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The VP in language contact: on creation event lexicalization in Canadian French

Abstract: The effects of language contact on semantic and syntactic properties of verbs can be considered as not yet extensively studied. This contribution is concerned with French as a typical verb-framed language that cannot freely combine manner verbs with result-denoting arguments within the VP. Drawing on creation events, the study explores if restrictions can loosen, and lexicalization preferences change when French is in contact to a satellite-framed language like English. Judgment data from bilingual speakers of Canadian French (CaFr) are compared to data from speakers of Hexagonal French (HFr). The analysis addresses how selective copying from English is relevant for the acceptability of different VPs and considers how the factors of individual and social language dominance might influence the judgments within the CaFr group. The results show that French manner verbs and direct objects can be coerced into creation readings in both test groups as long as only the selectional restrictions of a particular verb have to be adapted. When, however, a general constraint of French has to be overridden to arrive at a creation reading, acceptability is higher in the CaFr group, who can resort to combinatorial copying from English. Furthermore, VPs in which manner is not lexicalized in the verb are somewhat more accepted in the HFr group than in the CaFr group. Within the CaFr group, certain cases of satellite framing are judged somewhat better by speakers from an English dominant region, while VPs without a manner verb reach slightly higher scores among speakers from Quebec. It is thus shown how structural and speaker-related factors can affect the acceptability of event descriptions in language contact.

Keywords: Canadian French; judgment data; linguistic dominance; satellite-framed; selective copying

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1 Introduction

In research on language contact, properties belonging to the domain of verbs have received comparatively little attention (cf. Matras 2007: 44), and it is only recently that an explicit interest in verbal event and argument structure can be observed (cf. e.g. Grossman and Witzlack-Makarevich 2019; Trips and Stein 2019; cf. also Meinschaefer, this issue). The VP appears highly interesting as its investigation can contribute to answering the question of which factors favor or inhibit the transfer of syntactic structures and semantic concepts from one language to another. This study investigates to what extent different VPs that denote creation events are acceptable in CaFr. Following Talmy (cf. i.a. 1985, 2000), the starting point is the well-known observation that French is a canonical verb-framed (V-framed) language, in which the result of a complex event is typically encoded within the verb and manner expressed by an adjunct, if at all, (1). English, on the other hand, is a typical satellite-framed (S-framed) language, which tends to lexicalize the result outside the verb root and manner within the verb, cf. (2).[1]

(1) Fr. *Le chat* [*a nettoyé*$_{\text{RESULT}}$] *l'assiette* [*à coups de langue*$_{\text{MANNER}}$].
  'The cat has cleaned the plate with licks.' (literally: 'with strokes of the tongue')

(2) En. The cat [licked$_{\text{MANNER}}$] the plate [clean$_{\text{RESULT}}$].
  (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2006: 3)

Talmy's typological distinction is known to reflect only the prototypical behavior of the respective language (family) and the terms S-framed and V-framed are usually employed to refer to both languages and certain configurations of the VP, which can be regarded as S-framed or V-framed (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2019: 405). S-framed languages are known to allow for V-framed event lexicalization quite freely. (3), for instance, is stylistically marked, but not unacceptable. S-framed event lexicalization in V-framed languages, on the other hand, is far more restricted. In (4), for example, the adjective *propre* cannot be interpreted as a secondary resultative predicate, cf. (4a), but only as a nominal modifier, cf. (4b).

(3) En. The cat [cleaned$_{\text{RESULT}}$] the plate [with licks$_{\text{MANNER}}$].

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1 While Talmy's original classification applied to the expression of motion events (e.g. Talmy 1985), it was later extended to the lexicalization of dynamic eventualities in general (e.g. Talmy 2000). The analogical treatment of motion events and other event types is owed to the fact that the goal of a directed motion event can be viewed as a subtype of result (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2019 for an overview).

(4) Fr. *Le chat* [*a*   *léché*_MANNER] *l'assiette* *propre.*
          The cat   has   licked   the plate   clean

   (a) #'The cat licked the plate clean.'
   (b) 'The cat licked the clean plate.'

A much-discussed question is thus under which conditions V-framed languages such as French also allow for S-framed event lexicalization. This study addresses this issue by examining CaFr as a variety that is in close long-term contact with English. It aims to investigate whether and, if so, how language contact contributes to loosening constraints typical of the French VP and, more generally, in changing the preferences for certain lexicalization patterns. Creation events are considered a suitable test ground for investigating these questions as they obligatorily involve a result component and possibly a manner component. Moreover, they appear to be significantly less studied than motion events.[2] This study focuses on the (in)compatibility of different verbs with an effected object in the sense of Fillmore (1968), whose referent comes into being as the result of the event denoted by the verb (cf. Jezek [2014] for a taxonomy of creation verbs). It is well known that a number of manner verbs that can occur in creation readings and select an effected object in English, do not do so canonically in HFr, cf. (5a) versus (5b).

(5) a. En.   Paul folded a paper plane.
     b. Fr. *Paul*   *a*   *plié*   *un avion*   *en papier.*
               Paul   has   folded   a plane   in paper
          ✓En. / #Fr. 'Paul created a paper plane by folding.'

In corpora, there are sporadic examples of S-framed creation event lexicalization, and it appears as striking that some of them seem to have originated in CaFr. In (6), the verb *rouler* is used in a creation reading, which is not among its canonical denotations. In (7), *un chemin* is an effected object not selected by the verb *pelleter* (see Section 3 for details on examples such as [5], [6] and [7]).[3]

(6) […] **rouler un boudin** *d'environ 38 cm (15 po) de long* […].
     '[…] roll out a sausage about 38 cm (15 in.) long […].' (https://recettesenrabais.ca)

(7) […] *sur la photo, c'est moi aujourd'hui en train de* **pelleter un chemin** *vers mon érable dans la cour arrière* […].

'[…] on the picture, this is me today shoveling a path to my maple tree in the backyard […].' (www.leblogueduql.org)

This contribution draws on data from an acceptability judgment task (AJT) in order to ascertain how certain ways of creation event lexicalization are judged by speakers with different (bilingual) language profiles. Thus, it is examined in terms of perceived acceptability which factors determine the possibility of transferring event-structural properties without any formal substance being transferred. Judgment data from bilingual speakers of CaFr are compared against data from speakers of HFr, who can be considered monolingual in comparison (see Section 5.3 for details on the speakers' profiles).[4] The study also includes the question of how individual and social language dominance might affect speaker judgments as this variable is discussed as relevant in numerous studies on contact-induced change (cf. i.a. Van Coetsem 2000; Johanson 2002; Thomason 2001).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 gives a brief overview of the present-day language contact situation concerning French and English in Canada. Section 3 introduces the verb classes on which the AJT is based. Section 4 outlines Johanson's (2002) code-copying model and Van Coetsem's (2000) agentivity model as the classificatory frameworks in which the data are analyzed with respect to possible influence of English. The AJT as well as methodological considerations regarding acceptability, processing and coercion are presented in Section 5. The results and open questions are discussed in Section 6.

2 French in Canada and contact to English

French in Canada comes in a number of varieties spoken in communities that exhibit varying levels of contact to English. Depending on the exact setting, both French and English can be found as both the sole language, the majority, or the minority language (cf. Mougeon et al. 2005: 103). The two main varieties are Laurentian French and Acadian French. Laurentian French is employed as a cover term (probably more in North American than in European contexts) for all French varieties spoken in the province of Quebec and genetically related varieties that have spread more westwards, in particular to Ontario (cf. Martineau 2009). The Laurentian variety with the most speakers (appr. 6 Mil.) is known to be Quebec French. Quebec is the only predominantly French-speaking province of Canada and the only province where

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4 This study continues an investigation that was exclusively concerned with S-framed creation event lexicalization in HFr. The data on HFr and the verbs at stake as well as their event and argument structure are, therefore, discussed in more detail in Schirakowski (2022).

French is the sole official language. According to the 2021 Canadian census, French L1 speakers represent about 82 % of the provincial population and only about 46 % of the Quebec residents can hold a conversation in both French and English.[5] Bilingualism rates vary, of course, depending on a number of factors such as speakers' age and municipality. The Montreal region shows a comparatively high proportion of bilingual speakers and a significant presence of English (as well as other languages) in the public sphere (e.g. Leimgruber 2020). With respect to linguistic phenomena resulting from contact with English, two opposing tendencies can be observed. On the one hand, there are loans from English that are absent, for instance, in HFr. On the other hand, a strong tendency towards French language purism is known to exist. On the societal level, Quebec French is significantly less exposed to English than French in the provinces further west and can be found in rather monolingual settings (cf. Mercier et al. 2017). West of Quebec, English is the only official language on the provincial level. The province with the highest percentage of L1 French speakers outside of Quebec is Ontario, with about 500,000 speakers who, however, make up only about 5 % of the provincial population (cf. e.g. Remysen 2019). Administrative services are offered in French only in counties, districts or cities that count more than 5,000 Francophones or in which Francophones constitute more than 10 % of the population.[6] Bilingualism is asymmetrical to the effect that French L1 speakers are overwhelmingly bilingual, whereas there are only few bilinguals among English L1 speakers. Shift towards English is under way in many Franco-Ontarian communities (cf. Nadasdi 2005; Tennant 2017 for overviews). French has, thus, the status of a majority language and is not necessarily in close contact to English in Quebec and it is a minority language and heavily exposed to influence from English in all other provinces west of Quebec, with a few exceptions in certain parts of Eastern Ontario (cf. Pöll [2]2017: 101). This study draws on data from speakers of both settings to include the question of how the social status of CaFr might affect speaker judgments. Only Laurentian varieties of CaFr are referred to under this term in the following.

3 Relevant verb classes

In order to first clarify the question of which manner verbs can select an effected object in HFr, this study draws on the resources Verb∃Net (cf. Pradet and Danlos 2012) and *Les Verbes Français* [LVF] (cf. Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1997). Verb∃Net is an adaption of the English verb lexicon VerbNet (cf. Kipper-Schuler 2005) to French. In both VerbNet and Verb∃Net, verbs are organized into classes based on

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5 cf. *Statistics Canada* https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/subjects-start/languages (December 20, 2022).

6 https://www.ontario.ca/page/government-services-french (January 3, 2023).

their semantics and syntactic behavior following Levin's (1993) seminal verb classification. Each verb class is described in terms of its subcategorization frame, thematic roles and selectional restrictions. Furthermore, the description of each verb class includes a decompositional semantic representation. Syntactic configurations that are available or unavailable in French (in comparison to English) are also listed. The Levin-classes that are part of Verb∋Net and relevant to this study are 'creation and transformation verbs' (class 26, e.g., *sculpter* 'to carve' or *tisser* 'to weave') as well as 'verbs of combining and attaching' (class 22, e.g., *lier* 'to tie' or *mélanger* 'to mix'). Verb∋Net is informed by and linked to LVF (cf. François et al. 2007), where the relevant verbs belong to class R (*réalisation/mise en état*). Members of this class that can select effected objects are identifiable via the column *opérateur* in which they carry the label *fab*[*riquer*].[7]

These verb lexica will be used for comparing HFr and English verbs in terms of their compatibility with effected objects. For clarity, and following Jezek (2014), the event structures of the verbs in question will be represented as predicate decompositions based on those proposed by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) and much subsequent work. The verbs at issue here all denote activities or changes of state [COS], cf. (8a) and (8b), but only some of them additionally allow for a creation reading, whose event structure can be represented as in (9).

(8) a. [x ACT on y]
     b. [[x ACT on y] CAUSE [BECOME [y <RES-STATE>]]]

(9) [[x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <EXIST>]]] (cf. Jezek 2014: 43)

Two relevant verb classes can be identified with respect to this question. First, the verbal inventories of both HFr and English include a number of transitive manner verbs that are available in both activity or COS readings and in creation readings when combined with a direct object. Henceforth, these verbs will be called 'flexible' verbs. In (10a) and (11a), the referent of the direct object exists prior to the event, in (10b) and (11b) it comes into existence as the result of the event and is, thus, an effected object. French verbs that show this type of flexible behavior are also exemplified in (12).

(10) Fr. *sculpter*

      a. *Marie a sculpté le bois.*
          'Marie carved the wood.'
      b. *Marie a sculpté une poupée.*
          'Marie carved a doll.'

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7 cf. http://verbenet.inria.fr/ for Verb∋Net, http://rali.iro.umontreal.ca/rali/?q=fr/versions-informatisees-lvf-dem for information on LVF (March 30, 2022).

(11)   En.   to carve
          a.   Mary carved the wood.
          b.   Mary carved a doll.

(12)   *découper* 'cut (out)', *ciseler* 'chase, chisel', *forger* 'forge', *modeler* 'model, mold, shape', *nouer* 'knot, tie', *tisser* 'weave', *tresser* 'braid'

The second verb class relevant to this study involves manner verbs that are restricted to activity or COS readings when combining with only a direct object in HFr ('inflexible' verbs), cf. (13a) versus (13b) and the corresponding paraphrases. Importantly, the English equivalent is available in activity/COS as well as in creation readings and, thus, a flexible verb, cf. (14a) and (14b). Other manner verbs that do not allow for an effected object in French canonically but do so in English (under certain conditions) are exemplified in (15).

(13)   Fr.   *plier*

          a.   *Paul a plié le papier.*
               'Paul folded the paper.'
          b.   *Paul   a   plié   un avion   en   papier.*
               Paul   has   folded   a plane   in   paper
               'Paul folded a paper plane.'
         (i)   'Paul folded an already existing paper plane.'
         (ii)   #'Paul created a paper plane by folding.'

(14)   En.   to fold

          a.   Paul folded the paper.
          b.   Paul folded a paper plane.
         (i)   'Paul folded an already existing paper plane.'
         (ii)   'Paul created a paper plane by folding.'

(15)   *cuire* 'cook', *lier* 'tie', *mélanger* 'mix', *pétrir* 'knead', *rouler* 'roll'

In addition, in S-framed languages such as English, certain manner verbs can receive a creation reading when combined with an effected object and a locative PP as in (16). Here, the event structure of an activity verb is augmented by a *cause* subevent involving a locative phrase as represented in (17). Event structure augmentations of this type often concern contact-by-impact verbs like *bite* or *scratch* (cf. Levin 1993: 148–153) but are, for instance, also possible with instrument verbs such as *hammer* or *saw*, cf. (18) for an exemplary list. Crucially, the effected object is an unselected object, i.e., it is not licensed by the verb but by the PP without which the VP's

acceptability is at least reduced. The 'hole' is the entity that emerges as the event result, but it is not the undergoer of the activity denoted by the verb.

(16)   En.   The puppy bit a hole ?(in his mistress's boot).

(17)   [[x ACT on y] CAUSE [BECOME [z <EXIST> at y]]]

(18)   En.   burn, hammer, press, rip, rub, saw, scratch, squeeze

In the literature on resultative constructions, VPs of this type are often called 'strong' resultatives (cf. Kaufmann and Wunderlich 1998) and it is well known that, in V-framed languages such as French, this type of structure is generally barred. The French counterpart of (16) is, thus, ungrammatical and a different verb such as *faire* has to be used instead, cf. (19).

(19)   Fr.   *Le chiot a (fait/*mordu) un trou dans la botte de sa maitresse.*
                 'The puppy (made/bit) a hole in his mistress's boot.'

For HFr, two types of restrictions can therefore be identified for creation event lexicalization. Manner verbs with effected objects are not in principle barred, but the inventory of flexible verbs appears to be smaller than in English.[8] This raises the question of whether verbs that are inflexible in HFr can become available in creation readings under the influence of English. Event structure augmentations with non-selected objects are generally blocked, which constitutes not a lexical semantic, but a general restriction typical of V-framed languages. In this respect, the question arises whether also structural constraints of this type are violable in situations of intense language contact.

The restrictions that can be observed for manner verbs in HFr are also relevant with respect to manner salience. According to this concept, speakers acquire specific preferences for conceptualizing cognitive domains based on the linguistic input they can draw on (cf. Slobin 1996, 2006). English having a comparatively large inventory of manner verbs and few syntactic restrictions is considered high manner-salient, whereas French having a smaller inventory and limited possibilities of combining manner verbs with result expressions is typically viewed as low manner-salient. Thus, the question arises under which conditions French speakers prefer event descriptions with or without manner in the core VP and to what extent lexicalization patterns can change under the influence of English.

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8 This observation is in line with Slobin's (2006) findings on motion verbs, which show that V-framed languages have smaller inventories of manner verbs.

4 Code-copying and linguistic dominance

For analyzing the acceptability of certain lexicalization patterns in language contact, Section 4.1 outlines Johanson's (2002) code-copying model, which is used for identifying the relevant subtypes of transfer of linguistic units from a source language [SL] to a recipient language [RL]. Section 4.2 then discusses the concept of linguistic dominance, considering aspects of both the code-copying model and Van Coetsem's (2000) agentivity model. In addition, I will briefly introduce a standardized test that is employed for measuring the test subjects' linguistic dominance in the experiment.

4.1 Selective copying

In Johanson's model, the term code-copying is applied to all processes in which linguistic elements are copied from one code, the foreign model code, to another, the basic code, which provides the frame or structure into which copies are inserted (cf. Johanson 2002: 289). In the case at hand, French is the basic code and English the foreign model code. The term 'model' is supposed to reflect the fact that an original and its copy are never completely identical (cf. Johanson 2002: 288). For simplicity, however, I will continue to use the more commonly used terms RL and SL. Importantly, Johanson's classification makes a distinction between global copying and selective copying. In global copying, a unit is copied as a whole with its material and non-material properties (cf. Johanson 2002: 291). Copying is considered selective when it only involves selected structural features, which can be material, semantic, combinational or frequential properties of the SL (cf. Johanson 2002: 292). As this study is about native French verbs, we are dealing with selective copying and semantic as well as combinatorial copying appear to be particularly relevant.[9] Semantic copying means that denotative (or connotative) elements of the SL serve as models and are copied onto units (here verbs) of the RL. Combinatorial copying is taken to mean that combinatorial features of the SL are copied onto units of the RL, which can, for instance, lead to new constituent order patterns or complement structures. This study deals with the question of whether the event structure or parts of the event structure associated with English manner verbs can be copied onto French manner verbs that have a similar, but more restricted denotational range. Two possibilities have to be distinguished. First, the compatibility of verbs such as *plier* with an effected object would represent a case of semantic copying as it concerns changes in the semantics of French verb lexemes. The [BECOME [y <EXIST>]]-

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9 Both types of copying at issue here can be subsumed under what Matras and Sakel name 'pattern borrowing' (cf. e.g. Sakel 2007).

subevent, which is part of the event structure of English verbs like *to fold*, could be copied onto the French equivalent, making it available in a creation reading. The second case concerns structures such as *mordre un trou dans la botte*, which are ungrammatical in Hexagonal French. For such VPs to receive a creation reading, a strong resultative construction must be assumed. This scenario concerns general structural properties of the English VP and, thus, a possible case of combinatorial copying.

From a temporal perspective, Johanson's model includes both synchronic and diachronic aspects of language contact. According to him, initially momentary copies prove to be more or less viable depending on whether they become habitualized and conventionalized over time. A copy is taken to be habitualized when it is regularly used by an individual or a group of individuals. It is assumed to be conventionalized when it is integrated with respect to acceptance into a speech community (cf. Johanson 2002: 298–300). As this study is based on an AJT, it is limited to a synchronic perspective and provides information on acceptance within different groups of speakers. Although copying certainly becomes most apparent in speech production, it may equally take place in speakers performing a perception-based task such as an AJT, which involves interpreting a VP in a specific context. The experiment investigates the possibility of semantic as well as combinatorial copying by testing whether event readings canonically associated only with English verbs/the English VP are accepted also for French verbs/the French VP when judged by bilingual speakers.

4.2 Linguistic dominance

Both the code-copying and the agentivity model distinguish contact-induced phenomena based on whether the RL or the SL is the dominant language, albeit drawing on different notions of linguistic dominance. While Johanson's model focuses on which language is dominant from a sociolinguistic perspective, Van Coetsem's agentivity model is more concerned with individual linguistic dominance.

Johanson (2002: 290–291) speaks of 'adoption' when speakers of the sociolinguistically dominated language (code) insert copies from the sociolinguistically dominant language. He uses the term 'imposition' when speakers of the sociolinguistically dominated language insert copies from it into the sociolinguistically dominant language. The present study includes data from both Quebec where French is largely the sociolinguistically dominant language and from provinces further west (mainly Ontario), where English is dominant (cf. Section 2), thus considering both constellations.

The crucial question for the agentivity model is which individuals are the agents of transfer. When the agents are speakers dominant in the RL, Van Coetsem speaks of RL 'agentivity'. When the agents are speakers dominant in the SL, the term SL 'agentivity' is used.[10] According to Van Coetsem, SL agentivity often, but not necessarily concerns second language acquisition, where speakers impose features of their dominant language onto the language they are acquiring. By considering a "stability gradient" (cf. van Coetsem 2000: 58–59), the model considers the well-known observation that different components of the linguistic system vary in their stability or likelihood to be transferred. Broadly speaking, lexical material, in particular content words, can be regarded as less stable than structural features such as purely syntactic or phonological properties. It is assumed that speakers tend to maintain the more stable components of their dominant language. The likelihood for a certain linguistic unit to be copied, thus, depends on who is the performer of the action (cf. Van Coetsem 2000: 60). Under RL agentivity, speakers are more likely to copy lexical items, in particular content words, from the SL into the RL, thus maintaining the more stable components of the RL. In SL agentivity, speakers are equally expected to maintain the more stable properties of their dominant language and copy or impose them onto their non-dominant language, the RL. SL agentivity is, therefore, more likely to affect structural properties native to the RL. What assumptions does this lead to in the case at hand? This study deals with the possibility of semantic-combinatorial copying, which affects structural properties of verbs native to the RL. Following the agentivity model, we can expect changes of this kind to be more probable under SL agentivity than under RL agentivity. More precisely, bilingual speakers whose dominant language is English should be more likely to accept S-framed creation event lexicalization than bilingual speakers dominant in French.

According to Van Coetsem (2000: 42), a bilingual's dominant language is the one in which s/he is more proficient. However, language dominance is notoriously difficult to assess, and a number of approaches for operationalizing it have been proposed. More recent research suggests that a bilingual's language dominance results from a variety of components of which proficiency is only one (e.g. Birdsong et al. 2012; Dunn and Fox Tree 2009). This study draws on the 'bilingual language profile' [BLP] by Birdsong et al. (2012) for measuring linguistic dominance. The BLP includes the four dimensions language history, proficiency, use, and attitudes and acknowledges the fact that dominance relations can vary across domains. Moreover, dominance is modeled as a continuous variable taking into account that bilingualism is a matter of degree and that the distinction between bilingual speakers and L2

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10 With respect to RL and SL agentivity, Van Coetsem (2000) also uses the terms 'borrowing' and 'imposition', which are not discussed here for simplicity.

learners is arbitrary at least to some extent (cf. Gertken et al. [2014] and Section 5 for details on the BLP).

From a broader perspective, the question arises how different types of dominance relations might influence the acceptability of certain lexicalizations patterns in CaFr. Is the individual language profile crucial or does acceptability rather depend on the social status of French? In Quebec, for instance, normative pressure and language purism might have an inhibitory influence on the acceptance of S-framed event lexicalization. Furthermore, individual and social dominance could also be relevant in interaction as the socially dominant language is, of course, not necessarily also the dominant language of the individual speaker.

5 The acceptability judgment task

The experiment addresses the following question: (How) does the acceptability of certain instances of creation event lexicalization vary between test groups with different (bilingual) language profiles? Prior to presenting the study in detail, some general methodological considerations are laid out here.

It is well known that the (un-)acceptability of a linguistic utterance can arise from a number of sources, among which are grammaticality, semantic well-formedness, pragmatic plausibility, the frequency of the lexical items and syntactic structures involved as well as processing costs (cf. Cowart 1997; Schütze and Sprouse 2013). In our case, semantic well-formedness and processing costs are particularly relevant aspects. Let us first consider inflexible verbs of the type *plier* in HFr. When combined with an effected object, the respective VPs are semantically malformed as there is a mismatch between the verb and its complement. Speakers of HFr can, thus, only arrive at a felicitous event interpretation if they coerce the VP into a creation reading. Coercion is commonly understood as the repair of a mismatch between a selector and a selected element (cf. a.o. Lauwers and Willems 2011; Swart 2011) and can lead to increased effort in the processing of linguistic stimuli. A key feature of judgment data, however, is the fact that the dependent variable – acceptability – is measured offline, i.e., after language processing has been completed. Judgment data thus provide information about the interpretation of utterances in discourse but cannot provide direct information about language processing, unlike online methods such as self-paced reading or eye tracking (cf. e.g. Vorwerg 2012 for an overview). However, certain correlations between processing and acceptability have been observed, in particular in dual task designs. Processing difficulties, which become visible, for instance, by comparatively slow reading speed, have been shown to correlate with judgments of reduced acceptability (cf. i.a. Fanselow 2021; Fanselow and Frisch 2006; Sprouse 2008). Low acceptability values can thus be considered as

indicative of increased processing effort, all other things kept constant. The relationship between acceptability and processing is relevant for this study as increased processing effort can result from coercion. Studies in complement coercion (e.g. Pustejovsky 2011; Zarcone et al. 2017) typically focus on the clash between the selectional restrictions of the verb and the semantic type of its direct object. This is the kind of constellation we are dealing with here as well. It has been observed that complement coercion can decrease, for instance, reading speed and lower acceptability when comparing VPs that involve a semantic mismatch to VPs in which no mismatch is at play. As for HFr, the AJT is based on the hypothesis that the success of coercion depends on whether we are dealing with manner verbs of the type *plier* as (13b) above, repeated as (20), or with VPs of the type *mordre un trou dans la botte* as in (19) above, repeated as (21).[11]

(20)   *Paul   a   plié   un avion   en   papier.*
        Paul   has   folded   a plane   in   paper
        'Paul folded a paper plane.'

    a.   'Paul folded an already existing paper plane.'
    b.   #'Paul created a paper plane by folding.'

(21)   *Le chiot   a   mordu   un trou   dans la botte   de sa maitresse.*
        The puppy   has   bitten   a hole   in the boot   of his mistress
        'The puppy bit a hole in his mistress's boot.'

In cases such as (20), a mismatch between a specific verb and its complement has to be resolved in order to obtain a creation reading. However, a creation reading requires no more than that the VP be given an interpretation that is in principle available for French manner verbs, as can be observed in flexible verbs such as *sculpter*. In cases such as (21), however, a lexeme-independent constraint has to be canceled in order to interpret the VP in a felicitous way. This difference affects the expectations regarding acceptability. The effort of coercing the unselected object in (21) into an effected object reading should decrease acceptability to a higher degree than in the case of (20). As for the data on HFr, the attested acceptability gradations are taken to reflect, at least to a certain degree, the processing effort that is involved in the repair of the mismatch between the verb and its complement (cf. Darby et al. [2021: 147] for a similar view on aspectual coercion).

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[11] The acceptability signs do not reflect the intended event reading but indicate unacceptability in Standard Hexagonal French. The hash shows that the VP in question is in principle acceptable but canonically disallows the intended interpretation, while the asterisk indicates that it is generally unacceptable.

For CaFr, the expectations about acceptability are somewhat different. Inflexible verbs of the *plier*-type as in (20) have English equivalents that allow for creation readings. There is, thus, the possibility of semantic copying in the sense of Johanson (2002: 292), which concerns the semantics of individual verb lexemes. If a part of the event structure that yields a creation reading for *to fold* is copied onto *plier*, the French verb is expected to become more acceptable in a context that calls for a creation reading. However, it cannot be clarified based on an AJT whether speakers coerce the respective VPs into a creation reading or whether coercion is not even at play. In other words, with bilingual test subjects, we cannot know for sure whether resorting to semantic copying facilitates coercion or whether the copy is part of the lexical entry of the respective verb. Notwithstanding this question, semantic copying is expected to improve the acceptability of *plier*-type verbs within the CaFr-group.

In the case of VPs such as *mordre un trou dans la botte*, the difference between the languages at stake does not concern individual verb lexemes, but the general ability of English to build strong resultative constructions. Thus, in order for VPs such as (21) above to be interpreted as creation events, more general combinatorial possibilities of English have to be copied onto the respective French VP. In the following, verbs like *mordre* are also referred to as inflexible, because they canonically disallow a creation reading and an effected object. However, it is not only the verb that blocks a creation reading in this constellation, but a lexeme-independent restriction of the French language. Combinatorial copying from English might, however, facilitate coercing the VPs in question into a creation reading and lead at least to (limited) acceptability.

Resorting to semantic and combinatorial copying from English is thus expected to improve the acceptability of French VPs, which canonically would not allow for creation readings, at least not in Hexagonal French. However, as already mentioned, an AJT does not allow us to fully verify or falsify these hypotheses as it is never entirely clear to what exactly a speaker's judgment refers (cf. Fanselow 2007). Nevertheless, acceptability data can provide first insights with respect to the question of whether event- and argument-structural properties of verbs can change in settings that involve language contact and varying degrees of bilingualism.

5.1 Experimental design and hypotheses

In order to answer the questions laid out at the beginning, the AJT is based on three factors, cf. Table 1. First, the experiment includes the three types of manner verbs introduced in Section 2: flexible verbs of the type *sculpter*, inflexible verbs of the type *plier* and inflexible verbs of the type *mordre*. Second, all creation event descriptions are also presented as VPs in which *faire* is the finite verb. VPs with manner verbs are, thus, not only compared against each other, but also to *faire*-VPs. Third, two test

Table 1: Experimental factors and factor levels.

Factor	Factor levels
1. type of manner verb/VP	1. flexible verb (type *sculpter*)
	2. inflexible verb (type *plier*)
	3. inflexible verb (type *mordre*) + unselected object
2. finite verb in the VP	1. manner verb (S-framed creation event lexicalization)
	2. *faire*
3. test group	1. HFr
	2. CaFr

groups were established. The critical VPs were judged by speakers of HFr (the control group) and bilingual speakers of CaFr who are bilingual with English (the contact group).

The following hypotheses concern the CaFr-group compared to the HFr-group:

– In constellations in which flexible verbs (type *sculpter*) are relevant, VPs with a manner verb and VPs with *faire* should turn out to be about equally acceptable in the HFr-group and the CaFr-group (H1a). Differences are only to be expected for VPs with *faire.* In the CaFr-group, their acceptability could be reduced due to contact with high manner-salient English (H1b).

– Inflexible verbs of the type *plier* are accepted in creation event readings with slight restrictions in the HFr-group. Within the CaFr-group, acceptability is expected to be even higher, since the English equivalents of these verbs allow for a creation reading canonically (H2).

– In the HFr-group, inflexible verbs of the type *mordre* are significantly less acceptable than inflexible verbs of the type *plier.* In the CaFr-group, the difference between these two types of manner verbs is not expected to the same extent, as copying of the English structure could facilitate a creation event reading also for *mordre*-type verbs (H3).

Regarding the question of how language dominance might influence the judgments within the CaFr-group, two hypotheses can be stated:

– VPs with *mordre*-type verbs and unselected objects should become more acceptable with increased dominance of English as coercing these VPs into a creation reading depends on assuming a VP structure only available in English (H4).

– The acceptability of VPs with *faire* should decrease with increasing dominance of English (H5). This assumption concerns cases in which a flexible manner verb would more precisely describe the contextually recognizable creation event but is not used.

5.2 Materials

The experimental material is exemplified by the stimuli in (22), (23) and (24).

(22) *À partir du reste du bois, le menuisier a {sculpté/fait} une poupée pour le théâtre de guignol.*
‘From the rest of the wood the carpenter {carved/made} a doll for the puppet theater.’

(23) *Pour mieux supporter la chaleur, Inès a {plié/fait} un éventail.*
‘To better withstand the heat, Inès {folded/made) a fan.’

(24) a. *En jouant, le chiot a mordu un trou dans la botte de sa maitresse.*
‘While playing, the puppy bit a hole in his mistress’s boot.’
   b. *Avec ses dents pointues, le chiot a fait un trou dans la botte de sa maitresse.*
‘With his sharp teeth, the puppy made a hole in his mistress’s boot.’

In most cases, the VPs were identical except for the finite verb, cf. (22). In one case, the sentence-initial adverbial phrase was varied slightly to evoke an unambiguous creation reading, cf. (24a) and (24b). The adverbial phrase either specified the material from which the product was made, cf. (22), or the instrument that was used to make it, cf. (24b). In some cases, it merely provided plausible context to support the creation reading in the best possible way, cf. (23) and (24a). The material consisted of 40 stimuli/20 token sets. Ten cases involved flexible manner verbs, cf. (25), 10 cases inflexible verbs. Five of the latter verbs are of the type *plier*, cf. (26a). They are combined with canonically impermissible effected objects as in (23). The other five inflexible verbs are of the type *mordre* and involve four contact-by-impact verbs and one instrument verb (*scier*), cf. (26b). They are equivalents to the English verbs introduced in (18) above and combined with an unselected effected object as well as a locative PP as in (24a) (see the Appendix for all test items).

(25) *bricoler* ‘do DIY, fix’, *découper* ‘cut (out)’, *ciseler* ‘chase, chisel’, *façonner* ‘manufacture, fashion, hew’, *forger* ‘forge’, *modeler* ‘model, mold, shape’, *mouler* ‘mold’, *sculpter* ‘carve’, *tisser* ‘weave’, *tresser* ‘braid’

(26) a. *lier* ‘tie’, *mélanger* ‘mix’, *pétrir* ‘knead’, *plier* ‘fold’, *rouler* ‘roll’
   b. *déchirer* ‘tear, rip’, *gratter* ‘scratch’, *mordre* ‘bite’, *presser* ‘press, squeeze’, *scier* ‘saw’

5.3 Test subjects

Test subjects were recruited and paid via the crowdsourcing platform *Prolific Academics* and pre-screened for relevant language-biographical information.[12] The HFr-group includes 30 speakers who were to be influenced by an S-framed or any other language as little as possible. Finding speakers without any command of English is, of course, becoming increasingly difficult, and in order to offer their services on an English-speaking platform, the HFr-speakers had to have at least a basic reading proficiency. However, they reported to meet the following criteria: They were French citizens who had been born and raised in France, monolingually French-speaking; none of them had lived outside France for more than three consecutive years, and they considered themselves monolingual. The CaFr-group includes 47 speakers who are bilingual with English to varying degrees.[13] According to their own reports, all members of this group fulfilled the following criteria: They were Canadian citizens who had been born and raised in Canada and not lived outside Canada for more than three consecutive years; all speakers considered themselves bilingual, indicated English and/or French as their L1, and reported to be fluent in both languages. They further indicated they had been raised either bilingually French- and English-speaking or monolingually French-speaking. Treating individual language dominance as a categorical variable for the moment,[14] the results of the BLP show that the CaFr-group includes 24 English-dominant speakers, 11 French-dominant speakers and 12 speakers who can be considered balanced bilinguals. Twenty-eight speakers are from an English-dominant province (mainly Ontario and very sporadically from other provinces where English is the socially dominant language). Nineteen speakers are from Quebec, where French is the overall socially dominant language. Table 2 shows how the test subjects are distributed by the two factors and that individual and social dominance overlap to a considerable extent. While it might be insightful to contrast different combinations and their influence on acceptability, this is only possible to a limited extent on the basis of this data set.

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12 https://www.prolific.co/ (May 17, 2022).
13 The data from three test subjects were removed because they turned out to be speakers of Acadian French. More data were collected for CaFr than for HFr in order to obtain data from speakers with different bilingual language profiles.
14 The scores that can be obtained using the BLP, range from −218 to +218. A score near zero indicates balanced bilingualism (https://sites.la.utexas.edu/bilingual/scoring-and-interpreting-the-results/, July 31, 2022). To establish cut-off points, I draw on Dunn and Fox Tree (2009: 292) and their dominance scale. Analogously, subjects with a score between −50 and +50 are here considered as balanced bilinguals. More positive or more negative scores reflect respective language dominance. In this study, negative scores indicate dominance of French, positive scores dominance of English. The dominance scores of all test subjects are shown in Figure 4 in Section 5.4 below.

Table 2: Dominance relations, test subjects CaFr-group (*n* = 47).

Socially dominant language	Individual language dominance		
	En.	Balanced	Fr.
En.	21	4	3
Fr.	3	8	8

5.4 Procedure

The experiment is based on a within-subject design with respect to the distribution of the stimuli. For purposes of counterbalancing, the material was distributed onto two lists, each of which included 20 items with creation event lexicalizations and 30 filler items. The study was carried out as a web-based experiment using the questionnaire tool *SoSci Survey*.[15] Prior to the experiment, test subjects were asked to fill out a questionnaire that was concerned with certain linguistic features of French. They were told that their intuitive judgments were needed, but they were not aware of the exact object of investigation. The questionnaire consisted of two parts for both tests groups. The AJT had to be taken first to avoid test subjects becoming aware that socio-demographic and language-biographical information was considered relevant in terms of acceptability. For the HFr-group, the second part included seven questions. For the CaFr-group, the second part included the same questions and the 19 BLP-questions. The HFr-group needed 20–25 min to fill out the questionnaire, the CaFr-group 30–35 min.

As for the AJT, test subjects were asked to read the paragraphs presented to them and informed that each paragraph contained an underlined item. After reading the paragraph in question, they judged the underlined item with regard to naturalness. Judgments were elicited on a seven-point Likert scale on which 1 was labeled (*La partie soulignée me parait) pas du tout naturelle dans le contexte donné* '(The underlined part seems to me) not at all natural in the given context' and 7 stood for *parfaitement naturelle dans le contexte donné* 'perfectly natural within the given context'. The working instruction included three anchor items for the lowest, the middle and the highest point to counteract scale bias and establish a floor and a ceiling. The stimuli were presented in a pseudo-randomized order. Each questionnaire started with three fillers as unannounced practice items in order to familiarize

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15 https://www.soscisurvey.de/ (May 17, 2022).

test subjects with the task. The filler material was taken from two stimulus sets, one of which was concerned with subject-verb agreement in the case of collective nouns, the other with the (in)compatibility of past tense forms and time adverbials. The fillers included acceptable, unacceptable, and disputable items in order to cover the full range of the scale.

5.5 Results

Prior to the analysis, the acceptability ratings of each test subject were transformed into *z*-scores in order to eliminate potential biases in how different test subjects used the 7-point scale (cf. Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 43). A total of 1,538 judgments was included in the analysis. First, we consider how the acceptability of the VPs under investigation differs between the HFr-group and the CaFr-group. To estimate the effects of the experimental manipulations, a Linear Mixed Model (LMM) with a Gaussian family distribution was performed using R (R Core Team 2021) and the package lme4 (Bates et al. 2015). Verb type (manner verb vs. *faire*), type of manner verb (flexible, inflexible [type *plier*], inflexible [type *mordre*]) and test group (HFr, CaFr) were therefore treated as fixed factors. The model included a by-item random intercept. *p*-values were obtained by pairwise comparisons of a model with an effect in question against the model without this effect using ANOVAs. Figure 1 shows the VPs' acceptability with the three types of manner verbs in each test group. In the HFr-group, the expected gradations show up. VPs with flexible verbs are fully acceptable. VPs with inflexible verbs of the *plier*-type turn out to be less acceptable but can be successfully coerced into creation readings for the most part. Only for inflexible verbs (type *mordre*) with an unselected object do significant restrictions show up and part of the box falls into the negative number range.[16] The findings on HFr, thus, corroborate the assumption that coercing a VP into a reading that involves a generally inadmissible event structure lowers acceptability more than coercing it into a reading that is structurally available and only in conflict with the selectional restrictions of a particular verb. In the CaFr-group, the ratings are significantly more widely spread than in the HFr-group. As expected, flexible verbs receive the highest acceptability scores. However, inflexible verbs are only slightly less acceptable. Moreover, there are no significant differences between inflexible verbs of the *plier*-type and those of the *mordre*-type. Thus, in the CaFr-group, unlike in the HFr-group, it does not make a big difference whether only a verb-specific or a general restriction is

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16 Higher *z*-scores represent higher ratings that lie above the test subject's mean rating, lower *z*-scores stand for lower ratings that lie below the test subject's mean (cf. Cowart 1997: 114). Positive *z*-scores typically occur with items whose acceptability is beyond dispute.
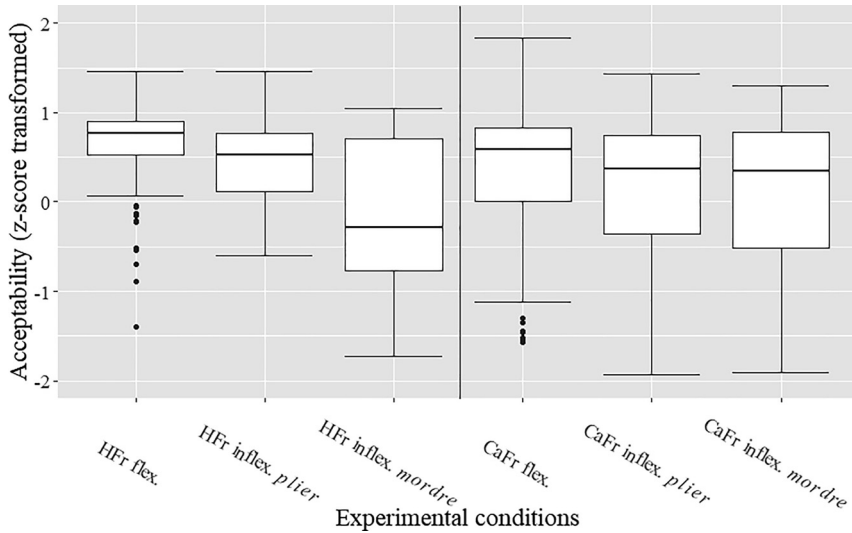
Figure 1: Acceptability of manner verbs with effected objects in the HFr-group (*n* = 300) and the CaFr-group (*n* = 469), (*n* for each condition [from left to right] = 150, 75, 75, 234, 117, 118).

infringed. Somewhat surprisingly, inflexible verbs are not rated significantly worse in the HFr-group than in the CaFr-group. Thus, even without the possibility of semantic-combinatorial copying, it appears to be largely possible to coerce the VPs into a creation reading. The main difference between the test groups falls within the group of inflexible verbs.

The test groups are also compared with regard to the acceptability of VPs with *faire*, cf. Figure 2. In the HFr-group, all VPs with *faire* uniformly turn out to be very acceptable, regardless of whether or not a manner verb would also be available in the given context. In the CaFr-group, the data are again more broadly distributed and the ratings of VPs with *faire* are somewhat lower, especially in the group in which a manner verb like *sculpter* would be available canonically. The differences between the groups may have to do with the fact that manner has become a more salient linguistic component in CaFr than it is in HFr.

In the final model, verb type, type of manner verb and test group survive as significant predictors of acceptability (χ^2 (1) = 33.68, *p* = 0). To focus on S-framed event lexicalization only and to exclude manner salience as a possible confounding factor, a model without the VPs containing *faire* was also fitted. Type of manner verb and test group survive as significant predictors (χ^2 (1) = 10.23, *p* < 0.01). Thus, the comparison of the groups shows the following: H1 was borne out, which could be attributed to different degrees of manner salience. H2 has not been confirmed
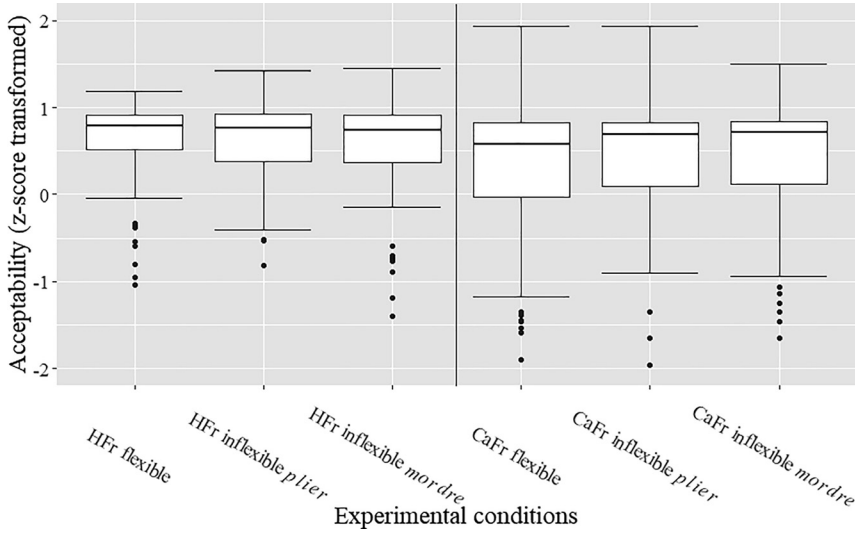
Figure 2: Acceptability of *faire* with effected objects in the HFr-group (*n* = 300) and the CaFr-group (*n* = 469), (*n* for each condition [from left to right] = 150, 75, 75, 234, 118, 117).

because inflexible verbs of the type *plier* are not more acceptable in the CaFr-group than in the HFr-group. Creation readings are, thus, more or less acceptable in both groups as long as only the selectional restrictions of a particular verb are violated. H3 is confirmed insofar as VPs with *mordre*-type verbs and an unselected object scored higher in the CaFr-group than in the HFr-group, thus corroborating the assumption that a structure that is only available in English is copied onto the French verbs to obtain a creation reading.

Lastly, we address the question of how individual and social language dominance might have influenced the judgments within the CaFr-group. Figure 3 shows that the expected correlation between acceptability and individual language dominance cannot be confirmed (beyond doubt) and that there is no clear evidence in favor of SL agentivity. The acceptability of VPs with unselected objects (*mordre*-type verbs) does not rise with increasing dominance of English. The acceptability of VPs formed with *faire*, which could also be built with a manner verb, only slightly decreases with increasing dominance of English.[17] H4 is thus not borne out, and in the case of H5, only a weak trend in the expected direction has been detected.

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17 Similar results arise when acceptability is plotted against individual module scores/subdomains of the BLP.
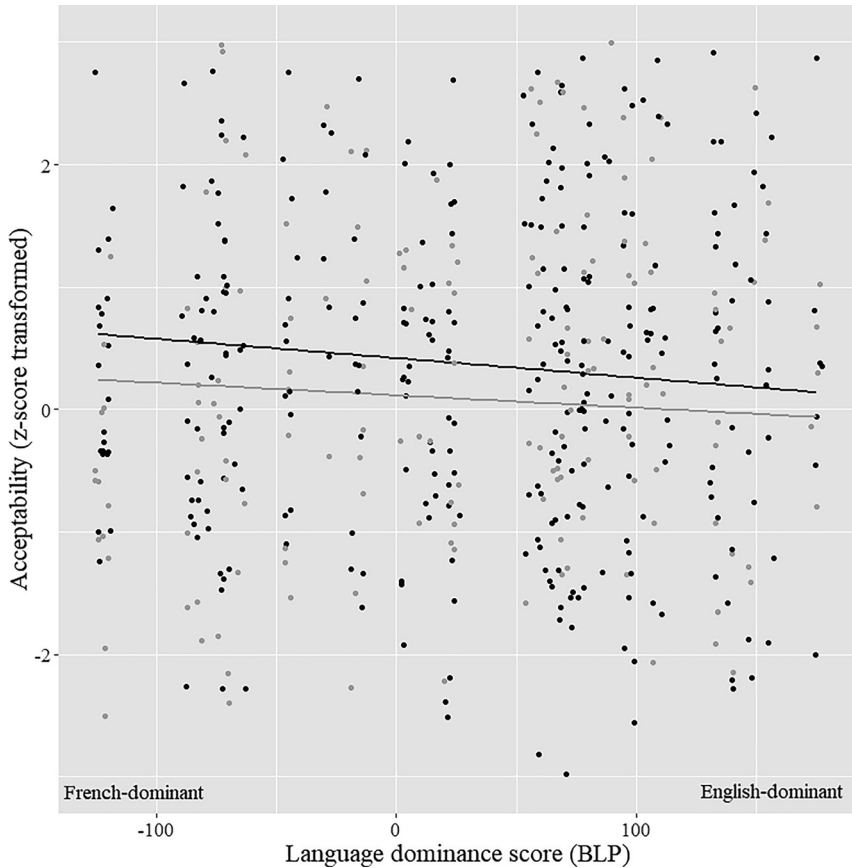
Figure 3: Acceptability and individual language dominance: VPs with inflexible manner verbs (type *mordre*) in gray (*n* = 118), VPs with *faire* (equivalents to VPs with flexible manner verbs) in black (*n* = 234).

To investigate how social language dominance may have affected acceptability, judgments of speakers from Quebec were contrasted with those of speakers from the English-dominant provinces. The data from four speakers from the Montreal region were excluded for this analysis (cf. Section 2). Figure 4 shows that VPs containing *mordre*-type verbs and unselected objects are judged as slightly more acceptable by speakers from the English-dominant provinces than by speakers from Quebec. Moreover, VPs with *faire* are unanimously rated highly by speakers from Quebec. The scores of speakers from the English-dominant provinces are somewhat lower and more scattered. Thus, social language dominance seems to influence slightly the extent to which S-framed event lexicalization of the type manner verb + unselected
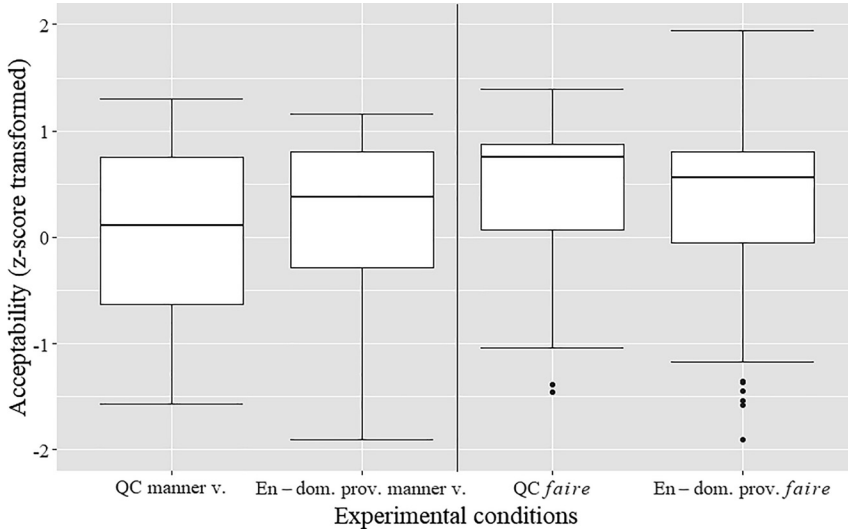
Figure 4: Acceptability and social language dominance (Quebec [QC] vs. English-dominant provinces): VPs with inflexible manner verbs (type *mordre*) on the left, VPs with *faire* (equivalents to VPs with *flexible* manner verbs) on the right, (*n* for each condition [from left to right] = 35, 70, 70, 140).

object or the omission of manner is accepted. Overall, however, the data from the CaFr-group do not yet appear to be sufficient to argue for robust findings, and due to the repeated measure design, I refrain from fitting a GLMM for only the CaFr-subset.

6 Discussion

Based on an experimental approach, this study has explored to what degree bilingual speakers of CaFr accept different ways of creation event lexicalization in comparison to speakers of HFr. The CaFr-speakers did not generally rate instantiations of S-framed event lexicalization higher than the HFr-speakers, but they showed different judgment patterns under two conditions. First, they were more accepting of S-framed structures with unselected objects, which are only available in English. Coercion that requires overriding a structural constraint of French, thus, appears to be easier for bilingual speakers who can resort to combinatorial copying from the contact language. Second, speakers of CaFr were less inclined than speakers of HFr to accept VPs with *faire* in cases in which a flexible manner was available but not used. This difference could be attributed to influence from English as a high manner-salient language. While differences between the test groups are, thus, apparent, it is

not yet entirely clear to what degree they are driven by language dominance. The data collected so far tentatively suggest that the status of French and English in the respective province or region might play a role. The acceptability of S-framing is slightly more reduced when French is socially dominant. Similarly, VPs in which manner is not lexicalized in the verb are somewhat less acceptable when English is the more dominant language. The extent to which English-type structures are tolerated or frowned upon could thus impact acceptability.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this study are subject to several limitations that give rise to desiderata for future work. Whether bilingual French speakers are more likely to accept English-type VPs in provinces in which English is the socially dominant language requires further investigation. A more fine-grained analysis on the interaction of individual and social language dominance could provide further insights into how SL agentivity in the sense of Van Coetsem (2000) and adoption in the sense of Johanson (2002) interact. Furthermore, it remains to be shown whether the gradient acceptability attested in this study is paralleled by processing effort in an online experiment such as a self-paced reading task. We have, for instance, seen that speakers from both CaFr and HFr accept canonically inflexible manner verbs of the type *plier* in creation readings. I tentatively attribute this finding to the fact that no general grammatical constraint has to be overridden in order to arrive at a creation reading. However, it still has to be clarified whether speakers face more processing difficulties if they cannot resort to semantic copying.

With regard to test subjects, it should not go unmentioned that no judgments from monolingual speakers of CaFr were included in the data set. Especially in Quebec, there are speakers, mainly from the older generation, who represent this profile. They are, however, difficult to find on crowdsourcing platforms. Data from this speaker type would prove useful in determining the degree to which phenomena initiated by bilingual speakers find their way into monolingual variants of the contact variety and lead to contact-induced change instead of only short-term effects. Combining canonically inflexible verbs (such as *plier*) with effected objects would represent a comparatively minor change, which qualifies as 'system-preserving' in the sense of Aikhenvald (2006). Relaxing a general constraint of the French VP, on the other hand, would have to be regarded as 'system-altering'.

Finally, this study focused on the possibility of semantic-combinatorial copying without material copying. In order to expand the scope, it appears worthwhile to include material copying (cf. e.g. Trips and Stein [2019] for a combined approach), as 'loan verbs' can provide information on whether S-framing is facilitated when Germanic verb roots are involved. Manner verbs such as *mix-er*, *scratch-er* or *jump-er* can thus provide the basis for further pursuing the question of which factors favor or inhibit changes in the VP in language contact.

Appendix: Test items

(1) À partir du reste du bois, le menuisier a {sculpté/fait} une poupée pour le théâtre du guignol.

(2) Dans un travail laborieux, Paul a {forgé/fait} un médaillon comme surprise pour sa femme.

(3) Avec la laine qui lui restait Sophie a {tissé/fait} un tapis et l'a exposé dans son atelier.

(4) À partir des bâtonnets, chaque enfant a {façonné/fait} un santon pour la crèche de Noelle.

(5) Avec des marguerites, Laure a {tressé/fait} une couronne de fleurs pour le mariage de sa sœur.

(6) Pour l'exposition, le sculpteur a {ciselé/fait} une statue et l'a placée sur un piédestal.

(7) Avec le plâtre, Marie a {modelé/fait} un buste pour l'exposition temporaire.

(8) À partir du chocolat fondu, la pâtissière a {moulé/fait} un lapin de Pâques pour sa nièce.

(9) À partir du papier, Inès a {plié/fait} un éventail pour mieux supporter la chaleur.

(10) a.   En jouant, le chiot a mordu un trou dans la botte de sa maitresse.
     b.   Avec ses dents pointues, le chiot a fait un trou dans la botte de sa maitresse.

(11) À partir du reste de la pâte, Marie a {roulé/fait} un boudin et l'a mis au réfrigérateur.

(12) À partir des roses et des marguerites, la floriste a {lié/fait} un bouquet pour le client.

(13) À partir de l'argile qui lui restait, Marie a {pétri/fait} un bol pour le marché artisanal.

(14) Enfin, le policier a {scié/fait} une ouverture dans la porte pour atteindre la poignée.

(15) Hier soir, notre chien a {gratté/fait} un trou dans le gazon pour cacher son os.

(16) Pour les enfants, le cuisinier a {mélangé/fait} une boisson à base de fruits et de sirop.

(17) À partir du carton rouge, Zoé a {bricolé/fait} un lampion pour la fête d'automne.

(18) À partir du papier jaune, Emma a {découpé/fait} une étoile et l'a collée sur le ampion.

(19) Avec ses griffes acérées, le chat a {déchiré/fait} une fente dans le tissu et a, ainsi, irrité son maître.

(20) Ensuite, Marie a {pressé/fait} un puits dans la pâte et y a ajouté le lait et la levure.

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