

Evaluative compounding

Insights from two Dutch case studies on its productivity and competition

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Workshop *Latest
developments in evaluative
morphology*

Introduction

- **Various word-formation processes** can express **evaluative semantics** (Štekauer 2015):
 - affixation, prefixal-suffixal derivation, circumfixation, reduplication, prefixation of a reduplicated base, compounding, root-and-pattern, sound symbolism
- **Affixation** is “by far the most common strategy employed in evaluative morphology” (Štekauer 2015: 47)
 - Primary focus of evaluative morphology has traditionally been on derivational processes
 - diminutive suffixes (e.g., Manova et al. 2023)
 - intensifying prefixes (e.g., Rainer 2015, Dressler & Barbaresi 1994).
- **Paradoxal status of evaluative compounding** (Štekauer 2015: 51):
 - “While compounding appears to be – together with suffixation – the most widespread WF process, this does not apply to evaluative formation.”

Introduction

- Examples of **evaluative compounding** (Štekauer 2015: 51-52):
 - **Diminutive compounds:**
 - Bahasa Indonesia: *anak ayam* 'lit. child hen; chicken'
 - **Augmentative compounds:**
 - Nelemwa: *axomoo naabuc* 'lit. mother mosquito; big mosquito'
 - **Elative compounds** (expressing high degree or intensification) (Hoeksema 2012)
 - Dutch: *beresterk* 'lit. bear strong; very strong', *bloedvaart* 'lit. blood speed; very high speed'
- Fuzzy boundary between compounding and affixation: **affixoids**
 - French **bébé-** 'baby' > 'small' (e.g., *bébé-voiture* 'very small car', *bébé-entreprise* 'very small/young company') (Amiot & Dugas 2020)
 - Dutch **reuze-** 'giant' > 'very' (e.g. *reuzeleuk* 'very nice', *reuzeklein* 'very small') (Booij 2010, Van Goethem 2020, Norde & Van Goethem 2014)

Introduction

- Two case studies of **evaluative compounding in Dutch**:
 - 1) **Nominal ameliorative compounds** (cf. Van Goethem 2023)
 - E.g., *een droomhuis* 'a dream house'
 - Cf. phrasal counterpart: *een droom van een huis* 'a dream of a house'
 - 2) **Adjectival simile compounds**
 - E.g., *beresterk* 'lit. bear strong; very strong'
 - Cf. phrasal counterpart: *zo sterk als een beer* 'as strong as a bear'
- **Research questions**:
 - 1) How productive are evaluative compounds in Dutch?
 - 2) How do Dutch evaluative compounds and their phrasal equivalents compare or compete?

Introduction

- The **alternation between evaluative phrases and compounds** has special **theoretical interest**:
 - From a CxG perspective, compounds and multi-word expressions are **similar**:
 - “[T]he construction is conceived of as a large structured inventory of constructions of all levels of abstraction. Under this approach, **compounds and MWEs can easily be treated as on a par with each other, both being complex constructions sharing certain conceptual or functional features**” (Finkbeiner & Schlücker 2019: 7)
- Compounds and phrases may **complement** each other, but also be in **competition** or even **block** each other (cf. for Dutch: Booij 2019: 104-120)
 - Complementation: e.g., *wetenschapsbeleid* ‘science policy’ vs *wetenschappelijk beleid* ‘scientific policy’
 - Blocking: e.g., **roodwijn* vs *rode wijn* ‘red wine’

Outline

- **Case study 1: Nominal ameliorative compounds** (cf. Van Goethem 2023)
 - Research aims
 - Summary of the corpus results
- **Case study 2: Adjectival simile compounds**
 - Literature overview
 - Corpus data and methods
 - Results
 - Discussion
- **Conclusions**

Case study 1

Ameliorative nominal compounds vs phrasal constructions (cf. Van Goethem 2023)

Research aims

1. To **re-examine the Expressive Binominal Construction (EBC)** by means of an in-depth corpus study
 - E.g., *een schat van een kind* (lit. 'a treasure of a child, a sweet child') (cf. Paardekooper 1956, Everaert 1992, Foolen 2004, Verhagen 2005, Haeseryn et al. 2019, Broekhuis 2020)
 - Focus on four **positively-connotated N1s**: *schat* 'treasure', *droom* 'dream', *pracht* 'beauty, splendor' and *wonder* 'miracle'
2. To **compare the phrasal EBC with a potential morphological counterpart** in the form of a $[N_1 N_2]_{N_2}$ attributive compound
 - *een droom van een huis* ('a dream of a house') vs *een droomhuis* ('a dream house')
 - *een pracht van een dochter* ('a beauty of a daughter') vs *een prachtdochter* (lit. 'a beauty daughter')
 - *een wonder van een vrouw* ('a wonder of a woman') vs *een wondervrouw* ('a wonder woman')
 - *een schat van een kind* ('a sweetheart of a child') vs ~~*een schatkind~~

Summary of the results

	Syntactic EBC	Morphological EBC
FORM	More complex slot fillers (compounds and NPs) • <i>een schat van een Engelse nanny</i> 'lit. a treasure of an English nanny'	Mostly simplex slot fillers • <i>een wonderfiets</i> 'a wonder bike' • <i>een droomvakantie</i> 'a dream holiday'
SEMANTICS	Significantly more animate slot fillers (people, animals) • <i>een droom van een moeder</i> 'a dream of a mother' • <i>een schat van een labrador</i> 'lit. a treasure of a labrador'	Significantly more inanimate slot fillers (places, concepts) • <i>een droomappartement</i> 'a dream apartment' • <i>een prachtkans</i> 'a beautiful opportunity'
PRODUCTIVITY	Productive pattern, especially [<i>een droom/pracht/wonder van een N2</i>] Many hapax legomena: • <i>een droom van een stofzuiger</i> 'a dream of a vacuum cleaner' • <i>een pracht van een ribeye steak</i> 'a beauty of a ribeye steak'	Less productive pattern, especially [<i>een droom-/wonder-N2</i>] Lexicalized cases: • <i>een wonderkind</i> 'a prodigy child'

Case study 2

Adjectival simile compounds vs phrasal simile constructions

Literature overview

- **Simile constructions**
 - **Israël et al. (2004)**
 - **Simile** is a rhetorical figure in its own right, with three distinguishing properties:
 - 1) it involves some form of comparison
 - 2) the comparison is explicit ($\leftrightarrow$ metaphor)
 - 3) the comparison involves entities which are not normally considered comparable (figurative comparison) ($\leftrightarrow$ literal comparison)
 - Simile expresses **superlative evaluation** (“Superlative Source Constraint”)
 - *Her argument was as clear as glass* (=“very clear”)
 - A **wide range of distinct constructions** may serve to express a simile (not only [*as X as Y*], [*X like Y*])
 - *And my husband and I basically view skiing as an invitation to suicide.* (Israël et al. 2004: 125)

Literature overview

- **Phrasal vs morphological similes in the languages of Europe**
- **Cross-linguistic observations (Schlücker 2019, Ed.):**
 - Phrasal and morphological similes coexist in many languages:
 - English: *as red as blood* vs *blood red* (Finkbeiner & Schlücker 2019)
 - German: *so weich wie Butter* 'as soft as butter' vs *butterweich* 'butter-soft' (Schlücker 2019)
 - Finnish: *hidas kuin etana* 'slow as a snail' vs *etanan hidas* 'lit. snail_{gen} slow' (Hyvärinen 2019)
 - Italian: *bianco come la neve* 'as white as snow' vs *bianco neve* 'snow white' (Masini 2019)
 - They are sometimes interchangeable, but not always (Finkbeiner & Schlücker 2019)
 - Danish: *dum som snot* 'lit. stupid as snot, very stupid' vs *snotdum* (id.)
 - Swedish *mjuk som smör* 'soft as butter', but **smörmjuk* 'lit. butter-soft'
 - The structure and productivity of similes vary across languages

Literature overview

- **Phrasal vs morphological similes in Dutch**

- **Broekhuis (2015): Phrasal similes in Dutch**

- Fixed expressions (e.g., *zo sterk als een beer* 'as strong as a bear') and creative formations (e.g., *zo stoned als een garnaal* 'lit. as stoned as a shrimp')
- Not possible in attributive position: **een zo sterke als een beer jongen* 'lit. a as strong as a bear boy'

- **Hoeksema (2012): Morphological similes in Dutch**

- **Elative compounds:** "any compound XY in which X serves as a modifier that is used to denote a very high degree of the property associated with head element Y" (Hoeksema 2012: 98)
- Three types:
 - Stereotyped comparisons:
 - *pijlsnel* 'arrow fast', *beresterk* 'lit. bear-strong'
 - Analogical extensions of comparison-based compounds:
 - *beresterk* → *beregezellig* 'lit. bear-cosy' (intensifying affixoid)
 - Causative compounds:
 - *doodmoe* 'lit. dead-tired, tired to death' → analogical extensions: e.g., *doodgewoon* 'dead normal'
- Correspondence with phrasal simile is not systematical:
 - *beresterk* 'lit. bear-strong' – *zo sterk als een beer* 'as strong as a bear'
 - *zo sterk als een paard* 'as strong as a horse' vs **paardesterk* 'horse-strong'
 - *ijzersterk* 'lit. iron-strong, very strong' (figurative) – *zo sterk als ijzer* 'as strong as iron' (literal)

Corpus data and methods

- **Selection of 10 adjectives** referring to physical/mental human properties:
 - *bang* 'afraid', *blij* 'happy', *dom* 'dumb', *gelukkig* 'lucky', *gek* 'crazy', *mooi* 'beautiful', *sterk* 'strong', *stil* 'quiet', *trots* 'proud', *ziek* 'sick'
- Corpus study based on a random sample of **2000 occurrences** of each the syntactic and the morphological pattern extracted from the *nlTenTen20* web corpus on SketchEngine (Kilgariff et al. 2014)
- **Corpus queries:**
 - Syntactic simile:
 - [lemma = "zo"] [lemma = "blij"] [lemma = "als"] [lemma = "een"]
 - Morphological simile:
 - [lemma = ".+blij" & lemma != "superblij" & tag = "adj.*"]
- Manual check until **100 relevant concordance lines** per simile type (2000 relevant examples in total)

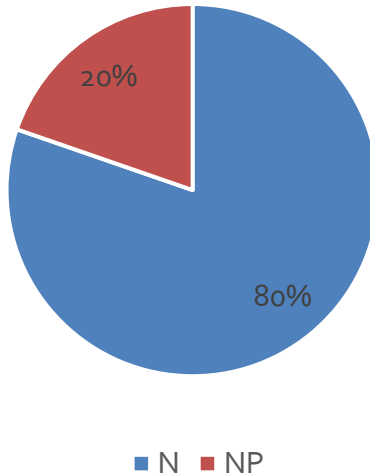
Corpus data and methods

- **Irrelevant examples** excluded:
 - Literal comparison:
 - *Laminaatvloeren zijn tegenwoordig net **zo mooi als** een houten vloer [...]*
'Laminate floors are nowadays just as beautiful as wooden floors.'
 - Non-simile compounds:
 - *zeeziek* 'seasick', *koopgek* 'lit. shop-crazy, shopaholic'
 - Other irrelevant strings:
 - Suffix *-dom*: *prinsdom* 'principality', *bisdom* 'diocese'
 - *Ik ben **zo gelukkig als** ik ga wandelen met mijn hond.* 'I am so happy when I go for a walk with my dog.'
- **Annotation relevant concordance lines:**
 - **Formal properties:** POS, complexity, syntactic function
 - **Semantic properties:** semantic category of the point of comparison (person, animal, object, place, concept)
 - **Lemma** ~ productivity measures TTR/PP

Results: formal properties

POS and complexity of the point of comparison

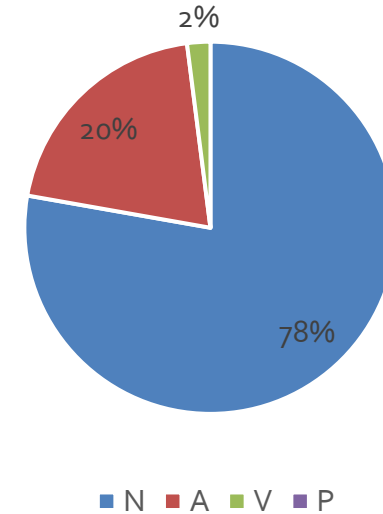
Syntactic simile



Syntactic simile:

- Mainly [zo A als N] (80%)
- Mean proportion of [zo A als NP]: 20%

Morphological simile



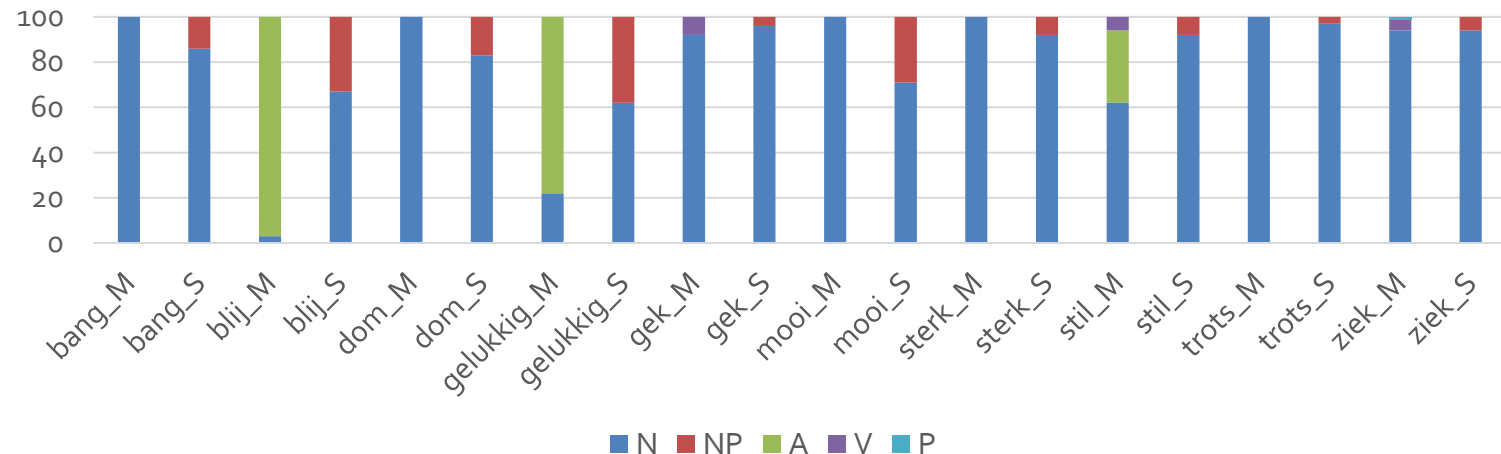
Morphological simile:

- mainly [N+A] (78%)
- often [A+A] (20%)
- rarely [V+A] en [P+A]

Results: formal properties

POS and complexity of the point of comparison

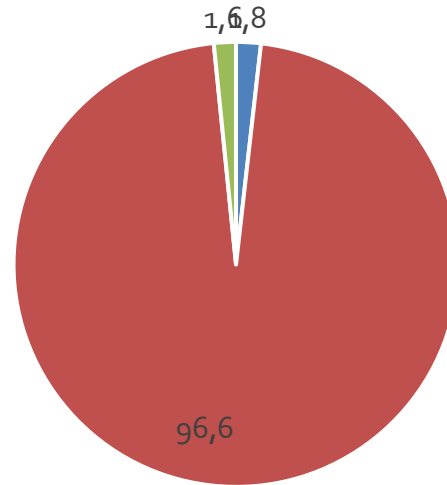
- **Syntactic similes:** mainly [zo A als N], proportion [zo A als NP] from 3% to 38%
 - *zo ziek als een gekooide vogel snakkend naar lucht* 'as sick as a caged bird gasping for air'
 - *zo blij als een uitgehongerde hond die een piepklein kluifje krijgt toegeworpen* 'as happy as a starving dog being tossed a tiny bone'
- **Morphological similes:** formal structure very adjective-dependent
 - [N+A]: *bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful', *doodziek* 'lit. dead-sick'
 - [A+A]: *dolblij* 'lit. crazy-happy', *dolgelukkig* 'lit. crazy-lucky'
 - [V+A]: *knettergek* 'lit. crackling-crazy', *fluisterstil* 'lit. whisper-quiet'



Results: formal properties

Syntactic function of the simile

Syntactic simile

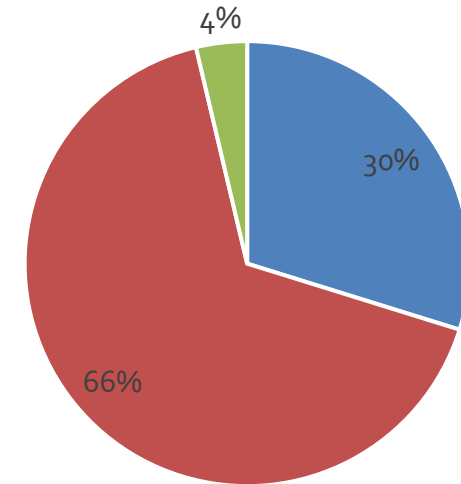


■ Attributive 1,8 ■ Predicative 96,6 ■ Adverbial 1,6

Syntactic simile:

- Almost exclusively predicative use (97%)

Morphological simile



■ Attributive ■ Predicative ■ Adverbial

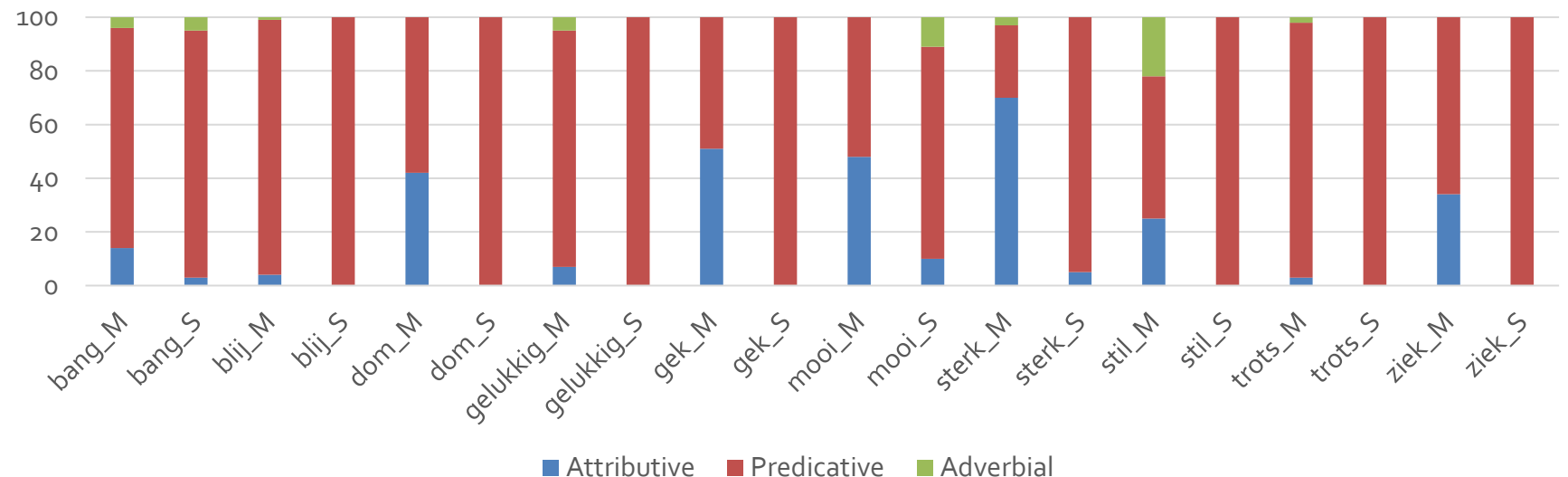
Morphological simile:

- Mainly predicative use (66%)
- Often attributive use (30%)
- Also adverbial use (4%)

Results: formal properties

Syntactic function of the simile

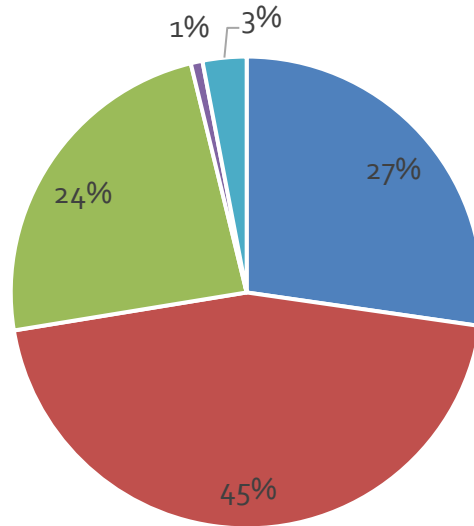
- **Syntactic simile:**
 - Mainly predicative use, but attributive use is not excluded (↔ Broekhuis 2015)
 - e.g., *Vakantiehuis op een plek zo mooi als een parel* 'holiday home in a place as beautiful as a pearl'
- **Morphological simile:**
 - More equal distribution between attributive and predicative use
 - Some compound adjectives still have a clear preference for predicative use: *bang* 'afraid', *blij* 'happy', *gelukkig* 'lucky', *trots* 'proud'
 - Adverbial use: e.g., (...) *muisstil varen* 'lit. mouse-quiet sail; to sail silently'



Results: semantic properties

Semantic category of the point of comparison

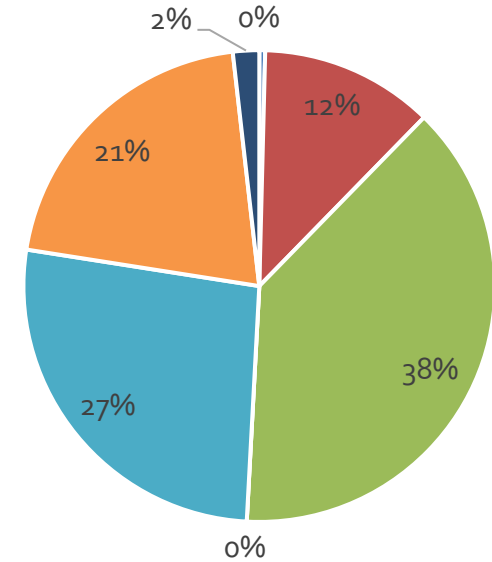
Syntactic simile



■ Person ■ Animal ■ Object ■ Place ■ Concept

- **Syntactic simile**
 - Mainly “animate” semantics
 - “person” + “animal” > 72%
 - “object” + “places” + “concept” < 30%

Morphological simile



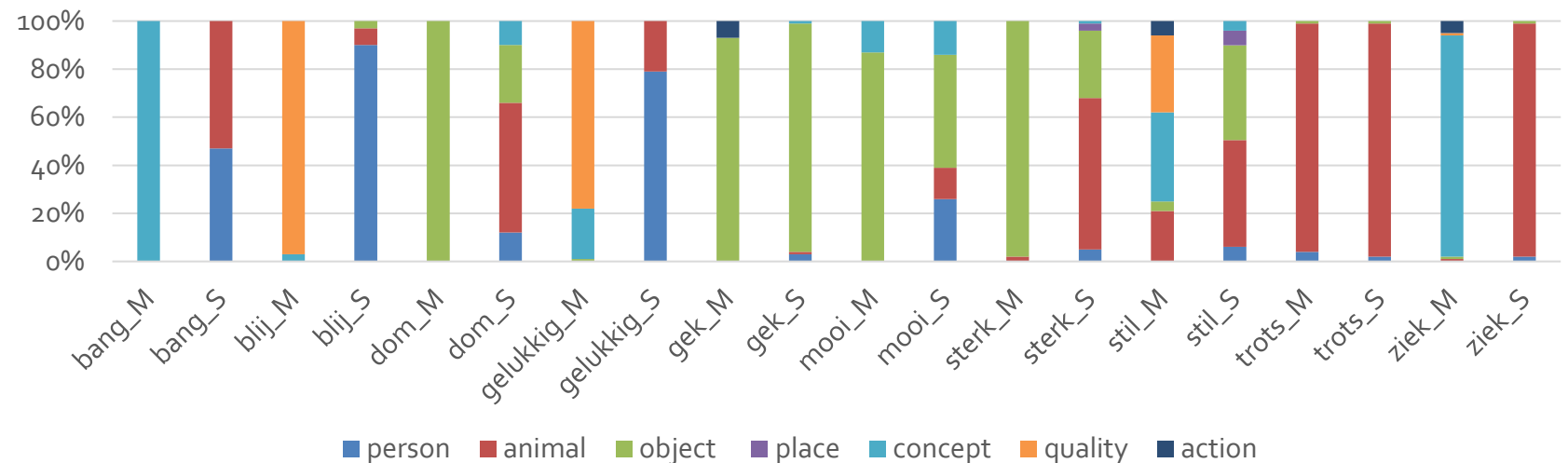
■ Person ■ Animal ■ Object ■ Place ■ Concept ■ Quality ■ Action

- **Morphological simile**
 - Mainly “non-animate” semantics
 - “person” + “animal” ~ 12%
 - “object” + “concept” + “property” > 85%

Results: semantic properties

Semantic category of the point of comparison

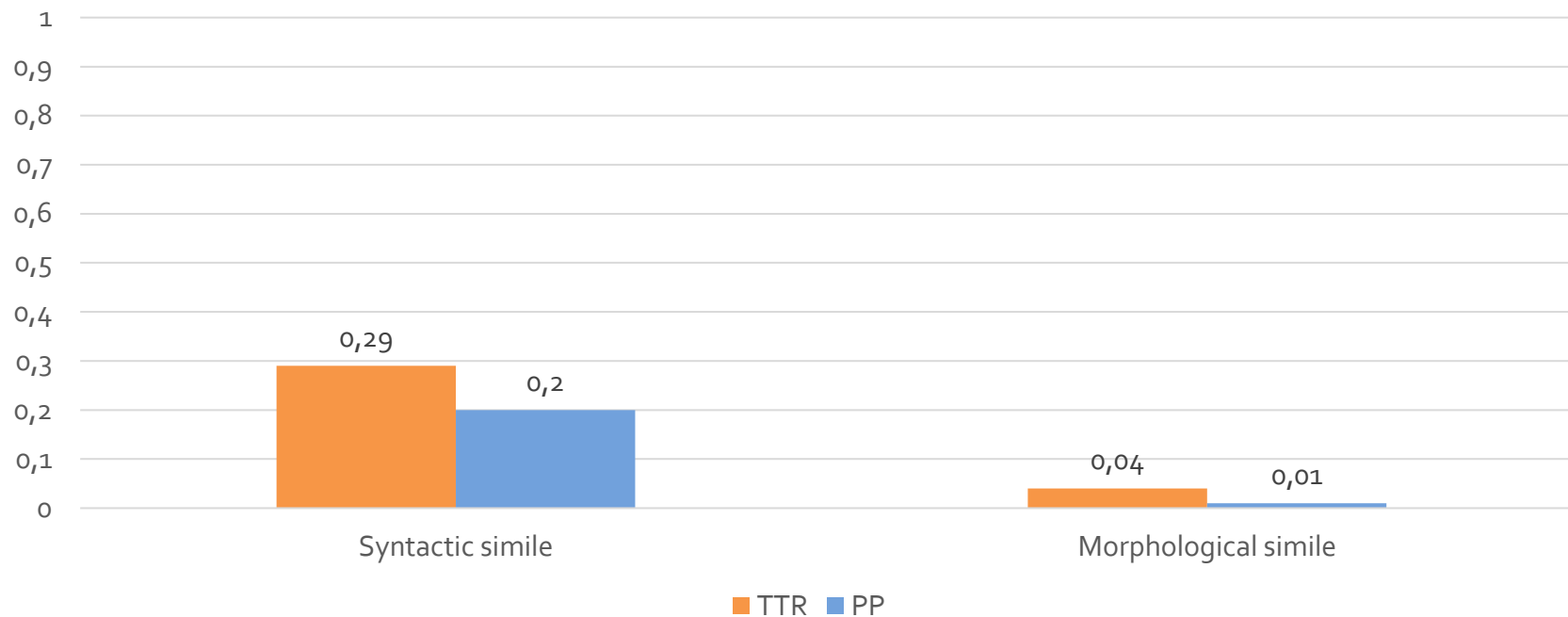
- Morphological and syntactic similes based on the same adjective often have **divergent semantic profiles**:
 - 'afraid': [zo bang als een <PERSON/ANIMAL>] vs [<CONCEPT> bang]
 - 'happy': [zo blij als een <PERSON>] vs [<QUALITY> blij]
 - 'dumb': [zo dom als een <ANIMAL>] vs [<OBJECT> dom]
- Some **exceptions** with similar profiles:
 - 'crazy': [zo gek als een <OBJECT>] ~ [<OBJECT> gek]
 - 'proud': [zo trots als een <ANIMAL>] ~ [<ANIMAL> trots]
- In general **more semantic variation in the syntactic similes** and **more semantic specialization in the morphological similes**



Results: Productivity

Productivity of the simile

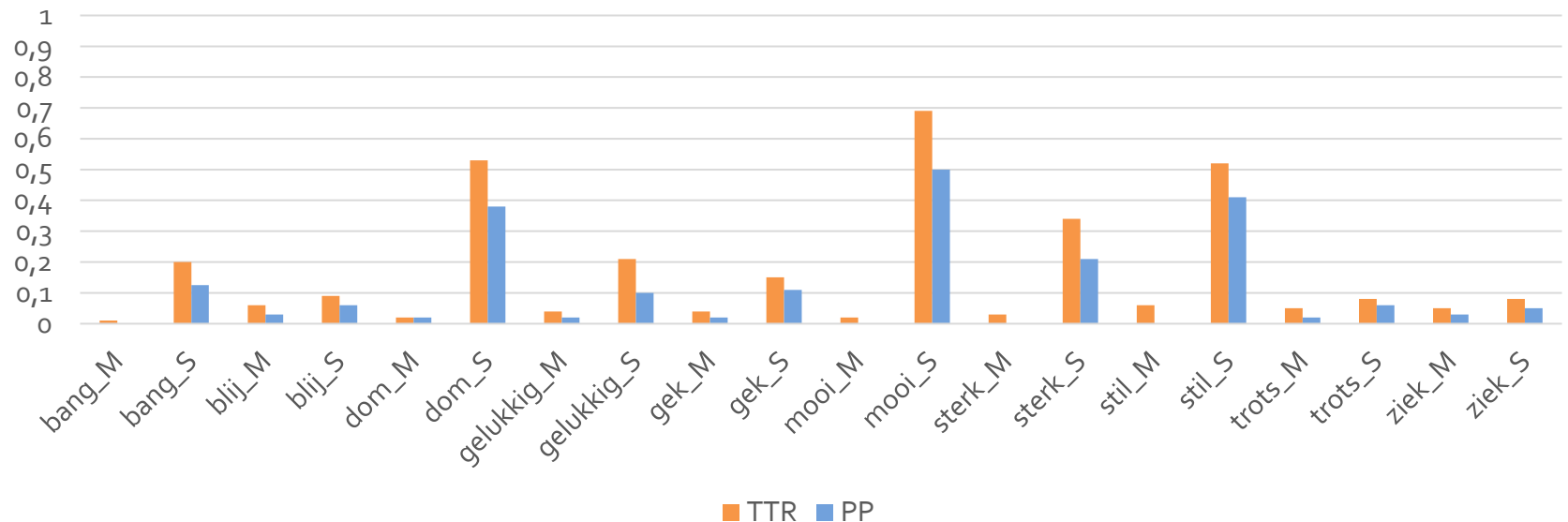
- In general: **low productivity scores**
- Syntactic simile is more productive than the morphological simile



Results: productivity

Productivity of the simile

- **Highest productivity scores:**
 - [zo mooi als X], [zo dom als X], [zo stil als X], [zo sterk als X]
 - Hapax legomena:
 - *zo mooi als een lege pagina die gevuld mag worden* 'as beautiful as a blank page waiting to be filled'
 - *zo dom als een schaakpartij waarbij men de tegenstander de volgende 10 zetten meedeelt* 'as foolish as a chess game in which one tells the opponent the next 10 moves'
- **Lowest productivity scores:**
 - [X-bang] (100% *doodsbang* 'lit. dead-scared')
 - [X-blij] (94% *dolblij* 'lit. crazy-happy')
 - [X-dom] (92% *oliedom* 'lit. oil-dumb')
 - [X-mooi] (87% *bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful')
 - [X-sterk] (87% *ijzersterk* 'lit. iron-strong')



Summary

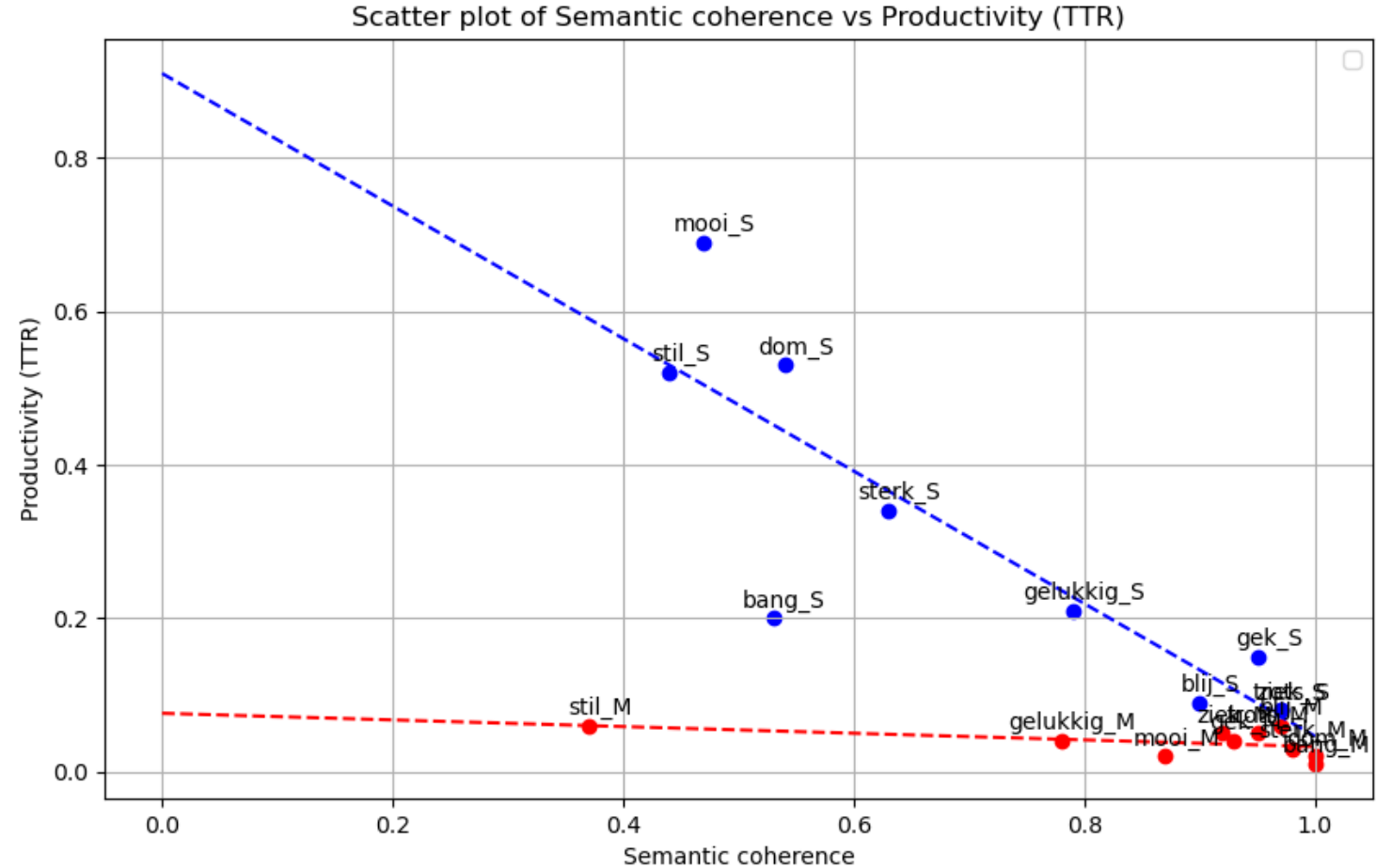


	Syntactic simile	Morphological simile
FORM	More flexibility in complexity (NP)	More flexibility in POS (N, A, V)
	Almost exclusively predicative use	More flexible syntactic use (predicative, attributive, adverbial)
SEMANTICS	Mainly 'animate' category of the point of comparison	Mainly 'non-animate' semantic categories
	More semantic variation	More semantic specialization
PRODUCTIVITY	Medium productivity	Low productivity (often fixed combinations)

The syntactic and morphological simile constructions are very different at the schematic level, but also at the level of the semi-filled constructions (e.g., *zo sterk als een beer/leeuw/paard/...* 'as strong as a bear/lion/horse/...' vs *ijzersterk* 'iron-strong')

Discussion

Productivity (TTR) vs semantic coherence (largest semantic category)



Pearson correlation coefficients:

- **Syntactic similes: -0.86** → strong negative correlation between semantic coherence and productivity
- **Morphological similes: -0.47** → moderate negative correlation between semantic coherence and productivity.

Discussion

- **Syntactic similes:**
 - **Strong negative correlation between productivity and semantic coherence** (cf. Barðdal 2008)
 - Similes with high productivity and low semantic specialization: [*zo mooi/dom/stil als* NP]
 - Flexible schemas that allow creative expansion
 - e.g., *zo mooi als een lenteroos/lentemorgen/lentebloesem*, ... 'as beautiful as a spring rose / spring morning / spring blossom, ...'
 - e.g., *zo dom als een koe/varken/ezel/rund/ kwartel/gans/garnaal/ het achtereind van een varken/ koe/deur/steen* 'as dumb as a cow/ pig/ donkey/ ox/ quail/ goose/ shrimp/ the back end of a pig/cow, door, stone, ...'
 - Similes with low productivity and high semantic specialization: [*zo trots/blij/gek als* NP]
 - Lexicalized schemas:
 - e.g., *zo blij als een kind* 'as happy as a child'
 - Creative NP expansion still possible within the same semantic category:
 - e.g., *zo blij als een kind in een snoepwinkel, in een speelgoedwinkel, op Pakjesavond...* 'as happy as a child in a candy store, in a toy store, on Sinterklaas Eve'

Discussion

- **Morphological similes:**
 - **Low productivity overall**
 - Mostly high semantic coherence → lexicalized combinations
 - e.g., *doodsbang* 'lit. dead-scared', *dolblij* 'lit. crazy-happy', *ijzersterk* 'lit. iron-strong', *apetrots* 'lit. monkey-proud'
 - Exception [*X-stil*] shows most semantic variation :
 - *muisstil* 'mouse-quiet' (animal), *stokstil* 'stick-quiet' (object), *doodstil* 'dead-quiet' (concept), *fluisterstil* 'whisper-quiet' (action)
 - Bleaching of the original comparative interpretation and 'prefixoidization' into an intensifier (Booij 2010, Hoeksema 2012)
 - Semantically opaque combinations: e.g., *bloedmooi* 'lit. blood-beautiful', *oliedom* 'lit. oil-dumb', *stapelgek* 'lit. pile-crazy', *reuzeblij* 'lit. giant-happy'
 - Taboo intensifiers: *strontgelukkig* 'lit. shit-happy', *schijtziek* 'lit. shit-sick'

Conclusions

- **Division of labour between syntactic and morphological evaluative constructions**
 - In both case studies the phrasal construction tends to be more flexible with respect to complexity and semantic divergence of the fillers
→ a higher degree of productivity
 - Nevertheless, the compounds are frequently attested in the corpora
 - In both case studies the phrasal pattern tends to attract more animate fillers and the compound pattern more inanimate fillers (why?)
 - **Case study 2: Division of labour between syntactic and morphological similes**
 - Syntactic similes tend to be more flexible and expressive
→ More creative metaphors
 - Morphological similes tend to be more fixed and lexicalized
→ Often grammaticalized into intensifying function
- **Evaluative compounds and phrases are distinct but complement each other**

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