

Valency constructions at work: a case study

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Abstract: This is a corpus-driven analysis which aims at highlighting the complex behavior of *V+eye(s)* collocation (1372 occurrences) drawn from the BNC, more specifically from Kilgarriff's *WordSketch* of the lemma *EYE*. Statistical scores are used to identify patterns of use in relation to relative frequency. As a result, some monovalent, divalent, and trivalent valency constructions are described. Such observations have important implications both for future research of language use as well as for foreign language learning and teaching.

Key words: corpus-driven analysis, embodiment, inalienable possession construction, hapax legomena, semantic network

Introduction

The paper is part of a bigger project (Seizova-Nankova 2016) and is built on the basic claim that there are no hard and fast boundaries between lexis and grammar. The question about the complex internal structure of *V_N* collocations (Bybee 2010; OCD 2002) is in the center of attention. The hypothesis that collocations with different bodypart terms seem to build a semantic network of constructions based on family resemblance is raised. This has been dealt with in the detailed study of the 25 top-salient *V_hand(s)* collocations (Seizova-Nankova 2016) and some of these findings find full support in the present research of *close eye(s)* collocation.

The term *lexicogrammar* has been used before but the methodology used here differs in important ways. Basic features of this approach are to do with recent developments in linguistics and more specifically the combination of Valency theory and construction grammar and the use of *valency construction* as a basic construct of the analysis.

It should be pointed out that we also draw some insight from Generative grammar as concerns the analysis of the genitive forms and their functioning in the clause as co-referential or not (and hence anaphoric or not) to the clause-subject.

Corpus-driven and corpus-based analyses are two approaches that have for the last few decades been extensively used in order to reveal new facts about language not possible before. Corpus-driven analysis is the more rigorous of the two as it draws conclusions directly inferable from corpus data and empirical evidence with little or no predetermined theoretical conceptions of

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language. What this means is that for observational and descriptive adequacy one basically relies on a representative corpus on which generalizations can be drawn. Cognitive tasks like hypotheses raising and testing, compare and contrast, detail noticing, problem solving, decision making are all necessarily applied in the process. However common these tasks are to all observers, when it comes to the interpretation stage, then the expertise of the researcher is of vital importance and comes to the fore. That is why the interpretation stage is set apart as a separate line of thought which is in fact open-ended. There are always things that have to be further explained, additional issues raised and new observations made, all of which are prompted by and found in the empirical data. In this type of analysis, you do not start with theory, then go to practice and back to theory again. On the contrary, all inspiration lies in the recurrent repetitions of utterances in context and only then comes the daunting part of interpretation.

Bodypart terms used in the V_N collocations seem to exhibit similar features in terms of language realization as valency constructions. These show enormous possibilities for metaphorical extensions of meaning in order to reflect personal experience, feelings and inner comprehension of the state of mind and the surrounding world of the individual. All that is done in a specific way depending on the bodypart term. However, generally speaking, each term contributes to the understanding of our experience as embodied. The notion of possession takes central position and on it different semantic contrasts in constructions are built. A type of inalienable possession construction among others is revealed in the paper which has so far not received a similar interpretation in the literature. Conclusions are borne out on the basis of corpus evidence.

The paper consists of three sections, conclusion, and appendices. Section 1 gives a quick outline of the procedure, section 2 includes the analysis proper of *close eyes* collocation and section 3 deals with the description of the valency constructions of the collocation. The appendices have been manually sorted and present repeated patterns of use illustrating the different constructions.

1. The procedure

We have applied the procedure described in the corpus-driven analysis of V_N collocations with the bodypart *hand* (Seizova-Nankova 2016). At the very beginning of the analysis is the tag which introduces metadata of the collocation and includes general information about its whole population. The number of occurrences of the collocation in the BNC amounts to 1372 hits. This is accompanied by the normalized frequency per million words. Besides normalized frequency, it includes also two other types of frequency: raw frequency and relative frequency. Raw frequency accounts for the number of occurrences of the use of the headword in the singular and plural form based

on different morphological realization of *eye*, while relative frequency shows differences in the preferred options of use.

Straight after the tag and as a first approximation to the analysis comes the discussion of the lexicographic view using Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD online). It is then followed by an account of the quantitative valency considered as the most intuitive grouping of the attested examples in terms of number of participants involved in the situation. There can be situations with only one participant – in the case of the passive and ergative constructions, situations with two participants in which the NP with the headword *eye(s)* functions as PCU1 (or Complement II), and situations with three participants (the trivalent uses) in which a third participant functioning as PCU2 and marked as Complement III is introduced.

Next comes the Complement Inventory which shows variation in the complement realization types of Complement I, II and III.

The EXAMPLES section of the research includes tokens illustrating the Valency patterns that follow. The way complements combine is at most cases unpredictable so that information is of great importance.

2. ANALYSIS of *close eye(s)* COLLOCATION

Corpus: **British National Corpus**, Kilgarriff's **WordSketch** of lemma *eye* (2004).

Close eyes Hits: 1372 (12.2 per million), 32 sg vs 1340 pl, 2 % vs 98 %

2.1 The dictionary definition:

http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/close1_1?q=close
[transitive, intransitive] **close (something) to put something into a position so that it covers an opening; to get into this position.**

SYNONYM **SHUT**

eg *I closed my eyes against the bright light.*

OPPOSITE **OPEN**

Idioms

shut/close your eyes to something – to pretend that you have not noticed something so that you do not have to deal with it *You can't just close your eyes to his violence. They seem intent on shutting their eyes to the problems of pollution.*

with your eyes shut/closed – having enough experience to be able to do something easily *I've made this trip so often, I could do it with my eyes shut.*

From what we read in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary online it becomes clear that only the trivalent use is given an example (*I closed my eyes against the bright light*). What is lost on the learner is the complex architecture (Jackendoff 2010, 2013) of the collocation. Synonymy and oppositeness are two basic sense relations which can be the object of further research between the lexemes *of close, open* and *shut* in the collocations with *eyes* but no clear idea of their similarities and differences can be formed based on the dictionary entry. One of the two idioms with *close* mentioned is with the [to_NP]-complement – *You can't just close your eyes to his violence*, while the other is expressed with the grammatical metaphor (*with my eyes shut*) as in *I've made this trip so often, I could do it with my eyes shut* and thus turning the otherwise habitual instantiation of an event into a nominalized phrase as complement to the particle *with*. This is found both with the verbs *close* and *shut* – (*with*) my eyes shut/closed either with or without the particle as shown by the brackets. The corpus sheds more light on their uses and the number of variations and discourses concerned.

2.2 Corpus sample of *close eyes* collocation

J2G more were hit. <p><p> The packers, their eyes closed and their bodies tight against the
 J0Y frills like a red camation. I close one eye against the light, and make a note. II
 J9M not wal you're walking around with your eyes closed. I certainly do in my patch. There
 J54 roaring along the lanes. Sara closed her eyes. It seemed a million years since the morning
 JXT like corks in the water, Ronni closed her eyes and let herself melt against him. It felt
 JXT down her champagne glass, then closed her eyes and forced herself to breathe deeply and
 JXT swallow her. Barely breathing, she closed her eyes. <p><p> A moment later, it seemed to Ronni
 JXX slightest notice of her demand Laura closed her eyes, forcing herself to breathe slowly and
 JXX about at the moment. <p><p> She closed her eyes, taking an unsteady breath as she tried
 JXX one heart-stopping moment she closed her eyes, feeling quite faint at the extraordinary
 JXX spreading over her cheeks, Laura closed her eyes for a moment as they continued to revolve
 JXX her gown from her shoulder. Closing her eyes as her senses seemed to be spinning giddily
 JXX head-rest of the open sports car, closing her eyes as she relished the cool breeze rustling
 JXX don't honestly remember...' She closed her eyes, leaning back against her remaining pillow
 JXX the pile of beach cushions, closing her eyes against the early-morning sun, already
 JXX shoulder. 'I wonder...' she murmured as her eyes closed and she began drifting slowly off
 JXW cover tonight.' <p><p> Lindsey closed her eyes on the shocking realisation that she had
 JXW lazily on to her back, she floated with her eyes closed for a moment, frowning as the sound
 JXW happened to her willpower? She closed her eyes, as if by doing so she could shut him out
 JXW felt the breath catch in her throat. His eyes were closed, his face was pale. He could

2.3 Quantitative Valency

M Movalent uses

1_3.JXX shoulder. 'I wonder...' she murmured as her eyes closed and she began drifting slowly off ...

1_4.HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie's blacked eye was closed, and he

seemed to take ...

D Divalent uses

1_1. JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his eyes. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably ...

1_2. AP7you see; and she said, 'I then closed his eyes and I laid down with him till the morning ...

1_2.a CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the eyes of the boy with the broken neck, and placed ...

1_5. K2Wpush the cross bar up. 'Gary had his eyes closed and said he was going to die.' His ...

1_5.a. KE1eyelid ! Oh shit! Sorry! If he I hadn't had his eye closed, seriously, you know where your ...

T Trivalent uses

1_6. JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun overhead. And who would ...

1_6.a CKVthat. It was run like a club. It closed its eyes to what was going on. Still, critics wonder ...

1_6.b HP0yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joy. 'That noise!' she said ...

Note! The NP with head *eye(s)* functions as the only participant realizing Complement II in the monovalent uses of *close eyes* collocation. This way of describing the constructions gives a clear idea of the possibility of various alternations found in the corpus, most important of which is the ergative pair alternation.

2.4 Complement Inventory

I optional	[NP]	1_1, 2, 5, 5a, 6, 6ab
II optional	[NP] _p , [NP] _a , [NP_V-ed]	1_1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, 6, 6ab
III optional	[PartP]	1_6ab

Complement III realizations: the [PartP]-complement finds basically three complement types such as [against_NP], [to_NP], [to_wh-CL] and [on_NP] complements.

NB! Attested instances of ergative and passive constructions ([NP]_a, [NP]_p) make clause complement optional. In the present version of Valency theory, obligatory

are those elements which are always realized as part of the construction (Herbst et al. 2008).

2.5 Examples

1_1. JXS His voice trailed to a halt. He^I closed his eyes^{II}. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably ...

1_2. AP7 you see; and she said, ‘^{II} then closed his eyes^{II} and I laid down with him till the morning ...

1_2.a CCM machine like this. Then he^I closed the eyes of the boy^{II} with the broken neck, and placed ...

1_3. JXX shoulder. ‘I wonder...’ she murmured as her eyes^{II} closed and she began drifting slowly off ...

1_4. HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie’s blacked eye^{II} was closed, and he seemed to take ...

1_5. K2W push the cross bar up. ‘Gary^I had his eyes closed^{II} and said he was going to die.’ His ...

1_5.a. KE eyelid! Oh shit! Sorry! If he ^I hadn’t had his eye closed^{II}, seriously, you know where your ...

1_6. JY4 a sob Ruth^I swallowed hard and closed her eyes^{II} to the burning sun^{III} overhead. And who would ...

1_6.a CKV that. It was run like a club. It^I closed its eyes^{II} to what was going on[’]. ^{III} Still, critics wonder ...

1_6.b HP0 yodelling welcome. Nora ^I closed her eyes^{II} on tears of joy^{III}. ‘That noise!’ she said ...

2.6 Valency Patterns

[NP]act-subj + verb/act + [NP]	1_1, 2.)
[NP] a + verb/act	1_3.)
[NP] p+ verb/act	1_4.)
[NP]act-subj + verb/act + [NP_V-ed]	1_5, 5a.)
[NP]act-subj + verb/act + [NP], [PartP]	1_6a.b.)

3. Valency Constructions

At every level of the analysis the degree of abstracting away from the raw data increases until the level of Valency constructions. The important thing here

is that constructions are a combination of specific information concerning language use in combination with generalizations thus effecting the combination of Valency theory (Herbst 2014, 2015) with construction grammar as found in the works of A. Goldberg (1995) and W. Croft (2003).

The valency constructions with *close eye(s)* collocation are varied and show a high degree of complexity comparable to constructions with V_N collocations with the lemma *hand*. The analysis includes monovalent, divalent and trivalent constructions.

A very important feature of the corpus is the use of the singular form of the lemma *eye*. It exhibits only 32 instances of use which makes 2% of the entire population, still in terms of variations in the constructions used and the meanings expressed they show great similarities with the plural form while differing mainly in respect to preferred options. This fact gives further details and contributes to building the semantic network (Goldberg, Jackendoff 2004) of the collocation under discussion. The realization of the singular nominal as Complement II shows variation: most frequent of which is the use of *one*, then come other realizations such as forms of the genitive *his*, *the*, *the other*, *the same*, *the real*. Here is an instance with *an*, eg. GOM spoke and four who listened, will close an eye again tonight? And of the three of us who ...

3.1 Monovalent Constructions

The ergative construction

In the construction the noun phrase with head the bodypart is the only complement. It fills the SCU slot and is often metonymically extended to mean the person oneself, hence it functions as a kind of AGENT to the lexical verb and at the same time maintaining the constructional meaning specific for the only participant of the ergative construction.

JXX shoulder. ‘I wonder...’ she murmured as her eyes II closed and she began drifting slowly off ...

SCU NP VHC_{act:1}
 [NP_{act-subj} ‘AGENT’]_closed_{act}

Here some examples (see App 5):

HA5possessed such a deep core of selfishness. Her eyes closed for a brief second as she drew all ...

H9Cwine down their throats. It was only as his eyes closed and he drifted into sleep that Corbett ...

The passive construction

In the construction the noun phrase with head the bodypart is the only complement as well, but this time it expresses the AFFECTED semantic role to the lexical verb – that is, the person or thing that undergoes the action or has its state changed. This is accompanied with the morphological change of the verb into passive. The use of passive constructions allows speakers to organize stretches of discourse by placing figures other than the agent in subject position. There are 48 instances in the past tense and 11 – in the present tense (see App 4a and 4b).

HR7trees. I crawled over to the soldier. His **eyes** were closed. The gun fired again. It seemed ...

SCU NP VHC_{act: 1}
 [NP_{pass-subj} 'AeFFECTED']_were closed_{pass}

Some other examples:

G0Icorner, one eye on his quarry. The other **eye** had been closed for most of the fight by ...

HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie's blacked **eye** was closed, and he seemed to take ...

There are two readings of the construction – stative and dynamic, but it is often difficult to distinguish between them, except in special cases where *still* tilts the balance to the stative meaning as in eg. JYApeace.' She looked at him again. His **eyes** were still closed, and she smiled at her

The imperative type construction

Among the attested examples of the collocation we find the imperative type construction like *Close your eyes!* This is the only instance of construction realized by the imperative clause type which consists only of the collocation *close_eyes*, eg. FYVforehead, just above the orbits. 'Close your **eyes**,' says Tod to the patient, who, of course ...

VHC_{act: 1} PCU1
 Close_{act-} [NP 'AeFFECTED']

3.2 Divalent constructions

Different valency constructions are discussed but the divalent construction is considered to be the basic one, the prototype, in comparison to the other constructions.

The divalent constructions are considered as basic on the following counts: i) they are most commonly used, ii) they are instantiations of the prototypical

event structure, and iii) they are found in different forms and configurations: either as independent clauses marked by a fullstop [.] or a comma [,] or as part of a serial clause construction.

Here are some examples with [.] (see App 1a for more examples):

FYShoulder again. Slowly, Alina closed her **eyes**. Her face was as blank as a porcelain mask ...

FAScrazy, what does that make me? I close my **eyes**. Tell my children we move north tomorrow ...

FABjust showed his teeth. Tippy closed her **eyes** tightly. Just wait until she saw

Here are some examples with [,]

JXUmean?' He had momentarily closed his **eyes**, but now they snapped open. 'Yes, with ...

EAWHold up a finger at arm's-length, close one **eye**, and line your finger up with a picture ...

CH0Try the optic.' She closed her real **eye**, and opened the other. Her image of the ...

Here are some examples with [..._V]

HRABloody cloud again. Blunt closed his **eyes** and loathed Woolley. He locked his fingers ...

FAScannot hear. La lala la. See? I close my **eyes** and imagine the dark hills I would have ...

FABhands travel across her body, she closed her **eyes** and with them her mind. 'Oh, Happy ...

The reflexive construction

Possession is an important category which finds expression in reflexive construction where referent and bodypart (*eyes* in this case) coincide. That this is the prototypical realization is reflected in the preferred frequency of use. Still, there are differences from language to language. In English it is realized with a genitive form in Complement II which is co-referential with the SCU in the self-same clause. The bodypart is typically accompanied by the genitive forms of the personal pronoun (often called in grammars possessive pronouns). If it weren't for the genitive, the construction would be classified as iconic *par excellence*. But that is not necessarily the case. Other languages like Bulgarian, for example, differ from English in that respect, eg. Тя/toj/to затвори очи. (Тя/той/то затвори очи).

JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his **eyes**. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably ...

SCU NP VHC_{act:2} PCU1
 [NP_{act-subj} 'AGENT']_closed_{act-} [NP 'AFFECTED']

Here are some more examples (see App 1)

JXVback against the pillows and closing his **eyes**. ‘Witch! Have you no shame, tempting an ...

JXSagainst the pillows and, sighing, closed her **eyes**. She had thought she was healed, beyond ...

JXS She shuddered helplessly and closed her **eyes**. ‘Jake... Oh, Jake...’ Her voice trailed off ...

HYAfeels confident enough to close his/her **eyes** . Then a second and third person introduced ...

The non-reflexive construction

The non-reflexive construction includes different cases of realization.

- marked by the genitive form in the NP with head *eye(s)*, which is however non-coreferential with the SCU in the self-same clause, i.e. it does not share the same referent but it refers to another referent: *I ≠ his eyes* as in eg. AP7you see; and she said, ‘I then closed his **eyes** and I laid down with him till the morning ...

- the use of the indefinite article as in eg. G0Mspoke and four who listened, will close an **eye** again tonight? And of the three of us who

- he use of the definite article which forms a discontinuous constituent with the *of*-genitive in post-position (*the **eyes** of the boy with the broken neck*) as in eg. CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the **eyes** of the boy with the broken neck, and placed ...,

- the use of *one*, as in eg. EAW Hold up a finger at arm’s-length, close one **eye**, and line your finger up with a picture ..., or otherwise by the definite article...

This makes for greater variation of Complement II in the construction. Consider:

AP7you see; and she said, ‘I then closed his **eyes** and I laid down with him till the morning ...

SCU NP VHC_{act: 2} PCU1
 [NP_{act-subj} ‘AGENT’]_closed_{act-} [NP ‘AeFFECTED’]

Here’s another example:

CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the **eyes** of the boy with the broken neck, and placed ...

The analytical causative construction with resulting attribute

The construction exhibits the idea of inalienable possession which is however expressed in the PCU1 (Complement II) in which the [V-ed]-past participle part of the complement occurs in its passive form together with its subject whose head is the headword *eyes*. For the analysis of C II there are two possibilities – either to be treated as one [NP_V-ed] or as two complements [NP]_[V-ed] (Herbst, Schüller 2008: 125). The analysis of valency structure poses problems for which there is no obvious solution (ibid.). We have opted for the former analysis.

K2Wpush the cross bar up. 'Gary had his **eyes** closed and said he was going to die.'
His ...

SCU NP	VHC _{act:2}	PCU1
[NP _{act-subj} 'AGENT']	_verb _{act-}	[NP_V-ed 'AeFFECTED']

Here are some more examples:

G0Pher thighs with both hands. Julie had her **eyes** closed now and her head tilted back,
so ...

G1Xwas still awake. Colonel Fergusson had his **eyes** closed and was breathing out
through his ...

HSCconditions, wearing prisms, or had his/her **eyes** closed while listening to an
auditory signal ...

The ASPECTUAL construction is here considered as a variation to the analytical causative with resulting attribute realized with the verb *keep*. Consider:

KEleyelid ! Oh shit! Sorry! If he **I** hadn't had his **eye** closed**II**, seriously, you know
where your ...

The common feature is the exocentric phrase, the complex [NP_V-ed]-complement functioning as PCU and consisting of a subject – lemma *eye* to the non-finite [V-ed] form of the verb *close*. The examples differ in the type of verb that takes the PCU as Complement II: *have* something done (to oneself – in the first case) and *keep* something done (to oneself again), with *have* being causative in nature and *keep* – aspectual. There are few examples with *keep* attested in the corpus, consider eg. HGKtime he went slowly but Maggie kept her **eyes** (tightly) closed. It was a long time since The AdvP is used inside Complement II and functions as an adjunct – _A(tightly).

3.3 Trivalent Constructions

An additional complement, Complement III is added, realized by the [PartP]: *against the light/the smoke*. It is based both on the reflexive and the non-reflexive

divalent construction, eg. B0Rbehind his remarkable new name, he closed his eyes on his troubles and tried to forget.

The use of the lemma *eye* in the singular shows almost the same construction types as the ones with the plural *eyes*, eg. J0Y frills like a red carnation. I close one eye against the light, and make a note..., or, eg. FS8the cigarette in his mouth and closed one eye against the smoke. ‘Works for Kemp ...

One of the prevalent types is the [PartP]-complement with the particle *to* – [to_NP]: 21 instances of use. Other realizations are [against_NP], [to_Wh-CL] and [on_NP].

The meaning of the construction fluctuates easily and with no cost to the language user between the concrete (literal meaning) and abstract (non-literal extensions of) meaning (see App3a). They are all of the extended reflexive construction.

Complement III realization: *to the bright moon that shone overhead, to the burning sun overhead, to aggression, to asylum and the pressures on our European..., to the drop beneath her, to the vital clue Rex Cunningham could, to everything but the sheer beauty of his, to the Livesey case, to unacceptable facts, to the miracle and mystery of life, to the darker currents in society, to the image, to the truth, to your activities, to the health facts, to it, to important normative issues, to that, to that garlic bread literally squelching..., to the fact,* etc.

Consider:

HL3to measure, but the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind’s power ...

SCU	VHC _{act:3}	PCU1	PCU2
[NP _{act-subj} ‘AGENT’]	_closed _{act}	[NP ‘AFFECTED’]	[PartP ‘GOAL’]

[against_NP] (see App 3b)

These can be divided into several groups according to the semantics of the complement to the particle.

1. Sources of light: *against the sun, against the glare/2, against the silver dazzle that bounced ..., against the sudden change of light, against the pain his memories brought..., against the sun and against the confusion, against the early-morning sun...*
2. Tears: *against the sting of tears. against his ineffective tears. against the tears.*
3. Parts of the body: *breast, chest.*
4. Abstract extensions of meaning: *against a pull on her senses that set her*

..., *against the river of heat his touch sent* ..., *against the unbelievable horror of it all* ..., *against her own unwanted memories.*, *against a brief flare of irritation.* *against the flicker of fear running through...*, *against the sin.* *against the pain his memories brought...*

5. There are also synonymous expressions of the construction in which Complement III is realized either with [to_NP] or [against_NP]: eg. JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun overhead. And who would ... and eg. CDXstaggering proportions. I closed my eyes against the sun and against the confusion ...

[to_wh-CL]:1 instance. Even though only one instance of this complement type is attested in the corpus, in our methodology hapaxes are important, eg. CKVthat. It was run like a club. It closed its eyes to what was going on?. Still, critics wonder ...

[on_NP]: 6 instances. (see App.3c)

Complement III realization: on the shocking realisation that she had, on the tawny liquid going down his throat, on the world's evidence, on tears of joy, on his troubles, on the image.

Only one of the six examples is, so to say, an instantiation of a concrete event, the others are abstract, metaphorical extensions of meaning. Thus, it seems we can, following OALD online, ascribe it to belong to the idioms. Our data, however, shows that classifying phrases as non-idiomatic and/or idiomatic is not feasible, for there are no hard and fast boundaries between these expressions. In fact, they are quite fuzzy. Here are two more examples:

HP0yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joy. 'That noise!' she said ...

JXW cover tonight.' Lindsey closed her eyes on the shocking realisation that she had ...

3.4 The resultative construction

There is only one attested example found in the corpus of the type:

HGEa bit of all right.' And she closed one eye in a grotesque wink, leaving Sally-Anne ...

SCU NP	VHC _{act:3}	PCU1	PCU1
[NP _{act-subj} 'AGENT']	_shook _{act-}	[NP 'AFFECTED']	[NP PREDICATIVE']

The meaning of the construction is: X causes Y to move in order to bring about change of state Z realized by [PartP]: *in a grotesque wink*. The image below can be used as a visual representation and raises a point concerning the interrelation between spatial structure, expressed by gestures, and conceptual structure

as reflected in language, or, in other words, ‘how we talk about what we see’ is important. We are not pursuing this line of thought now for lack of space (Jackendoff 2013; Seizova-Nankova 2016).



3.5 Grammatical Metaphor (GM): (with) *one's eyes closed*

GM is a phenomenon where the use of one grammatical form instead of another grammatical form is due to some semantic analogy between them. Two realization types are found in the corpus:

[NP], eg. J13leans back against his grey pillows, his eyes closed and his face screwed up. I ask Eva ...and

[with_NP], eg. AYKhopping on one leg, going about with one eye permanently closed or trying to work with ..., K32first round victory had left him with an eye fully closed which eventually opened slightly ...(see App 6 for more examples).

The latter is by far the more frequent one.

Conclusion

The constructions discussed in this paper are based on the corpus-driven analysis and the objective of reflecting how specific information combines with greater generalizations is adequately described.

It seems that language is, on the one hand, all-embracing, whatever that may mean, and, on the other, easily adaptable to different ends and purposes, an adaptive social system. Judging from the research, analyzing language use inevitably brings to light some of these most remarkable features.

In the context of foreign language linguistics, the analysis also brings out features of the particular language under scrutiny (English) which can be similar or different to one's own language (Bulgarian). Collocations rank high in terms of problems in language acquisition. The lexical properties of linguistic units that deviate from basic grammatical rules are the crux of the matter. The new computation methods of approaching digital corpora face all these issues and help in gaining insights into the nature of language as a whole.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 of the divalent reflexive construction

JXSagainst the pillows and, sighing, closed her **eyes**. She had thought she was healed, beyond
 JXS She shuddered helplessly and closed her **eyes**. 'Jake... Oh, Jake... ' Her voice trailed off
 JXSclimbed into her own bunk and closed her **eyes**. I've done it! she thought with a
 JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his **eyes**. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably
 JXVback against the pillows and closing his **eyes**. 'Witch! Have you no shame, tempting an
 JXUmean?' He had momentarily closed his **eyes**, but now they snapped open. 'Yes, with
 JXUpenny in his pocket.' Sarella closed her **eyes**. It was back to the same old theme. But

J54 roaring along the lanes. Sara closed her **eyes**. It seemed a million years since the morning
 JXUtragic scene he leaned back and closed his **eyes**. It was after midnight. She was conscious
 JXUmattered at first...' He closed his **eyes**. 'I guess it must have been difficult for
 JXU's very sweet.' Sarella closed her **eyes**. She could imagine the three of them at
 JYBmuttered behind her. Kathleen closed her **eyes**. The room was a bloodbath, all of them
 JYBcystic fibrosis.' Kathleen closed her **eyes**. Now it all fell into place, the child
 JYBor your new lover?' She closed her **eyes**. Oh, damn, she thought, how would she tell
 JY0 'Let me think.' Irene closed her **eyes**. 'Pershore - near Pershore. Barkton - Berkton
 JY8sardonically, standing up. Paige closed her **eyes**. That made it even worse. Yet she would
 HRAWoodruffe laid down his fork and closed his **eyes**. Rogers cleared his throat. 'Going
 HRAbloody cloud again. Blunt closed his **eyes** and loathed Woolley. He locked his fingers
 HRAhim his flask, but Lambert just closed his **eyes**. 'They let these sausages up pretty high
 HRAas that,' Kimberley said. He closed his **eyes**. 'Now piss off and leave me alone.' He

Appendix 1a of divalent constructions ending with [.]

JXSclimbed into her own bunk and closed her **eyes**. I've done it! she thought with a
 JXUpenny in his pocket.' Sarella closed her **eyes**. It was back to the same old theme. But
 J54 roaring along the lanes. Sara closed her **eyes**. It seemed a million years since the morning
 JXUtragic scene he leaned back and closed his **eyes**. It was after midnight. She was conscious
 JXUmattered at first...' He closed his **eyes**. 'I guess it must have been difficult for
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 HRAhim his flask, but Lambert just closed his **eyes**. 'They let these sausages up pretty high
 HRAas that,' Kimberley said. He closed his **eyes**. 'Now piss off and leave me alone.' He

Appendix 2 of the divalent construction with singular head *eye*:32 instances

JOY frills like a red carnation. I close-one **eye** against the light, and make a note.
 HRAhim. Who's that?' Rogers closed one **eye** and peered up. 'Is that God?' The bread-
 throwers
 HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie's blacked **eye** was closed, and he seemed to take
 HTYthrough the air. Spike closed his **eye** and again lost consciousness. Blake
 HGEa bit of all right.' And she closed one **eye** in a grotesque wink, leaving Sally-Anne
 HJGthumb and index finger, and closing one **eye**, usually the wrong one. Why do we
 AYKhopping on one leg, going about with one **eye** permanently closed or trying to work with
 ADXtheory requires that the observer closes one **eye**. The cone of vision The cone of vision
 A8Cthe eleventh round when McDonnell's right **eye** was all but closed, though the fighter

ALJ A battered man in a woollen hat, one eye almost closed by a bruise, was appealing ALLpoliceman's back philosophically and closed one eye . Constable Campbell rounded the corner

BN3completely exhausted. I had lost two teeth, one eye was closed, and an ear torn. Yet, McNab

B1XHe broke Sonny's nose and closed his left eye . He began to work on the body, aiming for BLXthe more obvious technique of closing the eye , it is no longer able to monitor the predator G1Mwas blistered from the hot coffee and one eye was closed. The other glared malevolently G0Mspoke and four who listened, will close an eye again tonight? And of the three of us who G0Icorner, one eye on his quarry. The other eye had been closed for most of the fight by EAWHold up a finger at arm's-length, close one eye , and line your finger up with a picture KDAthing I found was, if you just close your eye and then open it again, your contact lens K32first round victory had left him with an eye fully closed which eventually opened slightly KEIeyelid ! Oh shit! Sorry! If he hadn't had his eye closed, seriously, you know where your CH0Try the optic.' She closed her real eye, and opened the other. Her image of the CR6side as if he was thinking, closing one eye and giving his little grin. 'Tomorrow's CB8piece of plastic on a window, close one eye and trace the outlines of what you see. C85was purpling down the left side and one eye was closed. He bellowed something which CDT. The simple answer is to close the same eye whenever a car approaches; that is your FRHagain for the child and closing his red-hot eye 'You speak of stopping,' said Simon F9Xkeep the world still?' She closed her eye again before she levered her body upright FEVoverlapping views we receive. Closing one eye and then the other reveals the same scene FU5crystal cave. Silence and sootfall. A last eye being closed. I pray to find myself again FS8the cigarette in his mouth and closed one eye against the smoke. 'Works for Kemp FSJthings to do, oh yes!' Here he closed one eye and smiled at me. 'Now go to your squire

Appendix 3a of the trivalent construction with [to_NP]-complement

JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun overhead. And who would

HL3to measure, but the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind's power HHWshort term. It is no good closing our eyes to asylum and the pressures on our European HH8groping for the nearest bloom, closing her eyes to the drop beneath her. The rose didn't H8Tof the Tyrrell Society, he had closed his eyes to the vital clue Rex Cunningham could HA9arms slid around her and she closed her eyes to everything but the sheer beauty of his ANLhis pipe out. 'It is tempting to close our eyes to the Livesey case but, say what you will AN8suspect you are less likely to close your eyes to unacceptable facts.' 'Oh, surely ALHnever become so worldly that we close our eyes to the miracle and mystery of life. May A7Lthe desire of filmmakers to close their eyes to the darker currents in society, to make G15tumbling over his forehead. She closed her eyes to the image, waiting to hear only the G0F cynical about is the way everyone closes his eyes to the truth. I was only teasing you because

G0NWhat do you think I mean? I've closed my eyes to your activities long enough. Well, they

EC2... The government can no longer close its eyes to the health facts. It is condoning promotion

K8Rthe abyss and then resolutely closed his eyes to it. If Rose was bearing a child, that

KSTn't look! So No. I just try and close my eyes to it Yeah. and I walk indoors. But ooh

CM2lead one to believe that he is closing his eyes to important normative issues. Notoriously

CL4part of the poetry of creation. Close your eyes to that and you bar a means of communication

CDRcorn-on-the-cob without salt or butter. Close your eyes to that garlic bread literally squelching

FCVsection 16(2). We cannot close our eyes to the fact that if the arguments advanced

JY4doing that,' she added softly, closing her eyes to the bright moon that shone overhead.

Appendix 3b of the trivalent construction with [against_NP]-complement

JY8rise and fall of his chest, and closed her eyes against a pull on her senses that set her

JY5nodded, and she looked away, closing her eyes against the sting of tears. 'Then

JY6fine-honed beauty of that chest. She closed her eyes against it. 'Put your shirt back

HR4 'Who cares?' Maxim sat back closing his eyes against his ineffective tears. George

HGTto hold on to her composure, closing her eyes against the tears. He would have to appear

HGE'I know,' said McAllister, closing her eyes against her own unwanted memories.

HJHAdjusting her position and half closing her eyes against the sun, she too stared out over

H82sounds. Either she must close her eyes against this or she must enter. Unnerved

HA9 'Anyone around?' She closed her eyes against a brief flare of irritation. She

HA9you, Shannon Lea?' She closed her eyes against the flicker of fear running through

HA9then settled on her hip, and she closed her eyes against the river of heat his touch sent

A0LFloating beyond the foam, she closed her eyes against the sin. The problem, she

BPDthe columns? Jack wondered. He closed his eyes against the unbelievable horror of it all

GW2arms and escape his anxieties. Closing his eyes against a warm breast, he became a child

GVTsaid. 'Mm,' she grunted, closing her eyes against the glare. After a pause he said

G17waver in a haze of heat. Jehan closed his eyes against the glare. In his belt he had a

CEHlifted her face to the sun, half closing her eyes against the silver dazzle that bounced

CEHstepped back into the office, closing her eyes against the sudden change of light. Jock

C8A Richard shook his head and closed his eyes against the pain his memories brought.

CDXstaggering proportions. I closed my eyes against the sun and against the confusion

Appendix 3c of the trivalent construction with [on_NP]-complement

JXW cover tonight. Lindsey closed her eyes on the shocking realisation that she had

HH0poverty. Willie watches his brother close his eyes on the tawny liquid going down his throat

H8Rnumb beyond her last of sense, closed her eyes on the world's evidence And into pillows

HP0yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joy. 'That noise!' she said

B0Rbehind his remarkable new name, he closed his eyes on his troubles and tried to forget.

FP7small vineyard.' Pascoe closed his eyes on the image for a moment. A hillside under

Appendix 4a of the passive construction/past tense

JYApeace.' She looked at him again. His **eyes** were still closed, and she smiled at her
 HR7trees. I crawled over to the soldier. His **eyes** were closed. The gun fired again. It seemed
 HTYhad stopped. He sat opposite Blake. His **eyes** were closed and his mind was elsewhere.
 HGTread his profile in the half-light. His **eyes** were closed. Was he asleep? 'Robyn
 HJHslowing to normal, her body quietening. His **eyes** were closed, and she was surprised
 when

HH9and thought it looked nice. Gran's **eyes** were closed. Emmie put the tray down on
 HH9and thought it looked nice. Gran's **eyes** were closed. Emmie put the tray down on
 H7Win saving her he had been hurt. His **eyes** were closed and pallor gave his weathered
 HWEhim. Peggy sank into a chair. Her **eyes** were tightly closed, her mouth wide. He
 HWUemergency room he appeared deeply comatose: his **eyes** were closed and he did not react
 to noxious

H8Sthe gentle rise and fall of his chest. His **eyes** were closed, and his face had a lazy, satisfied
 H8Jglass on a table at his side. His **eyes** were closed and he looked completely at
 H8Nclasped around her head. Alan saw that her **eyes** were closed. She had not heard the door
 H8Nslowing to normal, her body quietening. His **eyes** were closed, and she was surprised
 when

H0FAnne's voice) but I was too far gone. My **eyes** were closed, and that tongue, oh that tongue
 ACBpulled Gazer's head up by his hair. Gazer's **eyes** were closed. 'Open your eyes,' said
 ACWwas the fabric itself. She was happy. Her **eyes** were closed, and she was smiling. Just
 AE0light at the window grew stronger, but their **eyes** were closed. She awoke from a light
 A7Jfrom the coldness of her extremities. Her **eyes** were closed against the glare of lights
 AR3trolley, eased him down on to the carpet. His **eyes** were closed, his face was an ashen
 colour

BPDwires linked his body with machines. Ken's **eyes** were closed and his breathing was
 horribly

BPDdown at his stepfather almost angrily. His **eyes** were closed now. 'Don't try him again
 BLXher hand. No respiration was visible, the **eyes** were closed, the mouth gaped and the paws
 GWFmarked her torn robe in many places and her **eyes** were closed, but she was breathing.
 GV3hands. He did not look at the keys. His **eyes** were closed. He was in another world. His
 GVTglanced at the young man beside him. His **eyes** were closed; he had passed into the body
 GUDwith his head resting against the arm. His **eyes** were closed and his breathing noisy.
 GUGthere, looking down at him. The old man's **eyes** were closed, the thin lids veined, mauve
 G14methylantranilate in the chicks' bills when their **eyes** were closed arid showing that this
 did

G15the glass in front of his nose. Urquhart's **eyes** were closed, the lashes like black feathers
 G01pulled out the corkscrew. The tramp's **eyes** were closed but Magee used his thumb and
 G06fingers. She sat still, and I believe her **eyes** were closed. Nobody could sit so still
 EWCthe gap and squatted beside him. Bigwig's **eyes** were closed and his lips pulled back from
 CE9Wisharts kept giving her a look but her **eyes** were closed and she looked very serene
 C9W- and she could not see anything as her **eyes** were tightly closed. But she could hear

CK0little face was a mass of wrinkles. Its **eyes** were closed. It had strangely long, fine
CLDwashed by the rain spots. She knelt. Her **eyes** were closed, her lips moved. She crossed
CLDheavy-knit dun brown sweater. His **eyes** were closed. It might get to be a bit of
FRYwas on the ground, beside the line. His **eyes** were closed and he did not move when they
FRHjostled them there, and she saw that his **eyes** were closed and that he had gone gray with
FR0out from the edge of the fallen slab. His **eyes** were closed and his expression blank.
F99a dark, easy drifting. She realized her **eyes** were closed. But there seemed to be a dim
F99motionless, his face turned up to the chains; his **eyes** were closed, and fire burned clear and
F99turning him over on to his back. Adam's **eyes** were closed, in some state that looked
FB9Your pretty head.' But Hugh's brown **eyes** were closed and his martyred Saint Sebastian
FABHer mouth felt as dry as a bone and her **eyes** were closed against the intrusive light
FSEnature.' Kiku shook her head. Her **eyes** were closed. She moved against him and,
FSJdownstairs. We lifted the captain's head. His **eyes** were closed and his face was a terrible

Appendix 4b of the passive construction/past tense

J17softness of his hair. My wrist aches; my own **eyes** are closed. Back and forth go my
thoughts

A0Yon the back with hands at the side, the **eyes** are closed (coins or cotton wool on the
HGUmuch response, and much of the time his **eyes** are closed. But Babur figures his voice
HGF'O, she who twitches and shouts when her **eyes** are closed,' said the seal. 'What was the
HJH?' 'If you must.' Clare closed her **eyes** again. 'Well, what I was going to

B1Jnot the same as the peace on a face whose **eyes** are closed in prayer. To say this is not
B74when they are pecking as well as when their **eyes** are closed. However, active sleep is
confined

B74looks as though the length of time their **eyes** are closed determines the amount of active
EVAwhen less is demanded of them and their **eyes** are closed - almost as if they were drifting
CBFGraham, of County Durham police. 'Her **eyes** are closed and her nose and mouth are
badly

FU5me to hear: I am waiting in the dark. My **eyes** are closed, my throat is clogged growing

Appendix 5 of the ergative construction

HA5possessed such a deep core of selfishness. Her **eyes** closed for a brief second as she drew
all

H9Cwine down their throats. It was only as his **eyes** closed and he drifted into sleep that
Corbett

H9C'Absolve me, Domine!' he muttered as his **eyes** closed and his soul was extinguished.

CECwould stay with me during that time.' His **eyes** closed as he recalled the confrontation ...

CJXsilences but while she was talking that her **eyes** closed-and her shallow breathing became
...

F9X's what I'd like to know.' Lacuna's **eyes** closed for a few seconds. When they opened ...

FSE. The sun was warm and he was tired. His **eyes** closed and he slept. It was still

FS1effect. Harry stayed with her until her **eyes** closed and then went to see if there was ...

FPU up at the white ceiling again. Slowly his **eyes** closed and his head dropped quietly on ...

Appendix 6 of grammatical metaphor, two types: [NP} and [with_NP]

[NP]:1

BP0 that lay the tragedy. She lay, her **eyes** closed and smiling, surrendered to death
 CE5 stared at the pale face of his friend, the **eyes** closed but moving restlessly beneath the
 J13 leans back against his grey pillows, his **eyes** closed and his face screwed up. I ask Eva ...

[with_NP]: 9

H8N into the bathroom. Carolyn sat *with* her **eyes** closed listening to the water running and
 H8N was lying on the floor smoking, *with* her **eyes** closed. 'That's because she made you. How
 ASE finished her tea and now leant back *with* her **eyes** closed and the swollen ankle propped up
 H0F stood beside the streaming panes *with* her **eyes** closed, willing herself to capture
 something
 H0F. Irena simply sat, quite often *with* her **eyes** closed. From time to time one of the women
 H9V antipathy he always aroused in her. *With* his **eyes** closed, concentration firming his
 features
 ADY felt odd. I clung hard to a sapling *with* my **eyes** closed, waiting for things to get better
 A0G Gus who cannot make a daisy chain *with* our **eyes** closed - and who could forget the daisy-
 spangled
 AS3 mph on the wrong side of the M8 *with* your **eyes** closed. The haul up the corrie takes