Article

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Well, maybe you shouldn't go around shaving poodles: collostructional semantic and discursive prosody in the *go (a)round Ving* and *go (a)round and V* constructions

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Abstract: This article presents a corpus-based study of the *go (a)round Ving*- and *go (a)round and V*-constructions in American English. More specifically, it addresses the possibility of the constructions serving as pragmatic markers of stance through the collocational phenomenon of semantic prosody. It is argued that the notions of internal and external constructional properties from the early days of construction grammar as well as the corpus-linguistic idea of association patterns would be beneficial to usage-based construction grammatical descriptions of phenomena such as semantic prosody. Drawing on a 248,145,425-word portion of the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, both simple collexeme analysis and distinctive collexeme analysis are applied to generate output that feeds into semantic-prosodic analysis. Moreover, standard distinctive collexeme analysis and multiple distinctive collexeme analysis are applied at the level of semantic prosodies in the collexemic fields (i.e., distinctive semantic-prosodic analysis), at the level of verbal category colligations (i.e., distinctive colligational analysis), and at the level of speech act functions of usage-events of the two constructions (i.e., distinctive speech act analysis) as a type of trial balloon. The purpose is to expand semantic-prosodic analysis from focusing merely on lexemes to exploring how other linguistic and pragmatic phenomena may be at play.

Keywords: simple collexeme analysis; distinctive collexeme analysis; internal/external constructional properties; constructional pragmatics; stance

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1 Introduction

Consider the following examples:

(1) *Well, maybe you shouldn't go around shaving poodles!* (COCA 2011 FIC Dk:YoursMineOurs)

(2) *I wasn't the kind that went around and wanted people to pat me on the back about it.* (COCA 2012 SPOK NPR_FreshAir)

While probably appearing to express negative evaluations of their own contents, neither sentence contains anything structural that can be said to overtly express this negative evaluation. However, in a construction grammar perspective, this could be due to the presence of the two constructions *go (a)round Ving* in (1) and *go (a)round and V* in (2) part of whose function seems to be the pragmatic expression of disapproval (Stefanowitsch 2000: 262). Although that is not the case in (1) and (2), we can assume that, if they indeed do serve this purpose, they might attract verbs in the *Ving*- and *V*-positions, respectively, which express situations that are in some way undesirable and more likely to be assessed negatively. This collocation-based phenomenon is known as semantic prosody within corpus linguistics. In connection with lexical collocation, semantic prosodies are identified by observing semantic patterns in the collocational field of the node word. Seeing that constructions are regarded as pairings of form and conventionalized meaning in construction grammar, constructions may also have semantic prosodies that might be identifiable by exploring what we can call the collexemic field of a construction (i.e., the collexemes that appear in a construction in a corpus).

With this in mind, collostructional analysis should be a helpful tool in the identification of constructional semantic prosodies (indeed, much collostruction-based research already involves semantic categorization of collexemes). Drawing on data from sections of the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (henceforth COCA), this article addresses verb-construction interaction in the two constructions so as to explore the potential of using collostructional analysis in connection with semantic prosody. The article is, to some extent, a trial balloon as it involves traditional applications of simple collexeme and distinctive collexeme analyses as well as untraditional applications of standard and multiple distinctive analysis on nonlexical phenomena.

With this in mind, the reader should not take the findings presented in this paper as the final say on these two constructions, but rather as a few steps toward 1) a slightly deeper understanding of their usage and 2) developing a theoretically and descriptively relevant notion of constructional semantic prosody.

2 Usage-based construction grammar

In usage-based construction grammar, grammar is a nonmodular complex adaptive system (Beckner et al. 2009) of constructions (conventionalized pairings of form and meaning) organized at various levels of generality, specificity, and schematicity (Traugott and Trousdale 2014: 258).[1] The system emerges inductively at a global level from actual usage at a local level. Constructions are thus chunks of conventionalized linguistic knowledge (Patten 2014: 94) and are perhaps best viewed as entrenched routines in a speech community (Croft 2005: 274). Heterogeneously distributed within the speech community, the system is incomplete in the individual speaker (Geeraerts 2017). Frequency of use is central to the conventionalization of a construction (but salience may override frequency), and the system contains not just structural information but also knowledge of contexts in which a construction is typically used. Hence, constructional meaning is both semantic and discourse-pragmatic.

Relevant here are the much-neglected notions of internal and external constructional properties (Fillmore 1988: 36–37). The former covers formal, semantic, and symbolic structures while the latter subsumes recurring contextual patterns. These are essentially association patterns – "the systematic ways in which linguistic features are used in association with other linguistic and non-linguistic features" (Biber et al. 1998: 5). Association patterns count co-textual elements like collocations, colligations, and collostructions as well as more discourse-pragmatic ones. They are arguably generalized reflections of local-level contextual regularities and part of speakers' constructional knowledge.

External properties would also include semantic prosody, which has been described as a "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (Louw 1993: 157) or a "halo or profile … based on a semantically consistent set of collocates" (Bublitz 1996: 9). Less mystifying, Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 111) argues that speakers' linguistic choices "will involve the more local and grammatical constraints around the word, but will also include perhaps more remote semantic preference and its correspondent on the pragmatic side, semantic prosody," and Hunston and Francis (1999: 137) write that "a word may be said to have semantic prosody if it can be shown to co-occur typically with other words that belong to a particular semantic set." Constructional semantic prosody, then, rests on emergent semantic patterns in the collexemic field of a construction.

Semantic prosody is contrasted with semantic preference (Partington 2004: 149; Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 111):

1 For an introduction to construction grammar as such, see Hilpert (2019).

– Semantic preference: specific semantic classes in the collexemic field. For instance, *undergo* prefers as direct objects nouns from the semantic domains MEDICINE, EDUCATION AND ASSESSMENT, and CHANGE (Stubbs 2001: 89–95).
– Semantic prosody: abstract attitudinal patterns in the collexemic field. Since many of the semantic preferences of *undergo* are often associated with unpleasant experiences the verb has negative semantic prosody (Stubbs 2001: 89–95).

Semantic prosodies are divided into negative semantic prosody, positive semantic prosody, and neutral semantic prosody and are functionally akin to stance-markers: "[s]ince they are evaluative, prosodies often express the speaker's reason for making the utterance, and therefore identify functional discourse units" (Stubbs 2001: 65). Hence, a construction with negative or positive semantic prosody can itself serve pragmatically as a marker of negative or positive stance.

The terms "semantic preference" and "semantic prosody" are unfortunate, as both phenomena are prosodic in that they extend beyond the individual unit (Stubbs 2001: 65). Moreover, only the former deals with semantics, while the latter deals with discourse-pragmatics. In this article, "semantic prosody" is used with reference to the former, while "discursive prosody" is used with reference to the latter.

3 The two constructions

Lexicographers appear to be aware that *go (a)round Ving* carries meaning beyond the words in the construction. For example, *MacMillan* offers the following definition: "to behave or be dressed in a particular way," and the definition in *Cambridge Learner's Dictionary* reads "to spend your time behaving badly or doing something that is unpleasant for other people." The vocabulary resource *PhraseMix* includes the following description: "someone doing something bad again and again, with different people." From such definitions, two general observations can be gleaned regarding what the construction expresses:

– Some type of ITERATIVITY (which may be HABITUAL)
– Actions/behaviors associated with BADNESS or UNPLEASANTNESS

The UNPLEASANTNESS does not have to be experienced by the PATIENT only. It can also be experienced by the AGENT, as seen in the following examples:

(3) *We knew he couldn't have possibly have killed Angel, because anyone who's going to murder someone isn't going to go around admitting to it.* (COCA 2015 MOV … e Life and Times of Michael Alig)

(4) *And Netanyahu is not the kind of guy, you know this, who's apt to apologize. Go around apologizing for things.* (COCA 2013 SPOK ABC: This Week)

Arguably, both actions are primarily socially unpleasant to the AGENT, being self-face-threatening acts. It is particularly interesting that, in (5), *go around apologizing* seems to be appended to the main message as a type of self-initiated self-repair serving to adjust the more neutral representation offered in the utterance. The following examples suggest that *go (a)round and V*, a subcategory of what Stefanowitsch (2000) calls the coordinated verb construction, might be functionally similar:

(5) *What you do is, you go around and arrest people for petty crimes.* (COCA 2015 SPOK PBS_Newshour)

(6) *In my mind, as I saw it happen, she was just going to go around and shoot everyone.* (COCA 2010 NEWS NYTimes)

(7) *I mean, if you're going to go around and brag about something, you better make sure that, you know, people aren't going to be out there fact checking you.* (COCA 2012 SPOK Fox_Sustern)

In all three examples, the actions are construed iteratively. In (5), arresting petty criminals is even construed as a habit of the AGENT, while (6) deals with a hypothetical mass shooting, which in itself, while not habitual, is iterative in that a mass shooting involves multiple shots fires at multiple victims. In (7), the act of bragging similarly comes across as a recurring action performed by the AGENT.

Formally, both constructions contain an inflectionally schematic *go*, which, together with *(a)round*, forms a symbolic unit with ITERATIVITY. In both constructions, this symbolic unit is presumably a metaphorical extension of the literal meaning of *go around*. Stefanowitsch (2000: 262) suggests that, in *go (a)round and V*, *go (a)round* draws on an image schema of motion along a nondirectional path which conveys AIMLESSNESS, INTENTIONALITY, and HABITUALITY. Arguably, these features are compatible with ITERATIVITY, HABITUALITY even overlapping with it. In *go (a)round Ving*, the *Ving*-position is filled by a verb specifying the iterative action (henceforth, *Ving*). While *Ving* is inflectionally fixed, the *V*-position in *go (a)round and V* (henceforth, *V*) is schematic but inflectionally concordant with *go*. Like *Ving*, *V* specifies the iterative action. It was mentioned above that both constructions are used in the context of unpleasant or bad behavior. This is in line with Stefanowitsch's (2000: 262) observation that *go (a)round and V* allows disapproval construals. We assume that this also applies to *go (a)round Ving*.

4 Data and method

This study draws on a 248,145,425-word portion of COCA containing the registers ACADEMIC, FICTION, MAGAZINES, MOVIES, NEWS, SPOKEN, and TV and limited to

the period 2010–2019. Data were retrieved using these search strings: `GO around _V?G`, `GO round _V?G`, `GO around and VERB`, and `GO round and VERB` (these strings, it has to be said, exclude discontinuous instances of the two constructions). The search yielded 443 instances of *go (a)round Ving* and 101 instances of *go (a)round and V*.

Simple and distinctive collexeme analyses were performed using Gries (2022) with log transformation applied to all collostruction strengths. Simple collexeme analyses (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003) were applied to both constructions. These yielded lists of collexemes ranked according to collostruction strength. The lists were subject to manual sense-based semantic categorization to account for semantic prosodies, which were then divided into the three discursive-prosodic categories. Specifically, in the semantic-prosodic analysis, verbs were divided into inductively established semantic classes based on sentence-level verb meanings; that is, the categorization was based on co-textually disambiguated senses, a consequence of which is that the same verb may have multiple semantic-prosodic values if multiple senses occur across instances of use.[2]

According to the no-synonymy principle (Bolinger 1968: 127; Goldberg 1995: 67–68), constructions cannot be fully synonymous: small and seemingly intangible semantic, discourse-pragmatic, and sociolinguistic differences can occur systematically. Semantic differences may be reflected in distinctive collexemes which a standard distinctive collexeme analysis will identify (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004a, 2004b). In this study, then, the two constructions were subject to a standard distinctive collexeme analysis.

Distinctive collexeme analysis has also been applied in the study of register-collexeme interaction by Schönefeld (2013) and diachronic year-collexeme interaction by Hilpert (2012). Both studies use multiple distinctive collexeme analysis – a variant that compares three or more constructions (Schönefeld 2013). Since nonlexical association patterns might serve as external properties of a construction on par with lexical ones, standard and multiple distinctive collexeme analysis were applied at the levels of colligation and speech acts, both of which may intersect with semantic prosody.

Colligation may be distinctive in (at least) two ways: 1) a collexeme might colligate with some categories in one construction and others in another construction and 2) one collexeme might cause a construction to colligate with some categories while another collexeme might cause it to colligate with others. To address 1), a standard distinctive collexeme analysis was applied at the level of the following manually identified VP categories:

2 Note that manual semantic categorization and discursive-prosodic analysis are dependent on the analyst's subjective assessment.

- simple present
- simple past
- present participle (i.e., verbal in *ing*-clause)
- progressive aspect
- excessive aspect
- inceptive aspect
- modality
- mandative subjunctive
- imperative
- infinitive (i.e., verbal in infinitive clause)
- controlled future tense
- perfective aspect

To address 2), a Schönefeld-style (2013: 19, 24–25) multiple distinctive collexeme analysis was applied to either construction individually at the level of interaction between collexemes and verbal categories.

Speech acts can also be distinctive in (at least) two ways: 1) a construction might be preferred by one speech act type while others might prefer another construction and 2) a particular collexeme in a construction might attract some speech act types while another collexeme might prefer others. To address 1), a standard distinctive collexeme analysis was applied at the level of manually identified speech acts of utterances in which the constructions appear. The following speech act types were observed in the analysis:

- statement
- question
- directive
- commissive

To address 2), a Schönefeld-style (2013: 19, 24–25) multiple distinctive collexeme analysis was applied to either construction at the level of collexeme-speech act interaction.

5 The two constructions in use

It is worth noting that the two constructions are not used equally across the different registers of COCA. *Go (a)around and V* appears very frequently in SPOKEN (making up 46.53 % of all occurrences of that construction) and MOVIES (17.83 %), while *go (a)round Ving* appears frequently in FICTION (24.6 %), SPOKEN (24.15 %), MOVIES (20.09 %), and TV (15.8 %). Both constructions are infrequent in ACADEMIC, NEWS,

and MAGAZINES. In other words, constructions are associated with spoken language with *go (a)round Ving* perhaps also serving in fiction as a stylistic representation of spoken language.

5.1 Collexemes, semantic prosody, and discursive prosody

5.1.1 Simple collexeme analysis

Table 1 lists top 20 attracted collexemes in either construction.

Many of these collexemes clearly have negative leanings. However, there are also a few with positive leanings, such as *save* and *kiss*, both of which are attracted *to go (a)round Ving*. Similarly, there is a range of arguably more neutrally leaning verbs – in particular in the collexemic field of *go (a)round and V*.

Imaginate also appears to be attracted *to go (a)round Ving*. However, this usage-event is a dis legomenon in COCA in its entirety, both instances occurring in one movie within the same dialog; therefore, it cannot be considered representative of the corpus. As (8) shows, it is clearly designed to be a neologism, used for humorous effect:

Table 1: Top 20 attracted collexemes in both constructions.

Ranks	*Go (a)round Ving*		*Go (a)round and V*	
	Collexeme	**Collostruction strength**	**Collexeme**	**Collostruction strength**
1	*Say*	216.5637	*Say*	31.0818
2	*Kill*	138.1451	*Introduce*	30.3402
3	*Tell*	136.2567	*Tell*	27.482
4	*Pretend*	108.3743	*Round up*	25.7867
5	*Talk*	102.4302	*Ask*	24.4004
6	*Try*	91.7626	*Unscrew*	16.8174
7	*Blab*	70.782	*Personify*	16.1235
8	*Look*	66.063	*Try*	16.0406
9	*Ask*	64.1325	*Check*	15.5419
10	*Brag*	64.0946	*Shoot*	15.202
11	*Accuse*	43.1593	*Pick*	14.4086
12	*Shoot*	41.0571	*Buy*	14.3165
13	*Beat*	28.9036	*Batter*	14.0515
14	*Act*	27.3377	*Pay*	12.7997
15	*Murder*	26.9148	*Speak*	12.7419
16	*Prey*	26.7351	*Brag*	12.5534
17	*Point*	25.8336	*Scoop*	12.4221
18	*Save*	24.8275	*Spy*	12.1216
19	*Kiss*	24.304	*Tag*	12.009
20	*Imaginate*	23.7016	*Empty*	11.9992

(8) *Now he's going around imaginating anything he pleases.*
Imagi … What now?
Imaginating. Verb, meaning "to imaginate." I got an A+ in made-up words class.
So how do we stop the, uh, imagi-junk that hurts Gammy Gram?
(COCA 2014 MOV … t Wheels: The Origin of Awesome)

This anomaly aside, Table 1 suggests that *go (a)round Ving* attracts verbs with negative associations while *go (a)round and V* might have more neutral inclinations.

These simple collexeme analyses are useful in providing overviews of the constructions individually and serve as the basis of identification of semantic and discursive prosodies, which is why they included here. However, for the purpose of cross-constructional comparison, distinctive collexeme analysis is preferable.

5.1.2 Standard distinctive collexeme analyses

To provide a truly comparative perspective, a distinctive collexeme analysis was performed. Table 2 lists the top 20 distinctive collexemes of both constructions.

Table 2: Top 20 distinctive collexemes of both constructions.

Rank	*Go (a)round Ving*		*Go (a)round and V*	
	Collexeme	**Collostruction strength**	**Collexeme**	**Collostruction strength**
1	*Kill*	7.5329	*Introduce*	10.1764
2	*Do*	4.1501	*Check*	6.7678
3	*Pretend*	4.1501	*Round up*	6.7678
4	*Think*	2.4798	*Batter*	3.3758
5	*Look*	2.0961	*Beg*	3.3758
6	*Accuse*	2.0643	*Bless*	3.3758
7	*Act*	1.6498	*Build*	3.3758
8	*Beat*	1.6498	*Bump*	3.3758
9	*Blab*	1.6498	*Clear*	3.3758
10	*Have*	1.6498	*Cut*	3.3758
11	*Hit*	1.6498	*Discover*	3.3758
12	*Open*	1.6498	*Empty*	3.3758
13	*Point*	1.6498	*Enforce*	3.3758
14	*Save*	1.6498	*Evaluate*	3.3758
15	*Use*	1.6498	*Examine*	3.3758
16	*Wear*	1.6498	*Gather*	3.3758
17	*Change*	1.2361	*Grab*	3.3758
18	*Fight*	1.2361	*Keep*	3.3758
19	*Kiss*	1.2361	*Knock*	3.3758
20	*Murder*	1.2361	*List*	3.3758

Due to many tris, dis, and hapax legomena, many collostruction strengths outside the top 3 of either construction are identical (at least with four decimals), which on the face of it suggests that the degree of distinctiveness of most collexemes outside either top 3 drops. Figure 1 provides an overview of the association-frequency ratio, which allows us to identify collostruction strengths that should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. The figure, in which *go (a)round and V* is represented by the positive side of the "Association"-axis while *go (a)round Ving* is represented by the negative side, seems to confirm that *kill*, *pretend*, *do*, *think* and *accuse* are genuinely distinctive and attracted to the latter construction.

At the level of collexeme types, again it certainly seems that there are a few verbs that express unpleasant or undesirable situations that prefer *go (a)round Ving*. As seen in Table 3, our semantic-/discursive-prosodic analysis suggests similarity between the two constructions as they both prefer negative and neutral prosodies.

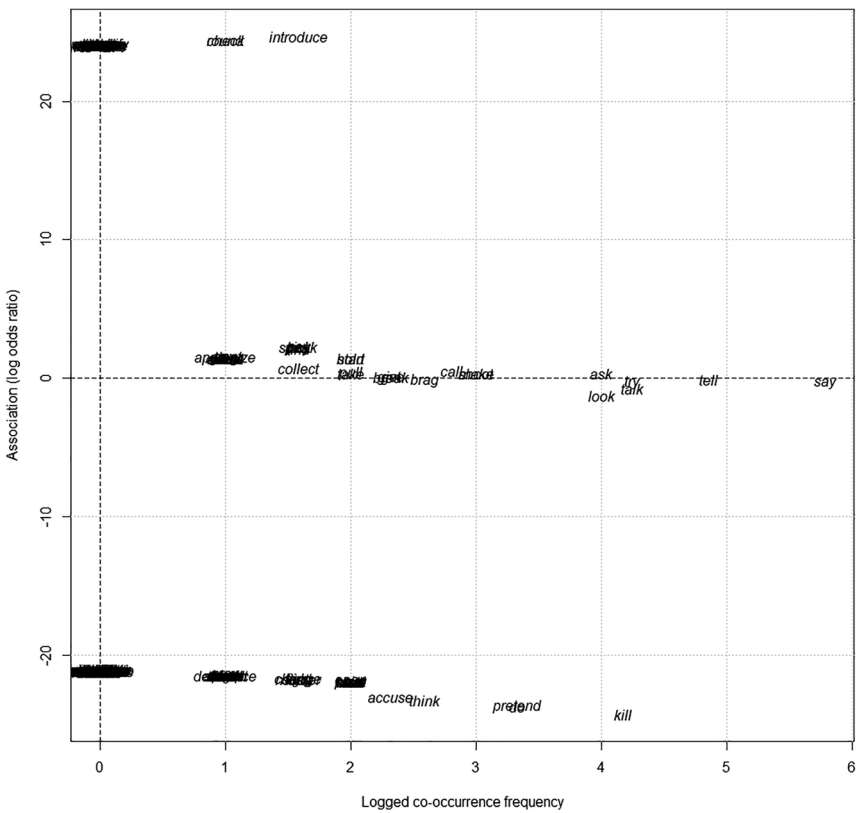

Figure 1: Association-frequency ratio in distinctive collexeme analysis.

Table 3: Semantic and discursive prosodies.[a]

Construction	Discursive prosody	Semantic prosody
Go around Ving	Negative	ACCUSATION, ADMISSION, AMBUSH, APOLOGY, APOLOGY, APPELLATION, APPREHENSION, ARGUMENT, ASSAULT, CHANGE, CHATTER, COERCION, COMMAND, CONCEALMENT, CONCERN, CONFLICT, CRIME, DECEPTION, DENIAL, DENOUNCEMENT, DESTRUCTION, DIVISION, ENTRAPMENT, ESPIONAGE, FEAR, GAMBLING, GOSSIP, HARASSMENT, IGNORANCE, IMMODESTY, IMMORALITY, INJURY, INTRUSION, IRREALITY, JETTISON, MISBEHAVIOR, MOCKERY, PREDATION, PRETENSE, QUESTION, SLANDER, SNITCHING, THREAT, VENGEANCE, VEXATION, VIOLENCE, WARFARE
	Positive	AFFECTION, ASSISTANCE, CONFIDENCE, COURTSHIP, DIPLOMACY, DISINFECTION, DONATION, EXISTENCE, GREETING, HONESTY, INGESTION, INTERCOURSE, MANUFACTURE, OBTAINMENT, ORNAMENTATION, PACIFICATION, PERMISSION, POSSESSION, RESCUE, RESURRECTION, SECURITY, SOCIALIZATION, SPORTS, STUDY
	Neutral	ACTION, ANNOUNCEMENT, ANOINTMENT, APPAREL, APPEARANCE, APPELLATION, ARGUMENT, ASSUMPTION, CAUSATION, CLAIM, COGNITION, COLLECTION, COMMUNICATION, DECISION, DIPLOMACY, DISCOVERY, EFFORT, ELUCIDATION, EMPATHY, EQUIPMENT, EXPRESSION, GOVERNANCE, GRASP, INSPECTION, LITIGATION, LOCOMOTION, MAGIC, MANIPULATION, PERCEPTION, PHOTOGRAPHY, REPETITION, RETURN, SEARCH, SIMILARITY, SITUATION, SONG, TOUCH, TRANSACTION, TRANSPORTATION, UTILIZATION, VERBIAGE
Go around and V	Negative	ADMISSION, APOLOGY, APPREHENSION, AWAKENING, BRIBE, COERCION, DENIAL, DESTRUCTION, ESPIONAGE, HARASSMENT, IMMODESTY, IMPLORATION, QUESTION, VIOLENCE
	Positive	ASSISTANCE, BENEDICTION, DISINFECTION, GAME, GREETING, MANUFACTURE, PROFFER, SOCIALIZATION
	Neutral	APPELLATION, ASSESSMENT, CAUSATION, COGNITION, COLLECTION, DESIRE, DISCOVERY, EFFORT, GRASP, INHALATION, INSPECTION, MANIPULATION, OBTAINMENT, PERCEPTION, REGISTRATION, SCHEDULE, SEARCH, SELECTION, VERBIAGE, TRANSACTION

[a]MANIPULATION is not to be understood in the sense of SOCIAL MANIPULATION but in the sense of PHYSICAL MANIPULATION OF OBJECTS.

Naturally, *go (a)round Ving* occurs with a wider range of semantic prosodies, but neither appears aligned with positive prosodies. While useful in mapping the overall semantic and discursive prosodies of constructions, this type of analysis does not account for preferential differences. An application of a standard distinctive collexeme analysis at the level of semantic prosody provides a slightly more fine-grained picture as shown in Table 4.

In the top 20 distinctive semantic prosodies, more negatively inclined semantic ones such as VIOLENCE, CONFLICT, MISBEHAVIOR, CRIME, and ASSAULT[3] prefer *go (a)round Ving*

3 VIOLENCE and ASSAULT are distinguished from another, as the former subsumes specific acts of violence such as murdering, punching, or stabbing someone, while the latter subsumes various types of attack – be it violent or nonviolent ones.

Table 4: Distinctive semantic prosodies.

Rank	*Go (a)round Ving*		*Go (a)round and V*	
1	**Semantic prosody**	**Collostruction strength**	**Semantic prosody**	**Collostruction strength**
2	PRETENSE	5.8344	APPREHENSION	12.0299
3	VIOLENCE	5.4066	SOCIALIZATION	7.6394
4	ACTION	4.1501	PROFFER	6.7678
5	ACCUSATION	2.896	DISINFECTION	6.7571
6	CHANGE	2.4798	DISCOVERY	6.0778
7	THREAT	2.4798	MANIPULATION	5.8507
8	APPEARANCE	2.0643	INSPECTION	4.2473
9	DONATION	2.0643	ASSESSMENT	3.3758
10	INGESTION	2.0643	AWAKENING	3.3758
11	MISBEHAVIOR	2.0643	BENEDICTION	3.3758
12	RESCUE	2.0643	BRIBE	3.3758
13	AFFECTION	1.6498	DESIRE	3.3758
14	ASSUMPTION	1.6498	GAME	3.3758
15	CONFLICT	1.6498	IMPLORATION	3.3758
16	CRIME	1.6498	INHALATION	3.3758
17	UTILIZATION	1.6498	REGISTRATION	3.3758
18	ANNOUNCEMENT	1.2361	SCHEDULE	3.3758
19	ARGUMENT	1.2361	SELECTION	3.3758
20	ASSAULT	1.2361	COERCION	3.3525

than *go (a)round and V*. The latter appears more diverse overall, attracting more prosodies associated with social undesirability ones with physical harm. Table 5 summarizes the discursive- and semantic-prosodic analysis of the entire collexemic fields generated by the distinctive semantic-prosodic analysis.

Go (a)round Ving tends toward negative discursive prosody, as negatively leaning semantic prosodies account for 43 % of all of the semantic prosody types. In *go (a)round and V*, negatively leaning ones 32 % (vs. 41 % neutral ones and 27 % positive ones). Tables 4 and 5 suggest that *go (a)round Ving* furthermore attracts semantic prosodies relating to war, violence, destruction, emotional distress, and immoral and deceptive behavior while *go (a)round and V* seems to be more oriented toward socially unpleasant situations.

It is interesting that *go (a)round Ving* also attracts verbs with positive leanings. However, in such cases, the positivity of the collexemes is co-textually overridden:

Table 5: Semantic and discursive prosodies based on distinctive semantic-prosodic analysis.

Constructions	Discursive prosodies	Semantic prosodies
Go around Ving	Negative (43 %)	ACCUSATION, AMBUSH, ARGUMENT, ASSAULT, CHANGE, COMMAND, CONCEALMENT, CONCERN, CONFLICT, CRIME, DECEPTION, DENOUNCEMENT, DESTRUCTION, DIVISION, ENTRAPMENT, FEAR, GAMBLING, GOSSIP, IGNORANCE, IMMODESTY, IMMORALITY, INJURY, INTRUSION, IRREALITY, JETTISON, MISBEHAVIOR, MOCKERY, PREDATION, PRETENSE, SLANDER, SNITCHING, THREAT, VENGEANCE, VEXATION, VIOLENCE, WARFARE
	Positive (22 %)	AFFECTION, CONFIDENCE, COURTSHIP, DIPLOMACY, DONATION, EMPATHY, EXISTENCE, HONESTY, INGESTION, INTERCOURSE, ORNAMENTATION, PACIFICATION, PERMISSION, POSSESSION, RESCUE, RESURRECTION, SECURITY, SPORTS, STUDY
	Neutral (35 %)	ACTION, ANNOUNCEMENT, ANOINTMENT, APPAREL, APPEARANCE, CLAIM, COGNITION, COMMUNICATION, DECISION, EFFORT, ELUCIDATION, EQUIPMENT, EXPRESSION, GOVERNANCE, LITIGATION, LOCOMOTION, MAGIC, PERCEPTION, PHOTOGRAPHY, REPETITION, RETURN, SEARCH, SIMILARITY, SITUATION, SONG, TOUCH, TRANSPORTATION, UTILIZATION, VERBIAGE
Go (a)round and V	Negative (32 %)	ADMISSION, APOLOGY, APPREHENSION, AWAKENING, BRIBE, COERCION, DENIAL, ESPIONAGE, HARASSMENT, IMPLORATION, QUESTION
	Positive (27 %)	ASSISTANCE, BENEDICTION, DISINFECTION, GAME, GREETING, MANUFACTURE, OBTAINMENT, PROFFER, SOCIALIZATION
	Neutral (41 %)	APPELLATION, ASSESSMENT, CAUSATION, COLLECTION, DESIRE, DISCOVERY, GRASP, INHALATION, INSPECTION, MANIPULATION, REGISTRATION, SCHEDULE, SELECTION, TRANSACTION

(9) *We're not sentimentalists. We don't exchange heart-shaped boxes of chocolates or glossy cards with manufactured endearments inside, and we don't go around kissing in public or saying "I love you" twenty times a day. (To my mind, couples like that are always suspect – really, who are they trying to fool?)* (COCA 2018 FIC NewYorker)

(10) *Don't tempt him. I forgot. Baz, the white knight, goes around saving everybody.* (COCA TV 2016 Animal Kingdom)

(11) *It would be a funny world if demons went around trusting each other.* (COCA 2019 TV Good Omens)

While kissing, saving people, and trusting one another are arguably positive and socially desirable, they are presented in a more negative light here. Co-textual features – *sentimentalists* and *suspect* in (9), *white knight* in (10), and *funny* in (11) – suggest negative, maybe even sarcastic, assessment of these otherwise positive actions as undesirable types of behavior. This indicates that *go (a)round Ving* itself

might prefer negative co-texts. Indeed, a simple manual utterance-level stance analysis shows that, overall, there is a preference for negative utterances of various types (such as expressions of disapproval, prohibitive directives, and undesired hypothetical situations) with negative co-texts constituting 89.84 % while positive and negative ones make up 4.74 and 5.42 %, respectively.

5.2 Colligation

If grammar is meaningful, then grammatical units might also contribute to stance, calling for exploration of colligational patterns of constructions. This section explores colligational patterns of the two constructions. We will focus on verbal grammatical categories – that is, inflections and VP-constructional contexts of *go* in either construction.

First, Table 6 shows in percentages the distribution of observed colligational categories over the two constructions.

Go (a)round Ving seems to colligate somewhat often with modality and *do*-support as well as the simple past. *Go (a)round and V* also colligates with modality but seems to prefer the simple past and present. Next, a distinctive colligation analysis was performed, analogously to a standard distinctive collexeme analysis, to address preferential patterns among the verbal categories and the two constructions. The findings are presented in Table 7.

Table 6: Distribution of observed colligational patterns (in percentages).

Colligational category	*Go (a)round Ving*	*Go (a)round and V*
Do-support	16.70	1.98
Controlled future	1.35	7.92
Imperative	0.23	2.97
Inceptive	0.23	0.00
Infinitive	6.55	10.89
Present participle	9.71	10.89
Excessive aspect	0.45	0.00
Mandative subjunctive	0.45	0.00
Modality	19.41	13.86
Perfect aspect	2.26	0.00
Progressive aspect	13.09	5.94
Simple past	11.29	20.79
Simple present	18.28	24.75

Table 7: Distinctive colligational analysis.

Colligational category	Preferred construction	Collostruction strength
Do-support	*Go (a)round Ving*	20.6377
Controlled future	*Go (a)round and V*	10.6537
Imperative	*Go (a)round and V*	6.0778
Simple past tense	*Go (a)round and V*	5.9057
Progressive aspect	*Go (a)round Ving*	4.6744
Perfect aspect	*Go (a)round Ving*	4.1501
Simple present	*Go (a)round and V*	2.0932
Infinitive	*Go (a)round and V*	2.072
Modality	*Go (a)round Ving*	1.7861
Excessive aspect	*Go (a)round Ving*	0.8232
Mandative subjunctive	*Go (a)round Ving*	0.8232
Inceptive aspect	*Go (a)round Ving*	0.4112
Present participle	*Go (a)round and V*	0.1263

There is a strong preference for *go (a)round Ving* by *do*-support. *Do*-support is of course functionally somewhat unspecific, as it can serve to indicate polarity questions, negation, and emphasis. Of these functions, 90.54 % of all instances of *do*-support in *go (a)round Ving* have negative polarity, often serving to indicate negation of undesirable situations:

(12) *Well I don't go around assaulting people* (COCA 2019 TV Warrior)

(13) *Unlike a lot of older women with money to burn, she doesn't go around buying fabulous designer fashions that were created for twenty-five-year-olds but look ridiculous on a sixty-five-year-old.* (COCA 2010 FIC Bk:ThreadSoThin)

The speaker in (12) denies having the habit of assaulting other people, while (13) dismisses the idea of buying expensive and age-inappropriate apparel being a habit.

Modality is similarly interesting due to its connection with factuality and nonfactuality. About 83.72 % of all occurrences of modality in this construction have negative polarity. Out of these, 93.06 % have deontic modality. The majority of these signal prohibition of certain behaviors and activities:

(14) *You shouldn't go around fighting strangers in the forest*. (COCA 2010 TV Adventure Time)

(15) *You can't go around being all nice and flirty with someone when you are clearly with someone else*. (COCA 2011 TV Heart of Dixie)

(16) *I can't go around talking like this, you know*. (COCA SPOK NPR_FreshAir)

Arguably, in (15) and (16), the prohibition seems based on moral undesirability, while (14) has to do with protection from harm.

Returning to the level of collexemes, a multiple distinctive colligational analysis was carried out analogously to Schönefeld's (2013) register-specific collexeme analysis. In Table 8, the 10 most attracted collexemes in *go (a)round Ving* are accounted for.

In Table 8, relations of attraction are represented by positive numbers, while relations of repulsion are represented by negative numbers. Most of these verbs prefer *do*-support (except *say*, *try*, and *ask*). In many of these cases, we see the negation of undesirable situations similar to (12) and (13) above. Modality attracts *kill*, *talk*, and *ask*, and, not surprisingly, deontic modality is typically deployed to signal prohibition of undesirable behavior:

(17) *You can't go around killing kids. Think about his mom and dad.* (COCA 2017 TV It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia)

(18) *You just can't go around talking to the press without telling me.* (COCA 2018 TV The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel)

(19) *You can't just go around asking people if they'd kill your husband for you.* (COCA 2014 MOV The Humbling)

The same type of analysis was applied to *go (a)round and V*. Table 9 accounts for the top 10 verbs in this construction.

Here, modality attracts *say* and *ask* while *do*-support repels most verbs in the top 10, and the progressive attracts *say*, *tell*, and *try*. A factor in this is that *go (a)around and V* does not occur with negative polarity in the data.

At a general level, there appears to be intraconstructional variation in *go (a)round Ving* regarding colligation-lexeme interactions while most verbs are repelled by the colligational constructions in *go (a)round and V*. The analysis of *go (a)round Ving* hints at negation-enabling colligational patterns attracts most of the top 10 verbs as this allows for the negation of undesirable activities and habits. Moreover, deontic modality is prominent with occurrences of this construction, and, when looking at the individual collexemes, it is also interesting to note that it attracts *kill* and *blab*. Exploring negation further, Table 10 offers a multiple distinctive colligational analysis of the same ten collexemes in *go (a)round Ving* in which polarity also figures.

We see that *say*, *try*, *ask*, and *brag* attract positive polarity, and that there seems to be a correlation between attraction of *do*-support and repulsion of positive polarity with *ask* and *brag* being exceptions.

Table 8: Multiple distinctive colligational analysis of the top 10 collexemes in *go (a)round Ving* (log = 10 pbinominal value).

Collexeme	*Do*-support	Present participle	Controlled future	Infinitive	Imperative	Excessive aspect	Mandative subjunctive	Modality	Perfective	Progressive aspect	Simple present	Inceptive aspect	Simple present
Say	−1.9991	1.0909	−0.2783	−0.201	−0.0461	−0.0461	−0.0924	−0.2444	−0.1468	0.7792	−0.6821	−0.0461	0.8621
Kill	0.4512	−0.3306	0.6622	−0.175	−0.0177	−0.0177	−0.0354	0.3247	−0.1785	0.3596	−0.419	−0.0177	−0.2395
Tell	1.4452	−0.5104	−0.1421	−0.2774	−0.0236	−0.0236	−0.0472	−2.2497	−0.238	0.3984	0.5473	−0.0236	0.5743
Pretend	0.6462	−0.4434	−0.0592	−0.294	−0.0098	−0.0098	−0.0197	−0.4047	−0.0992	0.4061	−0.5201	−0.0098	1.0332
Talk	0.5047	0.2996	−0.1007	−0.1593	−0.0167	−0.0167	−0.0334	−0.2414	0.4926	−0.4975	−0.3841	−0.0167	0.4215
Try	−0.6459	1.204	−0.0948	−0.4705	−0.0157	−0.0157	−0.0314	−1.4998	−0.1587	2.5502	0.2571	1.4496	−0.7422
Blab	0.8779	−0.1774	−0.0237	−0.1176	−0.0039	−0.0039	−0.0079	0.2379	−0.0397	0.3611	−0.208	−0.0039	−0.3508
Look	0.3285	−0.6652	0.7329	0.1953	−0.0147	−0.0147	−0.0295	−0.3764	−0.1487	0.2127	1.0963	−0.0147	−0.3326
Ask	−0.17	0.9852	−0.0711	−0.3528	−0.0118	−0.0118	−0.0236	−0.5348	0.6204	0.3113	−0.2216	−0.0118	−0.2079
Brag	0.2226	−0.2217	−0.0296	−0.147	−0.0049	−0.0049	−0.0098	−0.4687	−0.0496	0.2919	1.9189	−0.0049	−0.4385

Table 9: Multiple distinctive colligational analysis of the top 10 collexemes in *go (a)round and V* (log = 10 pbinominal value).

Collexeme	*Do*-support	Controlled future	Imperative	Infinitive	Present participle	Modality	Progressive	Simple past	Simple present
Say	−0.0702	0.3127	−0.0702	−0.4049	−0.4049	0.5071	0.4085	−0.3239	0.4929
Introduce	−0.0263	0.655	1.2306	−0.1518	−0.1518	−0.1965	−0.0806	−0.3071	0.238
Tell	−0.0439	0.4673	−0.0439	−0.253	−0.253	−0.3275	0.575	−0.1447	0.4351
Round	−0.0175	0.8136	−0.0175	−0.1012	0.6821	−0.131	−0.0537	−0.2047	−0.2499
Ask	−0.0351	−0.1448	−0.0351	−0.2024	−0.2024	0.3439	−0.1075	0.707	0.1652
Unscrew	−0.0088	−0.0362	−0.0088	−0.0506	−0.0506	−0.0655	−0.0269	−0.1024	0.6021
Personify	1.699	−0.0362	−0.0088	−0.0506	−0.0506	−0.0655	−0.0269	−0.1024	−0.1249
Try	−0.0263	−0.1086	−0.0263	−0.1518	0.5301	−0.1965	0.771	−0.3071	0.238
Check	−0.0175	−0.0724	−0.0175	−0.1012	−0.1012	0.5844	−0.0537	0.4249	−0.2499
Shoot	−0.0175	0.8136	−0.0175	−0.1012	0.6821	−0.131	−0.0537	−0.2047	−0.2499

Table 10: Multiple distinctive colligational analysis of the top 10 collexemes in *go (a)round Ving* including polarity (log = 10 pbinominal value).

Collexeme	*Do*-support	Present participle	Controlled future	Infinitive	Imperative	Excessive aspect	Mandative subjunctive
Say	−1.981289454	−0.564167018	−0.230320221	−0.230320221	−1.240312347	−1.510310688	−0.32572198
Kill	0.572794318	1.5315496	−0.201573942	−0.201573942	−0.164281998	−0.565269627	−0.285068603
Tell	1.993236892	−0.570137206	−0.23275754	−0.23275754	−0.455631812	−0.871111171	−0.329168869
Pretend	1.02872092	−0.368021984	−0.150244346	−0.150244346	−0.809090563	−0.985218061	−0.212477591
Talk	0.688526936	−0.47984196	−0.19589466	−0.19589466	−0.106990368	0.272377448	−0.277036885
Try	−1.023152792	−0.465515079	−0.190045735	5.07184556	−1.023427605	1.963510373	3.45195376
Blab	1.629312138	−0.23275754	−0.095022868	−0.095022868	−0.511713803	−0.623106613	−0.134382628
Look	0.312306312	1.767875135	−0.184010992	−0.184010992	0.018223991	−1.206640767	−0.26023084
Ask	−0.003188759	−0.403147884	−0.164584435	−0.164584435	−0.886314305	1.700449864	−0.23275754
Brag	0.180310134	−0.26023084	−0.106238796	−0.106238796	−0.572113424	−0.696654372	−0.150244346

Collexeme	Modality	Perfective	Progressive aspect	Simple present	Inceptive aspect	Simple present	Negative polarity	Positive polarity
Say	−0.32572198	−2.135901859	−0.728336489	−1.754066543	−1.628609899	−2.072881986	−0.285755736	6.131857298
Kill	−0.285068603	0.270495894	−0.637432774	0.419075959	−0.723757508	−0.160512584	0.829429645	−0.584510565
Tell	−0.329168869	−2.158504624	−0.736043968	0.483907236	0.784519138	0.769392978	0.012798346	−0.009019171
Pretend	−0.212477591	−0.675592728	−0.475114338	0.603678302	−1.062387957	1.605945118	0.374236732	−0.263729811
Talk	−0.277036885	−0.165263175	0.994801252	−0.821598257	−0.663258895	0.505741116	0.572152105	−0.403203517
Try	−0.268765256	−1.762411645	−0.600977383	2.698175857	0.144461325	−1.125757029	−1.436195126	1.012106608
Blab	−0.134382628	0.253602839	−0.300488692	0.658167752	−0.671913141	−0.855205809	1.451869834	−1.023152792
Look	−0.26023084	−0.534422392	−0.581893849	0.025772615	1.773039459	−0.448441603	0.010117981	−0.007130281
Ask	−0.23275754	−0.871111171	1.400909357	0.342174088	−0.304524448	−0.131057976	−0.993215212	0.699932524
Brag	−0.150244346	−0.985218061	−0.33595657	0.426865021	3.242272981	−0.956149161	−0.511725806	0.360620267

Exploring the collexeme lists beyond the top 10, one will find that other verbs of VIOLENCE, DESTRUCTION, and CONFLICT such as *stab*, *slaughter*, *fight*, *destroy*, *break*, and *blow up* are attracted to modality.

5.3 Speech acts

Seeing that social undesirability is linked to prohibited or unwanted actions, one could perhaps assume that certain types of speech act would interact with stance and discursive prosody.

A standard distinctive collexeme analysis at the level of speech acts shows that, as seen in Table11, *go (a)round and V* is preferred by statements while the remaining three speech act types prefer *go (a)round Ving*.

Given the preference for negative and neutral discursive prosodies by *go (a)round Ving*, it is interesting that this construction is preferred by commissives and directives. This – in conjunction with the colligational patterns discussed above – is a reflection of the fact that, in many usage-events, this construction is used by speakers to either commit to not performing undesirable actions or, as discussed in connection with modality, to prohibit others from performing such actions. Here are two illustrative examples of commissive speech acts featuring this construction:

(20) *I'm not going to say I'm a good kid. I don't go around starting trouble.* (COCA 2018 NEWS Detroit Free Press)

(21) *I mean, I just don't go around letting strange girls into my car.* (COCA 2013 MOV 9 Days)

In uttering such statements about their own behaviors, the speakers also commit themselves to not engaging in such behaviors in the future. This type of use of the construction is arguably in indirect commissive speech acts (or perhaps even direct

Table 11: Distinctive speech acts.

Speech act	Preferred construction	Collostruction strength
Statement	*Go (a)round and V*	10.0325
Directive	*Go (a)round Ving*	8.0498
Questions	*Go (a)round Ving*	1.1758
Commissive	*Go (a)round Ving*	0.5836

speech acts if *I don't go around Ving* itself turns out to be a subconstruction serving as a marker of commissive speech acts).

We will now turn our attention back to the individual collexemes. Table 12 accounts for relations of preference among the top 10 collexemes in *go (a)round Ving* and the four observed speech act types.

The commissive category attracts the verbs, *pretend*, *talk*, *blab*, and *look* all of which often refer to more socially anchored actions such as telling falsehoods, excessive talking, and having a socially undesirable appearance. They often appear in utterances in which the speaker commits to not performing those actions or having these traits:

(22) *I don't go around talking about your dad* (COCA 2011 MOV Little Birds)

(23) *I don't go around blabbing about it to people.* (COCA 2017 TV Doubt)

(24) *I'm not going to go around looking like I belong in a circus, thank you very much.* (COCA 2011 FIC AmerTheatre)

Some of the top 10 verbs in the construction are also attracted to directives, once again reflecting prohibitive instructions not to engage in socially undesirable or physically harmful actions, as seen in (17).

Table 13 presents a similar analysis of top 10 verbs in *go (a)round and V*.

As with the colligations, we see that most of the verbs are in a relation of repulsion with the speech acts in question.

Table 12: Multiple distinctive speech act analysis of the top 10 collexemes in *go (a)round Ving* (log = 10 pbinominal value).

Collexeme	Commissive	Directive	Question	Statement
Say	−0.7509	−1.1498	0.3262	1.4349
Kill	−0.7592	0.719	0.5939	−0.4599
Tell	1.7076	−0.4206	−0.5806	−0.4513
Pretend	0.6286	0.2675	−0.2419	−0.3916
Talk	1.1826	−0.7492	0.6303	−0.5444
Try	−0.6748	−1.3268	0.2293	1.7535
Blab	0.4923	0.2724	−0.0968	−0.4149
Look	0.3866	−0.2992	−0.3628	0.3507
Ask	−0.5061	0.4583	−0.2903	0.3662
Brag	−0.2109	0.2111	−0.1209	0.313

Table 13: Multiple distinctive speech act analysis of the top 10 collexemes in *go (a)round and V* (log = 10 pbinominal value).

Collexeme	Commissive	Directive	Question	Statement
Say	0.3594	−0.2495	−0.1048	0.2222
Introduce	0.7125	1.8619	−0.0393	−2.3216
Tell	−0.156	−0.156	−0.0655	0.4002
Round	0.8735	−0.0624	−0.0262	−0.511
Ask	0.6026	−0.1248	−0.0524	−0.2827
Unscrew	−0.0312	−0.0312	−0.0131	0.08
Personify	−0.0312	−0.0312	1.5272	−0.7739
Try	−0.0936	−0.0936	−0.0393	0.2401
Check	−0.0624	−0.0624	1.2327	−0.511
Shoot	−0.0624	−0.0624	−0.0262	0.1601

6 Final remarks

In this article, we have addressed – using collostructional analyses in both traditional and untraditional ways – the semantic and discursive prosodies of *go (a)round Ving* and *go (a)round and V*. It seems that the former has a preference for negatively leaning semantic prosodies such that its overall discursive prosody is negative. Consequently, it probably serves as a negative stance marker, thus aligning with a number of dictionary definitions of the construction. The latter construction seems a bit more diverse and less systematic. This might owe to the fact that only 101 instances were observed, but another explanation could be that perhaps *go (a)round and V* has not yet been constructionalized to the point that it can be said to be a strongly entrenched routine with a clear communicative function; to determine this, future research must measure the extent to which usage-events are idiomatic or not (but see Wulff 2007); a similar analysis could be applied to *go (a)round Ving*.

Our applications of standard and multiple distinctive collostructional analysis suggest that they are useful when isolating particular usage-factors and addressing various types of attraction patterns within those. This is undeniably valuable to analysts as it enables the analyst to provide detailed analysis of usage patterns. For the full picture, a multivariate analysis would be preferable, though, as it allows the analyst to take all factors into account. The ultimate strength, one could argue, would lie in the combination of multivariate analysis and more isolating collostructional analyses.

For now, it is hoped that this article has 1) shown that *go (a)round Ving* does indeed seem to have constructional semantic and discursive prosody serving as a

marker of negative stance and 2) provided us with some theoretical notions and some potentially useful applications of collostructional analysis that can be utilized in the study and description of constructional semantic and discursive prosody.

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