# Applying constructional concepts to Romance languages

Hans C. Boas and Francisco Gonzálvez-García

## 1. Introduction[1]

Since its beginnings in the 1980s, constructional research has primarily focused on English and other Germanic languages, as well as Czech, Finnish, and Japanese, among others. Except for a few publications dealing with constructional phenomena in French (e.g., Bergen & Plauché, 2001; Lambrecht, 1994; Lambrecht & Lemoine, 2005; Deulofeu & Debaisioux, 2009; Bouveret & Legallois, 2012), there has been relatively little constructional research on Romance languages to date. For instance, the first (and thus far only) volume published on Construction Grammar from an English-Spanish contrastive perspective is Martínez Vázquez (2003), which consists of a collection of case studies of basic argument structure constructions. In addition, the last few years have seen the publication of few papers on Spanish dealing mostly with verb complementation (e.g., Hilferty & Valenzuela, 2001; Gonzálvez-García, 2009), second language acquisition (Martínez Vázquez, 2004; Valenzuela & Rojo, 2008), and grammaticalization (e.g., Gonzálvez-García, 2006a; Garachana Camarero, 2008). By contrast, there is to our knowledge no extensive work dealing with other Romance languages from a constructional point of view (notable exceptions include Torre (2011, 2012) and De Knop et al. (2013)).

The purpose of this volume is to overcome this lack of research by providing a state of the art overview of constructional research on Romance languages and also to pave the way for further research in the field. This volume is unique in that it offers an easily accessible, yet comprehensive and sophisticated variety of chapters on constructional phenomena in a range of Romance languages such as French, Spanish, and Romanian.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section two gives an overview of how the key concepts of Construction Grammar (henceforth: CxG), which were originally postulated on the basis of English, have been applied to Romance languages. Examples include key concepts such as specific argument structure constructions, information structure, and null complementation.

Section three addresses the question of how insights based on constructional analyses of English can be applied to different Romance languages, while highlighting the theoretical and descriptive advantages of constructions for the languages under scrutiny here in contrast to the more 'traditional' notions of constructions employed in the literature on Romance languages so far. More specifically, it focuses on the notion of constructional equivalence across languages (similar to the notion of translation equivalence) by investigating the degree to which English-based constructions have constructional equivalents in Romance languages.

Section four focuses on the need for providing a fine-grained conceptual methodology as to why Romance languages qualify as the perfect test bed for construction grammarians interested in historical facts. Given that the early Romance vernaculars which are nowadays associated with standard Romance languages (e.g.

French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish) are assumed to have emerged from Vulgar Latin from at least the ninth century (Malkiel, 1978), it is our contention that a constructionist analysis of Latin can serve as a suitable test bed to explore the diachronic evolution of its Romance descendants, among other things, because Latin is a closed corpus (López Muñoz, 2002).[2] Finally, Section five gives an overview of the chapters included in this volume.

## 2. Expanding Construction Grammar from English to other languages

Following pioneering work on CxG in English (Fillmore, 1986; Lakoff, 1987; Fillmore et al., 1988; Fillmore & Kay, 1993), Goldberg (1995) presented the first book-length study of English argument structure constructions. On the heels of her seminal work, interest in CxG grew tremendously, largely because Goldberg incorporated a number of attractive concepts that were quite different from so-called mainstream theories of syntax. The main idea put forth was that constructions (pairings of form with meaning) are the basic building block of language, which are defined by Goldberg (2006) as follows:[3]

> Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency. (p. 5)

Other ideas put forth by construction grammarians are that (1) there is no strict division between a so-called core and periphery or between what has traditionally been labeled

"the lexicon" and "syntax" (non-modular), (2) derivations and multiple levels of representation are unnecessary, and (3) constructional concepts should in principle be applicable to languages other than English.[4] With respect to the cross-linguistic applicability of constructional insights, Fillmore and Kay (1993, pp. 4–5) note the following:

> We will be satisfied with the technical resources at our disposal, and with our use of them, if they allow us to represent, in a perspicuous way, everything that we consider to be part of the conventions of the grammar of the first language we work with. We will be happy if we find that a framework that seemed to work for the first language we examine also performs well in representing grammatical knowledge in other languages.

Indeed, while most constructional analyses of the 1980s and early to mid 1990s focused almost exclusively on English, researchers soon adopted constructional insights for the analysis of other languages, such as Chinese (Bisang, 2008), Cree (Croft, 2001), Czech (Fried, 2004, 2005), Danish (Hilpert, 2008), Finnish (Leino & Östman, 2005; Leino & Östman, 2008), French (Bergen & Plauché, 2001; Lambrecht, 1994; Lambrecht & Lemoine, 2005), German (Hens, 1995; Michaelis & Ruppenhofer, 2001; Boas, 2003; Hilpert, 2008), Icelandic (Barðdal, 2004, 2008), Japanese (e.g. Fujii, 2004; Ohara, 2005; Tsujimura, 2005; Iwata, 2008; Matsumoto 2008), and Swedish (Hilpert, 2006; Lindström & Londen, 2008), among many others.

At the same time, however, there has been a dearth of interest in applying constructional insights to comparative issues in order to arrive at cross-linguistic generalizations based on the concept of constructions. This situation is most likely due to at least two factors. First, the fact that CxG did not evolve into an advanced theory of

grammar (and language in general) until the late 1990s and can as such be regarded as a relatively "young" linguistic theory. Thus, most construction grammarians were primarily occupied with first analyzing linguistic phenomena in one language before wanting to apply their insights to other languages. Second, and perhaps more importantly, Croft's (2001) influential work on Radical Construction Grammar (RCG) argues quite convincingly that constructions are language-specific and that linguistic categories are defined in terms of the constructions they occur in. On this view, it is difficult (if not impossible) to arrive at cross-linguistic generalizations based on grammatical constructions alone.

More recently, a collection of papers in *Contrastive Studies in Construction Grammar* (Boas 2010b) examined Croft's proposals in detail to determine the possibility of cross-linguistic generalizations based on constructions. One of the main insights of this volume is that comparing and contrasting constructions between pairs of languages is indeed feasible. For example, Boas' (2010a) introduction to the volume claims that Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1985) offers viable tools and methods for comparing how frame elements are realized syntactically in different languages, thereby making it possible to "arrive at cross-linguistic generalizations without losing sight of language-specific idiosyncrasies" (Boas, 2010a, p. 7). One of the ultimate goals is thus to create an inventory of constructions (a "constructicon") for one language, together with their semantic-functional equivalents in other languages. The chapters in this volume share a common methodology in that they build on a well-described construction in English in order to determine how it is realized in another language. Each chapter shows that it is indeed possible to compare and contrast constructions with their counterparts in

another language, including English and Swedish comparative constructions (Hilpert, 2010), English and Spanish subjective-transitive constructions (Gonzálvez-García, 2010), English and Russian conditional constructions (Gurevich, 2010), English and Finnish argument structure constructions (Leino, 2010), English and Thai ditransitive and caused-motion constructions (Timyam & Bergen, 2010), English and Japanese measurement constructions (Hasegawa et al., 2010), and complex event constructions in English, Icelandic, Dutch, Bulgarian, and Japanese (Croft et al., 2010).

The chapters in Boas (2010b) present an interesting departure from Croft's (2001) claim that constructions should be regarded as language-specific. While the chapters in this volume do not offer a straightforward contrastive approach as outlined in Boas (2010a), they show how constructional principles can be applied to different members of the Romance language family. We thus hope that these papers will serve as a starting point for future contrastive research on Romance languages, thereby helping with determining the degree to which grammatical constructions in languages of a specific language family, i.e. Romance languages, are similar or different. In other words, we think that future work on comparing and contrasting grammatical constructions in languages belonging to the same language family should be a particularly fruitful exercise, since all Romance languages are descendants of Latin. As such, one would expect that most constructions in Romance languages today have direct and comparable counterparts in other Romance languages. Before discussing different synchronic aspects of a comparative/contrastive constructional analysis of Romance languages (the main focus of this volume), we first present a brief discussion of diachronic aspects that should

be kept in mind (as a basis for further research), even though these are not explicitly mentioned in the contributions in this volume.

## 3. Comparing constructions in Romance languages: Diachronic issues

Even though most chapters in this volume focus almost exclusively on synchronic issues in Romance languages while remaining largely silent on diachronic issues, this should not be taken to mean that diachronic matters are ignored in CxG. In fact, much research over the last decade has demonstrated that the concept of grammatical construction is an effective tool for conducting diachronic research (see, e.g. Croft, 2000; Fried, 2005, 2009, 2012; Rostila, 2005; Bergs & Diewald, 2008; Hilpert, 2008, 2013; Trousdale & Traugott, 2010; Diewald, Barðdal & Eythórsson, 2012; Traugott & Trousdale, 2013). Space constraints preclude us from presenting an exhaustive summary of diachronic research in CxG here.[5]

However, to illustrate how the concept of construction is useful for diachronic research, specifically in Romance languages, we now turn to a discussion of the alternation between the NP + XPCOMP construction and the Accusative-cum-Infinitive construction (henceforth AcI) in Latin and its development into present-day Spanish. Specifically, we demonstrate that the choice of one construction or another can be mainly motivated on semantico-pragmatic grounds in terms of the degree of subjectivity of the speaker's stance towards the proposition, which in turn accounts for the otherwise puzzling non-equivalence of these constructions in a number of contexts. To illustrate,

the alternation in question involves pairs of examples of the type illustrated in (1a)–(1b) for English.

(1)  a. He found the girl discreet and sensible. (NP + XPCOMP)
   b. He found the girl to be discreet and sensible. (AcI) (Visser, 1963–1973, p. 2251)

As noted by Rytting (1999, p. 443), the view commonly held in traditional Latin grammars of the alternation under scrutiny here, including Transformational Grammar (Ouhalla, 1994, pp. 172–173) and to some extent Functional Grammar (Pinkster, 1990; Dik, 1978), is that the matrix verb plays a key role in determining the choice of one complementation strategy or another. According to this view, certain verbs subcategorize for the NP + XPCOMP construction, while others select the AcI.

However, as noted by Ritting's (1999) study of these Latin constructions in the first book of Caesar's *Bellum Civile* (henceforth bc), Cicero's first two orations against Catiline (Cat. I & II), and Suetonius' *Nero* as well as in Gonzálvez-García's (2006b) analysis of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (henceforth BC), this subcategorization view of the distribution of the complementation strategies under scrutiny here runs into serious problems. First, the same verb (e.g. *puto* ('to think')) can felicitously occur in both complementation strategies in classical Latin (i.e. ca. the first century B.C) (cf. Allen & Greenough, 1980):

(2)  (...) *maxim-um  bon-um  (esse)  in celeritat-e*
   greatest-N.SG.ACC good-N.SG.ACC INF.PRS in rapidity.FEM-SG.ABL
   *put-aba-t*
   think-PST-3SG
   (BC, XLIII, 4)
   '(...) He thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.'
   Lit. * '(…) he thought the greatest thing/success in rapidity.'

It should be emphasized from the very start that this is by no means a special property of *puto* ('to think'). As a matter of fact, as Rytting (1999, p. 446) convincingly shows, nearly all the major verbs of knowing, thinking, telling, and perceiving are attested in these two configurations in the four texts examined. Interestingly enough, the use of the NP + XPCOMP configuration with verbs of perception, cognition, and assertion, although frequent in all three authors, has received little attention. Perhaps the reason for this is to be found in the fact that some grammarians (Bolkestein, 1976, p. 286, footnote 30; Allen & Greenough, 1980, p. 314, §498a) consider the variant without infinitival *esse* ('be')(the NP + XPCOMP configuration) and the one with *esse* ('be') (the AcI configuration) to be almost identical in semantico-pragmatic terms. This is certainly a second major problem with these accounts, which fail to accommodate the fact that these two configurations have different semantico-pragmatic import and therefore are not by any means identical from a functional viewpoint.[6]

In the spirit of CxG (Goldberg, 1995), Rytting (1999, p. 455) provides the following characterizations of the NP + XPCOMP construction (Small Clause (henceforth SC) in his terminology; cf. Aarts, 1992) and the AcI construction in Classical Latin prose:[7]

(i)     The 'Small Clause' Construction: agent views proposition as a subjective judgement. For example, 'I judge this the most valuable book in my collection', i.e., it is the best one, *in my opinion*.

(ii)    The 'AcI Clause' Construction: agent views proposition as an objective fact. For example, 'I judge this to be the most valuable book in my collection', i.e., it is the best one, *in an objective, verifiable sense*.

Having provided a necessarily brief sketch of the semantico-pragmatic import of the choice between the NP + XPCOMP and the AcI constructions in Classical Latin prose,

let us now deal with the counterparts of these Latin constructions in present-day Spanish. Note that the AcI construction in Spanish, as shown in (4a)–(4b), is not felicitous in its canonical word order. The topicalization of the intervening NP functioning as the logical subject of the infinitival clause saves an otherwise unacceptable result in Spanish (see Gonzálvez-García (2010) for further discussion).

(3)  (…) [*T*]*e*      *encuentr-o*    *inteligente,    divertid-a,*
         ACC.2SG   find-PRS.1SG   intelligent[SG] funny-F.SG

*encantador-a*,    *sensible* …
charming-F.SG    sensitive[F.SG]

'I find you intelligent, funny, charming, sensitive, …'
(CREA, 1995, José Donoso, Donde van a morir los elefantes)
(NP + XPCOMP construction)

(4)  a.  (...) *la-s        gente-s      actú-an        según        lo*
             DEF.F-PL   people-PL   behave-PRS.3PL according.to DEF.N.SG

*que    cre-en            ser      ciert-o*
REL    believe-PRS.3PL   be.INF  true-M.SG

(CREA, Salvador Giner, 2001, Teoría Sociológica Básica, Ariel, Barcelona).
'(…) people behave according to what they believe to be true.'

b.  # *La-s       gente-s      cre-en           eso      ser*
       DEF.F-PL   people-PL  believe-PRS.3PL   DIST     be.INF
*ciert-o*
true-M.SG
'People believe that to be true.'
(AcI construction)

However, what is nonetheless interesting is that the present-day Spanish constructions in (4a)–(4b) preserve the semantico-pragmatic hallmarks of its Classical Latin ancestors. Thus, by way of illustration, the NP + XPCOMP construction implies a higher degree of personal (and hence subjective) involvement by the subject/speaker towards the content

of proposition envisioned in the NP + XPCOMP sequence. By contrast, the AcI construction implies a more detached stance on the part of the subject/speaker, who is not fully committed to the content of the proposition in the clause. Rather, the role of the subject/speaker is more that of a spokesperson reporting on other people's beliefs, ideas, rather than on his own universe of perceptions.

So far the analogies. In what follows we shall pinpoint some of the most important differences between the Latin and Spanish constructions under analysis here. Then we will show how the analogies and the differences between the Latin ancestors and the present-day Spanish constructions can be satisfactorily accommodated within a constructional framework.

The differences between the Latin constructions and the present-day constructions involve locational XPCOMPs and equative/identifying XPCOMPs. Let us first take a look at locational XPCOMPs. A substantial asymmetry between the use of the AcI in Latin and present-day Spanish is seen in the acceptability of locational XPCOMPs with or without *esse* ('to be') in Latin, as illustrated in (5) below:

(5)  (...)  *maxim-um*        *bon-um*        (*esse*)  *in*  *celeritat-e*
           greatest-N.SG.ACC  good-N.SG.ACC  INF.PRS  in   rapidity-FEM.SG.ABL

     *put-aba-t*
     think-PST-3SG  (XLIII, 4)

     '(...) He thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.'
     Lit. * '(…) he thought the greatest thing/success in rapidity.'

Specifically, present-day Spanish, unlike Latin, can only convey the meaning of (5) through a finite *que*-clause, given that the AcI and the NP + XPCOMP configurations yield an unacceptable result, as shown in (6a)-(6c), respectively:

(6) a. *Pens-ó*      *que*    *el*    *éxito*
think-PST.3SG    COMP    DEF.M.SG    success[M.SG]

       *depend-ía*      *de*   *la*    *rapidez*   *en*   *la*
       depend-PST.3SG    of   DEF.F.SG   speed[F.SG]   in   DEF.F.SG

       *actuación*
       doing[F.SG]
       'He thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.'

    b. \**Pens-ó*      *el*    *éxito*     *depend-er*   *de*
       think-PST.3SG   DEF.M.SG   success[M.SG]    depend-INF   of

       *la*     *rapidez*    *en*   *la*     *actuación*
       DEF.F.SG   speed[F.SG]    in   DEF.F.SG    doing[F.SG]

       'He thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.'
       Lit. 'He thought success to depend on rapidity of execution.'

    c. \**Pens-ó*      *el*    *éxito*     *en*    *la*
       think-PST.3SG   DEF.M.SG   success[M.SG]    in     DEF.F.SG

       *rapidez*   *en*   *la*      *actuación*
       speed[F.SG]   in   DEF.F.SG     doing[F.SG]

       'He thought that success depended on rapidity of execution.'
       Lit. 'He thought success in the rapidity of execution.'

An explanation for this otherwise puzzling asymmetry in present-day Spanish stems from the fact that the overwhelmingly objective, factual-like nature of locationals clashes with the subjective, evaluative construal of the NP + XPCOMP construction with cognition verbs in Spanish.

Next, consider equative/identifying XPCOMPs, which are amenable to an equative or identifying construal appear to tolerate the omission of *esse* ('to be') in some contexts in Latin, as illustrated in (7):

(7)    *Postea*      *Piso*          *in*   *citerior-em*      *Hispania-m*
       Afterwards   Piso[M.SG.NOM]   in   Hither-M.SG.ACC    Spain-F.SG.ACC

       *quaestor*    *pro*     *praetor-e*       *missus est*

quaestor     instead.of  praetor-M.SG.ABL  send.PRS.PASS.3SG

| *annit-ent-e* | *Crass-o,* | *quod* | *eum* |
|---|---|---|---|
| support-PRSPART-ABL.SG | Crassus-M.SG.ABL | COMP | 3SG.M.SG.ACC |

| (*esse*) | *infest-um* | *inimic-um* | *Cn. Pompei-o* |
|---|---|---|---|
| be.INF.PRS | bitter-M.SG.ACC | enemy-M.SG.ACC | Cneus Pompey-M.SG.DAT |

| *cognou-era-t* | (BC, XIX, 1) |
|---|---|
| know-PLUSCUAMPERFECTPRET.ACT-3SG | |

'Some time afterwards, Piso was sent as quaestor, with Praetorian authority, into Hither Spain; Crassus promoting the appointment, because he knew him to be a bitter enemy to Cneus Pompey.'
Lit. '(...), *because he had known him a bitter enemy to Cneus Pompey.'

The equative or identifying potential of the XPCOMP in (7) (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 123) lies in the feasibility of interpreting the NP *infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio* as a definite-like, reversible NP (e.g. 'Cneus Pompey's enemy') (i.e. 'Piso was Cneus Pompey's enemy'). As things stand, the asymmetry of (iii) above with respect to Spanish is two-fold: (1) the italicized equative/identifying NP expression yields a completely ungrammatical result in the NP + XPCOMP configuration in present-day Spanish on the grounds that it clashes with the original, direct, evaluative characterization required by the NP + XPCOMP construction, and (2) the lexical semantics of *cognouerat* ('had known') is also incompatible with the subjective, evaluative construal required by the NP + XPCOMP configuration. Thus, consider (8a)–(8c):

(8)  a.  

| (…) | *porque* | *siempre* | *hab-ía* | *sab-ido* | *que* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | because | always | PFVAUX-PST.3SG | know-PTCP | COMP |

| *él* | [*Piso*] | *era* | *enemig-o* | *acérrim-o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.M | Piso | be.PST.3SG | enemy-M.SG | bitter-M.SG |

| *de* | *Cneo* | *Pompeyo* |
|---|---|---|
| of | Cneus | Pompey |

'(…) because he had always known that he was a bitter enemy of Cneus Pompey.'

b. *(…) *porque    siempre   hab-ía*                    *sab-ido*        *a*
       because   always    PFVAUX-PST.3SG            know-PTCP       OBJ

   *Piso  ser      enemig-o      acérrim-o      de     Cneo   Pompeyo*
   Piso  be.INF   enemy-M.SG    bitter-M.SG    of     Cneus  Pompey

   '(…) because he had always known Piso to be a bitter enemy of Cneus Pompey.'

c. # (…) *porque   siempre   hab-ía*                    *sab-ido*        *a*
       because   always    PFVAUX-PST.3SG            know-PTCP       OBJ

   *Piso   enemig-o      acérrim-o      de     Cneo   Pompeyo*
   Piso   enemy-M.SG    bitter-M.SG    of     Cneo   Pompeyo

   #'because he had always known him a bitter enemy of Cneus Pompey.'

The general meaning of the *subjective-transitive* construction can for current purposes be summarized as follows: X (NP$_1$) expresses a high degree of direct/personal commitment towards proposition Y (NP$_2$ XPCOMP)

The general constructional meaning of the subjective-transitive construction is modulated by the lexical semantics of matrix verbs belonging to at least four relatively distinct semantic classes, *viz.* verbs of (a) "mental processes" in the sense of Halliday (1985, pp. 116–118), comprising the domains of "affection, perception and cognition", (b) calling, (c) volition, and (d) preference, thus yielding the four specific constructional senses of the construction listed in (A)–(D) below and exemplified in (9)–(12) for present-day Spanish:

(A) The *evaluative subjective-transitive* construction (with verbs of group (a) above, such as *considerar* ('consider'), *encontrar* ('find'), and *creer* ('think'), etc.): This constructional sense encodes a decidedly subjective, personal assessment on the part of

the subject/speaker (a person) about an entity (a thing or a person) on the basis of first-hand evidence, as in (9).

(9)  (…) [*T*]*e*        *encuentr-o*      *inteligente,*      *divertid-a,*
     ACC.2SG    find-PRS.1SG   intelligent[SG]  funny-F.SG

     *encantador-a*,   *sensible* …
     charming-F.SG   sensitive[F.SG]

     'I find you intelligent, funny, charming, sensitive, …'
     (CREA, 1995, José Donoso, Donde van a morir los elefantes)

Evidence for the meaning of the evaluative subjective-transitive construction stems from the fact that the cancellation of its conventional implicatures yields infelicitous results, as illustrated in (10a)–(10b):

(10)  a.  (*pero*   *no*    *tengo*          *evidencia*        *algun-a*       *de*
          but      NEG  have.PRS.3SG  evidence[SG]    INDF-F.SG     of

          *primer-a*     *mano*       *para*    *cre-er*          *eso*)
          first-F.SG    hand[SG]    PURP    believe-INF    DIST

          (#'but they do not have any first hand evidence to think so')

      b.  (…) #*pero realmente yo  no    piens-o*          *que*     *sea-s*
          but    really       1SG NEG  think-PRS.1SG  COMP  be.PRS.SBJV-2SG

          *inteligente,*    *divertid-a,*    *encantador-a, o*      *sensible*
          intelligent[SG]  funny-F.SG   charming-F.SG or       sensitive[F.SG]

          '(…) #but I really do not think that you are intelligent, funny, charming, sensitive at all.'

In other words, the speaker's assessment of the hearer as an intelligent, funny, charming, and sensitive person is based on direct, first-hand evidence rather than an other-initiated perception. As a matter of fact, the speaker forms this judgement about the addressee in the course of a face-to-face interaction, which means that his assessment draws largely on

a direct perception of the addressee. This is why the cancellation of this implicature yields an unacceptable result, as shown in (10a). In addition, the subjective-transitive construction implies a high degree of commitment by the subject/speaker towards the assessment in question. Therefore, the forceful judgement expressed by the subject/speaker is conventionally at odds with the content of (10b). Observe that such a cancellation is indeed possible with the AcI construction, because the speaker is expressing an other-initiated assessment, rather than his/her own assessment, as shown in (11):[8]

(11) *Entrevist-o          a      la       que  algun-o-s   cre-en*
     interview-PRS.1SG   OBJ   DEF.F.SG REL   some-M-PL   believe-PRS.3PL

     *ser     un-a       persona   inteligente,   divertid-a,   encantador-a,*
     be.INF  INDF-F.SG  person[SG] intelligent[SG], funny-F.SG   charming-F.SG

     *sensible           (aunque  yo    personalmente   no    creo*
     sensitive.F.SG      although 1SG   personally       NEG   think-PRS.1SG

     *que    sea-s                  así)*
     COMP   be.PRS.SBJV-2SG        like.that

     'I interview a person whom some believe to be intelligent, funny, charming and sensitive, although I personally do not believe her to be so.'

(B) The *declarative subjective-transitive* construction (with verbs of group (ii), such as *llamar* ('call'), *decir* ('say'), *declarar* ('declare'), etc.): Combinations of this type express a (ritualised or non-ritualised) verbalization of the ascription of a property by the main clause subject/speaker to the (human or non-human) entity encoded in the object slot. In much the same vein as the evaluative subjective-transitive construction, the conventional implicature of this construction cannot be felicitously cancelled. However, unlike the

16

evaluative subjective-transitive construction, the implicature of this construction sense

can be cancelled from a pragmatic point of view, as shown in (12c):

(12) *Me        llam-an        monstruo        pues        no      pued-o*
ACC.1SG call-PRS.3PL monster[M.SG]  because   NEG   can-PRS.1SG

*sal-ir        a    la        calle*
go.out-INF   to   DEF.F.SG   street[F.SG]

'They call me monster, since I cannot leave home.'
(CREA, Oral, Esta noche cruzamos el Mississippi, 22/10/96, Tele 5)

a. (#*pero no    tien-en        evidencia        algun-a        de*
but     NEG have-PRS.3PL evidence[F.SG]  INDF-F.SG     of

*primer-a        mano        para        afirm-ar        eso*)
first-F.SG      hand[F.SG]   PURP        affirm-INF   DIST

(# 'but they do not have any first hand evidence to say so').

b. (# *pero ellos no    piens-an        de verdad        que        yo*
but    3PL  NEG think-PRS.3PL of truth        COMP     1SG

*sea            un        monstruo*)
SBJV.PRS.3SG   INDF.M.SG    monster[M.SG]

(# 'but they do not really think that I am a monster').

c. (…) *aunque   no   deb-ería        hacer-le-s        caso*
although NEG   must-COND.1SG   do-DAT-PL      attention[SG]

*porque sé            que lo        dic-en        de    broma*
because know.PRS.1SG COMP ACC.3SG say-PRS.3PL    of    joke

('although I should not take them seriously because I know they are only joking').

Verbs of calling, like cognition verbs, convey in the SC construction an original personal

assessment on the part of the subject/speaker towards the proposition in the complement

clause. In other words, the assessment is based on some sort of direct perceptual

experience (e.g. after having dealt with the addressee in person). By virtue of this, the

cancellation of this conventional implicature yields an infelicitous result, as illustrated in (12a). However, calling verbs differ from cognition verbs in allowing this conventional implicature to be cancelled on specific occasions, given an adequate supporting context. The conversational cancellation of the implicature of verbs of calling with the SC construction is possible, among other things, because one may, for instance, say, in the heat of the moment, something bad about someone without really meaning it. Thus, for instance, the verbalization of the speaker's judgement/assessment of a given entity (a person or a thing) on a particular occasion may not necessarily coincide with the actual general assessment/judgment that the speaker has of the person and/or entity in question. This is the case, for instance, when, in a joking mood, the speaker utters his/her judgement, although it is clear from the situational context that s/he does not really mean that, as in (12c). Finally, in much the same vein as cognition verbs, verbs of calling convey in the SC construction a forceful judgment/assessment, implying a high degree of commitment by the subject/speaker, which cannot be conventionally cancelled, as shown in (12b).

(C) The *manipulative subjective-transitive* construction (with verbs of group (iii), such as *querer* ('want'), *ordenar* ('order'), etc.): These configurations convey a direct/indirect, strong, target-oriented, goal-direct manipulation instigated by the main clause subject/speaker of the process/action/state of affairs encoded in the complement clause.

(13)  *Quer-emos         a      Ángel    libre.*
      want-PRS.1PL      OBJ    Angel    free[M.SG]

      'We want Angel free.'
      (CREA, 1985, El País, 02/02/1985: 3.000 personas marcharon en silencio contra el secuestro del industrial)

a. (#*pero no pas-a nada si ETA finalmente*
   but   NEG  happen-PRS.3SG  nothing[SG]   if  ETA  finally

   *decid-e           no    liber-ar-lo*)
   decide-PRS.3SG  NEG  free-INF-ACC.3SG

   (# 'but it's OK if the terrorist organization ETA eventually decides not
   to set him free').

From a semantico-pragmatic viewpoint, this construction sense has the illocutionary force of imperatives. Specifically, (13) conveys an instance of what Givón (1980) calls "strong manipulation": the Spanish civilian population urges the terrorist organization ETA to release Angel immediately. This is why (13a), which implies "weak manipulation" (as in e.g. a wish, or a request), is not a felicitous follow-up for (13), which encodes a sharp, categorical order.

(D) The *generic subjective-transitive* construction (with verbs of group (iv), such as *gustar* ('like'), *preferir* ('prefer'), *desear* ('wish'), etc.): This constructional sense conveys the expression of a *general* preference (hence the label "generic") by the speaker/subject in personal and direct terms, as illustrated by (14).

(14) *Me        gust-a        la         carne      poco*
     DAT.1SG  like-PRS.3SG  DEF.F.SG  meat[F.SG]  little

     *hech-a.*
     do.CPTP-F.SG

     'I like my meat rare.'
     http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=336634730127

a. (#*pero yo   no    tengo        preferencia       algun-a*
   but    1SG  NEG  have-PRS.3SG  preference[F.SG]    INDF-F.SG

   *acerca de   cómo  quier-o       la        carne*
   about  of   how   want-PRS.1SG  DEF.F.SG  meat[SG]

   *normalmente*).

normally
(#'but I do not have any preference as to how I normally have my meat').

Example (14) conveys an ambiguous statement as to how exactly the subject/speaker likes his meat. This is why (14) cannot be felicitously followed with an utterance such as (14a). Interestingly enough, instances of the generic subjective-transitive construction can be conversationally interpreted as having a directive illocutionary force, as in the case of the manipulative subjective-transitive construction. Thus, for instance, example (14), if uttered by a customer in a restaurant, could be interpreted by the waiter as a command to serve him his meat rare.

By way of summary, the main generalizations regarding the evaluative-subjective transitive construction can be formalized following the Goldbergian format as in Figure 1 below (see Gonzálvez-García, 2009 for the anatomy of the other senses of the subjective transitive construction):[9]

**Figure 1.** The anatomy of the (evaluative) subjective-transitive construction in Spanish.
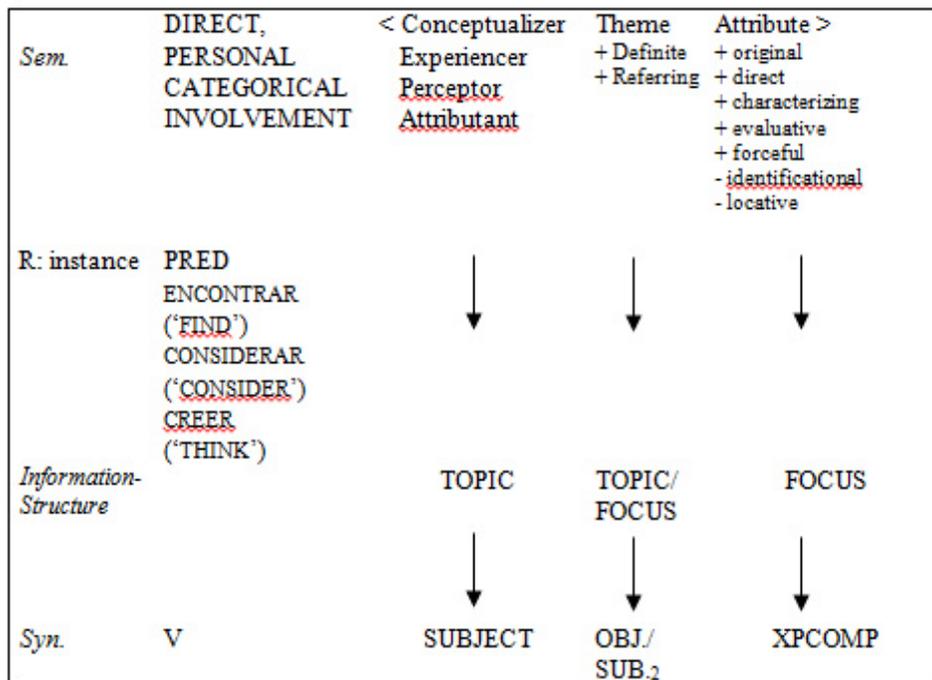
The properties of the *subjective-transitive* construction in modern-day Spanish can thus be summarized as follows:

(a) The construction contributes a high degree of personal, direct commitment by the subject/speaker that cannot be attributed to the lexical verb or to any other construction;

(b) The SUBJ role must be filled with an animate (preferably human) experiencer (subtypes A and B) or instigator (subtypes B and C);

(c) The construction links STIMULUS (subtypes A and B) and AFFECTED role with OBJ function (subtypes C and D). On this view, elements with a specific profile are more felicitous in this slot, since these can be construed as stimuli of the vision/evaluation or as targets of the action being instigated;

(d) The XPCOMP cannot be a referential NP on the grounds that it is systematically incompatible with a subjective construal (at an ideational or interpersonal level).

In order to put the above characterization of the subjective-transitive construction into a diachronic perspective, two important considerations are necessarily in order here. First, the Spanish NP + XPCOMP construction is generally assumed to be a direct descendant of its Latin counterpart.[10] Although object complements remain largely unexplored in Latin grammars (see further Ernout & Thomas, 1972, pp. 3–38; Fiol, 1987, p. 26; Bassols, 1945, p. 193; 1987, p. 60; Pinkster, 1995, *inter alios*), most historical grammars of Spanish address the evolution of the Latin double accusative construction (*Pueros grammaticam docere* 'to teach the children grammar') into (medieval) Spanish (Kenniston, 1937; Urrutia Cárdenas & Álvarez Álvarez, 1988; Cano Aguilar, 1988;

Penny, 1933). Specifically, Lapesa (1964) points out that in Romance the above-mentioned Latin construction gives rise to instances of the ditransitive construction and the NP + XPCOMP construction, especially frequent with *call*-type verbs. As shown in Báez Montero (1988), the NP + XPCOMP construction is already attested in medieval Spanish with verbs of causation/volition and, to some extent, also with cognition/sensory perception verbs. By contrast, verbs of liking and preference are not found in this construction in this period; they begin to appear in this construction in Modern Spanish. Interestingly enough, the four features outlined above for the subjective-transitive construction in present-day Spanish are already observable in its medieval Spanish counterpart (see further Báez Montero, 1988).

A diachronic picture of the evolution of the NP + XPCOMP construction from Latin into Spanish is not, however, complete until this construction is examined against the background of the AcI construction, with special focus on the competition between these two constructions. As Pons (2008, p. 125) observes, it is not entirely clear whether the AcI is borrowed into Spanish from Latin, as argued by Lapesa (1957, p. 166), or from another cultural imitative language such as Italian. This construction is on the rise in the 15th century; it is still present in official and formal writings in the 16th century (see Pountain, 1998, pp. 170–171, and Pons, 2008, pp. 124–125 for representative examples). As pointed out by Pountain (1998, p. 189), the AcI "steadily falls out of favor, even in literary registers, between the 17th century and the present day". An overview of the different types of AcI in Spanish and their chronology is represented in Figure 2:

**Figure 2.** The diachronic evolution of the Spanish AcI (adapted from Pons, 2008, p. 137).

| (a) | (b) | (c) |
|---|---|---|
| *Yo veo a Ana venir* | *Veo (a) Ana ser buena* | *Rafa dice Ana ser buena* |
| 'I see Ana come' | Lit. 'I see Ana be good' | Lit. Rafa says Ana to be good |
| From the beginning to the present-day | XIII-XIV centuries ▪subject of the infinitive with the preposition *a* ▪not very frequent | XV century (rise) |
| | XV century ▪subject of the infinitive without the preposition *a* ▪much more frequent | XVIII (demise) |
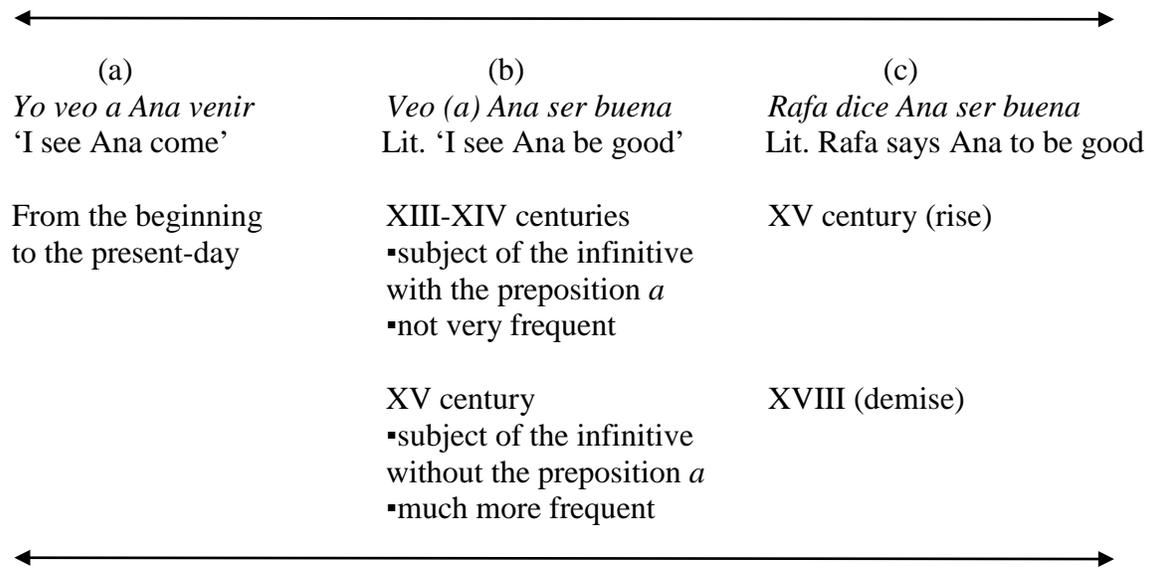
One of the main reasons for the demise of the ACI in Spanish is the competition with the much more frequent finite clause complementation (Pountain, 1998, p. 189; Pons, 2008, p. 138). In present-day Spanish, the AcI has a restricted distribution, and is found mainly in formal (usually legal) texts as well as in newspapers (see further Gonzálvez-García, 2010).

Space limitations preclude us from discussing in detail the earlier stages of development of this construction in other Romance languages. But we think that this case study of Latin and Spanish nicely exemplifies how this methodology can be applied to the study of the development of SCs in other Romance languages (see Contreras, 1987; Heycock, 1994; Cardinaletti & Guasti, 1995; Ionescu, 1998, *inter alios*) from a constructional point of view, eventually leading to a more comprehensive comparative analysis between Romance languages form both a synchronic and diachronic point of view.

## 4. Comparing constructions in Romance languages: Synchronic issues

While the focus of constructional analyses since the late 1980s has been primarily on English, a few studies began to apply constructional insights to synchronic aspects of Romance languages in the 1990s. This interest came not only from the insight that CxG has a number of empirical and theoretical advantages over other linguistic theories (see Croft (2001) and Michaelis (2012) for a discussion), but also from the fact that the notion of grammatical construction is readily applicable to languages other than English.

To illustrate, compare the examples in Table 1, which illustrate Goldberg's (2006) list of English constructions together with their Spanish counterparts. A comparison shows that English constructions at different levels of the syntax-lexicon continuum have more or less direct counterparts in Spanish, from morphemes all the way to more abstract constructions such as the ditransitive and the passive. As such it should come as no surprise that the concept of grammatical construction has been directly applied to Romance languages. For example, Martínez Vázquez (2003) presents a collection of case studies of basic argument structure constructions in Spanish, while other constructional analyses of Spanish address mostly verb complementation (Hilferty & Valenzuela, 2001; Gonzálvez-García, 2009), second language acquisition (Martínez Vázquez, 2004; Valenzuela & Rojo, 2008), grammaticalization (e.g., Gonzálvez-García, 2006a; Garachana Camarero, 2008), and coercion (Gonzálvez-García, 2007, 2011).

Grammatical constructions have proven useful as a tool for analyzing other Romance languages, too. For example, Masini (2005) offers a constructional analysis of Italian verb-particle constructions, showing that certain phrasal constructions may

24

functionally correspond to morphologically complex words, while more recently Torre (2011) investigates the nature of Italian caused-motion constructions. With regards to other Romance languages, Lambrecht (1986) offers one of the first constructional accounts of information structure in French. Other constructional accounts of French data include Lambrecht and Lemoine (2005) on definite null objects in spoken French, and Bergen and Plauché (2005) on deictic constructions.

**Table 1.** Examples of English constructions and their Spanish counterparts, varying in size and complexity (based on Goldberg, 2006, p. 5).

| Construction | English form/example | Spanish form/example |
|---|---|---|
| Morpheme | e.g. *anti-*, *pre-*, *-ing* | *anti*-N (e.g. *antinuclear* 'antinuclear'), *pre*-N (e.g. *prepedido*, 'pre-sell') |
| Word | e.g. *avocado*, *anaconda*, *and* | e.g. *idiosincrasia* ('idiosyncrasy'), *democracia* ('democracy') |
| Complex word | e.g. *daredevil*, *shoo-in* | e.g. *pagafantas* ('friend zone'), *caradura* ('cheeky') |
| Idiom (filled) | e.g. *going great guns* | e.g. *ponerse el mundo por montera* ('to swing the world by its tail'), *prometérselas muy felices* ('to have high hopes') |
| Idiom (partially filled) | e.g. *jog <someone's> memory* | (e.g. *¿Por qué no intentarlo?* 'Why not try it?', *tener (a alguien) en gran estima* 'to hold (somebody) in esteem') |
| Covariational Conditional | The Xer the Yer (e.g. *The more you think about it, the less you understand*) | *Cuanto* X, *expresión comparativa* Y 'Cuanto X, comparative expression Y' (e.g. *Cuanto más lo pienso, más dudas tengo* 'The more I think about it, the more doubtful I am', *Cuanto antes, mejor* ('The sooner, the better')) |
| Resultative | Subj Obj OBL$_{AP/PP}$ (e.g. *Joe painted the barn red.*) | Subj, V, DO, SXCOMP (e.g. *Dejó el plato bien limpio* ('He left the dish clean'), *Raid los mata bien muertos* ('Raid kills them stone dead')) |
| Passive | Subj Aux VP$_{PP}$ (PP$_{by}$) (e.g. *the armadillo was hit by a car*) | Subj, V (Auxiliary + Past participle), Prepositional Phrase (e.g. *El alumno fue premiado por el profesor* ('The student was awarded by the teacher'), *América fue descubierta por Cristóbal Colón* ('America was discovered by Christopher Columbus')) |

While all the above-mentioned studies fruitfully apply the concept of grammatical construction as developed on the basis of English to a Romance language, they do not

offer any systematic strategy for comparing and contrasting constructions with their counterparts in other languages. A first step towards that goal is offered by the contributions in Boas (2010b), which each reference a well-described constructional phenomenon in English, thereby providing a solid foundation for describing and analyzing their constructional counterparts in another language. This approach shows that the semantic description (including discourse-pragmatic factors) of an English construction can be regarded as a first step towards a "tertium comparationis" that can be employed for comparing and contrasting the formal properties of constructional counterparts in other languages. Thus, the meaning pole of constructions should be regarded as the primary basis for comparisons of constructions across languages – the form pole is only secondary. The papers all show that constructions make it possible to capture both language-specific (idiosyncratic) properties as well as cross-linguistic generalizations.

The useful implementations of a contrastive constructionist approach to Romance language can, for instance, be appreciated in the findings afforded by the application of coercion to the description and explanation of specific phenomena in Romance languages. The notion of coercion is invoked in both CxG to handle a number of exceptional cases in which lexical items are combined with elements, whether via morphology or syntax, that they do not license semantically (Michaelis, 2003, p. 261, 2004). Thus, coercion can be understood as the resolution of a conflict between constructional and lexical denotata (Michaelis, 2003, p. 264). Coercion constitutes a compelling argument for a constructionist account insofar as constructional meaning always wins over lexical meaning in the resolution of the meaning conflict in question.

Let us now dwell on the specific contribution of coercion to a better understanding of specific phenomena in Romance languages. For ease of exposition, let us consider the case of the NP + XPCOMP construction after verbs of cognition in Spanish. In this connection, Demonte and Masullo (1999, p. 2503) observe that, despite the fact that this construction allows for verbs expressing opinion, verbs such as *pensar* ('think') and *opinar* ('to express an opinion'), among others, are nonetheless ungrammatical in this construction, as illustrated in (15):

(15) a. *Lo          piens-o             conveniente*
        3SG.ACC   think-PRS.1SG     convenient[SG]
        'I think it convenient.'

    b. *Lo          opin-o                    conveniente*
        3SG.ACC   give.an.opinion-PRS.1SG     convenient[SG]
        'My opinion is that it's convenient.'

    c. *Lo          consider-o          conveniente*
        3SG.ACC   consider-PRS.1SG     convenient[SG]
        'I consider it convenient.'

However, when grammar is inspected at a higher level of resolution, an important objection can be levelled against Demonte and Masullo's generalization. In this connection, Gonzálvez-García (2007) shows that the verb *pensar* ('think') is nonetheless acceptable in the subjective-transitive construction with the proviso that the object slot is filled in by a reflexive pronoun (as in (16a)) rather than a full lexical NP (as in (16b)).

(16) a. *Ramón   quizá    se      piens-a          líder          de*
        Ramón   perhaps  3SG.REFL   think-PRS.3SG   leader[M.SG]   of

        *es-e          otr-o          fascismo          musolinian-o          y*
        DIST.M-SG   other-M.SG   fascism[M.SG]   Mussolinean-M.SG   and

        *español*
        Spanish[M.SG]

'Ramón perhaps thinks himself the leader of that other Mussolinean and Spanish fascism.'
(CREA, 1995, Francisco Umbral, Leyenda del César Visionario, Novela)

b. * *Ramón*  *piens-a*   *a*   *tu*   *herman-o* / *a*   *él*
Ramón   think-PRS.3SG  OBJ  2SG.POSS  brother-M.SG  OBJ  3SG

*líder*   *de*  *es-e*   *otr-o*   *fascismo*
leader[M.SG] of  DIST-M.SG  other-M.SG  fascism[M.SG]

*musolinian-o*   *y*   *español*
Mussolinean-M.SG  and  Spanish[M.SG]

'Ramón perhaps thinks your brother/him the leader of that other Mussolinean and Spanish fascism.'

The upshot is that the verb *pensar* ('think'), despite its objective coloring and its preference for a finite *que* complement clause, can be accommodated into the subjective-transitive construction via a reflexive pronoun.[11] On this view, the verb *pensar* ('think') is construed as expressing a personal, subjective assessment, thus being drawn into the orbit of evaluative verbs with a more subjective flavor, such as *considerar* ('consider'). Thus, what has been regarded as an idiosyncratic fact is, in the light of coercion, shown to be amenable to a semantico-pragmatic explanation and fully consistent with usage facts.

While the range of languages and constructions demonstrates that the contrastive approach is indeed promising, the contributions in Boas (2010b) do not offer a coherent view of constructions in languages belonging to the same language family. This volume offers a first step towards overcoming this issue, among others, by bringing together, for the first time, a set of original chapters that demonstrate how constructional insights can be fruitfully applied to different Romance languages. We hope that future research will take the analyses presented in the individual chapters and apply them to other Romance

languages to arrive at more comprehensive contrastive analyses than those offered by the contributions in Boas (2010b). The following section provides an overview of the chapters in this volume.


## 5. Overview of chapters


The first group of chapters presents analyses of very specific types of construction on the syntax-lexicon continuum. Yoon's *The role of constructional meanings in novel verb-noun compounds in Spanish* examines native speakers' comprehension and production of novel [Verb + Noun (V + N)] compounds in Spanish (e.g., *sacacorchos* ('pulls-out corks [corkscrew]')). It is based on insights drawn from constructional approaches (Boas, 2003; 2005; Lakoff, 1987; Goldberg, 1995, 2006, among others). Yoon argues for a distinction between two types of [V + N] compound constructions in Spanish: Type 1 involves higher transitivity in its associated predicate that normally involves a true patient (e.g., *limpiabotas* ('cleans-boots [shoeshine boy]')), and crucially, this compound type suggests a potential beneficiary of the action. The semantics of the predicate associated with Type 1 compounds can be formalized as 'X causes Y to alter its state, and causes Z to receive the result of the action (X = $NP_1$ [agent or instrument], Y = $NP_2$ [patient], Z = $NP_3$ [beneficiary])'. On the other hand, Type 2 compounds do not presuppose a potential beneficiary of an action, and normally involve a lower degree of transitivity in their associated predicates (e.g., *tientaparedes* ('feels-walls [one who gropes his/her way]')). The semantics of the predicate associated with the Type 2 compound can be formulated

as 'X does Y (X = NP [agent], Y = XP [theme]), or X goes Y (X = NP [agent], Y = PP [locative or temporal elements])'.

Yoon's chapter then focuses on the issue of productivity of Spanish [V + N] compounds based on experiments that consist of comprehension and production tasks, thereby seeking answers to the following questions: (1) Do the two types of [V + N] compound construction really exist in language users' grammar? (2) If so, what is the role of the constructional meanings proposed for each of the two Spanish [V + N] compound types in comprehending and creating novel compounds? The results of the comprehension task reveals that the participants tend to interpret some novel compounds only as a Type 1 compound in which a potential beneficiary of the actions is evoked in an action scenario and the object involved in the action is more likely to be affected; they associate other novel compounds only with the Type 2 meaning if such an interpretation was not available. The majority of the novel compounds, however, are interpreted either as Type 1 or Type 2, depending on whether the participants highlighted the resultant state of the action in which the presence of the potential beneficiary of such an actions is suggested. The results of the production task reveal that the participants create numerous examples of creative novel compounds with a wide range of lexical items, but the method of creation was not a random process; it was regulated by the core constructional meanings of either the Type 1 or Type 2 compound construction. Yoon thus proposes that the two types of constructional meanings play a crucial role in the comprehension and creation of novel compounds (see constructional coercion in Michaelis, 2003, 2004), but external constraints such as world knowledge in a particular dialect of the language (Boas, 2005), item-specific knowledge about the individual instances of lexical items and

related expressions (Goldberg, 2006; Tomasello, 2003), and a relation between frequencies and analogies (Bybee, 1995; Bybee & Eddington, 2006; Bybee & Hopper, 2001), are also deemed important in order to fully understand the cognitive mechanism that regulates the productivity of the Spanish [V + N] compound.

The second chapter in this section is Lauwers' *From lexicalization to constructional generalizations: On complex prepositions in French*, which deals with complex prepositions (=CPs) in French, where phrases behave externally like prepositions (cf. {*sous l'emprise (manifeste) de / à cause de / par*} *l'alcool* ('under the (clear) influence of / because of / by alcohol')). More specifically, Lauwers examines (semi-fixed and fixed) CPs introduced by the preposition *sous* ('under'), focussing on the construction [*sous* + definite article + $N_1$ + (adj.) + *de* + $NP_2$] expressing 'mediate dependency': e.g. *X sous le contrôle de Y* ('X is subordinate/subject to Y [= $NP_2$] in a way specified by $N_1$'). The more than 100 CPs investigated in his study clearly display stable semantic and syntactic properties that are related to the Mediate Dependency Construction as a whole: (1) the obligatory presence of the definite article, (2) which is invariably singular, (3) and of a PP introduced by *de.* These formal properties cannot be ascribed to the central noun $N_1$, as shown by its obligatoriness (i.e. *le contrôle*), by the blocking of the second argument of $N_1$ (\**sous le contrôle des passagers par la police* ('the control of the passengers by the police')) and by the unusual formal encoding of the agent/source: *sous la souvegarde des forces françaises* [agent] vs. *la sauvegarde des forces françaises* [patient] / *la sauvegarde du Congo* [patient] *par les forces françaises* [agent]) ('the protection of the French forces'). (4) As to semantics, the construction is rather transparent, but displays its own meaning, yielding coercion effects with respect to

the central noun (which denotes an action, a property or an instrument/body part), as witnessed by the semantics of its adjectival modifiers (e.g. *sous la férule avisée de* Mme Cagneux ('under the well-informed ferule of')) and by the obligatory presence of a PP (which is not obligatory elsewhere). These coercion effects – some of which, admittedly, have become conventionalized – indirectly argue for a constructional semantics. Lauwers' analysis reveals the conditions in which (productive) coercion effects can show up. For instance, nouns referring to instruments need to be associated with the wielding of power in the socio-cultural context (e.g. the referee's whistle *in sous le sifflet de*). Thus, this chapter argues for a two-way interaction between lexical meaning and constructional meaning (⇡↓), the former restricting coercion / constructional overrides (see proposals in Goldberg, 1995; discussion in Boas, 2003; 2011).

The second set of chapters consists of three contributions on constructions that are all considerably more abstract than those in the first section. The first chapter in this set is Willems and Blanche-Benveniste's *A constructional corpus-based approach to weak verbs in French*, who claim that 'weak' verbs are often treated in linguistic literature from a merely pragmatic point of view: they are characterized as "parenthetical ", "evidential," or "epistemic" verbs, and, through a process of advanced grammaticalization or pragmaticalization, often are assimilated with adverbs. The authors first argue that those verbs do not undergo a change of category but simply remain verbs and that they can be fruitfully described in a constructional framework: on their view, they enter a specific construction, an original pairing of syntactic properties with a specific meaning. In French, 'weak' verbs, particularly frequent in spoken discourse, occur in a cluster of three related structures, revealing the same semantic meaning of

"mitigation": (1) *je trouve que c'est dommage* ('I think that this is a pity'), (2) *c'est dommage je trouve* ('this is a pity, I think'), and (3) *c'est dommage – oui je trouve* ('it's a pity – yes I think'). Other verbs can enter one of those syntactic patterns, but only with the "weak" verbs do all three possibilities occur. The three related structures present interesting differences in word order and scope. They are often used by speakers of French in an alternative way:  Loc 1 – *elle y est* toujours je crois *l'école* ('it is still there, I believe, the school') and Loc 2 – *je crois qu'elle y est toujours cette école* ('I believe that the school is still there'). Based on corpus data from spoken French, the authors compile an inventory of verbs entering the construction and focus on the three most frequent verbs in modern French (*je crois* ('I believe'), *je pense* ('I think'), and *je trouve* ('I find')) by describing the syntactic properties of each realization and the specific selectional properties of each verb. Each of those three verbs can enter other constructions, with different meanings. The link between the "strong" and "weak" meanings of those verbs has been described as semantic bleaching, which would be conform to the "grammaticalization" analysis. However, this is just a case of verbal polysemy and the coexistence of different meanings linked to different constructional properties.

Nikolaeva's *The narrative infinitive construction in French and Latin* is the second chapter in the second set. It focuses on root infinitives (RI), i.e. infinitives used in matrix contexts. Using French and Latin data, this chapter first argues that previous syntactic-centric research (e.g. Kayne, 1992; Haegeman, 1995; Han, 2000) are problematic because such 'reductionist' analyses have to posit idiosyncratic syntactic elements, which do not exist in contexts other than those for which they are posited. Nikolaeva argues that RIs form a natural class only inasmuch as they represent

independently used non-finite forms. Each type can be analyzed as a construction in its own right. This leads her to propose an alternative Construction Grammar analysis of RIs, which shows that illocutionary force is directly incorporated into the formal representation of a syntactic pattern. On her view, illocutionary forces are not semantic values but higher-level constructions that are exclusively defined in pragmatic and semantic terms and lack any morpho-syntactic content. However, they may motivate the morpho-syntactic properties of their actual realizations. Abstract illocutionary 'super-constructions' are further associated with particular linguistic forms and such associations become lower-level constructions. In other words, each illocutionary construction licenses a family of sub-constructions that inherit its semantico-pragmatic properties but are subject to different formal constraints. These observations lead Nikolaeva to argue that RIs share their basic meanings with other syntactic patterns. For example, the abstract Directive Construction is taken to be the grammatical corollary of the directive speech act. It licenses the family of imperative constructions, i.e. syntactic configurations whose structure contributes the semantic content associated with the Directive Construction and is to some extent motivated by it. Both Imperative RIs and regular imperatives are actual instances of the abstract Directive Construction, and some of their basic grammatical and semantic properties follow from this categorization. Narrative RIs inherit certain properties of the Declarative Construction, and so on. On this analysis information provided by the verbal form and information provided by the construction are clearly separated. The illocutionary force is not projected from the specification of the main verb, but is a property incorporated into the description of the constructional pattern, whereas the verbal form (the infinitive) is basically deprived of any illocutionary

34

meaning of its own. This allows the same infinitival form to be used in a variety of independent functions.

The last chapter in this section is Gonzálvez-García's *Bringing together fragments and constructions: Evidence from complementation in English and Spanish*. Gonzálvez-García first reviews Thompson's (2002) analysis of (object) finite complements, which proposes that complement-taking predicates together with their subjects are stored as epistemic/evidential/evaluative fragments. Based on corpus-based spoken language data, he then examines whether this analysis can also be applied to complementation strategies with greater syntactico-semantic compression, such as verbless complement clauses (or, alternatively, "small clauses") after cognition verbs in English (e.g. *think*, *consider*, *find*, *believe*, etc.) and Spanish (*considerar* ('consider'), *ver* ('see'), *encontrar* ('find'), *creer* ('think')), as in *The Chinese consider the dry testicles of balls a great aphrodisiac* (BNC) and *Yo ese tramo lo considero fundamental* (CREA) ('I consider that path essential'). The verbless clause frame is shown to display a number of intricate constraints on the semantico-pragmatic profile of the entity in the object slot and the obligatory predicative phrase (XPCOMP) with a structural impact, which cannot be adequately accommodated within Thompson's analysis.

To solve this issue, this chapter argues that the entity in the object slot is usually specific, since it functions semantically as the STIMULUS of perception by the subject/speaker. This explains, among other things, why e.g. existential *there* in English – which conveys an abstract setting – is barred in this environment, but is nonetheless acceptable in the finite counterpart as in *He believed there \*(to be) new genera amongst them* (BNC) versus *He believed that there were new genera amongst them*. In addition,

the XPCOMP should encode an original, direct stance by the subject/speaker implying a high degree of commitment towards the state of affairs envisioned in the complement clause. Crucially, this restriction does not hold for the corresponding finite-clause counterparts, which allow identifying XPCOMPs such as proper nouns. The most significant difference concerns information structure: The verbless clause configurations frequently occur in spoken Spanish with a preverbal unstressed clitic featuring an unambiguous structural object marking, *viz. lo* giving discourse prominence to an explicit or implicit co-referential fronted constituent. The overall conclusion is that there is indeed evidence for the existence of fragments such as *find X difficult* or *lo veo difícil* ('I see it difficult') in spoken English and Spanish. At the same time, broadest generalizations of the type captured by Goldbergian constructions (Goldberg, 2006) are nonetheless necessary to account for otherwise puzzling restrictions on the entity in the object slot and the XPCOMP, at least from the point of view of decoding (see Boas, 2008 for the implications for encoding). Finally, this paper discusses the nature of three other sub-constructions after verbs of saying, volition and preference and which, taken together, form the family of object-related depictives in English and Spanish.

The last set of chapters deals with fairly abstract grammatical constructions in Romance languages. Abeillé, Blbîie, and Mouret's *A Romance perspective on gapping constructions* discusses non-constituent coordination phenomena (e.g. Right Node Raising, Argument Cluster Coordination and Gapping). These remain a challenge for both derivational and non derivational frameworks relying on phrase structure, the most widespread view being that apparent 'non-constituents' involve some 'elliptical' process The basic issue raised by gapping constructions such as "[John ate an apple] and [[Mary]

[a banana]]" is the one raised by ellipsis in general, namely to determine at which level the missing material is to be reconstructed. Focusing on some important divergences between elliptical constructions and their sentential correlates this chapter analyzes new data from Romanian against approaches that rely on syntactic reconstruction with deletion (or some null pro-form) in the ellipsis site. This chapter also discusses some problems with accepting parallelism as a strong constraint: the constituents of the fragment may vary from their antecedents, according to grammatical category, case, number of valents or word order, but every constituent of the cluster must obey subcategorization rules imposed by missing predicate. This leads the authors to argue for 'semantic' parallelism (i.e. contrast relation between constituents of the full sentence and elements in the cluster, cf. Hartmann, 2000), but not necessarily syntactic symmetry. On this view, the gapped conjunct is a verbless fragment, which is best analyzed under a fragment-based analysis (with semantic reconstruction), in a construction-based Head-Phrase Structure Grammar framework (Pollard & Sag, 1994).

The final chapter, Johan Pedersen's *Variable type framing in Spanish constructions of directed motion*, offers a fresh look at Talmy's (2000) typological differences of lexicalization between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages. Based on corpus data, Pedersen discusses "non-fitting" evidence from Romance languages, mostly Spanish, specifically pleonastic expression of path in telic expressions of the motion event in Spanish, expressions of telic events with manner verbs in Spanish, and the characteristic verb-particle construction in Italian dialects. More specifically, the chapter proposes some principles that concern limited variability in framing and cross-linguistic variation of schematicity in syntax. On the one hand, Pedersen suggests that the

framing event in expressions of complex events in principle may vary intra-linguistically. For instance, some meaning of state change may prototypically be framed as a state change event (e.g. 'X causes Y to become X') and further specified (e.g. the causal factor). It may, however, also be framed as a simple transitive event, and further elaborated (e.g. specifying the causal factor or the effect). On the other hand Pedersen argues that languages may differ according to the level of constructional specificity at which the framing event is organized, and that the typology is anchored in this difference. English (and other Germanic languages) tends to organize the framing event (e.g. resultative meaning) in schematic constructions, leaving secondary information for lexical elaboration and further constructional specification. Spanish (and other Romance languages) seems to organize the framing event in lexical constructions, leaving secondary information for schematically organized specification.

## 6. Conclusions

We think that this volume offers a number of interesting insights to both specialists and non-specialists. First, it brings together a set of original chapters that demonstrate how constructional insights are applied to a variety of Romance languages. The chapters illustrate how different flavors of CxG can be applied to specific phenomena in Romance languages, ranging from the well-established formulations by Goldberg and Boas (e.g., Lauwers; Yoon; Gonzálvez-García) to most recent ones like Sign-based Construction

Grammar (Nikolaeva). Moreover, the contribution by Pedersen also shows a fruitful integration of CxG(s) with the work of cognitive linguists like Talmy.

Second, the chapters in this volume fill a gap in a much demanded area among European linguists, namely, Contrastive Grammar. More than half of the volume consists of corpus-based papers which show the useful implementations of what has been labelled Contrastive Construction Grammar (Boas, 2010b) as discussed in Section 2 above. More specifically, a considerable number of contributions focus on English and Spanish (Yoon; Gonzálvez-García; Pedersen), while Nikolaeva deals with French and Latin. These comparisons offer a fresh perspective by shedding light on how languages realize the same meaning/function different at the syntactic level.

Third, this volume offers converging usage-based evidence in favour of a constructionist approach from different languages such as French (Willems & Blanche-Benveniste) and Spanish (Gonzálvez-García) on a controversial issue, such as the fragment analysis of finite sentential complements after verbs of cognition outlined in Thompson (2002). The conclusions ensuing from these contributions provide useful insights into the construction vs. fragment dilemma among practitioners of the Emergent Grammar/Interactional Linguistics approach (see Fox, 2007), such as Thompson, Ford, Fox, Bybee, etc. (see Newmeyer, 2010 for further discussion).

Finally, some of the chapters show how diachronic analysis can be integrated into a constructional analysis (e.g. Lauwers on lexicalization of French complex prepositions; Nikolaeva on root infinitive constructions in French and Latin), thereby contributing to the growing body of work in diachronic CxG (Hilpert, 2008, 2013; Fried, 2013). We hope that this unique collection of chapters will not only spark more interest among

Romance linguists in CxG, but also among construction grammarians in the intricate relationships (both historically and synchronically) between Romance languages.

**REFERENCES**

Aarts, B. (1992). *Small clauses in English: The non-verbal types*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Allen, J. H., & Greenough, J. B. (1980). *Allen and Greenough's new Latin grammar*. New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Brothers, Publishers. [Revision of the 1883 edition.]

Báez Montero, I. C. (1988). *La construcción con predicativo del complemento directo en castellano medieval*. Vigo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad.

Baicchi, A. (2011). Metaphoric motivation in grammatical structure. The case of the caused-motion construction from the perspective of the Lexical-Constructional Model. In G. Radden, & K-U. Panther (Eds.), *Motivation in grammar and the lexicon* (pp. 149–170). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barðdal, J. (2004). The semantics of the impersonal construction in Icelandic, German and Faroese: Beyond thematic roles. In W. Abraham (Ed.), *Focus on Germanic typology* [Studia Typologica, 6] (pp. 101–130). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Barðdal, J. (2008). *Productivity. Evidence from case and argument structure in Icelandic* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 8]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barðdal, J. (2013). Construction-based historical-comparative reconstruction. In T. Hoffmann, & G. Trousdale (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Construction Grammar* (pp. 438–457). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barðdal, J. & Eythórsson, Th. (2012). Reconstructing syntax: Construction Grammar and the comparative method. In H. C. Boas, & I. Sag (Eds.), *Sign-based Construction Grammar* (pp. 257–308). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Bassols de Climent, M. (1945). *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua latina*. Barcelona: CSIC.

Bergen, B. K., & Plauché, M. (2001). *Voilà voilà*: Extensions of deictic constructions in French. In A. Cienki, B. Luka, & M. Smith (Eds.), *Conceptual and discourse factors in linguistic structure* (pp. 238–249). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Bergen, B. K., & Plauché, M. (2005). The convergent evolution of radial constructions: French and English deictics and existential. *Cognitive Linguistics, 16*(1), 1–42.

Bergs, A. & Diewald, G. (Eds.). (2008). *Constructions and language change*. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Bisang, W, (2008). Precategoriality and argument structure in Late Archaic Chinese. In J. Leino (Ed.), *Constructional reorganization* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 5] (pp. 55–88). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Boas, H. C. (2003). *A constructional approach to resultatives*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Boas, H. C. (2005). Determining the productivity of resultative constructions: A reply to Goldberg & Jackendoff. *Language, 81*(2), 448–464.

Boas, H. C. (2006). A frame-semantic approach to identifying syntactically relevant elements of meaning. In P. Steiner, H.C. Boas, & S. Schierholz (Eds.), *Contrastive studies and valency. Studies in honor of Hans Ulrich Boas* (pp. 119–149). Frankfurt & New York: Peter Lang.

Boas, H. C. (2008). Determining the structure of lexical entries and grammatical constructions in Construction Grammar. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics, 6*, 113–144.

Boas, H. C. (2010a). Comparing constructions across languages. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar* (pp. 1–20). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Boas, H. C. (Ed.). (2010b). *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Boas, H. C. (2011). Coercion and leaking argument structure in Construction Grammar. *Linguistics, 49*(6), 1271–1303.

Bolkestein, A. M. (1976). A.c.i.- and *ut*-clauses with verba dicendi in Latin. *Glotta, 54*, 263–291.

Borkin, A. (1973). *To be* or not *to be*. *Proceedings of the 9th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 44–56.

Borkin, A. (1984). *Problems in form and function*. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Bouveret, M. & Legallois, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Constructions in French*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bybee, J. L. (1995). The semantic development of past tense modals in English. In J. L. Bybee, & S. Fleischman (Eds.), *Modality in grammar and discourse* (pp. 503–517). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bybee, J. L. (2006). From usage to grammar: The mind's response to repetition. *Language, 82*(4), 711–733.

Bybee, J. L., & Eddington, D. (2006). A usage-based approach to Spanish verbs of 'becoming'. *Language, 82*(2), 323–355.

Bybee, J. L., & Hopper, P. J. (Eds.). (2001). *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure*. [Typological Studies in Language, 45]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cano Aguilar, R. (1988). *El español a través de los tiempos*. Madrid: Arco Libros S.A.

Cardinaletti, A. & Guasti, M. T. (Eds.) (1995). *Small clauses. Syntax and Semantics*, *28*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Contreras, H. (1987). Small clauses in English and Spanish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 5*(2), 225–243.

Croft, W. (2000). *Explaining language change*. Harlow: Longman.

Croft, W. (2001). *Radical Construction Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Croft, W., Barðdal, J., Hollmann, W., Sotirova, V., & Taoka, C. (2010). Revising Talmy's typological classification of complex event constructions. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive Studies in Construction Grammar* (pp. 201–236). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Croft, W. & Cruse, D. A. (2004). *Cognitive linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Knop, S., Mollica, F., & Kuhn, J. (2013). *Konstruktionsgrammatik und Romanische Sprachen*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Deulofeu, J. & Debaisioux, J. M. (2009). Constructions and context: When a construction constructs the context. In A. Bergs, & G. Diewald (Eds.), *Contexts and constructions* (pp. 43–62). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Demonte, V. & Masullo, P. (1999). La predicación: Los complementos predicativos. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (Dirs.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (pp. 2461–2523). Madrid: Espasa.

Dik, Simon C. (1978). *Functional grammar*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.

Ernout, A. & Thomas, F. (1972). *Syntaxe latine*. Paris: Klincksieck

Ferraresi G. & Goldbach, M. (2003). Some reflections on inertia: Infinitive complements in Latin. In B. Baumgarten, C. Böttger, M. Motz, & M. J. Probst (Eds.), *Übersetzen, interkulturelle Kommunikation, Spracherwerb und Sprachvermittlung - das Leben mit mehreren Sprachen*. Festschrift für Juliane House zum 60 Geburtstag. *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht, 8*(2/3), 240–251. Available at: http://zif.spz.tu-darmstadt.de/jg-08-2-3/docs/FerraresiGoldbach.pdf.

Fillmore, C. J. (1985). Frames and the semantics of understanding. *Quaderni di Semantica, 6*, 222–254.

Fillmore, C. J. (1986). Pragmatically controlled zero anaphora. In V. Nikiforidou, M. VanClay, M. Niepokuj, & D. Feder (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 12th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (pp. 95–107). Berkeley: UC Berkeley Linguistics Department.

Fillmore, C. J. & Kay, P. (1993). *Construction Grammar*. Manuscript, UC Berkeley.

Fillmore, C. J., Kay, P., & O'Connor, M. C. (1988). Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical constructions: The case of 'let alone'. *Language, 64*, 501–538.

Fiol, V. (1987). *Sintaxis latina*. Barcelona: Bosch.

Fox, B. A. (2007). Relative clauses in English conversation: Relativizers, frequency, and the notion of construction. *Studies in Language, 31*, 293–326.

Fried, M. (2004). Predicate semantics and event construal in Czech case marking. In M. Fried, & J-O. Östman (Eds.), *Construction grammar in a cross-language perspective* (pp. 87–120). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fried, M. (2005a). A frame-based approach to case alternations: the *swarm*-class verbs in Czech. *Cognitive Linguistics, 16*(3), 475–512.

Fried, M. (2005b). The stability of meaning-form associations across time. In P. Nejedlý, & M. Vajdlová (Eds.), *Verba et historia* (pp. 77–85). Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR.

Fried, M. (2009). Construction Grammar as a tool for diachronic analysis. *Constructions and Frames, 1*(2), 261–290.

Fried, M. (2013). Principles of constructional change. In T. Hoffmann, & G. Trousdale (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Construction Grammar* (pp. 417–437). Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press.

Fried, M. & Östman, J-O. (2004). Construction Grammar: A thumbnail sketch. In M. Fried, & J-O Östman (Eds.), Construction grammar in a cross-language perspective (pp. 11–86). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fujii, S. (2004). Lexically (un)filled constructional schemes and construction types: The case of Japanese modal conditional constructions. In M. Fried, & J.-O. Östman (Eds.), *Construction Grammar in a cross-language perspective* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 2] (pp. 121–156). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Garachana Camarero, M. (2008). En los límites de la gramaticalización. La evolución de "encima (de que)" como marcador del discurso. *Revista de Filología Española*, *LXXXVIII, 1*, 7–36.

Givón, T. (1980). The binding hierarchy and the typology of complements. *Studies in Language, 4*, 333–377.

Goldberg, A. E. (1995). *Constructions. A construction approach to argument structure*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, A. E. (2006). *Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gonzálvez-García, F. (2006a). Passives without actives: Evidence from verbless complement constructions in Spanish. *Constructions* SV1-5/2006.

Gonzálvez-García, F. (2006b). The fortunes of the competition between the accusative and infinitive and the NP + PRED complement constructions after "verba cogitandi" in English: A Construction Grammar view. In J. G. Vázquez González, M. Martínez Vázquez, & P. Ron Vaz (Eds.), *The historical linguistics-cognitive linguistics interface* (pp. 75–145). Huelva: Grupo de Gramática Contrastiva.

Gonzálvez-García, F. (2007). Saved by the Reflexive: Evidence from coercion via reflexives in verbless complement clauses in English and Spanish. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics, 5*, 193–238.

Gonzálvez-García, F. (2009). The family of object-related depictives in English and Spanish: Towards a usage-based, constructionist analysis. *Language Sciences, 31*(5), 663–723.

Gonzálvez-García, F. (2010). Contrasting constructions in English and Spanish: The influence of semantic, pragmatic, and discourse factors. In H. C. Boas (Ed.) (2010). *Studies in contrastive Construction Grammar* (pp. 43–86). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gonzálvez-García, F. (2011). Metaphor and metonymy do *not* render coercion superfluous: Evidence from the subjective-transitive construction. *Linguistics, 49*(6), 1305–1358.

Gonzálvez-García, F. & Butler, C. S. (2006). Mapping functional cognitive space. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics, 5*, 39–96.

Gurevich, O. (2010). Conditional constructions in English and Russian. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar* (pp. 87–102). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gurevich, O., Johnson, M., & Goldberg, A. E. (2010). Incidental verbatim memory for language. *Language and Cognition, 2*(1), 45–78.

Haegeman, L. (1995). *The syntax of negation*. [Cambridge studies in linguistics, 75]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar*. 1st edn. London: Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar*. 2nd edn. London: Edward Arnold.

Han, Ch. (2000). *The structure and interpretation of imperatives: Mood and force in universal grammar*. New York: Garland Publications.

Hartmann, K. (2000). *Right node raising and gapping: Interface conditions on prosodic deletion*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hasegawa, Y., Lee-Goldman, R., Ohara, K. H., Fujii, S., & Fillmore, C. J. (2010). On expressing measurement and comparison in English and Japanese. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar* (pp.169–200). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hens, G. W. (1995). Ditransitive constructions in German. (Ph.D. dissertation). University of California, Berkeley.

Heycock, C. (1994). The internal structure of small clauses. In J. Beckman (Ed.), *Proceedings of NELS 25*, vol. 1 (pp. 223–238). Amherst, Mass.: GLSA.

Hilferty, J. & Valenzuela, J. (2001). Maximality and idealized cognitive models: the complementation of Spanish "tener". *Language Sciences, 23*, 629–637.

Hilpert, M. (2006). A synchronic perspective on the grammaticalization of Swedish future constructions. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics, 29*(2), 151–173.

Hilpert, M. (2008). *Germanic future constructions A usage-based approach to language change.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hilpert, M. (2010). Comparing comparatives: A corpus-based study of comparative constructions in English and Swedish. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar* (pp. 21–42). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hilpert, M. (2013). Corpus-based approaches to constructional change. In T. Hoffmann, & G. Trousdale (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Construction Grammar* (pp. 458–475). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ionescu, D. C. (1988). *Small clauses in English and Romanian*. Bucureşti: Editura Universitatii Bucuresti.

Iwata, S. (2008). *Locative alternation. A lexical-constructional approach*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kayne, R. (1992). Italian negative infinitival imperatives and clitic climbing. In L. Tasmowski (Ed.), *Hommages à Nicolas Ruwet: De la musique à la linguistique* (pp. 300–312). Ghent: Communication & Cognition.

Kenniston, H. (1937). *The syntax of Castilian prose. The sixteenth century*. The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lambrecht, K. (1986). *Topic, focus, and the grammar of spoken French*. (Ph.D. dissertation). The University of California, Berkeley.

Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lambrecht, K., & Lemoine, K. (2005). Definite null objects in (spoken) French: A construction-grammar account. In M. Fried, & H. C. Boas (Eds.)*, Grammatical constructions – Back to the roots* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 4] (pp. 13–56). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lapesa, R. (1964). Los casos latinos: Restos sintácticos y sustitutos en español. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 44*, 76–82.

Lauwers, P. & Tobback, E. (2011). The rise of subjective meanings in the development of reflexive copulas in French. Paper delivered at the 10th international conference

on tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality. Aston University, Birmingham, UK, April 2011.

Ledgeway, A. (2012). *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic typology and change.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leino, J. (2010). Results, cases, and constructions: Argument structure constructions in English and Finnish. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar* (pp. 103–136). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Leino, J. & Östman, J.-O. (2005). Constructions and variability. In M. Fried, & H. C. Boas (Eds.), *Grammatical constructions – Back to the roots* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 4] (pp. 191–209). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Leino, P. & Östman, J.-O. (2008). Language change, variability, and functional load: Finnish genericity from a constructional point of view. In J. Leino (Ed.), Constructional reorganization [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 5] (pp. 37–54). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lindström, J. & Londen, A.-M. (2008). Constructing reasoning: The connectives *för att* (causal), *så att* (consecutive) and *men att* (adversative) in Swedish conversations. In J. Leino (Ed.), *Constructional reorganization* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 5] (pp. 105–152). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

López Muñoz, M. (2002). Delenda est machina? Informática y Filología Latina. *Revista de Estudios Latinos, 2*, 235–250.

Malkiel, Y. (1978). The classification of Romance languages. *Romance Philology, 31*, 467–500.

Martínez Vázquez, M. (2003). *Gramática de construcciones (Contrastes entre el inglés y el español)*. Huelva: Grupo de Gramática Contrastiva.

Martínez Vázquez, M. (2004). Learning argument structure generalizations in a foreign language. *Vigo International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 1*, 151–165.

Masini, F. (2005). Multi-word expressions between syntax and the lexicon: The case of Italian verb-particle constructions. *SKY Journal of Linguistics, 18*, 145–173.

Matsumoto, Y. (2008). Variations in Japanese honorification – deviations or a change in the making? In J. Leino (Ed.), *Constructional reorganization* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 5] (pp. 89–104). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Michaelis, L. A. (1994). A case of constructional polysemy in Latin. *Studies in Language, 18*(1), 45–70.

Michaelis, L. A. (2003). Headless constructions and coercion by construction. In E. Francis, & L. A. Michaelis (Eds.), *Mismatch: Form-function incongruity and the architecture of grammar* (pp. 259–310). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Michaelis, L. A. (2004). Type shifting in Construction Grammar: An integrated approach to aspectual coercion. *Cognitive Linguistics, 15*(1), 1–67.

Michaelis, L. A. (2012). Making the case for Construction Grammar. In H. C. Boas, & I. Sag (Eds.), *Sign-based Construction Grammar* (pp. 31–69). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Michaelis, L. A. & Ruppenhofer, J. (2001). *Beyond alternations*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Newmeyer, F. J. (2010). What conversational English tells us about the nature of grammar: A critique of Thompson's analysis of object complements. In K. Boye,

& E. Engberg-Pedersen (Eds.), *Language usage and language structure* (pp. 3–44). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ohara, K. (2005). From relativization to clause-linkage: Evidence from modern Japanese. In M. Fried, & H. C. Boas (Eds.), *Grammatical constructions – Back to the roots* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 4] (pp. 57–70). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ouhalla, J. (1994). *Introducing transformational grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Penny, R. (1933). *Gramática histórica del español*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Pinkster, H. (1990). *Latin syntax and semantics*. Translated by Hotze Mulder. London: Routledge.

Pollard, C. & Sag, I. (1994). *Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pons, L. (2008). Las construcciones imitativas del accusativus cum infinitivo: Modelos latinos y consecuencias romances. *Revista de Historia de la Lengua Española, 3*, 118–148.

Pountain, C. (1988). Learnèd syntax and the Romance languages: The "accusative and infinitive" construction with declarative verbs in Castilian. *Transactions of the Philological Society, 96*(2), 159–201.

Rostila, J. (2005). Zur Grammatikalisierung bei Präpositionalobjekten. In T. Leuschner, T. Mortelmans, & S. De Groodt (Eds.), *Grammatikalisierung im Deutschen* (pp. 135–166). Berlin & New York:  Mouton de Gruyter.

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J., & Mairal Usón, R. (2006). Levels of description and constraining factors in meaning construction: An introduction to the Lexical Constructional Model. *Folia Linguistica, 42*(2), 355–400.

Rytting, C. A. (1999). Small clauses and indirect discourse in Latin prose. *LACUS Forum, 25*, 443–458.

Talmy, L. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Thompson, S. A. (2002). Object complements and conversation: towards a realistic account. *Studies in Language, 26*, 125–164.

Timnyam, N. & Bergen, B. K. (2010). A contrastive study of the caused-motion and ditransitive constructions in English and Thai: Semantic and pragmatic constraints. In H. C. Boas (Ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar* (pp. 137–168). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tomasello, M. (2003). *Constructing a language: A usage-based theory of language acquisition*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Torre, E. (2011). Grounding meaning in everyday experience in the world. An embodied Construction Grammar analysis of Italian caused-motion constructions. (Unpublished M.A. Thesis). University of Pavia, Italy.

Torre, E. (2012). Symmetry and asymmetry in Italian caused-motion constructions: An Embodied Construction Grammar approach. *Constructions*. Available at: http://elanguage.net/journals/constructions/article/view/3438.

Traugott, E. C., & Trousdale, G. (2013). *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trousdale, G. & Hoffmann, T. (Eds.). (2013). *The Oxford handbook of Construction Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trousdale, G. & Traugott, E. C. (Eds.). (2010). *Gradience, gradualness, and grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tsujimura, N. (2005). A constructional approach to mimetic verbs. In M. Fried, & H. C. Boas (Eds.), *Grammatical constructions – Back to the roots* [Constructional Approaches to Language Series, 4] (pp. 137–156). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Urrutia Cárdenas, H. & Álvarez Álvarez, M. (1988). *Morfosintaxis histórica del español*. Bilbao: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto.

Valenzuela, J. & Rojo, A. (2008). What can language learners tell us about constructions? In S. De Knop, & T. De Rycker (Eds.), *Cognitive approaches to pedagogical grammar – Volume in honour of René Dirven* (pp. 197–229). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Van Valin, R. D. Jr. (2005). *The syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface: An introduction to Role and Reference Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Visser, F. T. (1963/1973). *An historical syntax of the English language*. 3 parts; 4 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Weilbacher, H. & Boas, H. C. (2006). *Just because* two constructions look alike in two languages doesn't mean that they share the same properties: Towards contrastive Construction Grammars. Paper delivered at the 4th International Construction Grammar Conference, Tokyo, Japan, September 2006.

[2] In this connection, it should be noted that Ledgeway (2012) is centrally concerned with providing a fine-grained analysis of the morpho-syntactic changes and typological variation observable in the passage from Latin to Romance. However, Ledgeway's approach is couched in a formalist, Chomskyan framework, thus being incompatible in some respects with the constructionist view of the passage from Latin to Romance languages advocated in this book.

[3] As a reviewer has rightly pointed out, it is not immediately clear what counts as "sufficient frequency" in the definition of a construction reproduced above. While admitting that the issue of how to measure frequency is still far from clear at present in CxG, we endorse the optimistic answer advanced by Bybee (2006) in the following terms: "[t]he impossibility at the moment of specifying ranges for extreme high, medium, and low is only a function of our state of knowledge. As more empirical studies appear, absolute frequency ranges for each phenomena will eventually be specifiable" (Bybee, 2006, p. 715). The reader is also referred to Gurevich, Johnson and Goldberg (2010) for experimental evidence on how CxG is making progress on this issue.

[4] For a more detailed discussion of these and other basic principles of CxG, see Croft and Cruse (2004), Fried and Östman (2004), and Trousdale and Hoffmann (2013).

[5] The reader is referred to Fried (2013) for an excellent discussion of why Construction Grammar qualifies as a reliable tool for diachronic analysis in general and grammaticalization as well as constructionalization in particular. Admittedly, much of the recent impetus of diachronic Construction Grammar comes from work on constructional change and constructionalization. According to Trousdale and Traugott (2010), and Traugott and Trousdale (2013), a constructional change is a discrete micro-step that affects either the form or the meaning of a construction. By contrast, constructionalization is used to refer to a subset of constructional changes, which result in the creation of new form-meaning pairings. Other construction grammarians, such as Hilpert (2013, p. 460) use the label "constructional change" to refer indistinctively to changes the affect either the form or the meaning of a construction or both poles. Finally, an additional important dimension of diachronic construction grammar is its applications for historical-comparative reconstruction, as persuasively argued in Barðdal (2013).

[6] For a more detailed account of the diachrony of the AcI in Latin, compatible with the view defended here, the interested reader is referred to Ferraresi and Goldbach (2003).

[7] In much the same vein, Borkin (1973, 1984) persuasively demonstrates that the process of morpho-syntactic compression of a sentential complement (whether a finite *that*-clause or the AcI) after verbs of cognition for English runs parallel to a "semantic movement from an empirically oriented or discourse given proposition toward a matter of personal experience, individual perception, or a conventionally determined state of affairs" (Borkin, 1973, p. 44). See Gonzálvez-García (2006) and references therein for a detailed contrastive analysis of these two constructions in English and Spanish.

[8] A reviewer raises the question of whether the choice of the subject in the AcI construction makes any difference for the interpretation of the sentence. The AcI construction invariably conveys an other-initiated judgment/assessment regardless of the choice of the subject. However, the choice of a first-person subject (e.g. *yo* 'I') implies an explicit and more direct involvement of the speaker/writer with respect to the content of the proposition at stake, who acts as a kind of spokesperson. By contrast, the choice of a non-first person subject implies a more distancing stance on the part of the speaker/writer with respect to the content of the proposition. The interested reader is referred to Gonzálvez-García (2007) for a more detailed discussion of this issue than can be afforded here.

[9] The reader is referred to Gonzálvez-García (2011, p. 1326) for the specifics of how to interpret the information in Figure 1.

[10] However, Pountain (1988, pp. 162–163) calls into question the validity of this widespread assumption. Specifically, he argues that Romanian also has the NP + XPCOMP construction (Pountain, 1988, p. 163). Given that within the Romanian language community Latin was not as easily available, known or prestigious and that, therefore, Romanian cannot be considered to be a pure conservator of Latin features, the NP + XPCOMP construction should then be taken to be independent of the AcI construction as such.

[11] For an interesting discussion and analysis of the French counterparts of this Spanish construction, the interested reader is referred to Lauwers and Tobback (2011).