsterna som saknade eller hade efterställd rumsbestämning ([*vara och* VERB {rBest/Ø}]) dök upp i mitten av 1500-talet (jfr (6)).

- (6) *att dee som haffua warit och besökt migh haffua sagt, att [...]* (JE)

De tidigaste förekomsterna är ganska lika varandra med avseende på verbala betydelsefält och pragmatisk kontext. Med tiden ökar variationen och en möjlig tolkning är att konstruktionen kan ha tillkommit inom ramen för ett snävt område av mänsklig aktivitet för att sedan få en mer allmän betydelse – jfr *context absorption* (Traugott & Trousdale 2013).

F.n. genomförs en inventering av pseudosamordningar i några äldre svenska texter – däribland Arboga stads tänkebok D.1 1451–1452 (1400-tal), Peder Swarts Gustav Vasas krönika (1500-tal) samt Agneta Horns leverne: Beskrivning över min vandringstid (1600-tal). Resultatet av inventeringen kommer i min presentation att ställas i relation till ovan skisserade förändringsprocess.

Då mycket tyder på att denna process drevs framåt av flera samverkande språkliga dimensioner (grammatiska, semantiska, lexikala, pragmatiska) krävs en analysmodell som tar hänsyn till komplexiteten och inte be-

traktar de olika språkliga dimensionerna separerade från varandra. En modell som utgår från ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt, språkbruksbaserat synsätt torde därmed vara idealiskt i sammanhanget (jfr Traugott & Trousdale 2013 och Hilpert 2013) och min förhoppning är att presentationen ska följas av ett utbyte av idéer kring detta.

## Kodväxling möter diasystematisk konstruktionsgrammatik

Siri Järvinen

I detta föredrag presenteras ett pågående avhandlingsprojekt, vars syfte är att utifrån ett konstruktionsgrammatiskt angreppssätt undersöka kodväxling mellan svenska och finska i talat vardagsspråk hos sverigefinlän-dare. Projektet bygger vidare på Järvinen (2021), där jag med utgångspunkt i den traditionella grammatikens begreppsapparat gör en grammatisk analys av kodväxling mellan svenska och finska. Resultaten utmärks bland annat av att kodväxling inte endast förekommer på lexikal nivå utan även på syntaktisk nivå, vilket illu-streras i (1) där en svensk prepositionsfras integreras i en finsk sats.

- (1) *Suomessa* på grund av corona *niillä on visiiri kaikilla*  
I Finland har alla visir

Detta kan tolkas som ett exempel på att det sker samverkan mellan språken snarare än en växling mellan se-parata system, vilket går i linje med språksynen i diasystematisk konstruktionsgrammatik (DCxG, Höder 2018). Trots de strukturella skillnaderna mellan svenska och finska, verkar det som att språkspecifika kon-struktioner från respektive språk kombineras, men att de språkenliga mönstren i båda språken samtidigt upp-rätthålls i hög utsträckning. Detta kan alltså tyda på att flerspråkiga har ett integrerat språkssystem som inne-fattar ett nätverk av språkspecifika konstruktioner och mer eller mindre språkgemensamma konstruktioner (s.k. diakonstruktioner).

För att få en djupare inblick i hur flerspråkiga tolkar och använder sina språkkunskaper kommer jag att tillämpa DCxG för att belysa hur sverigefinländare använder sina kombinerade språkresurser i samband med kodväxling. Genom att använda DCxG som ett analysverktyg för kodväxlingsmönster möjliggörs en holistisk analys av hur två skilda språk kan samverka inom ett och samma samtal; dels kan både de lexikala och gram-matiska strukturerna inkluderas i analysen av tvärspråkliga yttranden, dels är det möjligt att på ett systema-tiskt sätt identifiera eventuella mönster i hur betydelse, form och funktion kan länkas och generaliseras när en flerspråkig talare kodväxlar. Därutöver kan dessa konstruktioner, som antingen är språkspecifika eller språk-gemensamma, analyseras i förhållande till den specifika kontext där det har skett språkkontakt.

Sammantaget kommer jag i föredraget att sätta avhandlingsprojektet och de undersökta språken både i en so-cial och språklig kontext. Jag kommer även resonera kring hur jag med hjälp av DCxG kan inkludera kodväx-ling i ett större språkssystematiskt sammanhang och hur det kan användas som ett metodiskt analysverktyg för att undersöka kodväxlingsmönster mellan två språktypologiskt skilda språk som svenska och finska. I sam-band med detta kommer jag också att diskutera vilka eventuella möjligheter och begränsningar som kan framkomma i tillämpningen av DCxG.

## Ärendekonstruktioner i servicesamtal

Camilla Wide & Jan Lindström

I vårt föredrag diskuterar vi en uppsättning konstruktioner som utnyttjas vid en specifik handling i en specifik typ av samtal: ärendepresentationer vid teaterkassor. Som vi visat i Lindström & Wide (2017) och Lindström

m.fl. (2020) använder kunderna sig av en uppsättning olika uttryckstyper då de presenterar sitt ärende i dessa samtal:

1. icke-satsformad mening (*Ikväll, Fanny och Alexander; BOKNINGNUMMER*)
2. deklarativ med deiktisk referens (*Där har du ett bokningsnummer*)
3. deklarativ i presenstempus (*Jag vill på Dödspatrullen; Hämtar en biljett*)
4. deklarativ med skulle (*Jag skulle vilja ha biljett till x; Jag skulle lösa ut två biljetter till x*)
5. deklarativ i preteritumtempus (*Jag ville ha biljetter till x; Jag hade tre biljetter på namnet NN*)
6. interrogativ (*Har ni biljetter till Kvinna till salu ikväll?; Kan jag hämta ut biljetter?*)
7. satskombination (*Jag undrar bara om det finns kvar biljetter till x; Jag heter NN och jag ska hämta biljett till x*).

Det förekommer även vissa skillnader i förekomsten av de olika uttryckstyperna i samtalen från Sverige respektive Finland.

I vårt föredrag diskuterar vi hur uttryckstyperna kan analyseras ur en konstruktionsgrammatisk synvinkel på ett sätt som beaktar såväl den interaktionella kontexten som det pluricentriska perspektivet där svenskan i Finland uppvisar något annorlunda mönster än svenskan i Sverige. Vi vill sålunda inbegripa ett interaktionellt och variationspragmatiskt innehåll i det konstruktionsgrammatiska ramverket. Attribut som beaktas ingår såväl i den pragmatiska domänen (aktivitetstyp, sekventiell position, direkthet/indirekthet, agentivitet) som i den syntaktiska (satstyp, tempus, modalitet). Vår konstruktionsanalys utmynnar i att ärendekonstruktionerna har delvis överlappande och delvis divergerande drag i svenskan i Sverige respektive i Finland, och syftet med analysmodellen är att systematiskt kunna peka ut de distinktiva dragen (se Lindström 2014; Wide 2009).

Vårt material består av 182 servicesamtal inspelade i Sverige och Finland (91 från båda länderna). Under samtalen hämtar kunderna antingen förbeställda biljetter eller ber om att få köpa biljetter på plats utan bokning.

## Konstruktioner och läsbarhet – en studie av språkliga konstruktioner i läromedel

Azizah Lenté Degez & Benjamin Lyngfelt

Att språkliga konstruktioner bör uppmärksammas mer i undervisningen, inom såväl grundskola som SFI och andra utbildningsformer, har påpekats av både andraspråksforskare och konstruktionsgrammatiker. Men vilka konstruktioner ska man inrikta sig på? Här tar vi oss an den frågan från ett undervisningsperspektiv, med fokus på vad som kan göra det svårt för skoleleverna att ta till sig innehållet i läromedelstexter. I ett antal studentarbeten har olika läromedel för högstadiet undersökts med avseende på potentiellt problematiska språkliga konstruktioner. De studenter som utförde undersökningarna var blivande och/eller redan aktiva lärare.

Undersökningarna utfördes i två steg: I ett första analyssteg noterades språkliga uttryck i texten som kan antas försvåra läsförståelsen. Utifrån dessa inventeringar valdes sedan några strukturer ut för närmare analys. Detta andra steg var inriktat dels på vad som gjorde att de aktuella uttrycken kunde försvåra texten, dels på vilka konstruktioner de realiserade. Här identifierades alltså ett antal potentiellt svåra konstruktioner, exemplifierade i (1).

- (1) a. *Den så kallade jordaxeln lutar en aning och är en tänkt linje som går mellan polerna rakt genom jorden.*

- b. *Inte att du kan uppfatta det med dina sinnen utan att du måste.*
- c. *Inte bara staten och kyrkan utan också enskilda människor måste kunna tolerera andra åsikter.*

Annars var ett påfallande resultat att flera av de uppfattade svårigheterna kan hänföras till komplexa kombinationer av konstruktioner snarare än till enskilda konstruktioner, vilket illustreras i (2).

- (2) a. *Filosof eller inte, det kungliga enväldet, lyxen och adelns privilegier, gjorde att allt fler människor tappade respekten för "kungen av Guds nåde".*
- b. *Dels kan kunskaper om andra språk ge en ökad förståelse för språken och deras talare samt för hur olika språk är relaterade till varandra, dels lär man sig mer om hur olika språk är uppbyggda och vad grammatik är, vilket stärker ens språkkänsla.*

I presentationen kommer vi att presentera en sammanställning av resultaten från de olika analyserna. Återkommande strukturer i materialet utmärks bl.a. av flertydighet, implicit information och syntaktisk komplexitet – inte minst i samspel med varandra.

Undersökningarna är explorativa och bygger på lärares och lärarstudenters subjektiva bedömningar av läromedlen. De visar alltså inte i sig om de aktuella strukturerna faktiskt försvårar läsförståelsen och därmed inlärningen för eleverna. Inte desto mindre är deras lärarperspektiv och -erfarenhet relevant. Dessutom stärks iakttagelserna av en slående intersubjektiv överensstämmelse mellan vad som uppmärksammades i de olika studierna.

I förlängningen bidrar resultaten till den fortsatta utvecklingen av Svenskt konstruktikon, en svenskt konstruktionsdatabas som bl.a. vill täcka in konstruktioner som är relevanta från ett L2-perspektiv. Vi hoppas också att iakttagelserna kan vara till nytta för utveckling av konstruktionsbaserat undervisningsmaterial.

## Vad talar en korpus om språkbrukare? Fokus på hapax legomena

Shiro Shibata

Detta föredrag behandlar förhållandet mellan syntaktisk produktivitet och hapaxer i korpusdata.

Beskrivningar av argumentstrukturkonstruktioner bygger på att kartlägga ett övergripande mönster karakteriserat av offörekommande typer. Fåförekommande typer, framför allt engångstyper hos konstruktionen i fråga (s.k. hapaxer), anses vara utslag av konstruktionens produktivitet (Baayen & Lieber 1991, Olofsson 2019). I ett sådant sammanhang läggs fokus på produktivitet som inneboende hos ett visst grammatiskt mönster, medan rollen av de enskilda språkbrukare som skapare av hapaxerna ofta hamnar i skymundan (Olofsson 2018; Hoffmann 2018). Den senare aspekten av produktivitet, bruksbaserad produktivitet eller b-produktivitet, vilket kontrasteras gentemot strukturell produktivitet eller s-produktivitet (Olofsson 2018), förtjänar nu mer uppmärksamhet när etablerade, redan tillgängliga uttryck egentligen bör duga för vardaglig kommunikation och en kreativ nybildning skulle ses som "brott" mot den etablerade konventionen.

Mot denna bakgrund granskade jag fåförekommande typer av en konstruktion i en korpus. Specifikt undersöktes kvaliteten av fåförekommande verblemmen av [V-åtsig-NP]-konstruktion i modern standardsvenska. Min undersökning bygger ut Martolas (2007) undersökning och beskrivning av samma konstruktion på ett mer övergripande, s-produktivt plan till att inbegripa b-produktivitet inom sin räckvidd. För att samla flera fåförekommande verblemmen, använde jag Twitter 2016-korpus i Korp (Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal 2012), en korpus som är betydligt större och som består av texter som är redigerade till en mindre grad än Martolas material. Några exempel med hapaxlemma är följande:

- (1) *Att jag inte lyckades smattra åt mig Bon Iver-biljetter (...)*

- (2) *När någon gruffar åt sig plats på tuben (...)*
- (3) *Kanske leksand kan grisa åt sig en seger trots allt.*

Några tendenser av föförekommande typer iaktogs:

- Verblemmen i hapaxer tenderar att avvika från deras typiska valensmönster.
- Verblemmen i hapaxer tenderar att vara av onomatopoetiskt slag.

Dessa iakttagelser kan tolkas som utslag av både s-produktivitet och b-produktivitet: en ny typ av konstruktionen skapas när språkbrukaren vill uppnå en viss retorisk effekt. Detta talar om att även en korpusundersökning kan belysa förhållandet mellan ett strukturellt mönster och kreativt språkbruk.

## Parts-of-speech flexibility as systematic constructional variation: The case of Danish *der*

### Pierre-Yves Modicom

The Danish polyfunctional marker *der* originates from a grammaticalised adverbial of place, akin to English *there*. *Der* is remarkable for the vast amount of constructions it can be used in:

- phrasal adverb (of place),
- positional filler (“expletive”),
- obligatory component of existential constructions [*der er, der gives*],
- obligatory marker in subjectless passive clauses (allegedly a “subject marker”),
- subordinator in adverbial clauses,
- clause-initial morpheme in subject-targeting relative clauses, dubbed either as a relativiser, as a complementiser or as a relative pronoun (see references below)

Thus, *der* is an interesting case for the study of parts-of-speech flexibility from a CxG perspective. Aside from grammaticalisation theories, parts-of-speech-constructions have mostly been concerned with fuzzy borders and gradient prototypicality (Croft 2001). The present contribution is concerned with parts-of-speech flexibility and synchronic polyfunctionality.

In previous analyses of the Germanic morpheme *d-/th-* [author 2017, 2021], I showed that the functions of *d-*forms boil down to two groups, corresponding to the two possible saturation mechanisms for indexicals:

- in anaphoric constructions, the *d-*word is used as a pronoun or a connective;
- in translative constructions [Tesnière 1959, Lemaréchal 1989], the *d-*word is merged with a lexical phrase (NP or VP) and inherits its intension.

The morpheme following *d-* (here: *-er*) marks the function of the *d-*phrase in its clausal environment. Parts-of-speech flexibility thus boils down to complex phrasal constructions being mapped onto broader syntactic constructions determined by the elicitation of the unsaturated variable that is characteristic for indexical morphemes. In what follows, I show how this view can shed new light on the constructional flexibility of *der*.

#### *Anaphoric constructions*

Grammaticalised (unstressed) *der* designates a general situational anchor, while no longer demonstratively referring to a specific place (the demonstrative reference has to be activated by additional constructional marking, e.g. stress: *dér*). The uses as component of existential constructions, as positional filler and as “subject

marker” in impersonal passive clauses can be grouped into one macro-construction, associated with similar information-structural patterns. The same evolution is attested cross-linguistically, and most crucially in a further Germanic language, Dutch (*er*). Drawing on a historical corpus from the 16th century, I show that *der* has developed into a zero-topic marker in thetical utterances. The “subject marker” of impersonal passives must have originated from this zero-topic marker.

#### *Translative constructions*

Drawing on the general reversibility of *d-* in Germanic, the adverbial subordinator *der* can be regarded the direct counterpart of the adverb of place. Leaning on converging data from Alemannic and Yiddish, I propose that this subordinator has undergone further grammaticalisation into a relativiser: relative *der* is not a relative pronoun. The fact that *der*-clauses can only take the subject as antecedent is accounted for on the basis of the cross-linguistically attested relativisation accessibility hierarchy. Crucially, Yiddish dialects display converging evidence for the existence of this path in Germanic. Just like *som*-clauses, *der*-clauses display a zero anaphora when the antecedent is the subject.

## **Entrenchment of time constructions in Japanese and German foreign language learners of Swedish**

Joel Olofsson & Julia Prentice

Following the research on entrenchment of linguistic patterns (cf. Schmid 2017) and additional language learning (cf. Höder, Prentice & Tingsell 2021), Olofsson & Prentice (2020) investigate the entrenchment of time expressions in German speaking additional language L2 learners of Swedish compared to L1 speakers of Swedish. Such expressions are exemplified in (1a–b).

- (1) a. *Två år senare* ‘two years later’
- b. *Tre öl senare* ‘three beers later’

The expressions in (1) builds on the [ANTAL TID *senare*] ‘NUMBER TIME later’ construction, which is used to refer to a period of time in the future in relation to a former period of time. The results of that study indicate that additional language learners initially entrench a more restricted and less productive construction, as in (1a), than native speakers, who, in a phrasal decision task, to a larger extent recognize a more productive construction, as in (1b). A comparison of German and Swedish corpus data (Olofsson & Prentice, submitted) shows that congruent counterpart constructions in German, such as the one in (2), are used in German, although they are relatively rare.

- (2) *Drei Biere später* ‘three beers later’

Thus, Olofsson & Prentice’s study (submitted) indicates that the German participants’ knowledge of Swedish time expressions might be influenced by their knowledge of comparable constructions in German. Such congruency between patterns have been proposed to influence L2 processing (cf. Wolter & Gyllstad 2013; Yamashita 2018). In this talk, we will present an experimental study in which we compare Japanese speaking participants with the German speaking participants in Olofsson & Prentice (2020), in order to further investigate the issue of the influence of the L1. In Japanese, which is a typologically different language and hence has less congruent constructions, productive expressions such as (1b) and (2) does not seem to be as idiomatic. This is illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. *2 ni nen go* ‘two years later’
- b. *? 3 biiru saN-bai go* ‘?three beers later’

Preliminary results indicate that, compared to the German participants, Japanese participants are less accurate and somewhat slower when processing productive uses of the time constructions. For the German participants, this might be a result of greater L1 influence, and that congruent constructions are entrenched in the same mental resource.

## Modelling semantics in constructional near-synonymy: A usage-based perspective on Norwegian future constructions

Olaf Mikkelsen & Paulina Horbowicz

Norwegian has at least three interchangeable constructions expressing the future: [*skal* ‘shall’ + INF], [*vil* ‘will’ + INF] and [*kommer til å* (‘coming to’) + INF]. Although some uses are formally determined and others semantically distinct, there exists a large number of contexts where all three constructions are semantically similar, as can be shown in the following example:

	{ <i>skal</i> }				
	{ <i>vil</i> }				
(1)	<i>Teateret</i>	{ <i>kommer til å</i> }	<i>presentere</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>Ibsen-stykker</i>
	theatre.DEF	shall/will/comes to	present.INF	two	Ibsen-plays
	‘The theatre will present two plays by Ibsen’				

Labels such as “intentional” (*skal*), “probable” (*vil*) and “actual” (*kommer til å*) future are frequently employed (Faarlund et al. 1997, Lie 2005, inter alia) but fail to account for all uses. Factors such as grammatical person, agentivity, controllability, engagement and speaker certainty have been proposed (Næs 1979, MacDonald 1982, Vannebo 1979, 1985, Kajerova 2007, Hilpert 2008, Hasselgård 2015) to play a role in the choice of construction. While some constraints on use are known, others remain problematic, and the majority of proposed factors determining the choice of uses are yet to be confirmed quantitatively.

This study employs a two-step analysis of the alternation, using data from the Norwegian Blog Corpus (Mikkelsen 2021). First, a distinctive collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004) that looks at which lexical verbs are most strongly attracted to each construction. Second, a multifactorial feature analysis (Geeraerts et al. 1994, Gries 2003) where previously proposed hypotheses are operationalised in terms of usage-features. A subsample of 600 occurrences are controlled for stylistic, interpersonal and syntactic variation, but not for lexical slots. It is then manually annotated based on a series of semantic variables proposed in the literature. In order to avoid annotator bias, the actual construction is hidden during the annotation process. The two authors also annotate every example independently, and the inter-annotator agreement is controlled with the Kappa statistic. Finally, mixed-effects multinomial logistic regression is used to model the results of the feature analysis and the output is interpreted in line with the theoretical assumptions of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2019, Schmid 2020).

The results of the distinctive collexeme analysis show that, in line with previous research, *skal* is the preferred construction with action verbs, while *vil* and *kommer til å* are preferred with abstract verbs, verbs of change and mental verbs denoting states that cannot be controlled. As for the multifactorial analysis, a pilot study suggests that the constructions can indeed be characterised as intentional (*skal*), probable (*vil*) and actual (*kommer til å*), and we will discuss how these results best can account for some of the more problematic cases. For instance, is it the case that *skal* imposes an intentional construal when used with lexical verbs denoting actions that, strictly speaking, cannot be planned (*kose seg* ‘have a good time’, *nyte* ‘enjoy’), or are such examples low-level patterns that can be said to have constructional status of their own?



## Constructions built of constructions: on intensified comparatives

Valentina Zhukova & Ekaterina Rakhilina

The study is built on the Russian Constructicon (<https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>), an annotated and classified database of over 2200 constructions in Russian (Janda et al. 2020). The Russian Constructicon provides opportunities for systematic studies of various sets of constructions both in Russian and typologically. This study continues a series of works devoted to large groups of constructions (Endresen and Janda 2020) and concerns the most numerous type of constructions presented in the Russian Constructicon: the intensifiers. We studied intensifiers in the context of comparative constructions of inequality like

*X bol'she Y* 'X is bigger than Y' → *X gorazdo bol'she Y* 'X is much bigger than Y'.

Comparative constructions and intensifiers are usually studied separately (see Quirk et al. 1985 on intensifiers, Stassen 2008 on comparatives) since they belong to two distinct semantic fields. However, the interaction of two constructions — comparative and intensifying — is not trivial and has its own rules. We will show the ways these two constructions merge into a new entity that is also a construction with its own properties, different from the ones that are possessed by the two constructions individually.

We have identified that the variation of intensifiers can only partially be explained by their semantics or the morphology and syntax of a comparative construction. Our detailed study of the whole range of intensifiers in Russian has revealed other factors that influence the choice of an intensifier in a particular context. For instance, while we expect to find morphological restrictions, such as the analytic or synthetic form of an adjective and adverb, or syntactic restrictions on the use of negation markers, it was rather unexpected to find less trivial restrictions such as an aspectual class of the verb in the scope of the comparative construction.

Besides imposing new restrictions, the interaction of two constructions can create new possible uses of these constructions. While the comparative constructions of inequality strictly prohibit lacking the standard of comparison outside elliptic contexts (Philippova 2017), certain intensifiers can override that prohibition by dividing an ongoing process or a lasting situation into a series of small portions that are iteratively repeated and compared in pairs.

## Så smukt et sprog. A collexeme analysis of the Danish Big Mess Construction

Muriel Norde

Danish features an intriguing multiple-slot degree modifier construction, in which a noun is preceded by an adjectival phrase [*så* ADJ INDEF.ART], illustrated in (1a-b):

- (1) a. [...] *hvilket er lavt for så lille en bil.* [KorpusDK]  
[...] which is low for so small a car  
'which is low for such a small car'
- b. *Også fordi det er så smukt et sprog.* [KorpusDK]  
Also because it is so pretty a language  
'Also because it is such a pretty language.'

The construction is known from English and Dutch as the Big Mess Construction (named after the exemplar *so big a mess*) (Van de Velde 2019; Osborne 2021), but unlike its Dutch and English equivalents, the Danish BMC is still productive (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 535; Norde 2019); it is even found (if marginally) in the plural, with the indefinite pronoun *nogle* 'some' instead of the indefinite article:

- (2) [...] *det er lang tid siden jeg har set så flotte nogle strande!* [daTenTen20]  
 [...] it is long time since I have seen so great some beaches  
 'I have not seen such great beaches in a long time'

From a constructionist perspective, the BMC can be considered a multiple-slot construction (Desagulier2016), with open slots for the adjective and the noun, as represented in (3ab) for the singular and the plural construction respectively:

- (3) a. [*så* ADJ INDEF.ART NSG]<sub>NP</sub>  
 b. [*så* ADJ *nogle* NPL]<sub>NP</sub>

Drawing data from two Danish corpora, KorpusDK for the singular BMC and daTenTen20 for the plural BMC (which is not found in KorpusDK), this paper addresses the following research questions:

- RQ1: Which nouns and adjectives are attracted to the BMC, both in the individual slots and in the two slots combined?
- RQ2: How productive is the BMC?

A preliminary quantitative analysis of the singular BMC suggests that there is more variation in the noun slot (48% are hapax legomena) than in the adjective slot (with only 15% hapaxes). Taking both slots together, we note a relatively large number of hapaxes (65%), but also combinations with relatively high token frequency (e.g. *så stor en succes*), suggesting entrenchment of specific noun-adjective combinations. The plural data set consists entirely of hapaxes, which may imply a large potential for expansion (Baayen 2009). In order to gain a better understanding of the semantics of the BMC, we performed distinctive collexeme analyses (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003) for the noun and adjective slot individually, as well as a covarying collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2005) for both slots combined. In order to refine the semantic profile of the BMC, we follow Valdeson (2021) in considering both strongly attracted and weakly attracted collexemes. The statistical analysis suggests that for multiple-slots constructions, distinctive collexemes in the individual slots are not particularly informative – in the top 10 of noun collexemes, 9 are hapaxes such as *John Lennon-fan* or *københavnner-accent*, whereas the distinctive adjectives are semantically very diverse. The covarying collexeme analysis, on the other hand, paints a more coherent semantic picture. The Danish Big Mess Construction is thus not only interesting in its own right, but makes a methodological contribution to the statistical analysis of multiple-slot constructions as well.

## Därmed så är det rätt bra. Doch so muß ich aynes dartzu sagen. The preverbal use of [ADVERB + so/så] in Modern Swedish and Early New High German

Barthe Bloom

In Present-Day German and the Scandinavian languages, so and its relatives can be used preverbally immediately following sentence-initial adverbial clauses, most prototypically conditional clauses e.g., (1).

- (1) *Tycker man att man själv är bra, så är man ju bra!* (Swedish Web 2014)

This usage has been classified as (generalized adverbial) resumptive (Elmqvist, 1945; Meklenborg, 2020; Cattasso, 2021). Resumptives are often thought of as facilitating processing (e.g., Links et al. 2017), making structures less demanding for the working memory (Hawkins, 2004). However, in Early New High German, so regularly combined with light adverbs, as in (2).

- (2) *Die frau gedacht tausent Cronen warenn bald verdienet doch so was sy so eerber*  
 The woman thought thousand crowns be.SBJ quickly earned yet so was she so respectable  
*daz sy es nit thun wolt.*  
 that she it not do wanted  
 ‘The woman thought a thousand crowns would be quickly earned. But she was so respectable that she did not want to do it.’ (Fortunatus)

It is not immediately clear why light adverbs like in (2) would combine with a resumptive: *doch* is short and seemingly resumed immediately, contrasting with resumption in e.g., simplifying left dislocation constructions (Prince, 1997). It is therefore worthwhile to reevaluate the function of *so* and critically evaluate the representation of such constructs in the constructicon.

The modern Scandinavian relative of *so* – *så* – has a highly similar distribution (Meklenborg, 2020, 109) and is likewise found following sentence-initial adverbs (3a). This usage has been likewise analyzed as a resumptive (Elmqvist, 1945), but alternative accounts have been presented as well: as an element indicating topic-shift (Eide, 2011) or as a shift in frame setting (Nordström, 2010).

- (3) a. *Han skulle börja från början, skriva upp vad han kom till sats efter sats, på ett papper, ja, det skulle han, och sedan så skulle han gå till prästen med papperet.* (Andersson, 1918)  
 b. *En ny anläggning skulle göras vid Hasselbottens gruva, en ny uppfinning, som skulle göra all fattig malm värdefull, den skulle anrikas, hette det, och sedan skulle pengar i massor strömma dit.* (Koch, 1916)

This study evaluates whether a shift in topicality and/or frame setting does systematically contrast patterns with and without *så* in Swedish (3b) based on data from the *äldre svenska romaner* corpus (Borin et al., 2012) and in Early New High German based on data from ten narrative texts. The alternative scenario that is considered is that we are dealing with hubs of micro-constructions rather than with one more schematic meso-construction with a topic or frame-setting shift function.

## Bridging the gap between a constructicon and L2 learners

Anna Endresen, Valentina Zhukova & Laura Alexis Janda

A full-scale constructicon is a valuable resource for researchers but may present barriers for L2 learners and their instructors. A scientifically robust constructicon implements standard linguistic terminology and abbreviations that are obscure for non-linguists (such as NP for noun phrase). It is also assumed that constructicon users are already familiar with the concept of what a construction is and why it is an important building block of language (Goldberg 2006). In order to bridge the gap between professional linguists and the needs of language learners, we propose an innovative pedagogical resource, *Construxercise! Hands-on learning of Russian constructions* (<https://constructicon.github.io/construxercise-rus/>; Anonymous Authors forthcoming). *Construxercise!* builds on the Russian Constructicon (<https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>), a searchable database of over 2200 Russian constructions.

The idea of applying a construction-based approach to language pedagogy is not new, but it has never been fully implemented (Ellis 2013). The creators of the Swedish Constructicon recognize pedagogy as one of the priorities of their work (Lyngfelt et al. 2018). A construction-based approach to language learning is highly beneficial for L2 learners because it can focus instruction on the most strategic constructions widely used by native speakers. This approach is more efficient than traditional instruction because it provides learners with ready-to-use communicative patterns that can be easily employed for building sentences and texts.

*Construxercise!* offers over 100 practical exercises for mastering 51 Russian discourse constructions. *Construxercise!* provides a powerful alternative way to successfully organize conversational practice in L2 Russian. Targeting strategic and highly frequent discourse constructions in language learning brings the focus to conversation and strengthens text production skills. In the resource, constructions are combined in strings to yield templates for text organization at the micro-level. Such templates can be employed for producing texts of potentially any topic and genre. This strategy can be used even at early stages of second language acquisition, such as the A2-B1 CEFR levels. *Construxercise!* was piloted in a conversational Russian course in Spring 2022 and student feedback was evaluated.

The presentation details our methodology, the choice of constructions, and the architecture of the website. The *Construxercise!* resource was built in close collaboration with our students and benefits from both native and non-native perspectives on L2 Russian. The website uses Github Pages software (<https://pages.github.com/>) in compliance with open access principles. The code can potentially be used for building similar resources for other languages.

The practical implications of our project go far beyond learning Russian and can enrich and modernize instruction of any foreign language.

## **Clausal syntax in Swedish: a constructionist approach**

Benjamin Lyngfelt, Maia Andréasson, Steffen Höder & Peter Ljunglöf

While Construction Grammar (CxG) is concerned with the language as a whole, designed to handle the full spectrum of linguistic patterns, it has often been criticized as a theory of the so-called periphery, dominated by case studies of low- and mid-level constructions. There is some merit to both claims. On the one hand, CxG has been successfully applied to a large variety of linguistic patterns, addressing all kinds of linguistic phenomena. On the other hand, the empirical coverage so far is unevenly distributed; and, strikingly, the understudied areas include clausal syntax, which is a main priority for most other frameworks.

It is also striking how the few exceptions to this (Fillmore & Kay 1995; Sag 2010; 2012) are focused on English and depend on stipulations particular to English. Specifically, they take a phrase structural approach to clausal syntax built around a basic NP+VP structure (subject-predicate construction), in line with English word order patterns. Swedish, however, is a so-called V2 language, with the finite verb in second place in the clause, which means that the subject follows the verb (i.e., appears inside the VP) whenever it is not clause-initial. Hence, an S=NP+VP analysis is inadequate as a general point of departure for Swedish clausal syntax.

Instead, many Swedish grammars assume a topological model adapted from Danish (cf. Diderichsen 1946; Teleman et al. 1999). While this model has proven fairly successful, there are structures that do not fit the general schema and its flat structure has limited power to handle hierarchical relations (cf. Andréasson 2007, 2008). Some of these issues are addressed by the “not too hierarchical model” of Swedish syntax (Börjars et al. 2003; Engdahl et al. 2004; Andréasson 2008).

Combining ideas from these approaches and adapting them to a CxG setting, we will present a constructionist account of clausal syntax in Swedish. Key to our proposal is treating clauses with simple and split predicates differently, since several kinds of syntactic variation are sensitive to this distinction. For example, negated objects occur with split predicates but not with (main clause) simple predicates (1); whereas object shift, by contrast, is blocked by split predicates (2).

- (1) a. *Jag har inte sett någonting.* (split predicate)
- b. *Jag har ingenting sett.* (negated object may precede non-finite verb)

- c. *Jag såg ingenting.* (simple predicate)
  - d. *\*Jag ingenting såg.* (negated object cannot precede finite verb in V2 position)
- (2)
- a. *Jag såg inte bilen.* (simple predicate)
  - b. *Jag såg den inte.* (pronominal object may precede sentence negation)
  - c. *Jag har inte sett den.* (split predicate)
  - d. *\*Jag har den inte sett.* (pronominal object cannot precede the verb)

In subordinate clauses the finite verb occupies the same position as non-finite verbs in main clauses (hence, subordinate clauses pattern with split predicates regarding (1–2)). By combining the well-known distinction between main and subordinate clauses, which concerns a wide range of syntactic phenomena in Swedish, with the one between simple and split predicates, we attain a robust constructionist account of Swedish syntax.

## En plåga till presentation – expressive binominal noun phrases in Swedish

Márton Tóth

Expressive binominal noun phrases (EBNPs henceforth, based on Foolen 2004: 75) have been studied in a number of Germanic and Romance languages (see Paardekooper 1956, Werner 1998, Foolen 2004, Hopkins 2009). See (1) for an example of the English EBNP from Foolen (2004: 76).

- (1) *He is a bear of a man.*

The EBNP consists of two noun phrases (‘a bear’ and ‘a man’ in (1)) linked by a preposition (‘of’ in (1)) and generally expresses some sort of evaluation of the subject – not seldom a negative one. This talk elaborates on the Swedish expression corresponding to the EBNP, based on a corpus study in the Swedish corpus tool Korp. The examples in (2a–c) from my material demonstrate the Swedish EBNP:

- (2)
- a. *Min idiot till man*  
my idiot to husband  
‘My idiot of a husband.’
  - b. *En ängel till häst*  
an angel to horse  
‘An angel of a horse.’
  - c. *Detta monster till låda.*  
this monster to box  
‘This monster of a box.’

As (2a–c) show, the form of the Swedish EBNP is [DETERMINER N1 *till* N2], where *till* means roughly ‘to’ in English, and where N2 is always a bare noun. The construction is subject to variation, as different determiners can appear in it, such as ‘my’, ‘an’ and ‘this’, and both animate and inanimate N1 and N2 are possible. What is peculiar about the Swedish EBNP is that there is a syntax-semantics mismatch, where N1 serves as the syntactic referent, while semantically we are referring to the properties of N2 (e.g. ‘being an angel’ in (2b)).

While the vast majority of the examples in my material consisted of pejorative ones such as the one in (2a), examples with a more positive meaning (see 2b) or ones with no straightforward positive or negative meaning (see 2c) could also be found.

Furthermore, while in (2a-c) we clearly talk about N2, describing it as having the properties of N1, there were also examples where the relation between N1 and N2 seemed mutual, that is, the sentence could also be analyzed as we are talking about N1 in terms of N2. See (3) below:

- (3) *Jag har en räv till vän.*  
 I have a fox to friend  
 'I've got a fox as a friend.'

(3) above can be paraphrased equally well both as 'the friend is a fox' and 'the fox is a friend'. This is not quite feasible with for instance (2b): 'the horse is an angel' is suitable paraphrase, while 'the angel is a horse' is less so.

In this talk I discuss the semantics and pragmatics of the Swedish EBNP, with focus on what N1 and N2 could be observed in the material, as well as suggesting a categorization for the different evaluative (2a-b) and not so clearly evaluative uses (2c and 3) of the construction.

## Word order distributions within alternating Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat constructions in German and Icelandic

Joren Somers & Jóhanna Barðdal

This study seeks to shed light on alternating DAT-NOM/NOM-DAT verbs in Present-Day German from a CxG perspective, comparing them with corresponding structures in Modern Icelandic (see 1–2 below). For that language, a host of syntactic tests has revealed that a subgroup of dative-subject verbs licenses two diametrically opposed argument structure constructions, instead of the DAT-NOM alternants being analyzed as contrastive focus or topicalization. Similar observations have been made for German (e.g. Lenerz 1977; Primus 2012; Barðdal, Eyþórsson & Dewey 2019).

- (1) a. *Bókin fellur stelpunni í geð*  
 book.the.NOM is girl.the.DAT to liking  
 b. *Stelpunni fellur bókin í geð*  
 girl.the.DAT is book.the.NOM to liking
- (2) a. *Das Buch gefällt dem Mädchen*  
 the.NOM book is.to.liking the.DAT  
 b. *Dem Mädchen gefällt das Buch*  
 girl the.DAT girl is.to.liking the.NOM book

That either the nominative or the dative may take on the subject role, is not assumed in the German scholarship. However, Barðdal, Eyþórsson & Dewey (2019) argue that this is indeed the case for German, basing their claims on several syntactic behaviors. In order to substantiate or refute these claims, we turn the spotlight on the word order distribution found across the two alternants. Although research on word order variation for such structures exists (see Verhoeven 2015, Temme & Verhoeven 2016; Somers 2022 for German; Rott 2013 for Icelandic), no word-order comparison of alternating predicates of this type between German and Icelandic has so far seen the light of day.

This study bridges that gap by (a) systematically comparing the two alternants of alternating verbs with non-alternating NOM-DAT verbs like 'help' in both languages and non-alternating DAT-NOM verbs like 'like' in Icelandic, yielding data facilitating both an internal comparison within each language, as well as a cross-linguistic comparison between the two languages; and (b) employing data from large corpora. The data come from the German deTenTen13 corpus (5.3 billion words) and the Icelandic Gigaword Corpus (14 billion

words) (cf. Steingrímsson et al. 2018). For each type, 200 randomized tokens are extracted from the two corpora.

Data cleaning and annotation are still ongoing, but an exploratory analysis already yields fascinating results, showing that some, but not all, verbs are used equally felicitously in both case frames, indeed suggesting a systematic alternation between the two argument structures. This stands in stark contrast with corresponding frequencies of topicalized objects of NOM-DAT verbs. Consequently, the observed frequencies support the hypothesis for both German and Icelandic that when the relevant verbs occur with the DAT-NOM case frame, the dative behaves syntactically as the subject, while the opposite is true for the NOM-DAT case frame (Barðdal 2001, Barðdal, Eyþórsson & Dewey 2019).

The quantitative data presented in this study lend support to the hypothesis that both German and Icelandic exhibit a class of alternating verbs, with which subject status is constructionally determined. The results equally contribute to a more finegrained understanding of the influence of pronouns on linearization principles, as well as the potential interaction between frequency and productivity.

## Can cases be contagious? On the relationship between the locative and the source construction in bilingual children

Anton Granvik & Rita Barrera Virhuez Eloranta

The focus of this paper is a particular case of what we will call the source construction, which can be broadly defined as describing the ‘taking or removing something from somewhere’, schematically: [V X from LOC]. As is well known, Finnish employs two case forms for expressing the notion of source, namely the ablative *-ltA* and the elative *-stA* cases, whereas the main equivalents in Spanish, Swedish and English are the prepositions *de*, *från* and *from*, as shown in (1a–d):

- (1) a. *Otan kirjan pöydältä.*
- b. *Jag tar boken från bordet.*
- c. *Cojo el libro de la mesa.*
- d. *I take the book from the table.*

In this paper we focus on a particular case of the source construction, namely the use of the Finnish ablative and elative cases for expressing what Huumo (2006) has analyzed as fictive motion. In (2) and (3) fictive motion is involved since there is no actual removal of the thing from its supposed source.

- (2) *Äiti, mitä tulee tänään telkkarista?*  
Mother, what comes-3sg today TV-ELA  
‘Mom, what’s on TV today?’
- (3) *Äiti, voidaanko ostaa tänään karkkia kaupasta?*  
Mother, we can-INTRG buy-INF1 today candy-PAR store-ELA  
‘Mom, can we buy candy in the store today?’

What is interesting about the fictive motion use of the source construction is the fact that it is intuitively very natural. So, although, in (2), no program actually comes ‘from’ the television, the sound and images are projected from it towards the spectator; and in (3), while the act of buying takes place in the store, the candy is taken from the store after being purchased.

The naturalness of the fictive motion use of the source construction is reflected in the linguistic behaviour of Spanish-Finnish and Swedish-Finnish bilinguals living in Finland, who tend to adopt this conceptualization

although the structure of their mother tongue favours a general locative construction. Instead of producing sentences such as (4a) and (5a) with locative prepositions *på* and *en*, corresponding to the pattern [V X in/at LOC], bilinguals often produce structures that parallel the Finnish source construction (example (2)), as in (4b) and (5b).

- (4) a. *Mamma, vad kommer/är det på teven idag?*  
b. *Mamma, vad kommer det från teven idag?*
- (5) a. *Mamá, qué ponen/hay en la tele hoy?*  
b. *Mamá, qué viene de la tele hoy?*

In order to find out to what extent this kind of interference at the construction level occurs in bilingual children, and to what degree it is systematic across two different languages, we study two groups of Spanish-Finnish and Swedish-Finnish bilingual children, aged 7 to 12 living in the Helsinki Metropolitan area. The material consists in short narratives elicited by showing the subjects short video clips (~ 1 min).

Preliminary results indicate a pervasive use of the source construction with verbs such as buy and borrow. Through the lens of Diasystematic Construction Grammar (Höder 2014) this means that bilingual children seem to adopt the fictive motion use of the source construction according to the Finnish model, reserving the locative construction for other uses.

## Epistemic modality in the Russian Constructicon: building a constructional network

Daria Mordashova

I report on a thorough study of 80 multi-word constructions of Contemporary Standard Russian denoting epistemic modality. The notion of epistemic modality covers “linguistic meanings that indicate degree of epistemic support for a proposition, or degree of confidence in a proposition” (cf. Boye 2016: 117 and references therein). As Boye (2016: 122) puts it, the literature on epistemic modality has to a large extent been focused on grammatical expressions of this category (see, however, research on epistemic adverbs by Conrad & Biber 2000; Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer 2007; Boye 2012, among others). My study focuses on non-morphological ways of encoding epistemic modality, e.g. by partially-schematic constructions (1). I adopt the Construction Grammar approach that views constructions as form-meaning pairings at any level of generality (Croft 2001; Goldberg 2006; Fillmore et al. 1988).

- (1) *Sudj-a po vs-emu, Petja vljubi-l-sja.*  
judge-CVB along all-DAT Peter fall\_in\_love-PST-REFL  
'It seems that Peter has fallen in love.'

The data is collected as a part of a larger project of building the Russian Constructicon (Bast et al. 2021). Constructions in this database are assigned the labels of typologically relevant semantic types and subtypes, and Epistemic modality is among them, along with Root modality (see Figure 1).



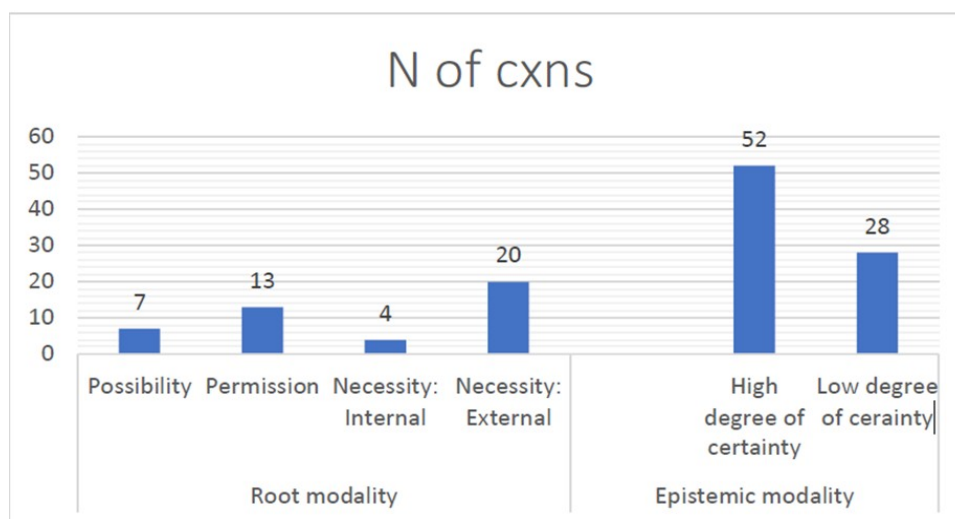


Figure 1. The distribution of constructions across the types “Root modality” and “Epistemic modality” and their subtypes

I propose a structured network of constructions for the semantic domain of epistemic modality in Russian. The network consists of two clusters corresponding to the subtypes “High/Low degree of certainty”, which embrace 9 and 7 constructional families respectively. A family of constructions is defined as a relatively small and arguably homogeneous group of usually two to ten constructions that exhibit family resemblance and share some semantic, syntactic, and structural properties (e.g. reduplication, negation, etc.). For each family, I establish more central and more peripheral members.

I show that the most central families within the two clusters are arranged along a scale of epistemic support for a proposition. The idea of the scalar nature of the epistemic domain is not innovative (cf. Hengeveld 1989: 138; Nuyts 2001: 21–22). However, operating this notion to build up a structured system of various constructional manifestations of epistemic modality can be regarded as an innovative approach, which has been neglected in earlier classifications of Russian modal expressions (see Vinogradov 1975; Yakovleva 1988; Padučeva 2016, among others). In this study I discuss the position of the more central families on the epistemic scale and conceptual links between them, as well as more peripheral families.

This study supports Nuyts’ (2001) claim about the importance of viewing the epistemic expressions with regard to the interactional and discourse-functional dimensions. In the talk I will present several case studies on the families of constructions denoting certainty that serve as a source for further pragmaticalization and turning into discourse formulae (in terms of Rakhilina et al. 2021), and families of constructions functioning as discourse strategies (e.g. conveying epistemic distance in terms of Plungian 2010).

## **Jeg tror & co. Verb constructions of stance in Norwegian blog texts**

Paulina Horbowicz & Olaf Mikkelsen

Taking a stance, understood as a linguistically articulated attitude towards a proposition or a situation the proposition is referring to, is pervasive in all uses of language (Englebretson, 2007) and allows the speakers to position themselves as social actors vis-à-vis objects of interest and other social actors (Du Bois, 2007). In this paper, we investigate one specific form of taking a stance in Norwegian, that is constructions with complement-taking predicate, in personal blog texts (Mikkelsen, 2021). The goal of the study is to uncover: (1) which predicates of stance are most common in everyday Norwegian, (2) whether there are patterns which appear

highly conventional, and (3) what are the factors influencing the choice of a specific predicate in the verb slot of the construction.

In the study, we explore the domain of stance expressed by means of the following predicates: *tro*, *anta*, *gjette*, *mistenke*, *synes*, *mene*, *tenke*. Our preliminary findings suggest, rather unsurprisingly, that three verbs are most common in blog texts: *tro*, *synes* and *tenke* (all three translating into ‘think’). The distinction between the first two lexemes has long been considered categorical, with *tro* belonging to epistemic verbs, and *synes* to evaluative. Still, their discursive use and functions are rather similar (Goddard & Karlsson, 2008). The third verb, *tenke*, is a new addition to the domain of stance. Traditionally reserved for reporting cogitation, in the last 20 years *tenke* has been gaining ground as a stance predicate with both epistemic and evaluative meanings (Norwegian Language Council, 2016). One of the goals of this paper is to scrutinize the instantiations of stance constructions with *tenke* in order to reveal potential differences between this and other epistemic/evaluative verbs.

Research on English shows that certain epistemic verbs, most notably ‘think’, but also ‘guess’, have grammaticalized to epistemic phrases, characterized by the lack of complementizer ‘that’, and further to epistemic parentheticals (Thompson & Mulac, 1991). Diessel & Tomasello (2001) also found that the formulaic epistemic phrase use of ‘think’ is the first to appear in children’s language development. Although our intuition suggests a similar development for the Norwegian *tro*, the possible grammaticalization of stance expressions has not yet been researched in Norwegian. Our study will thus address which verbs are used as fixed phrases and/or parentheticals.

The methodology of the study is as follows: From the corpus, all instances of the verbs used in present tense involving first person pronoun *jeg* are excerpted and classified based on the form and the position of the complement, and other frequent elements of the pattern, such as modal adverbials. Subsequently, a random subsample of *tro*, *synes* and *tenke* appearing in similar syntactic contexts is manually annotated based on a series of variables (cf. Krawczak, 2014). The two authors annotate every example independently, and the inter-annotator agreement is controlled with the Kappa statistic. Finally, mixed-effects multinomial logistic regression is used to model the results of the feature analysis, and its output is interpreted in line with the theoretical assumptions of Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 2019; Schmid, 2020).