

# A collocation-based approach to the Integrated Contrastive Model

The idiomaticity of causative constructions in English, French and French learner English

Gaëtanille Gilquin  
Université catholique de Louvain

# COLLOSTRUCTIONAL ANALYSIS (AND OTHER STUFF)

Page • 2      Idiomaticity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanille Gilquin

## Collostructional analysis

- Family of methods developed by Stefan Gries and Anatol Stefanowitsch in the early 2000s
- 'Collostruction' is a blend of
  - Collocation: preferential lexical company kept by a word
  - Construction (in a Construction Grammar sense): form-meaning pairing that constitutes a basic unit in language
- Collostruction = preferential lexical company kept by a construction, in a specific slot of that construction (e.g. V slot in the [go and V] construction, Wulff 2006) => interface between lexis and grammar
- 'Collexeme' // collocates

Page • 3      Idiomaticity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanille Gilquin

## Collocates vs collexemes

[N waiting to happen]      Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003)

|                  | L2 | L1                 | R1 | R2                   | Collexeme (n) |                    |   |                |
|------------------|----|--------------------|----|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|---|----------------|
| an               | 11 | accident, disaster | 9  | in                   | 3             | the                | 2 | accident (14)  |
| 4                | 6  | accidents, been    | 2  | and, the, you        | 2             | a, added, at,      | 1 | disaster (12)  |
| the              | 3  | is, just           |    | a, associated,       | 1             | could, fears, for, |   | welkom (1)     |
| disaster         | 2  | company, crisis    | 1  | blow, charity, for,  |               | he, hospitals,     |   | earthquake (1) |
| accident, are,   | 1  | disasters, earth-  |    | gathering, he,       |               | IBM's, identity,   |   | invasion (1)   |
| business,        |    | quake, event,      |    | historians, I,       |               | if, insurer, its,  |   | recovery (1)   |
| constitutional,  |    | horizon, that's,   |    | Leith, like, now,    |               | Jagger,            |   | revolution (1) |
| dream, had, has, |    | was, Welkoms       |    | our, out, over,      |               | Lancashire, last,  |   | crisis (1)     |
| identifying,     |    |                    |    | poised, recall,      |               | later, little,     |   | dream (1)      |
| invasion,        |    |                    |    | that, that's, their, |               | management,        |   | it (sex) (1)   |
| monumental,      |    |                    |    | to, unfortunately,   |               | me, report, seem,  |   | event (1)      |
| more,            |    |                    |    | urging,              |               | so, space,         |   |                |
| revolution, than |    |                    |    | video-taped,         |               | stewards, stunt,   |   |                |
|                  |    |                    |    | vindication,         |               | there, to, why,    |   |                |
|                  |    |                    |    | young                |               | will, wingers,     |   |                |
|                  |    |                    |    |                      |               | with, wrote        |   |                |

Page • 4      Idiomaticity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanille Gilquin

| #  | left context   | node               | right context                                  |
|----|--|--------------------|--|
| 1  | Stewart said that there was an <b>accident</b>         | waiting to happen  | and he feared lives would be lost.             |
| 2  | the horse's knees. It was an <b>accident</b>           | waiting to happen  | Recall stewards, dressed in dry-glo bibs,      |
| 3  | you had a cartoon about an <b>accident</b>             | waiting to happen  | You could have used the cartoonist's fee       |
| 4  | Unless, of course, it was an <b>accident</b>           | waiting to happen  | That insurer has 1,500 appointed               |
| 5  | "What?" "Because Stu's like an <b>accident</b>         | waiting to happen  | that's why" "Oh, fuck off, Joe! I'm            |
| 6  | the site say it was an <b>accident</b>                 | waiting to happen  | Video-Taped report follows IES/SCA             |
| 7  | the building means it was an <b>accident</b>           | waiting to happen  | Unfortunately last night an accident did       |
| 8  | the horse's knees. It was an <b>accident</b>           | waiting to happen  | Blow for "Shot on landscape" golf range        |
| 9  | the return of his body. An <b>accident</b>             | waiting to happen  | Charity stunt team warned route playing        |
| 10 | of it. Brands like that are <b>accidents</b>           | waiting to happen  | in a world where 99 per cent                   |
| 11 | actions which are little more than <b>accidents</b>    | waiting to happen  | A little more patience and consideration on    |
| 12 | yesterday." "I think it <b>accident</b> has been       | waiting to happen  | for the last couple of months. It              |
| 13 | Saturday was an <b>accident</b> <b>was</b> <b>been</b> | waiting to happen  | I wrote to Sir Bob Ridd, the                   |
| 14 | <b>accident</b> at the heart of the <b>company</b>     | waiting to happen  | now IBM's signalling the death of              |
| 15 | not matter was the real constitutional <b>crisis</b>   | waiting to happen  | vindication to all those Euro-sceptics who     |
| 16 | which Coleman warned him of the "disaster              | waiting to happen" | The identity papers seized by the FBI          |
| 17 | "I'm pulling. "This is a disaster                      | waiting to happen" | he added, in a prophesy that would             |
| 18 | who said that it was "a disaster                       | waiting to happen" | Our hospitals are so short of cash             |
| 19 | just had to be one monumental disaster                 | waiting to happen. | Leith later melted. But to start with,         |
| 20 | marriage to Mandy Smith was a disaster.                | waiting to happen. | Using Jagger to obaid his marriage with        |
| 21 | is a graphic example of a disaster                     | waiting to happen. | Over the weekend all attempts to subrage       |
| 22 | one of these may be a disaster                         | waiting to happen. | In Lancashire towns like Oldham, Bolton        |
| 23 | described in "The Independent of", a disaster          | waiting to happen" | The management of the economy has              |
| 24 | "Well - for <b>business</b> disaster                   | waiting to happen, | you seem to have come off remarkably           |
| 25 | develops this theme, identifying disasters             | waiting to happen" | associated with liquified natural gas, oil and |
| 26 | events of this week were an earthquake                 | waiting to happen. | Historians will argue over what was the        |
| 27 | the <b>fast</b> half goal rush was <b>accident</b>     | waiting to happen. | Young wingers are like young spin bowlers,     |
| 28 | As if <b>acc</b> 's just over the <b>accident</b>      | waiting to happen  | to me, as weird and wonderful as               |
| 29 | incident is certain that "an <b>accident</b> is        | waiting to happen" | Their <b>acc</b> - which focus on a            |
| 30 | arguments that a new industrial revolution is          | waiting to happen  | in space are, for now, unconvincing. The       |
| 31 | "Cause" was a carefully planned invasion just          | waiting to happen. | poised at the starting gate for the            |
| 32 | and I can feel the dream just                          | waiting to happen. | gathering its energies from somewhere on       |
| 33 | a graphic illustration of the disaster that's          | waiting to happen  | our than?" "Stink fast the better Denica       |
| 34 | in food production. A disaster was                     | waiting to happen. | Like so many cash crops, sugar is              |
| 35 | that there may be many more Welkoms                    | waiting to happen. | and if racial conflict does spread in          |

Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003)

Page • 5

## Statistical computation

- Uses corpus data to (manually) identify the words filling a slot in the construction
- Involves statistical calculation to measure the association strength (attraction/repulsion) between the construction and its 'collexemes'

|                     | Word | Other words | Row totals |
|---------------------|------|-------------|------------|
| Construction        | a    | b           | a+b        |
| Other constructions | c    | d           | c+d        |
| Column totals       | a+c  | b+d         | a+b+c+d    |

Page • 6      Idiomaticity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanille Gilquin

### Statistical computation

- Uses corpus data to (manually) identify the words filling a slot in the construction
- Involves statistical calculation to measure the association strength (attraction/repulsion) between the construction and its 'collexemes'

|                        | accident | ¬accident  | Row totals |
|------------------------|----------|------------|------------|
| [N waiting to happen]  | 14       | 21         | 35         |
| ¬[N waiting to happen] | 8,606    | 10,197,659 | 10,206,265 |
| Column totals          | 8,620    | 10,197,680 | 10,206,300 |

Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003)

Page • 7 Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### Statistical computation

- Computations can be done automatically by means of Coll.analysis 3.2 (Gries 2007), a program for R for Windows 2.x
- Result of the calculation = p-value (negative logarithm to the base of ten of the p-value, i.e.  $-\log(p\text{-value}_{\text{Fisher-Exact}}, 10)$ )
  - Positive values = attraction
  - Negative values = repulsion
  - Significant vs non-significant values
- Coll.analysis is freely downloadable (together with help files) from <http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/stgries/teaching/groningen/>

Page • 8 Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### A family of methods

- Collexeme analysis**
  - One slot in a particular construction
  - E.g. V slot in the [X think nothing of V<sub>gerund</sub>] construction (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003)
- (Multiple) distinctive collexeme analysis**
  - One slot in two (or more) similar constructions
  - E.g. verb in ditransitive and to-dative constructions (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004a)
- Covarying collexeme analysis**
  - Two slots in a particular construction
  - E.g. V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> in the [X V<sub>1</sub> Y into V<sub>2gerund</sub>] causative construction (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004b)

Page • 9 Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### Applications of collostructional analysis

- Applied to a wide range of constructions:
  - passive (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003)
  - future (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004a)
  - phrasal verbs (Gilquin 2015a), etc.
- Used with a variety of languages:
  - English (Höche 2009)
  - Dutch (Colleman 2009a)
  - German (Goschler & Stefanowitsch 2010)
  - Swedish (Hilpert 2006a)
  - Danish (Jensen 2012), etc.
- Exploited in several branches of linguistics:
  - historical linguistics (Hilpert 2006b)
  - second language acquisition (Gilquin 2012)
  - contrastive linguistics (Colleman 2009b, Noël & Colleman 2010), etc.

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### Integrated Contrastive Model (ICM)

Gilquin (2000/2001), based on Granger (1996)

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### English and French periphrastic causative constructions

- Analytical expression of causation (an entity X influences an entity Y in such a way that Y performs some act)
- English:
  - [X make Y V<sub>inf</sub>]
  - E.g. *John makes Mary laugh*
- French:
  - [X faire V<sub>inf</sub> Y]
  - E.g. *Jean fait rire Marie*
- Other possible verbs (cf. English *cause, get, have*, French *forcer, inciter*) and other possible structures (e.g. [Y be made V<sub>to-inf</sub>] or [X REFLEX. PRON. faire V<sub>inf</sub>]) BUT here focus on the most prototypical verb and construction in each language

causer  
causee  
causative verb  
non-finite complement

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## ICM and English causative constructions

- Gilquin (2000/2001) The Integrated Contrastive Model: Spicing up your data. *Languages in Contrast* 3. 1.

| 2000/2001   | 2017  |
|---|---|
| Analysis of frequency + some characteristics of the construction<br>Traditional analysis of the non-finite verb | Focus on the idiomaticity of the verb slot thanks to a collocation analysis |
| CA data from PLECI (fiction and newspapers)<br>CIA data from ICLE/LOCNESS (argumentative essays)                | Exclusive use of texts representing academic writing                        |
| CIA analysis partly taken from Altenberg & Granger (2001)   | All original work ©   |

## ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

## The idiomaticity of English causative constructions

- Common assumption that periphrastic causative constructions are “always safe” (Stocker 1990: 61), i.e. can be used in combination with any verb
- The literature on English causative constructions focuses on syntactic and semantic issues, not phraseological ones
  - Example: *Longman Dictionary of Common Errors* (Turton & Heaton 1996)
- Phraseology at least as important as syntax or semantics to choose a causative construction in English (Gilquin 2010)
- Multiple distinctive collexeme analysis of 10 causative constructions (with *cause*, *make*, *get* and *have*) in a subcorpus from the BNC
- English periphrastic causative constructions show very strong and distinctive preferences for certain (classes of) verbs in the non-finite verb slot (Gilquin 2006)

## Multiple distinctive collexeme analysis of 10 English causative constructions

Gilquin (2006)

| CONSTRUCTION | EFFECT      |
|--------------|-------------|
| have_prp     | talk        |
| have_prp     | talk        |
| have_prp     | tell        |
| have_prp     | tell        |
| have_prp     | watch       |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | work        |
| have_prp     | write       |
| make_inf     | abandon     |
| make_inf     | accept      |
| make_inf     | accept      |
| make_inf     | accord      |
| make_inf     | ache        |
| make_inf     | ache        |
| make_inf     | ache        |
| make_inf     | ache        |
| make_inf     | ache        |
| make_inf     | ache        |
| make_inf     | acknowledge |
| make_inf     | act         |
| make_inf     | act         |
| make_inf     | address     |
| make_inf     | address     |
| make_inf     | affront     |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |
| make_inf     | appear      |

## The idiomaticity of [X make Y V<sub>inf</sub>]

| Collexeme (n)  | Distinctiveness | Collexeme (n) | Distinctiveness |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1 feel (142)   | 54.71           | 14 meet (8)   | 3.24            |
| 2 laugh (109)  | 53.36           | 15 ache (6)   | 3.04            |
| 3 look (86)    | 32.13           | 16 ask (6)    | 3.04            |
| 4 think (66)   | 24.54           | 17 cringe (6) | 3.04            |
| 5 wonder (31)  | 15.71           | 18 cough (5)  | 2.53            |
| 6 appear (29)  | 10.71           | 19 last (5)   | 2.53            |
| 7 seem (28)    | 10.25           | 20 smile (5)  | 2.53            |
| 8 want (15)    | 7.60            | 21 sneeze (5) | 2.53            |
| 9 sound (12)   | 6.08            | 22 worry (4)  | 2.03            |
| 10 jump (13)   | 4.86            | 23 refer (5)  | 1.89            |
| 11 realize (8) | 4.05            | 24 cry (7)    | 1.88            |
| 12 happen (12) | 3.86            | 25 wait (7)   | 1.88            |
| 13 work (26)   | 3.30            |               |                 |

## The idiomaticity of [X make Y V<sub>inf</sub>]: examples

- *Not those kind of relaxants but something just to relieve the tension and make her feel calmer.* (BNC KBK 469)
- *I must just tell you this, Laura did make me laugh, cos she said <pause> she stood up and she said, I'm gonna give my talk about cats <pause> so I said, fine.* (BNC KGB 207)
- *This made the accident appear reasonable, something which even they could have done.* (BNC A5Y 1310)
- *The effect of the device is to remove or reduce human agency, making events seem the consequence of impersonal forces such as ideology, the unconscious, history, or language itself.* (BNC A1A 116)

## The idiomaticity of [X have Y V<sub>pp</sub>] and [X get Y V<sub>pp</sub>]

Gilquin (2006)

| [X have Y V <sub>pp</sub> ] |                 | [X get Y V <sub>pp</sub> ] |                 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Collexeme (n)               | Distinctiveness | Collexeme (n)              | Distinctiveness |
| 1 cut (53)                  | 24.95           | 1 go (76)                  | 62.55           |
| 2 perm (22)                 | 16.12           | 2 run (5)                  | 4.03            |
| 3 do (183)                  | 13.04           | 3 talk (5)                 | 3.33            |
| 4 build (16)                | 8.99            | 4 move (4)                 | 2.90            |
| 5 cut off (10)              | 7.33            | 5 vote (2)                 | 2.89            |
| 6 put down (10)             | 7.33            | 6 stand (3)                | 2.83            |
| 7 put (17)                  | 7.09            | 7 come in (3)              | 2.21            |
| 8 service (8)               | 4.99            | 8 call (2)                 | 1.75            |
| 9 clean (11)                | 4.45            | 9 come (4)                 | 1.56            |
| 10 shave (6)                | 3.63            | 10 ring in (1)             | 1.44            |

Page • 19

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## The idiomaticity of [X have Y V<sub>pp</sub>] and [X get Y V<sub>pp</sub>]: examples

### [X have Y V<sub>pp</sub>]

• *Well she's growing the back of it <pause> and having it **permed** and **highlighted**.* (BNC KCE 4006)

• *I mean if if you've **had** your vehicle **serviced** and the sump plug hasn't been put back in, then obviously you've got a perfectly legitimate claim against the person that's done the work.* (BNC KRL 773)

### [X get Y V<sub>pp</sub>]

• *Yeah, probably if you want me to **get** that old mower **going** I ought to go up to Woods and <pause> see if I can get a new drive belt.* (BNC KCH 523)

• *I got it **standing** on that brick <pause> so it would drain.* (BNC KB8 3968)

Page • 20

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## The idiomaticity of HAVE causative constructions

Gilquin (2006)

|         | [X have Y V <sub>inf</sub> ] | [X have Y V <sub>pp</sub> ] | [X have Y V <sub>pp</sub> ] |
|---------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| know    | (1) 7.25                     | (265) -5.23                 | (252) -0.28                 |
| come    | (2) 4.84                     | (266) -5.97                 | (27) 0.82                   |
| believe | (3) 3.11                     | (263) -2.24                 | (237) -0.12                 |
| do      | (267) -5.07                  | (1) 4.99                    | (266) -1.16                 |
| cut     | (266) -2.22                  | (2) 4.55                    | (267) -2.10                 |
| perm    | (265) -0.92                  | (3) 1.89                    | (265) -0.87                 |
| go      | (46) 0.56                    | (267) -14.93                | (1) 15.06                   |
| work    | (256) -0.29                  | (264) -5.23                 | (2) 7.42                    |
| go on   | (241) -0.13                  | (259) -2.24                 | (3) 3.18                    |

Page • 21

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## Distinctiveness of English causative constructions

| Construction                     | Distinctive Meaning  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| [X CAUSE Y V <sub>to-inf</sub> ] | 'To cause a transformation or specific movement'   |
| [X GET Y V <sub>to-inf</sub> ]   | 'To elicit words or agreement'   |
| [X GET Y V <sub>pp</sub> ]       | 'To carry out an action in difficult circumstances or under a tight schedule'  |
| [X GET Y V <sub>pp</sub> ]       | 'To set an object in motion, usually with difficulty' [also metaphorical]  |
| [X HAVE Y V <sub>inf</sub> ]     | 'To elicit a mental response' [mainly idiomatic]   |
| [X HAVE Y V <sub>pp</sub> ]      | 'To commission someone to do something'  |
| [X HAVE Y V <sub>pp</sub> ]      | 'To set an object in motion' [also metaphorical]   |
| [X MAKE Y V <sub>inf</sub> ]     | 'To cause a process that is not directly dependent on the CAUSEE' (especially impressions, mental and physiological processes) |
| [X be made V <sub>to-inf</sub> ] | 'To cause a process that is not directly dependent on the CAUSEE' [less marked]  |
| [X MAKE Y V <sub>pp</sub> ]      | 'To exercise some sort of influence'   |

## Sense-based multiple distinctive collexeme analysis

Gilquin (2013)

- Compare:
  - *Right **get** that tape **going** Paulie, quick.* (BNC KD0 12856) = go\_operate
  - *Well I suppose that's what **made** him **go** unconscious really.* (BNC KCT 3386) = go\_become
  - *But the Hillsborough Agreement **made** Mrs Thatcher **look** credible and constructive over Northern Ireland in the eyes of world opinion, and especially in the United States.* (BNC A66 1388) = look\_seem
  - *I don't know what **made** me **look** in the bag.* (BNC KCX 1395) = look\_see
- Manual semantic tagging of non-finite verbs in context
- Multiple distinctive collexeme analysis based on semantically tagged data
- Refined description of the association between the verb and the constructions

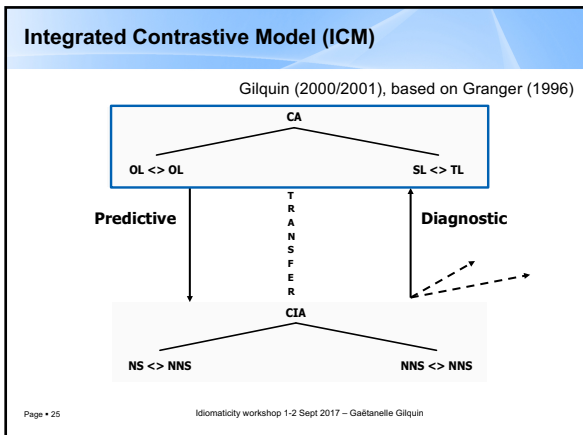
Page • 23

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## ENGLISH-FRENCH CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Page • 24

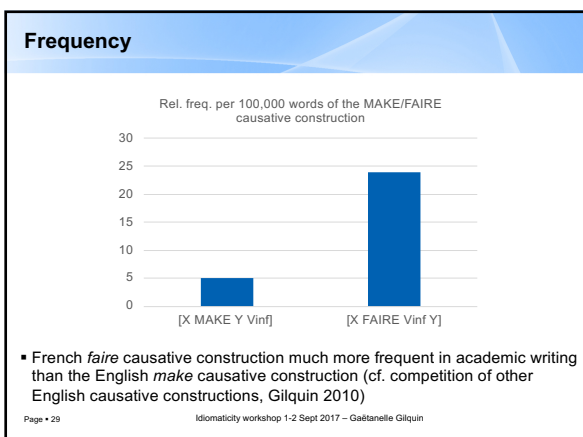
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- ### English and French MAKE causative constructions
- Apparent closeness of the English and French constructions (cf. *MAKE* = *FAIRE*)
  - Syntactic, semantic, quantitative differences (cf. Cottier 1992, Gilquin 2008)
    - Structure: Eng. causer + causative V + causee + non-finite V  
Fr. causer + causative V + non-finite V + causee
    - Causers: mostly inanimate in Eng. (52% in PLECI) and mostly animate in Fr. (70% in PLECI)
    - Frequency: Fr. construction 4 times + frequent than Eng. construction in PLECI
  - Rarely translated into each other (Gilquin 2008):
    - Mutual correspondence (Altenberg 1999) = 15.4% in PLECI
    - Fr. construction mostly translated by a synthetic verb in PLECI (50.4%)  
*La Thaïlande veut faire porter ses efforts sur des destinations du Proche-Orient*  
= *Thailand wants to direct its efforts towards the Middle East* (PLECI NF-OF)
  - These differences suggest that there might also be differences in the way the English and French constructions are associated with certain verbs in the non-finite slot
- Page • 26      Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

- ### Corpora
- English:
    - Sample from the academic writing component of the British National Corpus
    - Fields: 'humanities', 'medicine', 'natural science', 'politics, law, education', 'social and behavioural sciences' and 'technology, computing, engineering'
    - 147 texts, 5,003,007 words
    - Search interface: BNCweb
  - French:
    - Sample from the academic writing component of Scientext (Tutin & Grossman 2014)
    - Fields: 'humanities', 'experimental sciences' and 'applied sciences'
    - 205 texts, 5,063,315 words
    - Search interface: ScienQuest
- Page • 27      Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

- ### Extraction of the data
- Relies on POS-tagging of BNC and Scientext
  - English: *MAKE* + 0-6 words + INF (cf. Gilquin 2010: 36-43)
  - French: *FAIRE* + INF
  - Manual weeding out (2% in French – 75% in English)
    - ... when any body, domestic, administrative or judicial, has to **make** a decision which will affect the rights of individuals
    - The inclusion of three early works ... reveals a kind of **make believe** idea
    - This resulted in the controllers **making** ... a puritan attack
    - Dans un commentaire, un peu de paraphrase est nécessaire pour se **faire** comprendre.
    - La SHF du NST pourrait de ce **fait** activer directement ces fibres.
    - Ceci permet de traiter élégamment ... la combinaison du passif avec le causatif comme en italien (Il libro è stato fatto leggere agli studenti di Maria 'Le livre a été **fait lire** aux étudiants par Marie').
  - Manual identification of the non-finite verb
- Page • 28      Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin



- ### Contrastive collocation analysis
- Gilquin (2015b)
- Two types of collocation analysis
    - Simple collexeme analysis (one slot in a particular construction):
      - Non-finite verb slot of the periphrastic causative construction
      - One analysis for the English construction and one for the French construction
      - Comparison of the two independent analyses
    - Distinctive collexeme analysis (one slot in two similar constructions):
      - Usually applied to alternating pairs of constructions (e.g. ditransitive/to-dative)
      - Non-finite verb slot of the English and French periphrastic causative constructions
      - Implies a common basis (language) for the comparison → translation of French verbs into English
  - Software: Coll.analysis 3.2a (Gries 2007)
- Page • 30      Idiomatlicity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

## Contrastive (simple) collexeme analysis

| WORD        | FREQ_WORD_IN_CORPUS | FREQ_WORD_IN_CAUSATIVE |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| aboutir     | 539                 | 2                      |
| accéder     | 226                 | 4                      |
| accélérer   | 71                  | 1                      |
| accepter    | 343                 | 2                      |
| accomplir   | 121                 | 1                      |
| acquiescer  | 673                 | 1                      |
| admirer     | 15                  | 6                      |
| advenir     | 15                  | 4                      |
| agir        | 2582                | 4                      |
| ajouter     | 769                 | 1                      |
| aller       | 3445                | 2                      |
| alterner    | 58                  | 1                      |
| apparaître  | 2649                | 353                    |
| appliquer   | 1387                | 2                      |
| appliquer   | 1125                | 1                      |
| apprécier   | 115                 | 2                      |
| appréhender | 244                 | 3                      |
| appréhender | 846                 | 9                      |
| approuver   | 29                  | 1                      |
| assister    | 152                 | 2                      |
| assurer     | 95                  | 1                      |
| atténuer    | 876                 | 1                      |
| attendre    | 824                 | 1                      |
| attendre    | 785                 | 1                      |
| augmenter   | 877                 | 2                      |
| avancer     | 377                 | 19                     |
| baisser     | 32                  | 6                      |
| basculer    | 19                  | 6                      |
| bénéficier  | 289                 | 3                      |
| bondir      | 9                   | 1                      |
| bouger      | 77                  | 8                      |
| brûler      | 14                  | 1                      |
| cesser      | 84                  | 3                      |

Page • 31

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## Results

### [X make Y V<sub>inf</sub>]

| verbs (obs. freq.) | coll. strength |
|--------------------|----------------|
| feel (21)          | 45.59          |
| seem (25)          | 45.02          |
| appear (23)        | 44.48          |
| work (14)          | 24.83          |
| look (10)          | 17.33          |
| think (10)         | 16.53          |
| vanish (5)         | 13.10          |
| laugh (3)          | 9.05           |
| refer (5)          | 7.73           |
| sound (3)          | 7.50           |
| conform (3)        | 7.24           |
| happen (4)         | 6.98           |

### [X faire V<sub>inf</sub> Y]

| verbs (obs. freq.)                     | coll. strength |
|--|----------------|
| apparaître 'appear' (353)              | Inf            |
| ressortir 'stand out' (119)            | Inf            |
| intervenir 'intervene' (130)           | 302.39         |
| émerger 'emerge' (84)                  | 213.56         |
| varier 'vary' (86)                     | 169.58         |
| passer 'pass' (83)                     | 143.22         |
| évoluer 'evolve' (56)                  | 117.95         |
| comprendre 'understand' (71)           | 105.43         |
| prendre conscience 'become aware' (31) | 82.34          |
| tourner 'turn' (36)                    | 80.98          |
| remarquer 'notice' (41)                | 75.54          |
| progresser 'progress' (30)             | 68.32          |

Page • 32

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## Non-volitional verbs

### English

- It **made** Callaghan **seem** untypically fragile and lacking in confidence. (BNC A66 304)
- But the Hillsborough Agreement **made** Mrs Thatcher **look** credible and constructive over Northern Ireland in the eyes of world opinion, and especially in the United States. (BNC A66 1388)

### French

- faire comprendre** à un élève ce qu'il ne comprend pas ('**make** a pupil **understand** what he does not understand') (Scientext 617)
- il faut **faire entrer** ces pratiques dans les classes et les intégrer dans l'ensemble des apprentissages scolaires ('one has to **make** these practices **enter** classrooms and integrate them into the whole of school learning practices') (Scientext 479)

Page • 33

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## Verbs of mental processes

### English

- think, realise, wonder, want, understand, boggle
- A close study of the textual variants of this poem **makes** one **wonder** how much value Wordsworth really put on the words of a poem as opposed to its message (BNC CAW 1074)

### French

- comprendre ('understand'), prendre conscience ('become aware'), oublier ('forget'), croire ('believe'), penser ('think'), douter ('doubt')
- les enseignants considèrent qu'ils se doivent de **faire prendre conscience** aux étudiants de ces attitudes de "consommateurs" ('teachers consider that they have to **make** students **become aware** of these "consumer" attitudes') (Scientext 577)

Page • 34

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## Verbs of perception

### English

- feel, seem, appear, look, sound
- Higher degree of attraction
- "Stimulus subject perception verbs" (Levin 1993: 187-188), used with a predicative adjunct to the object and with a CAUSEE that represents the stimulus rather than the perceiver
- It's difficult to avoid **making** his suicide **sound** too purposeful. (BNC A18 338)

### French

- remarquer ('notice'), découvrir ('discover'), sentir ('feel'), entendre ('hear')
- Lower degree of attraction
- Direct perception of an object by the causee who is the perceiver
- L'intérêt de la méthodologie du test d'intuition est qu'elle permet de **faire entendre** des séquences aux locuteurs. ('The interesting thing about the methodology of the intuition test is that it makes it possible to **make** the speakers **hear** sequences') (Scientext 598)

Page • 35

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## Verbs of (dis)appearance

### English

- One verb of disappearance: vanish
- None of the operations I (i, j), I (k), I (l), in so far as they affect the minors, can make a minor of order r + 1 nonzero, nor **make** the minor of order r **vanish**, since they merely condense these minors. (BNC EWW 269)
- NB: appear = verb of perception  
Above all, this fear arises in work where the police encounter outsiders whose job it is to **make** them **appear** wrong or incompetent -- mostly court duty. (BNC ASY 804)

### French

- apparaître ('appear'), ressortir ('stand out'), émerger ('emerge'), figurer ('appear'), surgir ('appear'), disparaître ('disappear') and naître ('arise')
- Les résultats de nos analyses ne permettent pas non plus de **faire émerger** des tendances ('The results of our analyses do not make it possible either to **make** tendencies **emerge**') (Scientext 560)
- Le test non paramétrique de Kruskal Wallis **fait apparaître** une diminution significative de ce type de production ('The non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test **makes** a significant decrease in this type of production **appear**') (Scientext 598)

Page • 36

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## Verbs expressing a change of state/location

### English

- Do not rank high on the list of collexemes
- Possible exceptions: *jump, run, flutter, wobble and tremble* ("verbs involving the body", Levin 1993: 217)
- Meaning strongly associated with [X cause Y V<sub>to-inf</sub>]: 'to cause a transformation or specific movement' (Gilquin 2006)  
E.g. *The recession caused the price of aluminium to fall.* (BNC KP0 846)

### French

- change of state: *varier* 'vary', *évoluer* 'evolve', *progresser* 'progress', *baisser* 'decrease'
- change of location: *passer* 'pass', *tourner* 'turn', *entrer* 'get in', *chuter* 'fall', *commuter* 'commute', *bouger* 'move', *basculer* 'topple', *sortir* 'get out'
- L'algorithme d'apprentissage **fait varier** les caractéristiques des deux forces opposées ('The training algorithm makes the features of the two opposing forces vary') (Scientext 586)
- Il est plus facile pour les molécules de la **faire bouger** ('it is easier for the molecules to make it move') (Scientext 585)

## 'Taking upon oneself'

- In English only
- Re-assume, shoulder, take* (in some of its occurrences), *foot*
- It does indeed make those who require nursing care through no fault of their own shoulder the cost.* (BNC FT5 1114)
- ... the more pressing need to compensate victims and make the offending corporation foot the bill.* (BNC CHL 1009)

## Repelled verbs

### English

- BE
- [X make Y be ADJ/N] more naturally expressed by an adjectival or nominal causative construction
- Cf. *make someone be happy*  
=> *make someone happy*,  
*make someone be president*  
=> *make someone president*

### French

- DONNER ('give')
- Ditransitive verbs in periphrastic causative constructions => juxtaposition of three elements (theme, recipient and causee)
- Cf. *J'ai fait envoyer la lettre* [theme] à *Jean* [recipient] par *Albert* [causee]  
'I made Albert send John the letter'  
Lit. 'I made send the letter to John by Albert'  
(Cannings & Moody 1978: 11)

## Contrastive distinctive collexeme analysis: a note on the translation of French verbs

- Translation of all French non-finite verbs
- Most direct counterpart of the French verb in English (e.g. *donner* = *give*)
- Examination of concordance lines to choose the most appropriate translation when necessary
- 1 translation per verb = simplification
- Collostructional analysis usually relies on forms, not senses (see Gilquin 2013 for an exception)

## Contrastive distinctive collexeme analysis

Input:

| VERB        | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-------------|--------|---------|
| abandon     | 0      | 1       |
| accept      | 2      | 1       |
| access      | 4      | 0       |
| accomplish  | 1      | 0       |
| accord      | 0      | 1       |
| acknowledge | 0      | 1       |
| acquire     | 6      | 0       |
| act         | 4      | 0       |
| add         | 1      | 0       |
| address     | 0      | 1       |
| admire      | 1      | 0       |
| advance     | 10     | 0       |
| affront     | 0      | 1       |
| alternate   | 1      | 0       |
| anticipate  | 1      | 0       |
| appear      | 275    | 23      |
| apply       | 1      | 0       |
| appreciate  | 1      | 0       |
| approve     | 1      | 0       |
| arise       | 7      | 0       |
| ask         | 0      | 2       |
| assume      | 2      | 0       |
| attend      | 2      | 0       |
| be          | 0      | 1       |
| bear        | 11     | 0       |
| become      | 33     | 1       |
| behave      | 0      | 1       |
| believe     | 12     | 1       |
| benefit     | 6      | 0       |
| bestow      | 0      | 1       |
| bite        | 0      | 1       |
| bleed       | 1      | 0       |
| blossom     | 0      | 0       |
| boogie      | 0      | 1       |

Output:

- Out of the 298 verbs investigated, 45 are shared by both languages (15.1%)

## Results (i)

- Most of the distinctive collexemes were among the top 40 collexemes of the simple collexeme analysis and vice versa
- Exceptions:
  - + Eng. *ASK* // *WONDER* (mental process)  
*It makes one ask whether the delicate balance that Almond and Verba pointed to has shifted.* (BNC B16 1482)
  - + Eng. *LIE* = position, i.e. lack of movement (<=> change of location)  
*A suitable Lorentz transformation makes the time axis lie along AC and then <gap desc=formula> where x is the spatial coordinate of B.* (BNC H8K 945)
  - Eng. *APPEAR* → distinctive for French (cf. verbs of appearance)

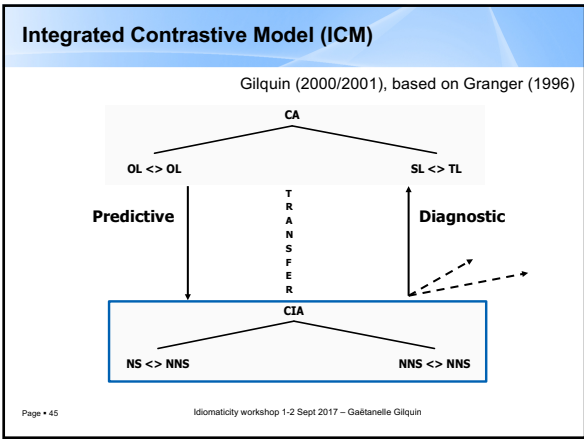
### Results (ii)

| Pref. occur.: English |                | Pref. occur.: French |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| verbs                 | coll. strength | verbs                | coll. strength |
| seem                  | 20.71          | intervene            | 7.02           |
| feel                  | 11.11          | vary                 | 4.59           |
| look                  | 7.79           | appear               | 4.55           |
| refer                 | 4.74           | emerge               | 4.48           |
| vanish                | 4.74           | pass                 | 4.43           |
| think                 | 3.22           | stand                | 4.34           |
| work                  | 2.96           | evolve               | 2.97           |
| behave                | 2.84           | correspond           | 1.95           |
| conform               | 2.84           | get                  | 1.95           |
| laugh                 | 2.84           | turn                 | 1.95           |
| sound                 | 2.84           | understand           | 1.62           |
| want                  | 2.84           | progress             | 1.58           |
| run                   | 2.28           | notice               | 1.41           |

Page • 43      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

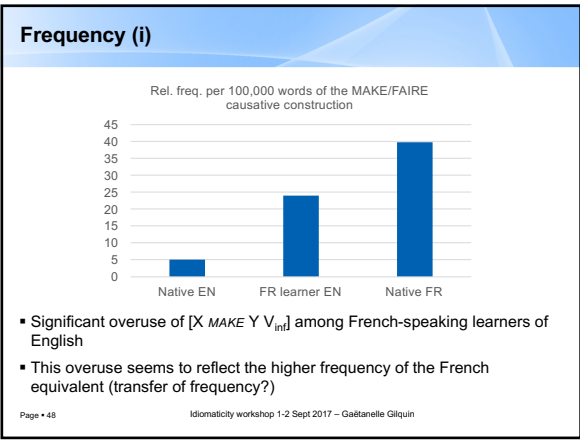
# CONTRASTIVE INTERLANGUAGE ANALYSIS

Page • 44      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

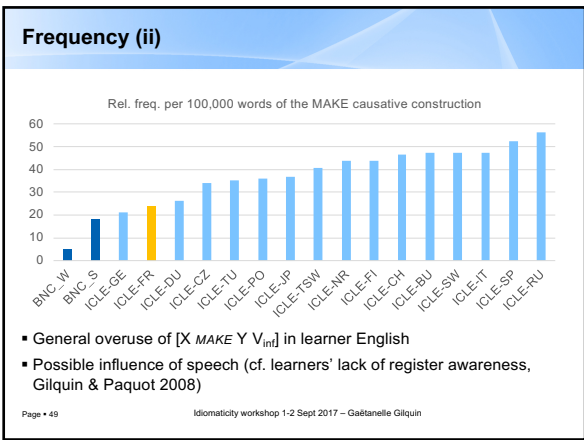


- ### Corpora
- Native English:
    - Sample from the academic writing component of the British National Corpus
    - Fields: 'humanities', 'medicine', 'natural science', 'politics, law, education', 'social and behavioural sciences' and 'technology, computing, engineering'
    - 147 texts, 5,003,007 words
  - Learner English:
    - Argumentative essays from the French component of the International Corpus of Learner English
    - 298 texts, 196,493 words (small data set!)
    - + spot checks in some other ICLE components
- Page • 46      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

- ### Extraction of the data
- Relies on POS-tagging of BNC and ICLE
  - Native English: MAKE + 0-6 words + INF
  - Learner English: MAKE + 0-4 words + INF/ING
  - Manual weeding out
    - The non-standard patterns occurring in the learner corpus were kept for analysis as long as they corresponded to the general [MAKE<sub>act</sub> V<sub>act</sub>] pattern (cf. Gilquin 2016)
  - Manual identification of the non-finite verb
- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| [X MAKE Y V <sub>inf</sub> ]       | <i>make all students understand</i>       |
| [X MAKE Y V <sub>to-inf</sub> ]    | <i>made me to think so</i>                |
| [X MAKE Y V <sub>pp</sub> ]        | <i>makes people trying to find one</i>    |
| [X MAKE V <sub>inf</sub> ]         | <i>to make feel regretful</i>             |
| [X MAKE V <sub>to-inf</sub> ]      | <i>try to make to know their position</i> |
| [X MAKE V <sub>pp</sub> ]          | <i>make interpreting her</i>              |
| [X MAKE V <sub>inf</sub> Y]        | <i>what makes arise indignation</i>       |
| [X MAKE of Y V <sub>to-inf</sub> ] | <i>have made of him to be apart</i>       |
- Page • 47      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin







### Syntactic errors

- 6% of syntactically erroneous causative constructions with *make* in ICLE-FR
- [X MAKE Y V<sub>to-inf</sub>]  
*She thinks of the solution but can not make her mind to draw the final line.*
- [X MAKE Y V<sub>pp</sub>]  
*Indeed, to admit we often have dreamy thoughts is to reveal ourselves different from others, that is closer to reality and simplicity, what makes people going away.*

Page • 50      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### Key-collostructional analysis

Gilquin (2016)

- Combination of the objectives of
  - Keyword analysis: identify the words that are more distinctive for one corpus over another
  - Collostructional analysis: determine the strength of association between words and constructions
- Identify the collostructions that are more distinctive for one corpus over another
- Apply distinctive collexeme analysis (traditionally used to compare the association of words with two constructions) to the comparison of the association of words with one construction in two corpora representing different language varieties
- Can be used to compare, e.g., BrE and AmE, speech and writing, or native English and learner English

Page • 51      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### Key-collostructional analysis of BNCw and ICLE-FR

Input: `Input EFFECT BNCw ICLEFR.txt`

```

BNCw runXround
BNCw run
BNCw bite
BNCw prepare
BNCw desert
BNCw class
BNCw appear
BNCw appear
BNCw use
BNCw work
BNCw perform
BNCw change
BNCw think
BNCw ask
BNCw appear
BNCw switchBack
BNCw converge
ICLEFR multiply
ICLEFR think
ICLEFR love
ICLEFR draw
ICLEFR think
ICLEFR belong
ICLEFR feel
ICLEFR look
ICLEFR think
ICLEFR think
ICLEFR ripen
ICLEFR seem
ICLEFR meet
  
```

Output:

Out of the 122 verbs investigated, 15 are shared by both varieties (12.3%)

Page • 52      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### Results: underuse

| Verbs associated with native English (vs FR learner English) |                | Verbs associated with English (vs French) |                |
|--|----------------|---|----------------|
| verbs  | coll. strength | verbs                                     | coll. strength |
| appear   | 1.74           | seem                                      | 20.71          |
| seem   | 0.75           | feel                                      | 11.11          |
| work   | 0.53           | look                                      | 7.79           |
| do   | 0.37           | refer                                     | 4.74           |
| refer  | 0.37           | vanish                                    | 4.74           |
| vanish   | 0.37           | think                                     | 3.22           |
| happen   | 0.29           | work                                      | 2.96           |
| behave   | 0.22           | behave                                    | 2.84           |
| conform  | 0.22           | conform                                   | 2.84           |
| realise  | 0.22           | laugh                                     | 2.84           |
| sound  | 0.22           | sound                                     | 2.84           |
| take   | 0.22           | want                                      | 2.84           |
| want   | 0.22           | run                                       | 2.28           |

Page • 53      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

### Results: overuse

| Verbs associated with FR learner English (vs native English) |                | Verbs associated with French (vs English) |                |
|--|----------------|---|----------------|
| verbs  | coll. strength | verbs                                     | coll. strength |
| think  | 2.63           | intervene                                 | 7.02           |
| discover   | 1.63           | vary                                      | 4.59           |
| understand   | 1.31           | appear                                    | 4.55           |
| believe  | 1.20           | emerge                                    | 4.48           |
| act  | 0.81           | pass                                      | 4.43           |
| admit  | 0.81           | stand                                     | 4.34           |
| belong   | 0.81           | evolve                                    | 2.97           |
| draw   | 0.81           | correspond                                | 1.95           |
| dream  | 0.81           | get                                       | 1.95           |
| goXaway  | 0.81           | turn                                      | 1.95           |
| long   | 0.81           | understand                                | 1.62           |
| love   | 0.81           | progress                                  | 1.58           |
| multiply   | 0.81           | ...                                       |                |
|  |                | become                                    | 1.06           |
|  |                | discover                                  | 0.95           |
|  |                | believe                                   | 0.25           |
|  |                | act                                       | 0.21           |

Page • 54      Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

## Overuse => transfer?

- It **makes** them **understand** they are really members of something bigger than their own country. (ICLE-FR)

*Il Ainsi, Colin estime nécessaire un rappel de son passé médical pour mieux faire comprendre sa douleur actuelle. (Scientext)*

- But this also meant that, as far as power was concerned, you could obtain everything you wanted from people and **make** them **believe** everything. (ICLE-FR)

*Il Le but est d'agir sur l'autre pour le faire agir, le faire penser, le faire croire. (Scientext)*

- It opens new horizons for us and **makes** us **discover** other cultures. (ICLE-FR)

*Il Le premier rôle du concepteur de cours est donc de faire découvrir des savoirs. (Scientext)*

Page • 55

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## Overuse => not necessarily transfer (only)!

- Overuse of [X MAKE Y feel] and [X MAKE Y become]

"The cause of this unusually distinctive distribution may be attributable to L1 interference. There may be a salient transfer of L1 structure to the target language because sequences such as *make sb./sth. feel...* and *make sb./sth. become...* have word for word translational equivalents in Chinese" (Liu & Shaw 2001: 179)

- Presence of transfer posited on the basis of NS-NNS comparison, with reference to the existence of similar items in learners' L1

- Necessary to consider at least three elements to (tentatively) posit the presence of transfer:

- NS-NNS comparison
- L1-L2 comparison
- NNS-NNS comparison

Page • 56

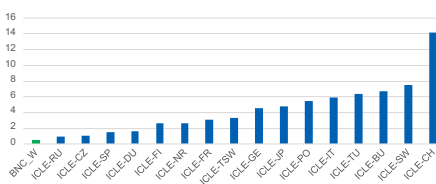
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## Overuse => not necessarily transfer (only)! [X MAKE Y feel]

- French-speaking learners:

- Distinctive of ICLE-FR in the key-collostructional analysis, e.g. *She makes Mr Tansley feel happy simply by showing interest.* (ICLE-FR)
- *Là, c'est l'impression poétique qu'il faut faire sentir.* (Scientext)

- Found in all the components of ICLEv2



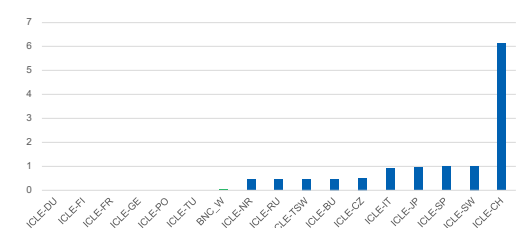
Page • 57

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## Overuse => not necessarily transfer (only)! [X MAKE Y become]

- Distinctive of French in the contrastive distinctive collexeme analysis, e.g. *Rendre différent, faire devenir autre, modifier entièrement.* (Scientext)

- Found in 10 out of 16 components



Page • 58

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## Other (possible) explanations

- 'Decompositional' strategy (Altenberg & Granger 2001)

- *They did not want to make a friend feel offended* (ICLE-PO) (→ to offend a friend)
- *Teacher spent at least 10 minutes in order to make them feel calm* (ICLE-TU) (→ to calm them (down))

- Avoidance of nominal and adjectival causative construction (see Altenberg & Granger 2001 on French-speaking learners)

- *These kind of children make the people feel uncomfortable* (ICLE-TU)
- *This had great influence and made women become increasingly aware of their rights.* (ICLE-NO)
- *There is no reason for China to make military service to become a compulsory issue.* (ICLE-CH)

Page • 59

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## Other (possible) explanations

- Use in writing of an involved (rather than detached) style, typical of speech (Altenberg 1997, Adél 2008)

- *It is cherished by a man-made sea which will make you feel like you are at the coast.* (ICLE-TSW)
- *Even if some of the computer games makes you feel like you have ended up in a nightmare.* (ICLE-SW)

- Errors

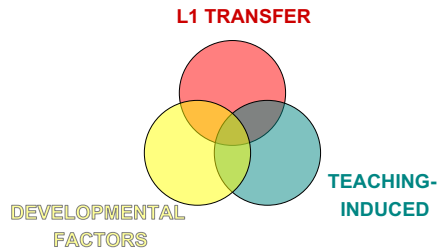
- *The absence of a person to love makes them feel necessary to have children.* (ICLE-IT) (→ feel the need)
- *He passed through hardships and sufferings in order to make their dreams become true.* (ICLE-RU) (→ make their dreams come true)

Page • 60

Idiomacity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanille Gilquin

## Complex interplay of factors

Granger (2004)



Page • 61

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## Conclusion

- Idiomaticity can distinguish (apparently) similar constructions – in one and the same language, in two or more languages, or in several language varieties
- The techniques of collocation analysis help quantify and describe the differences in idiomaticity between the constructions
- Combining CA and CIA, it is possible to establish possible links between learners' linguistic behaviour and features distinctive of their L1
- Transfer-related claims should always be made very cautiously, since (i) it requires the examination of several elements (including NNS-NNS comparisons) and (ii) transfer often combines with other factors to produce a certain outcome
- Next step: what do these results say about more general issues such as cognitive processes related to language acquisition, cultural differences as reflected in linguistic differences, etc.?

Page • 62

Idiomatcity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

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Page • 63

Idiomatcity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

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Page • 64

Idiomatcity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

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Page • 65

Idiomatcity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin

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Page • 66

Idiomatcity workshop 1-2 Sept 2017 – Gaëtanelle Gilquin