Evelin Balog, Armine Garibyan & Thomas Herbst

The complexities of constructions in contrast – *the way* to making one's *own* bed in English, German, Hungarian and Russian

1 From appendix to heart: Phraseology and construction grammar

1.1 The phraseological nature of language

While it would probably be a little unfair to accuse structuralist linguists of not having seen the wood for the trees, it is certainly true to say that ever since de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*, structuralist and generative models did not attribute a central place to phraseology. To the extent that phraseology was taken into account at all, it was seen more as an appendix of oddities rather than anything at the core of the nature of language.[1]

As far as the study of English is concerned, the tribute for putting phraseological phenomena at the top of the agenda will have to be given to work in corpus linguistics, notably that of John Sinclair (1991) and his formulation of the idiom principle, which makes idiomaticity a central feature of language. The emergence of Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar has brought with it a parallel paradigm shift away from the belief that the essence of language could be captured by a number of very abstract rules, as pointed out by Croft & Cruse (2004: 225) (see also Gries 2008 and Boas & Höder (2018: 5)):[2]

> It is not an exaggeration to say that construction grammar grew out of a concern to find a place for idiomatic expressions in the speaker's knowledge of a grammar of their language. The study of idioms led to calls for a rethinking of syntactic representation for many years before construction grammar emerged . . . At least partly independently of construction grammar,

1 For notable exceptions see Gries (2008).

2 For the role of idiosyncrasies and idiomaticity in Construction Grammar see also Schafroth & Imperiale (2019: 95).

Note: Each of the three authors of this paper is responsible for the statements about their respective mother tongues, i.e. Evelin Balog for Hungarian, Armine Garibyan for Russian and Thomas Herbst for German. The overall framework is our joint approach, of course. We would like to thank Ewa Dąbrowska, Laura Becker, Michael Klotz and Miguel Llompart Garcia for fruitful discussions and suggestions and two reviewers for their comments.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110770209-010

> a number of researchers have emphasized the need to represent linguistic knowledge in a construction-like fashion. But in cognitive linguistics, these concerns led to a grammatical framework in which all grammatical knowledge is represented in essentially the same way.

Without wishing in any way to devalue the enormous amount of work done in the field of phraseology in a number of different linguistic frameworks (Granger & Meunier 2008; Gläser 1990; Fleischer 1997; Dobrovol'skij 2009) and in lexicography (Cowie & Mackin 1975; Cowie, Mackin & McCaig 1983),[3] this passage from Croft and Cruse illustrates quite clearly where the added value of a constructionist treatment lies – namely in the integration of phraseological phenomena into a comprehensive cognitive model of language. Compartmentalists might deplore this because in a way it means the end of phraseology as a subdiscipline of linguistics – at least in the sense that questions of the type whether a particular combination of words should be classified as an idiom, a collocation or a member of some third category become pretty pointless once we recognize that we are dealing with a constructional space that ranges from the very item-specific/lexical to the very general/grammatical – a space that we can imagine as being filled by partly overlapping clusters:

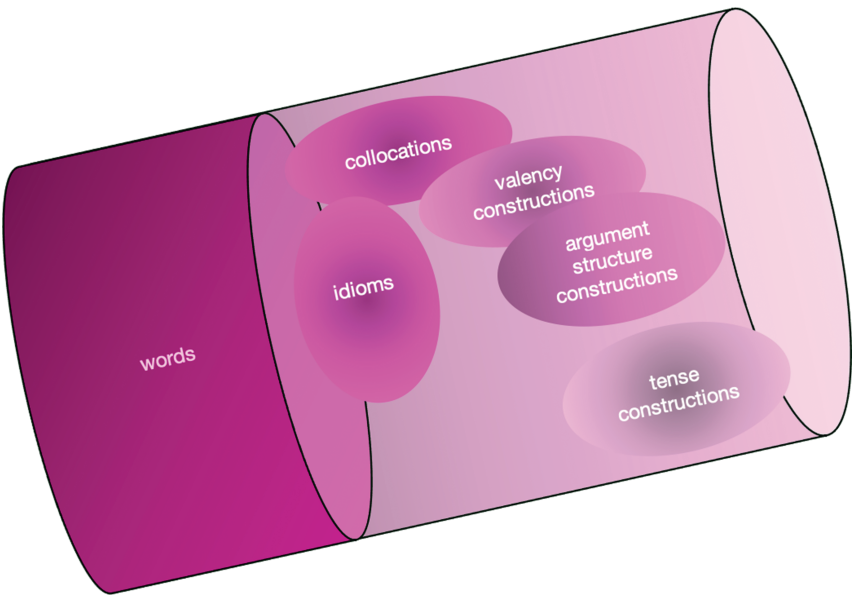


Figure 1: Constructional space.

3 For work on collocation see e.g. Hausmann (1984); Hausmann (2004); Siepmann (2005); Siepmann (2006); Gilquin (2007); Herbst (1996); Herbst (2011).

What Figure 1 is supposed to indicate is that we do not assume there to be any sharp dividing lines between lexis and grammar – an assumption which is shared by many cognitive and constructionist linguists (Langacker 2008; Goldberg 2006; Hilpert 2008; Hilpert 2020; Herbst 2018) as well as by Sinclair (2008ab). Imagining a constructionist space with no sharp boundaries does not mean, however, that we cannot shine spotlights onto particular areas in which we can make out clusters of constructions (in the construction grammar use of construction as defined below) which show similarities in certain respects. This is quite obvious when one looks at some of the constructicon projects which are being undertaken at the moment, which largely aim at particular areas of phraseology, e.g. for German (Ziem 2014; Ziem & Boas 2017; Ziem, Flick & Sandkühler 2019; Zeschel & Proost 2019), Japanese (Ohara 2018), Brazilian Portuguese (Torrent et al. 2018), Swedish (Lyngfelt et al. 2018).[4] Nevertheless, one can observe a certain shift in these projects towards a focus on "phraseologisms we live by" – the parallel being that in many cases the units studied now may not have been phraseological enough to have received a lot of attention in the past.[5]

This article will deal with two such low level phraseologisms, both of which involve 'self-action' in a way that the contribution of the AGENT receives prominence of some sort. One of these is the so-called *way*-construction, one of the prototypical examples often used to justify the notion of construction, while the other one, the *own*-AGENT construction has, as far as we are aware, received no great discussion in the literature so far. The aim of this article is to investigate to what extent a case can be made for the existence of constructions corresponding to these English ones in German, Hungarian and Russian. For this reason, we are going to discuss the principles underlying contrastive analysis in the next section and issues concerning the application of Construction Grammar to contrastive analysis in 1.3.

1.2 Ideally . . . – full and partial equivalence

Ideally, contrastive analysis presupposes an independent description of two or more languages within the same theoretical framework (Burgschmidt & Götz 1974: 26).[6] The principal options are to proceed either

4 For a related project for Italian which does not claim to be a constructicon see Schafroth & Imperiale (2019). For English see Herbst (2016); Herbst & Uhrig (2019); Patten & Perek (2019).

5 See Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

6 For a survey of the development of contrastive linguistics and basic principles see Burgschmidt & Götz (1974); König & Gast (2018); Boas (2010). Of course, one has to treat established formal catego-

– onomasiologically, i.e. to begin with a concept such as "time" and investigate how it can be expressed in the languages analyzed, or
– semasiologically, i.e. to take formal categories such as "present tense" as the starting point and compare which meanings can be expressed by these forms in the respective languages.

This article is situated within the framework of Construction Grammar: we would thus consider a construction C_1 in language L_1 and a construction C_A in language L_A to be fully equivalent with one another if and only if the same and only this meaning can be expressed by particular forms F_1 and F_A in the respective languages (as shown in Figure 2).[7] If a construction C_1 can be used in L_1 with the same meaning and in all contexts in which a construction C_A is used in L_A, but also in other contexts with a different meaning, we regard them as being partially equivalent.[8]

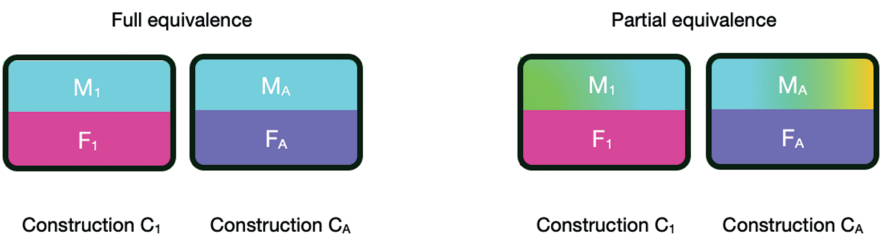


Figure 2: Full and partial equivalence of constructions in different languages (F: form; M: meaning).

In most areas of linguistic description, one would not normally assume to find one-to-one correspondences in the form of full equivalence. However, one area where such equivalence can be claimed to be found between languages are nouns denoting clearly delimited things (in the sense of Langacker 2008). For example, it would be difficult to argue that there is a difference in meaning between the following nouns in the respective languages:

ries with great caution when applying them to different languages – an objection also raised e.g. by Cristofaro (2009); Haspelmath (2010).

7 Note that we are using the subscripts 1 and A in order to avoid prioritizing either of the two languages.

8 For equivalence in different approaches to contrastive analysis see Burgschmidt & Götz (1974: 68–94).

(1) a. Bushaltestelle$_{DE}$ – bus stop$_{EN}$ – busshållplats$_{SW}$ – bushalte$_{NL}$ – автобусная остановка$_{RU}$
b. Synapse$_{DE}$ – synapse$_{FR}$ – synapsi$_{IT}$
c. Küste$_{DE}$ – kust$_{NL}$ – kust$_{SW}$

Interestingly, a second area in which we can make a case for full equivalents is presented by idioms or set phrases. This very often is due to the fact that quotations from famous works of literature such as (2) have come to be used in several languages or to loan effects arising from translation as in (3) (Herbst 1994; Herbst 2015):[9]

(2) a. Ich kenne meine Pappenheimer.$_{DE}$
[I know my Pappenheimers.]
(I know what to think of such people.)[10]
b. Ik ken mijn Pappenheimers.$_{NL}$

(3) a. The early bird catches the worm.
b. Der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm.$_{DE}$

On the other hand, L_1 lexemes that can be analyzed as polysemous are instances of partial equivalence, if the corresponding lexemes in the L_A only cover some of the senses of the L_1 lexeme.

(4) a. It was pleasant out of doors and I went for a walk, down by the station, along the Wharf and across the promenade. (BNC-GWB-854)
b. After Franks had left, Wycliffe went to pay a courtesy call at the local station. (BNC-GWB-583)

Even if only the initiated (in the sense of people familiar with Cornish towns and/or W.J. Burley's series of novels) will be able to immediately interpret *station* in (4a) as a railway station and in (4b) as a police station, this becomes perfectly clear from the contexts in which the word *station* is used. The German lexemes *Bahnhof* (train station) and *Polizeidienststelle* (police station) can thus be seen as being fully equivalent to the lexical units of the lexeme *station* in English exem-

9 We wish to point out, however, that this paper will not investigate the causes of parallels or differences between languages, i.e. issues of relatedness and cultural contact will not be pursued here.

10 Square brackets indicate word-for-word translations, round brackets more idiomatic translations.

plified above. The word *Station* exists in German as well, but only in very few contexts (*next station Princeton Junction – nächste Station Erlangen*) does it correspond to *station*; the lexemes $station_{EN}$ and $Station_{DE}$ are thus partial equivalents only. Note that this linguistic use of the term equivalence is, of course, different from its use in translation theory because the latter always refers to two expressions in a particular context in a given text and not to any kind of equivalence between linguistic signs or constructions as such.[11]

1.3 Less ideally – "constructions are language specific"

In fact, it may be doubted whether it is possible to make any claims about constructions being fully equivalent cross-linguistically, as pointed out by Croft (2001: 283):[12]

> Constructions are language-specific, and there is an extraordinary range of structural diversity of constructions encoding similar functions across languages.

It does not automatically follow that fully equivalent constructions across languages do not exist; in fact, the examples mentioned above are cases in point. To what extent any such equivalence between more abstract constructions can be claimed depends, of course, on the degree of specificity we are trying to capture. Let us take Goldberg's (2019: 7) definition of constructions as a basis:

> emergent clusters of lossy memory traces that are aligned within our high- (hyper!) dimensional conceptual space on the basis of shared form, function, and contextual dimensions.

Can "shared function" then be a sufficient criterion for cross-linguistic equivalence, or "shared function" and "shared contextual dimensions"? In what sense can forms be considered to be equivalent – for instance is a German dative equivalent to an English indirect object? Furthermore, does talking about equivalence entail that the "same" items (i.e. items that can be considered to be equivalents of each other in some way or other) occur in both constructions? Would we – and this is a point that will become relevant later on – consider productivity to be a relevant criterion for establishing equivalence?

In other words, a Construction Grammar approach to contrastive analysis is faced with a great number of issues, which we, quite clearly, will not be able to

11 For the concept of equivalence in translation theory see e.g. Coseriu (1978); Reiß & Vermeer (1984); Hönig & Kußmaul (1984); Koller (1983) or Stolze (2008).

12 For a discussion of Croft's views see Boas (2010: 57).

solve in this article. Methodologically, the biggest of these issues is that – despite, as pointed out above, constructicon projects being under way for a number of languages (Ziem 2014; Herbst 2016; Herbst 2019; Lyngfelt, Borin & Ohara 2018) – at the time of writing no comprehensive description in constructionist terms exists for English, let alone any other language. Although this means that at present we are nowhere near a situation in which we were able to compare two languages on the basis of independent descriptions within the same framework as demanded by Burgschmidt & Götz (1974). Nevertheless, it may be worthwhile to investigate to what extent we can find correspondences between constructions that we can identify for English and those used in other languages to express the same or similar meanings – even if this can only be a first step towards a more comprehensive analysis. This is very much in line with Boas (2010: 11–12):

> Without going into too many details about the design of a future constructicon, I suggest that it is in principle feasible to arrive for each language at a complete inventory of lexical units, the frames they evoke, and the grammatical constructions in which they participate. Once such an inventory is in place for two languages, a contrastive analysis of how specific meanings are mapped to different forms . . . is possible. Expanding this methodology to more languages will eventually yield broader constructional generalizations of the type that Croft (2001) has in mind. It is important to remember that this alternative approach is in principle compatible with Croft's approach . . . It also takes the notion of language-specific constructions serious while at the same time insisting on a radical bottom-up approach.

In what follows, we will concentrate on two English constructions that both involve self-involvement – the widely-discussed WAY construction and a construction we will refer to as the OWN-self-action construction – and explore possible equivalents in another Germanic language, German, as well as in Hungarian and Russian. One of the aims of this paper is to demonstrate what role generalization and item-relatedness play in the various constructions (Herbst 2020a).

2 The English WAY construction and equivalent expressions in German, Hungarian and Russian

2.1 The English WAY construction

As pointed out above, constructions cannot be expected to have direct equivalents in other languages. A case in point is presented by the English WAY construction, where we are more than hesitant to posit the existence of fully equivalent constructions in Russian and German (Herbst & Garibyan 2021).

The English WAY construction can be characterized as follows (Herbst & Garibyan 2021):[13]

The WAY construction				
A CREATOR creates an EFFECTED way of getting to a GOAL				
CREATOR		EFFECTED		PATH/GOAL
NP	make find work force push fight pick wind feel talk weave thread buy eat grope wing worm elbow shoulder smash etc.	PERS PRON$_{gen}$	way	PP
Robyn Penrose	is making	her	way	to Lecture Room A
Note: The construction can also be used to describe an activity (usually one of producing sounds): … a group of New York kids singing their way into the hearts of millions around the world.$_{COCA09S}$				

Figure 3: A representation of the way construction indicating its meaning, argument roles and argument realizations. (Different size of type face provides an indication of frequency).[14]

Figure 3 provides information about the meaning of the construction as such, the semantic roles of the argument slots, the formal realization of the arguments as well as a collo-profile for the verbs to be observed as occurring in this construction – based on the view that highly entrenched slot fillers ought to be seen as an integral part of a construction (Herbst 2020a).[15]

Semantically, the construction can be characterized as having a means sense and a manner sense, which is treated as an extension of the means sense by Goldberg (1995: 203– 204).[16] Furthermore, it entails the idea of a difficulty which has to be overcome (by the creation of a PATH) (Goldberg 1995: 204). One of the most

13 See e.g. Goldberg (1995: 199–218); Israel (1996); Verhagen (2003: 32-33); Kuno & Takami (2004).
14 Based on the following searches in the BNC: {*/V} (my|our|your|his|her|its|their) way (to|into|towards|in|on|onto|out|under|over|through|toward|across|behind|beyond) and {*/V} (my|our|your|his|her|its|their) way (there|here). Cf. Herbst & Garibyan (2021).
15 See also the format used for the representation of the nice-of-you construction by Goldberg & Herbst (2020).
16 See Levin & Rapoport (1988) and Jackendoff (1990) for this distinction. For Dutch see Verhagen (2003).

outstanding characteristics of the English WAY construction is its productivity, which gives rise to what one might call creative uses such as the ones under (5):

(5) a. On Earth, sinuous, single-channel streams **carve** their way through some permafrost landscapes. . . (COCA07M)
b. . . . we have seen a premier athlete **complain** his way to the team of his choice. (COCA04N)
c. . . . the Blackhawks **powered** their way to a 33-14 win over the Tigers. (COCA18N)
d. . . . he **trumpeted** his way into press conferences and clubhouses. (COCA94M)
e. Renamed the Titans, they **fought** their way to the Super Bowl in 2000. (COCA10S)

2.2 Expressions with German *Weg* and Russian *путь*

In German and Russian, we find examples such as (6b) and (6c), which are parallel to the use of the WAY construction in (6a):

(6) a. It also removes stones and plastic trash that may have found their way into the compost pile. (COCA11M)

b.$_{DE}$ Vielleicht nutzt es wenigstens, wenn Lösungsvorschläge ihren Weg in den Wahlkampf finden. (DWDS-DieZeit-21-7-16)

[. . . for suggestions their way into the election campaign find.]
(Perhaps it is of some use if concrete suggestions find their way into the election campaign.)

c.$_{RU}$ Операционная система Linux и разработанные в её среде приложения ищут свой путь к деньгам потребителя. (RNC)

[Operating system Linux and applications developed in its environment are searching their way to customers' money.]
(The operating system Linux and related apps are interested in their customers' money.)

One could argue, that, like (6a), (6b) and (6c) express the creation of a PATH, which is not the case with sentences with an indefinite or a definite article in German or no article in Russian:

(7) a.$_{DE}$ Immerhin hatten acht Herren aus Burkina Faso den Weg nach Bremen gefunden, um dem europäischen Publikum die Wurzeln ihrer Musikkultur vorzustellen. (taz19900215art297)

[After all had eight gentlemen from Burkina Faso the way to Bremen found . . .]
(After all, eight gentlemen from Burkina Faso had come to Bremen to introduce the European public to the roots of their music culture.)

b.$_{DE}$ Mitten in die Drangperiode der Dänen aber fiel in der 29. Minute der Führungstreffer durch Zorc [. . .], im zweiten Schußversuch aber den Weg ins Tor fand. (taz93-12-10)

[. . . in second kick-attempt but the way into goal found.]
(Right in the middle of the phase when the Danes were piling up the pressure, Zorc put them ahead in the 29th minute with a goal which went in on the seoncd attempt.)

c.$_{RU}$ . . .они начинают искать пути к бессмертию. (RNC)

[. . .they start searching ways to eternal life.]
(. . .they start looking for ways to attain eternal life.)

However, uses of *POSS WEG* and *POSS ПУТЬ* seem to be restricted to a very small number of verbs. In German,[17] however, there are quite a few cases with *POSS WEG* and a reflexive pronoun such as

(8)$_{DE}$ a. Ein Pick-Up bahnt sich seinen Weg durch das Schneetreiben in Wisconsin. (DWDS-DieZeit-211212)

[A pick-up truck creates itself its way through the snowstorm in Wisconsin.]
(A pick-up truck winds its way through the snowstorm in Wisconsin.)

b. Die Bürgerinnen und Bürger der DDR erkämpften sich ihren Weg zu einem Staat, der nicht bloß dem Namen nach demokratisch scheint, sondern wirklich demokratisch ist. (DWDS-Rede-091009)

[The citizens of the GDR fought themselves their way to a state . . .]
(The citizens of the GDR fought their way to having a state that is not only democratic by name but truly democratic by nature.)

17 For the role of the reflexive in Dutch see Verhagen (2003: 34–39).

c. Das Licht, so scheint es, suchte sich seinen Weg in den industriellen Prozeß. (taz-19880727-art069)

[The light, so seems it, sought itself its way into the industrial process.]
(Light, it would seem, found its way into the industrial process.)

d. . . . der Barde wuselt sich seinen Weg in den Eröffnungssong. (taz1988 1224art58)

[. . . the bard bustles himself his way into the opening-song.]
(. . . the bard bustles his way into the opening song.)

The German taz corpus (445 m word newspaper corpus) contains examples of this pattern with verbs such as *bahnen* (create a way) – see also Dutch *banen* (Verhagen 2003),[18] *suchen* (seek), *erkämpfen* (achieve by fighting), *freischießen* (create a way by shooting), *äsen* (eat), *brechen* (break), *fressen* (eat), *graben* (dig), *schlängeln* (snake) etc. Since most of these verbs also occur with the definite and/or indefinite article (*der/einen Weg*), it would be difficult to argue that these instances justify postulating a *POSS Weg*-construction in present-day German that corresponds to the English WAY construction.

The situation for Russian is rather similar.[19] In the Russian National Corpus (289 million words) we identified 205 cases which could potentially be analyzed in terms of a WAY construction – potentially, because this depends to a considerable extent on the (literal or metaphoric) interpretation of the meaning of *путь*. Thus, having 28 unique verbs occurring in patterns that are similar to the English WAY construction with respect to form and meaning does not necessarily mean that we could claim to have sufficient evidence to support the identification of such a construction in Russian, especially since the verbs in question also occur with *путь* and demonstrative determiners to express similar meanings.[20]

18 See also Verhagen (2003: 36) on the difference between English and Dutch: "So whereas English has, so to speak, opted for the strategy of using a verb with such a general meaning that it exactly fits the role of the verb slot in the construction (. . .), Dutch employs a verb that is highly specific for the construction for the same purpose."

19 The query for the search of the Russian WAY construction: V + свой | её | мой | твой | его | их | ваш | наш + путь $_{acc}$ + в | на | у | к | из | с | по | со | через | вниз | верх | мимо | до (PREP) returns 443 hits in a 289-million-word corpus. Then, out of 443 cases, 238 hits were excluded since they did not share the meaning of the WAY construction and/or the same form.

20 This all the more so since Russian verbs often have different prefixes (sometimes hardly with any change in meaning), which makes them different lexical units although they have the same root, e.g. сделать and проделать (DO).

2.3 The Hungarian ÚT V MAGÁNAK construction

In Hungarian, the situation is different in that there are no expressions of this kind with a possessive pronoun or determiner occurring before the noun *út*. However, the idea of creating a PATH can be expressed in Hungarian by using the noun *út* in combination with the reflexive pronoun *magának* as in (9):[21]

(9)$_{HU}$ a. A fent összetorlódott jégben keskeny utat vágott magának a patak vize. (HUNGARIAN WEB 2012)

[A top tumbled ice$_{inessive}$ narrow way$_{acc}$ cut itself$_{dative}$ the creek water$_{gen}$.]
(The water from the creek cut its way through the pack ice.)

b. Egyetlen napsugár utat talált magának a sűrű felhőtakaró között. (HUNGARIAN WEB 2012)

[Single sunshine way$_{acc}$ found itself$_{dat}$ the dense cloud in-between.]
(A single ray of sunshine found its way through the dense clouds.)

c. És akár valami gőzhenger, utat tiport magának a bozótban. (HUNGARIAN WEB 2012)

[And like something steamroller way $_{acc}$destroy himself$_{dat}$ the scrub$_{inessive}$.]
(And, like a steam roller, he ploughed his way through the scrub.)

d. Sarkon fordult, könyökével utat tört magának a tömegben . . . (HUNGARIAN WEB 2012)

[Corner$_{supressive}$ turned, elbow$_{instr}$ way$_{acc}$ broke himself$_{dat}$ the crowd$_{inessive}$.]
(He turned around and elbowed his way through the crowd . . .)

It has to be pointed out that the Hungarian ÚT V MAGÁNAK construction can only be used with concrete PATHS and is dominated by four verbs – e.g. *vág* (cut), *tör* (break), *talál* (find), *keres* (seek)[22] – which together seem to make up for over 80% of the uses in the Hungarian web 2012 corpus (HUTENTEN12). [23]

21 For Hungarian the Hungarian web corpus (huTenTen12) (2,572,620,694 words) was used. See https://www.sketchengine.eu/corpora-and-languages/corpus-list/ and Jakubíček et al. (2013).
22 As in Dutch (Verhagen 2003: 38), there are no means-uses in Hungarian.
23 Our thanks go to Professor Dr. László Kálmán (Eötvös Loránd University; Hungarian Academy of Science, Research Institute for Linguistics) for his advice on this point. We would not wish to claim that the Hungarian and the English constructions are fully equivalent since the Hungarian construction covers only some of the meanings of the English construction.

2.4 Ways without PATHS

Interestingly, the meaning of the Hungarian ÚT MAGÁNAK construction preserves the meaning of creating a PATH even if it is used without the PATH being expressed as in (10):

(10)$_{HU}$ Ám a bennünk élő kíváncsiság utat tör magának. (HUNGARIAN WEB 2012)

[but the us$_{dat}$ living curiosity way break itself$_{dat}$.]
(But the curiosity inside us forced its way out.)

We can find such sentences in German and English as well, but they seem to be restricted to referring to the future development of persons' lives or careers (in English usually accompanied by *own*) as in (12b):

(11)$_{DE}$ a. Er wird seinen Weg machen. Wenn er so weiterspielt, hat er berechtigte Ambitionen, auch mal woanders zu spielen. (20070205-art051)

[He will his way make. . . .]
(He will forge ahead. If he continues to play like that, his ambitions to play somewhere else will be justified.)

(12) a. Through the Ivy League network, he made his way. (COCA96A)
b. It is always our hope, as you well know, to prepare our youths to make their own way once they leave our humble halls. (COCA17F)

Examples such as those (11) and (12) could then be seen as phraseologisms, i.e. constructions in their own right (which are linked to the more general constructions containing *way* or *Weg* through inheritance links).

2.5 Uses of caused-motion constructions as equivalents to the WAY construction

The wide range of verbs in the English WAY construction can be seen as an indication of how it can be used creatively, which is not true of German *POSS WEG* and Russian *POSS ПУТЬ*. However, what we do find in German, Hungarian and

Russian are uses with reflexives.[24] While (13a) and (13b) can be given a resultative interpretation, (13c) indicates a PATH.

(13)$_{DE}$ a. Nürnberg schießt sich aus der Krise (tz300916)

[Nuremberg kicks itself out of the crisis.]
(Nuremberg kicks its way out of the crisis.)

b. Doll schießt sich fehlerfrei zum Sieg (SZ191219)

[Doll shoots himself mistake-free to victory.]
(Doll flawlessly shoots his way to victory.)

c. Wir sprühen uns Meter für Meter nach unten. (DieSendungmitderMaus02022020)

[We spray ourselves metre for metre to down.]
(We are spraying our way down metre for metre.)

These cases lend themselves to an account in terms of a blend of two constructions (Herbst & Hoffmann 2018; Herbst 2020b):[25] In the case of (13c), which describes how two people move down an ice canal while spraying the ice with water, we can pursue an analysis similar to that proposed by Fauconnier & Turner (2003: 78) for cases such as Goldberg's (1995) example *He sneezed the foam off the cappuccino*:

> In the diffuse input, we have an action, sneezing, with an agent and a motion by an object, the napkin, in a direction. The action is causally related to the motion. In the compressed caused-motion input, we have an agent, an action-motion, an object, and a direction. Conceptually, there is a natural mapping from the caused-motion scene to the diffuse input: the agent maps to the agent, the object to the object, the direction to the direction, and the action-motion to any of a number of distributed candidates – the action, the causal relation, or the motion.

24 Such uses can be found in English as well, often with a rather negative GOAL-argument, something that can also be observed in the other languages discussed here. Compare e.g.: *I'd run myself to staggering exhaustion* [. . .] (COCA99M); *It would be very unintelligent to run yourself to death* [. . .] (COCA99M). Compare German *Denn Eltern trennen sich oder nicht, streiten also weiter, rauchen sich zu Tode* [. . .] (DWDS-DieZeit-30-09-17).

25 Note that Israel (1996: 217) analyzes the English WAY construction as a "way to blend the conceptual content of an activity verb with the basic idea of motion along a path". See also Verhagen 2003: 39).

Within Fauconnier and Turner's (2003: 59) four-spaces model of conceptual integration (generic space, input spaces 1 and 2, and blended space) one can argue that one input space is provided by the action of spraying (something somewhere) and the other by the movement along a PATH.[26] The same mechanisms of conceptual blending are at work in the following Hungarian examples:

(14)$_{HU}$ a. Betáncolta magát a legjobbak közé a Csaba Nemzetiségi Néptáncegyüttes. (halasinfo.hu/)

[Dance $_{into}$ itself$_{acc}$ the best among the Csaba National folk dance ensemble.]
(The Csaba National Folk Dance Ensemble danced its way into top flight.)

b. Eszter magabiztosan beénekelte magát az Akadémiára. (halasinfo.hu/)

[Esther confidentally sing$_{into\ past}$ herself$_{acc}$ the Academia$_{sublative}$.]
(Esther confidently sang her way into the Academy.)

In Russian, a similar effect can be achieved by using a reflexive pronoun or a verb suffix expressing reflexivity:

(15)$_{RU}$ a. . . .он. . . продал себя в кабалу государственной службе. . . (RNC)

(. . .he. . . sold himself into the bondage of state service. . .)

b. Катерина не позволила втянуть себя в очередной базар. . . (RNC)

(Katerina didn't let herself be dragged into another farce. . .)

(16)$_{RU}$ А потом поехала в Лос-Анджелес, пробиваться в кино. (RNC)

(And then went to Los Angeles, to break$_{reflexive}$ into cinema.)

2.6 Non-reflexive achievement uses of caused motion

It thus seems that in German, Hungarian and Russian, the respective caused-motion constructions come close to expressing the meaning of the English WAY construction when used with a reflexive element. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether

26 See also Fauconnier & Turner (1998, 2002); Turner (2018).

we should identify a separate construction for the uses illustrated in the previous section, because we find similar sentences with non-reflexive as well:

(17)$_{DE}$ a. Sara Däbritz schießt Deutschland zum Sieg über Spanien (FCBayern120619)

[Sara Däbritz kicks Germany to a victory over Spain.]
(Sara Däbritz kicks Germany to victory over Spain.)

b. Däbritz grätscht uns ins Achtelfinale (Sportbild120619)

[Däbritz slides us into the last sixteen.]
(Däbritz slides us into the last sixteen.)

(18)$_{HU}$ a. . . . kapcsolatba hozva ezt két olyan termékkel, amelyek idővel meghozták Nápoly

[. . . connection bring this two such product$_{INS,}$ which time$_{INS}$ bring$_{PST}$ Naples]

szerencséjét, illetve beírták a várost a konyhaművészet történetébe. (eur-lex.europa.eu)

[luck$_{ACC}$, respectively write$_{PST}$ the city$_{ACC}$ the gastronomy history$_{ILLATIVE.}$]

(. . . associating this with two products which , over time, brought Naples luck and gave the city a place in the history of cuisine.)

b. Mahrez a meccs utolsó lövésével rúgta döntőbe Algériát. (Hírvilág.net150719)

[Mahrez the match last goal$_{INS}$ kick$_{PST}$ final$_{ILLATIVE}$ Algeria$_{acc}$.]
(Mahrez kicked Algeria into the final with the game's last goal.)

In these examples the "surprisal"-effect typical of creative language use is caused by the ÆFFECTED entity[27] not being directly affected by the action expressed by the verb as in (19):

(19)$_{DE}$ Die Deutschen kämpfen, rennen und schießen. (. . .) abgewehrt, und dann grätschte Sara Däbritz aus Amberg in der Oberpfalz den Ball ins Tor. (www.zeit.de-17-9-2019)

27 ÆFFECTED is used as a cover term for AFFECTED and EFFECTED by Herbst & Schüller (2008).

[. . . then slid Sara Däbritz from Amberg the ball into goal.]
(The Germans are fighting, running and shooting, . . . defended, and then Sara Däbritz from Amberg in the Oberpfalz slid the ball into the goal.)

Examples (17a) and (17b) are again clear examples of blending (Fauconnier & Turner 1998/2006; Turner 2020; Herbst 2020): the input space of performing a certain action (schießen, grätschen) on the football field is combined with an input space of achieving a certain GOAL expressed by the caused-motion construction. Interestingly, we can observe different scopes of the two input spaces in (20a) and (20b):

(20) a. . . . one year after he single-handily shot the Cavs into the Finals. (COCA16N)
b. The member Paul Cayard skippered AmericaOne into the finals of the Louis Vuitton Cup . . . (COCA13M)

2.7 Interim conclusion

What makes the English WAY-construction so special is that it provides speakers with an opportunity of expressing the idea of a GOAL being achieved in a rather unconventional or unexpected manner. This means that the verbs occurring in it do not necessarily involve the creation of a PATH. The corpus searches carried out for the three other languages analyzed in this paper have shown that no case can be made for the existence of a corresponding construction in German, Hungarian or Russian. In the case of German and Russian, constructs displaying the respective "surface structure" can be identified, but (a) these occur with a relatively small number of verbs, and (b) they tend to occur with other determiners as well.

On the other hand, in all three languages we find constructions involving reflexives which are similar to the English way construction with respect to the meaning expressed. These constructions further parallel the English WAY construction in that they occur with verbs which do not immediately relate to the GOAL achieved. Both the English WAY construction (Fauconnier & Turner 2003) and the reflexive constructions of German, Hungarian and Russian involve blending. However, this analysis shows quite clearly that it is different types of blended constructions that are established in the four languages.

3 The case of making one's own bed

3.1 Stressing AGENTS

(21) "Such an important day at the United Nations, so much work and so much success, and the Democrats purposely had to ruin and demean it with more breaking news Witch Hunt garbage," Trump tweeted. "So bad for our Country! (. . .) " (COCA19M)

Reading a sentence such as (21), we take it to mean that the action of tweeting was carried out by President Trump himself – not only because of the character of the message, but mainly because there is no reason to assume that someone else did the tweeting for him. There are, however, cases in which speakers want to stress the fact an action was carried out by a particular person. In English, German and Russian they can do this by using a reflexive pronoun:

(22) a.$_{EN}$ (. . .) until a moment like last evening when Al Gore sits down and writes that speech himself. (COCA00S)

b.$_{DE}$ Er hat die Rede selbst geschrieben.(taz-2011-11-02-art069)

[He has the speech himself written.]
(He wrote the speech himself.)

c.$_{RU}$ Мы сами выбираем свой путь. (RNC)

[We ourselves choose our path.]
(We choose our own way.)

In English, however, there is a further option:

(23) a. Laura Landry says her boys, Nicholas, eight, and Alexander, 10, are independent, most of the time. They make their own beds and on weekends they fix their own breakfast. (COCA05M)
b. They make their own beds, even if there are others who could do it. They empty the dishwasher; it is not done for them. (COCA10M)
c. At home we see her negotiating a normal life for her girls by insisting they make their own beds and by moving her mother, Marian Robinson, into the White House. (COCA11M)

We will refer to such uses as the OWN-ACTION construction. Before we discuss it any further, we will make a few remarks about the meaning of *own*.

3.2 own

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD10) provides the following description of the uses of *own*:

1 used to emphasize that something belongs to or is connected with somebody
2 done or produced by and for yourself

The two uses identified here are of course closely linked: It is obvious that if a person produces something, the resulting product will be connected to that person. On the other hand, in most contexts at least, one's own bed is the bed one usually sleeps in, not a bed that one built oneself.

This 'possession'-sense of *own* coincides with an element kind of 'delimitation-from-other', which is prominent in sentences such as[28]

(24) a. (. . .) and she was on her own. (COCA19M)
b. He's a grown man, he's making these decisions on his own, and he should be responsible . . .(COCA19M)
c. (. . .) and if the president chooses to act, it will be on his own. (COCA19M)

3.3 The English OWN-ACTION construction

The potential ambiguity between a 'self-relatedness' focus and a 'delimitation from other' focus of *own* is particularly apparent when we look at actions. It would seem that in the following examples, the function of *own* is to emphasize the idea of acting independently, on the basis of one's own will:

(25) a. They wanted to do their own thing. (COCA19F)
b. I taught her really young that if she screams, she could get her own way. (COCA06M)
c. I know I should mind my own business (. . .) (COCA09F)

In these examples, the scope of *own* is clearly oriented on the nouns that follow it. This is different in the case of *making one's own bed* or other cases of the OWN-ACTION construction such as the following:

28 See also CGEL (1985: 362–363) on the emphatic determinative *own*.

(26) a. And if she did not take her own life, someone must have killed her. (COCA08F)
b. But, the Hungarians, now able, after Communism, to make their own decisions, couldn't somehow get it together (. . .) (COCA19F)
c. We have all now seen the daylong hearing, and people are going to draw their own conclusions. (COCA19S)
d. That is a country that I think has to solve its own problems (. . .) (COCA99S)

Here, *own* seems to have the additional function of underscoring the fact that the action is carried out by the persons themselves.[29] This additional semantic trait leads us to postulate a separate construction for the cases under (46), which we will refer to as the OWN-ACTION construction (see Figure 4). This construction can be characterized in the following way:

[A] The construction consists of a verb and two argument slots
(i) an AGENT (realized by a subject-NP) and
(ii) an ÆFFECTED (realized by an object-NP or a PP).
[B] The construction occurs only in the active voice.
[C] The object-NP contains a genitive of a personal pronoun that is co-referential with the AGENT.
[D] The construction has one stable lexical element (*own*).
[E] Semantically, the construction describes an action of an AGENT on an ÆFFECTED that is somehow related to the AGENT and underscores the fact that the action is carried out by the AGENT personally.

Criteria B and E distinguish the OWN-ACTION construction from the expression of self-action through a reflexive, because these are neither restricted to the active nor do they presuppose a possessive relation between the AGENT and the ÆFFECTED:

(27) And those questions have really yet to be answered by Trump himself. (COCA17S)

(28) a. A place where you could fix your own car and people would have the tools for you. (COCA14S)
b. She could fix the engine herself. (COCA2002M)

29 Note that a sentence such as *They brush their own teeth.*$_{COCA08M}$ only makes sense when talking about a particular group of AGENTS who for some reason or other might not be able to act conventionally such as children etc.

The OWN-ACTION construction				
AGENT carries out an action on ÆFFECTED in person The construction underscores the AGENT's acting personally and a possessive relation between the thing æffected and the agent.				
AGENT	activity	ÆFFECTED		
NP	V	genitive of personal pronoun	own	noun
They	make	their	own	beds

Figure 4: Representation of the English own- AGENT construction.[30]

Interestingly, although the two constructions express a relatively similar meaning, in some cases at least, they seem to rule each other out, as with *take one's own life* and *make one's own bed* (see Table 1).

Table 1: Figures for *take one's own life* and *make one's own bed* and reflexive construction in COCA2020 (1 billion).

TAKE * own LIFE	1196	MAKE * own BED	26
TAKE * LIFE *self	no relevant example	MAKE * BED *self	1 the bed myself[32]
TAKE * LIFE *selves	0	MAKE * BED*selves	0
TAKE * * LIFE *self	no relevant example	MAKE * * BED *self	0
TAKE * * LIFE *selves	0	MAKE * * BED *selves	0

3.4 German *eigen*

In German, there is a similar range of choices to express self-action:
(a) reflexive + possessive + *eigen*
(b) reflexive + *eigen*
(c) reflexive + *selbst*/*selber*

30 Note that this is the prototypical form of the construction. The NP can also be part of a PP as in: *Many elderly people live in their own homes for many years following the death of a husband or a wife.*BNC-B32-2140

31 This example may have a different interpretation: *I can make the bed myself. Really? Have you ever made a bed in your life?* (COCA1996MO)

(29)$_{DE}$ a. Er ist ein ernsthafter, nachdenklicher Mann, der sich auf dem vermin-ten Gelände des Bund-Länder-Verhältnisses auskennt und sich seine eigenen Gedanken macht. (DWDS-DieZeit-13-03-92)
b. In diesem Fall habe ich mich bei der Bundeskanzlerin gemeldet, die sich auch schon eigene Gedanken gemacht hatte (. . .). (DWDS-DieZeit-18-04-17)
c. Jeder muss sich selbst Gedanken machen und abwägen, wie er sich entscheidet. . . (DWDS-DieZeit-031210)

What is most interesting in the present context is that option (a), which comes closest to the English OWN-ACTION construction, seems to be limited to very few cases. With a language being under such strong influence from English as present-day German, acceptability is difficult to judge anyway. However, the DWDS-corpus contains parallel cases such as

(30)$_{DE}$ a. Dem Sender CNN zufolge schrieb Obama die Rede selbst (. . .) (DWDS-DieZeit270615)
b. Bei Politikern, die nur von einem Zettel ablesen, hat man das Gefühl, sie hätten ihre Rede nicht selbst geschrieben. (DWDS-DieZeit-100217)
c. Er schreibt seine eigenen Reden (. . .) (DWDS-DieZeit030563) [text about England]

In fact, there seems to be divided usage in German. We carried out a rather informal survey based on a questionnaire, in which subjects were asked to rate sentences as *normal* (normal), *verständlich* (intelligible), *komisch* (strange) and *falsch* (wrong) and, wherever appropriate, to suggest a better alternative. Some of the sentences contained the reflexive pronoun *selbst* (her-/him- etc. -self), some the slightly less formal form *selber* and others a construction with *eigen* (see Appendix).

(31)$_{DE}$ a. Die Kanzlerin schreibt ihre Reden nicht selbst.
b. Trump schreibt seine Twitter-Texte bestimmt selber.
c. Sie macht auch im Hotel ihr Bett selbst.

(32)$_{DE}$ a. Er macht auch im Hotel sein eigenes Bett.
b. Studentinnen und Studenten sollten ihre eigenen Hausarbeiten anfertigen.
c. Nach dem Frühstück macht er immer sein eigenes Bett.

Two aspects of the responses are of interest in the present context (see Appendix):

1. All of the sentences under (31) were rated as acceptable or intelligible by almost all subjects. Where there was unhappiness, it concerned exclusively the choice of *selbst* vs. *selber*, but never the use of a reflexive pronoun in the sentences in question. Nobody suggested an alternative with *eigen*.
2. The majority of our test subjects rated the *eigen* sentences as perfectly acceptable (normal). However, the rate for the other categories was much higher than in any of the other sentences tested. The fact that the great majority of our subjects were students of English is certainly a relevant factor here. The acceptance of the sentences under (32) was definitely lower amongst older subjects.

3.5 Russian

Russian also has patterns with equivalents of *own* (*собственный/-ое/-ая/-ые*$_{RU}$) in both readings, with the (a)-examples emphasizing possession and not self-action and the reflexives in (b) emphasizing self-motion, as in

(33) a. Ей было сложно покинуть даже собственную комнату. (RNC)
[Her was hard leave even own room.]
(It was hard for her to leave even her own room.)
b. «Известия» провели собственное расследование. (RNC)
('The News' conducted its own investigation.)

Conclusion

The comparison of the English WAY construction and a construction we dubbed OWN-AGENT construction with equivalent expressions in other languages has shown that, as is to be expected, there are no straightforward one-to-one correspondences between these constructions. However, the analysis also revealed that in all four languages, which, after all, belong to three different language families, to a certain extent there is a similar potential of formal constellations for the expression of meanings similar to those of the two constructions which involve the use of the words *way* (*Weg, út* and *путь*) and reflexives (see Table 2).

More importantly, however, what we wanted to demonstrate is that a constructionist approach to contrastive linguistics can be very fruitful, but that it is bound to be messy, or, multi-faceted. Even if we can identify corresponding constructions in different languages in the sense that the same (or a very similar)

meaning can be expressed by a corresponding constellation of linguistic form, there are bound to be differences in terms of the items that occur in them.[32]

If we consider the items that conventionally appear in a particular slot of a construction to be an integral part of this construction, as in ColloConstruction Grammar (Herbst 2018; 2020), or follow the constructionist approach to phraseology advocated by Benigni et al. (2015) and Schafroth (2015), then a constructionist approach to contrastive analysis must take this level into account, too. The analysis of the constructions investigated in this paper thus serves to underscore the fact that although we can observe parallels between different languages with respect to the formal options they provide for expressing similar meanings and although we can assume the same mental operations (such as blending) to be at work when speakers use language, there still remains a high degree of idiosyncrasy or unpredictability with respect to what is actually established use – and possibly also with respect to the kinds of blends that are likely to occur – in a particular language at a particular point in time.

Table 2: Selected examples in the four languages.

Syntactic element	English	German	Hungarian	Russian
poss way	. . . clicks **his way** to success	?? klickt **seinen Weg** zum Erfolg	?? kattint **saját utat** a sikerhez	?? кликает **свой путь** к успеху
refl	?? clicks **himself** to success	klickt **sich** zum Erfolg	bekattintja **magát** a sikerbe	?? кликает**ся** к успеху
poss own	They write **their own** songs	Sie schreiben **ihre eigenen** Songs.	a dalaik**at saját maguk** irják	(?) Они пишут **свои собственные** песни.
poss own	She took **her own** life.	?? Sie nahm **ihr eigenes** Leben.	?? Elvette **saját maga** életét.	?? Она взяла **свою собственную** жизнь.
poss own	She makes **her own** bed.	(?) Sie macht **ihr eigenes** Bett.	Megveti a **saját** ágyát.	?? Она застилает **свою собственную** кровать.
refl poss	?? She makes **her** bed **herself.**	Sie macht **ihr** Bett **selbst.**	**Egyedül** veti meg az ágyát.	Она застилает **свою** кровать **сама**.
refl def	?? She took **herself the** life.	Sie nahm sich **selbst das** Leben.	?? Elvette **magától az** életet.	no article in Russian

32 For a similar point with respect to the historical development of the WAY construction see Perek (2018).

Linguists should not attempt to explain away this kind of idiosyncrasy, which, after all, is an integral part of language. In a volume devoted primarily to Romance studies, it seems more than appropriate to point out that one of the most pronounced recognitions of this duality between regularities or rules on the one hand and idiosyncrasy on the other can be attributed to the distinction between *System* and *Norm* made by Coseriu (1973).[33] Even if, in a cognitive model, we would tend to turn Coseriu's (1979: 57) ideas upside down and not talk of the *Norm* realizing the *System*, but would rather see the "system" as a network of generalizations arising from "use", the idea of a speaker's "freedom of expression" being restricted by the "fixed limits of traditional realizations" comes very close to the concept of pre-emption as used in Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar (Tomasello 2003; Langacker 2008; Goldberg 2019).

References

Benigni, Valentina, Paola Cotta Ramusino, Fabio Mollica & Elmar Schafroth (2015). How to Apply CxG to Phraseology: A Multilingual Research Project. *Journal of Social* Sciences 11 (3), 275–288.

Boas, Hans C. (2010). *Comparing constructions across languages*. In Hans Boas (ed.), *Contrastive Studies in Construction Grammar*, 1–20. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Boas, Hans C. & Steffen Höder (2018). Construction Grammar and language contact. An introduction. In Hans C. Boas & Steffen Höder (eds.), Constructions in Contact. Constructional perspectives on contact phenomena in Germanic languages, 5–36. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Burgschmidt, Ernst & Dieter Götz (1974). *Kontrastive Linguistik Deutsch/Englisch*. München: Hueber.

Coseriu, Eugenio (1978). Falsche und richtige Fragestellungen in der Übersetzungstheorie. In Lillebill Grähs, Gustav Korlé & Bertil Malmberg (eds.), *Theory and Practice of Translation*, 17–32. Bern, Frankfurt, & Las Vegas: Lang.

Cowie, Anthony P. & Ronald Mackin (1975). *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*. Vol. 1. London: Oxford University Press.

Cowie, Anthony P., Ronald Mackin & Isabel R. McCaig (1983). *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*. Vol. 2. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Croft, William & D. Alan Cruse (2004). *Cognitive Linguistics (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics)*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dobrovol'skij, Dmitrij Olegovič (2009). *Zur Theorie der Phraseologie: kognitive und kulturelle Aspekte*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

33 See also (Herbst 1983: 320–330).

Fauconnier, Gilles & Mark Turner (1998). Conceptual integration networks. *Cognitive Science* 22 (2), 133–188.
Fauconnier, Gilles & Mark Turner (2002). *The Way We Think. Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
Fauconnier, Gilles & Mark Turner (2003). *Conceptual blending, form and meaning. Recherches en communication* 19, 57–86.
Fleischer, Wolfgang (1997). *Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. 2nd edn. Tübingen: Niemeyer. DOI: 10.1515/9783110947625.
Gilquin, Gaëtanelle (2007). To err is not all: What corpus and elicitation can reveal about the use of collocation by learners. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 55 (3), 273–291.
Gläser, Rosemarie (1990). *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.
Goldberg, Adele E. (1995). *Constructions*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
Goldberg, Adele E. (2006). *Constructions at Work*. The *Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
Goldberg, Adele E. (2019). *Explain Me This. Creativity, Competition, and the Partial Productivity of Constructions*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Goldberg, Adele E. & Thomas Herbst (2020). The NICE-OF-YOU construction. *Linguistics* 59 (1), 285–318.
Granger, Sylviane & Fanny Meunier (2008). Disentangling the phraseological web. In Sylviane Granger & Fanny Meunier (eds.), *Phraseology. An interdisciplinary perspective*, 27–49. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Gries, Stefan Th. (2008). Phraseology and linguistic theory: A brief survey. In Sylviane Granger & Fanny Meunier (eds.), *Phraseology. An interdisciplinary perspective*, 3–25. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Hausmann, Franz Jose (1984). Wortschatzlernen ist Kollokationslernen. *Praxis des neusprachlichen Unterrichts* 31, 394–406.
Hausmann, Franz Josef (2004). Was sind eigentlich Kollokationen? In Kathrin Steyer (ed.), *Wortverbindungen – mehr oder weniger fest*, 309–334. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Herbst, Thomas (1983). *Untersuchungen zur Valenz englischer Adjektive und ihrer Nominalisierungen*. Tübingen: Narr.
Herbst, Thomas (1994). *Linguistische Aspekte der Synchronisation von Fernsehserien. Phonetik – Textlinguistik – Übersetzungstheorie*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Herbst, Thomas (1996). What are collocations: sandy beaches or false teeth? *English Studies 77* (4), 379–393.
Herbst, Thomas (2011). Choosing sandy beaches – collocations, probabemes and the idiom principle. In Thomas Herbst, Susen Faulhaber & Peter Uhrig (eds.), *The Phraseological View of Language. A Tribute to John Sinclair*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
Herbst, Thomas (2015). Filmsynchronisation als sprachliche Redundanzreduzierung. Fragen für die (kognitive) Linguistik. In Thomas Bräutigam & Nils Daniel Peiler (eds.), *Film im Transferprozess*, 97–120. Marburg: Schüren.
Herbst, Thomas (2016). Wörterbuch war gestern. Programm für ein unifiziertes Konstruktikon! In Stefan Schierholz, Rufus Hjalmar Gouws, Zita Hollós & Werner Wolski (eds.), *Wörterbuchforschung und Lexikographie*, 169–206. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter.

Herbst, Thomas (2018). Die menschliche Sprache – ein Netzwerk von Konstruktionen? In Rudolf Freiburg (ed.), *Sprachwelten* (FAU Forschungen Reihe A Geisteswissenschaften 11), 105–147. Erlangen: FAU University Press.

Herbst, Thomas (2019). Constructicons – a new type of reference work? *Lexicographica* 35 (1), 3–14.

Herbst, Thomas (2020a). Constructions, generalizations and the unpredictability of language: Moving towards ColloConstruction Grammar. In Tiago Timponi Torrent, Ely Edison da Silva Matos & Natália Sathler Sigiliano (eds.), *Construction Grammar across Borders*, 56–95. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Herbst, Thomas (2020b). Blending is creative, but blendedness is not – a response to Mark Turner's "Constructions and creativity." *Cognitive Semiotics* 13 (1), 2020.

Herbst, Thomas & Thomas Hoffmann. 2018. Construction Grammar for students: A Constructionist Approach to Syntactic Analysis (CASA). *Yearbook of the German Cognitive Linguistics Association* 6, 197–218.

Herbst, Thomas & Susen Schüller (2008). *Introduction to Syntactic Analysis. A Valency Approach*. Tübingen: Narr.

Herbst, Thomas & Peter Uhrig (2019). Towards a valency and argument structure constructicon of English: Turning the valency patternbank into a constructicon. *Lexicographica* 35(1), 171–188.

Herbst, Thomas & Armine Garibyan (2021). Arguing one's way to constructions and constructicons. *Proceedings of the 4th international scientific conference 'Универсальное и национальное в языковой картине мира'*, (pp. 4–16). Minsk, BY: MGLU.

Hilpert, Martin (2008). *Germanic Future Constructions. A Usage-Based Approach to Language Change*. Amsterdam et al.: Benjamins.

Hilpert, Martin (2020). Constructional Approaches. In Bas Aarts, Jill Bowie & Gergana Popova (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Grammar* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics), 106–123. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Hönig, Hans G. & Paul Kußmaul (1984). *Strategie der Übersetzung: Ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch*. Tübingen: Narr.

Israel, Michael (1996). The way constructions grow. In Adele E. Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual structure, discourse and language,* 217–230. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Jackendoff, Ray (1990). *Semantic structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jakubíček, Miloš, Adam Kilgarriff, Vojtěch Kovář, Pavel Rychlý & Vít Suchomel (2013). The TenTen corpus family. In *7th International Corpus Linguistics Conference CL 2013*. Lancaster, 2013,125–127.

Koller, Werner (1983). *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer.

König, Ekkehard & Volker Gast (2018). *Understanding English-German Contrasts*. 4th edn. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

Kuno, Susumu & Ken-ichi Takami (2004). *Functional constraints in grammar: On the unergative-unaccusative distinction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Langacker, Ronald W. (2008). *Cognitive Grammar. A basic introduction*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Levin, Beth & Tova R. Rapoport (1988). Lexical subordination. *Proceedings of the 24th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 275–289.

Lyngfelt, Benjamin, Linnéa Bäckström, Lars Borin, Anna Ehrlemark & Rudolf Rydstedt (2018). Constructicography at work: Theory meets practice in the Swedish constructicon. In Benjamin Lyngfelt, Lars Borin, Kyoko Ohara & Tiago Timponi Torrent (eds.), *Constructicography: Constructicon development across languages*, 255–302. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Lyngfelt, Benjamin, Lars Borin & Kyoko Ohara (eds.) (2018). *Constructicography: Constructicon development across languages*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Ohara, Kyoko (2018). Relations between frames and constructions: A proposal from the Japanese FrameNet constructicon. In Benjamin Lyngfelt, Lars Borin, Kyoko Ohara & Tiago Timponi Torrent (eds.), *Constructicography. Constructicon development across languages*, 107–140. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Patten, Amanda & Florent Perek (2019). Towards an English Constructicon using patterns and frames. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 24, 356–386.

Reiß, Katharina & Hans J. Vermeer (1984). *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Übersetzungstheorie*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Schafroth, Elmar & Riccardo Imperiale (2019). Gebrauchsbasierte Phraseologie des Italienischen: Digitale Lexikographie zwischen Frame-Semantik und Konstruktionsgrammatik. *Lexicographica* 35, 133–167.

Siepmann, Dirk (2005). Collocation, Colligation and Encoding Dictionaries. Part I: Lexico-logical Aspects. *International Journal of Lexicography* 18 (4), 409–444.

Siepmann, Dirk (2006). Collocations et dictionnaires d'apprentissage onomasiologiques: questions aux théoriciens et pistes pour l'avenir. *Langue française* (150), 99–117.

Sinclair, John McH. (1991). *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Stolze, Radegundis. (2008). *Übersetzungstheorien. Eine Einführung*. Tübingen: Narr.

Tomasello, Michael (2003). *Constructing a Language*. Cambridge/MA & London: Harvard University Press.

Torrent, Tiago Timponi, Ely Edison da Silva Matos, Ludmilla Meireles Lage, Adrielli Laviola, Tatiane da Silva Tavares, Vânia Gomes de Almeida & Natália Sathler Siglinao (2018). Towards continuity between the lexicon and the constructicon in FrameNet Brasil. In Benjamin Lyngfelt, Lars Borin, Kyoko Ohara & Tiago Timponi Torrent (eds.), *Constructicography. Constructicon development across languages*, 107–140. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Turner, Mark (2018). The role of creativity in multimodal Construction Grammar. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 66 (3), 357–370.

Verhagen, Arie (2003). The Dutch way. In Arie Verhagen & Jeroen Van de Weijer (eds.), *Usage-Based Approaches to Dutch. Lexicon, grammar, discourse*, 27–57. Utrecht: LOT.

Zeschel, Arne & Kristel Proost (2019). Grain size issues in construction building – and how to address them. *Lexicographica* 35, 123–169.

Ziem, Alexander (2014). Konstruktionsgrammatische Konzepte eines Konstruktikons. In Alexander Lasch & Alexander Ziem (eds.), *Grammatik als Netzweerk von Konstruktionen. Sprachwissen im Fokus der Konstruktionsgrammatik*, 15–34. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Ziem, Alexander & Hans Boas (2017). Towards a constructicon for German. In *The AAAI 2017 Spring Symposium on Computational Construction Grammar and Natural Language Understanding. Technical Report SS-17-02*, 272–277. Palo Alto: AAAI Press.

Ziem, Alexander, Johnna Flick & Phillip Sandkühler (2019). The German Constructicon Project: Framework, methodology, resources. *Lexicographica* 35, 61–86.

Corpuses

BNC = The British National Corpus. Distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.

COCA = Davies, Mark (2008-). The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 520 million words, 1990-present. http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/.

HuTenTen12 = Corpus of the Hungarian Web. http://sketchengine.eu/hutenten-hungarian-corpus/.

RNC = Russian National Corpus [Национальный корпус русского языка]. http://ruscorpora.ru/new/.

taz = tageszeitung (complete) CQP web (5559290 word forms)

Appendix: Test sentences for *selbst*, *selber* and *eigen*

A.1 Participants

Number of participants: 49

Age distribution:			Gender:	
	20 – 30	39		37 female
	31 – 40	02		12 male
	41 – 50	04		
	51 – 60	01		
	over 60	03		

Test items not listed below are unrelated distractors.

A.2 Results

Sentences containing *eigen*:

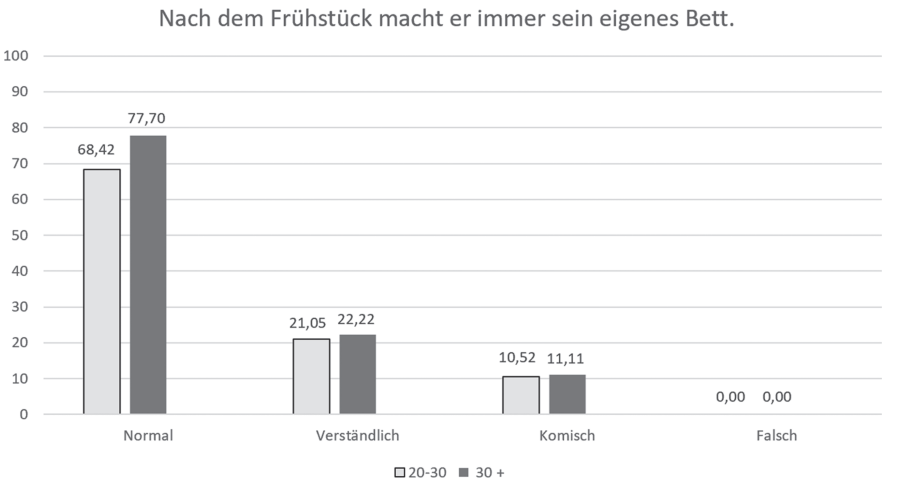
n = 49	Item 3	Item 11	Item 16	Item 18
rated as normal	18	21	25	22
suggested alternatives without *eigen*	25	12	15	15

Sentences with *selber/selbst*:

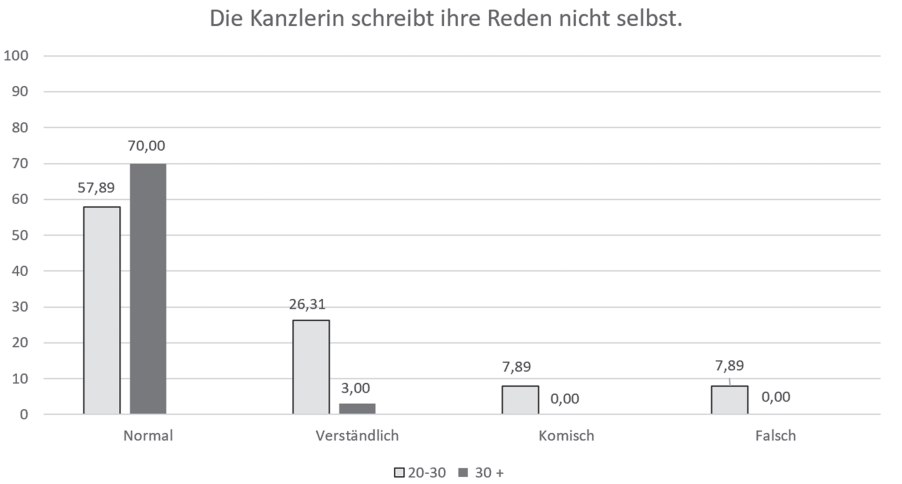
n = 49	Item 14	Item 5	Item 7	Item 9	Item 14
normal	47	27	39	40	40
suggested change *selber* → *selbst* or *selbst* → *selber*	2	18	6	6	4

A.3 Results in detail

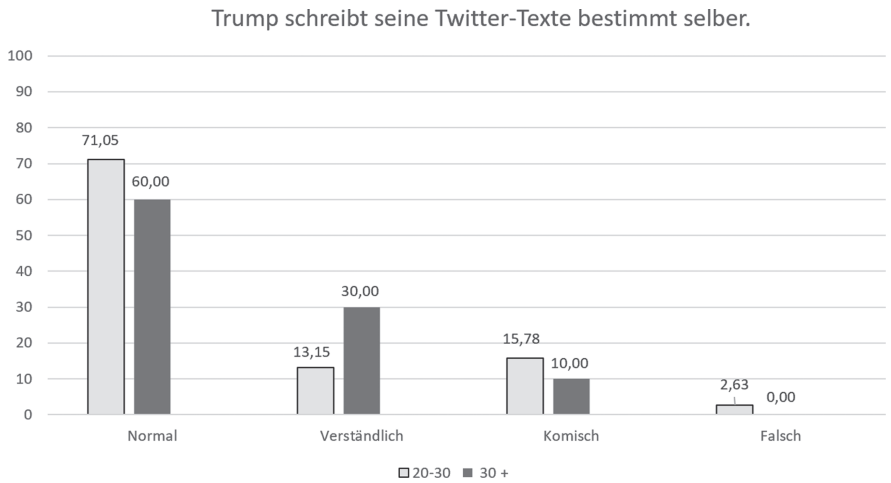
Test item 3:



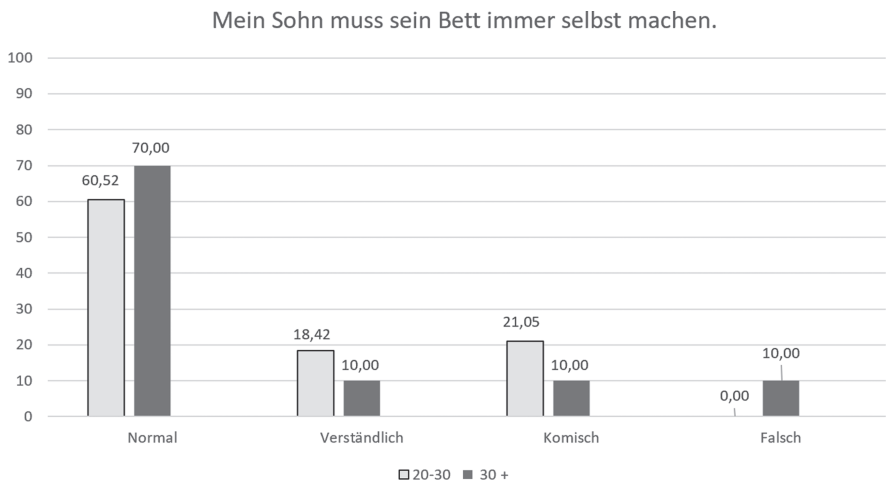
Test item 4:



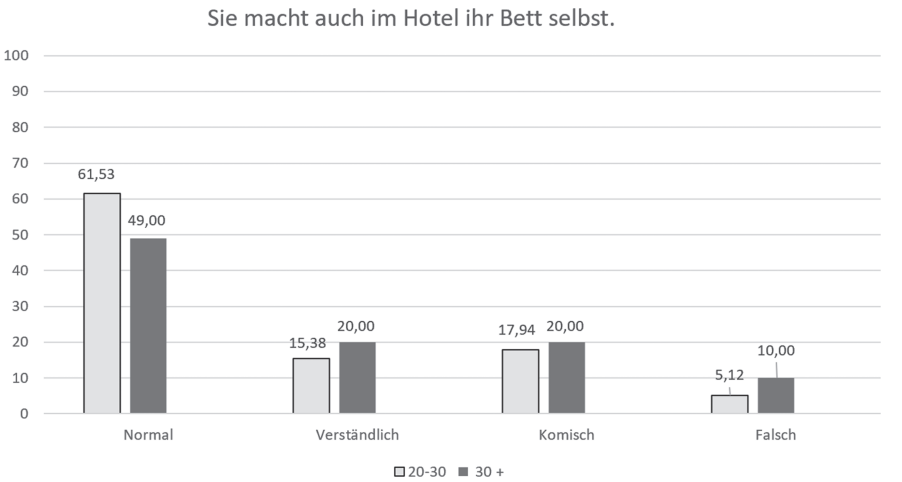
Test item 5:



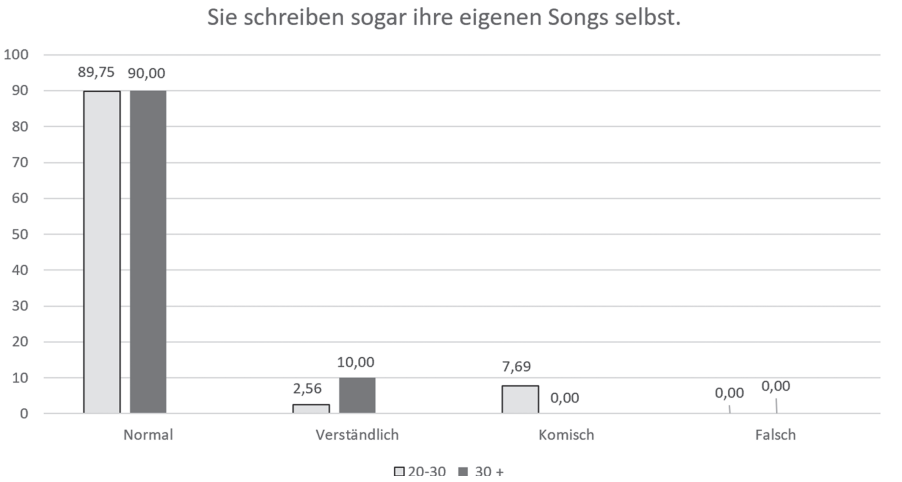
Test item 7:



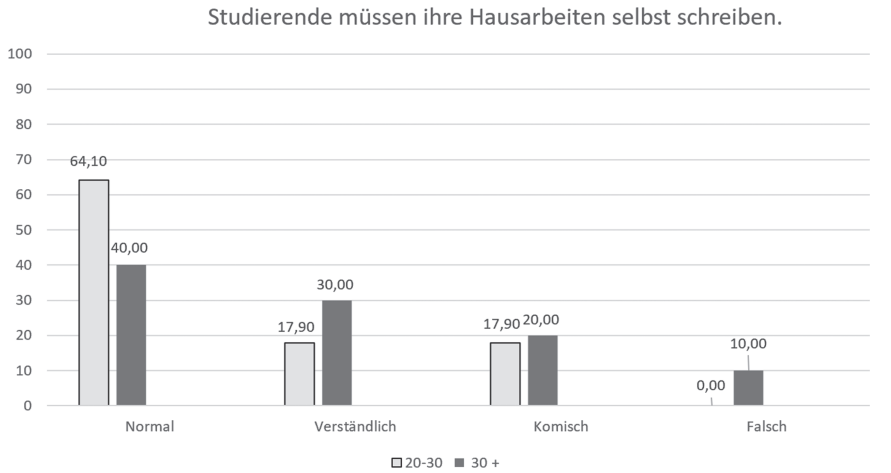
Test item 9:



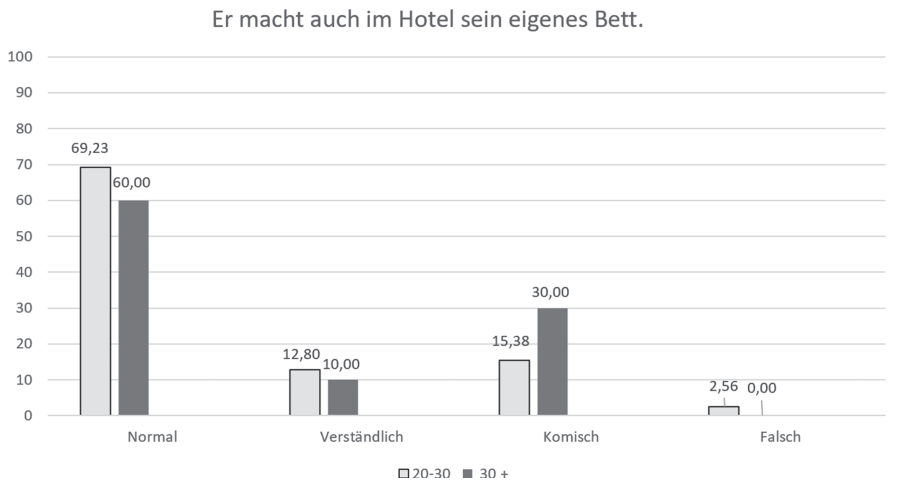
Test item 11: Songs



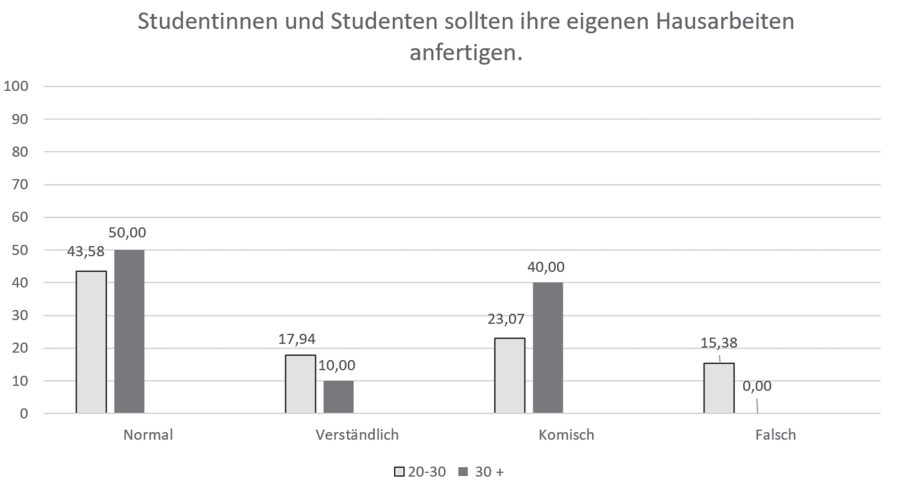
Test item 14:



Test item 16:



Test item 18:


Studentinnen und Studenten sollten ihre eigenen Hausarbeiten anfertigen.
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
43,58
50,00
17,94
10,00
23,07
40,00
15,38
0,00
Normal
Verständlich
Komisch
Falsch
20-30
30 +