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"WHO PAINTED MY WALL?": a constructionist approach to the expression of
service provision in American English

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Co-Orientador(a): Luísa Andrade Gomes Godoy

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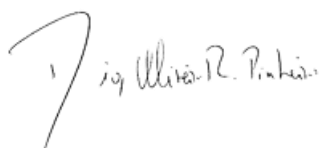# "WHO PAINTED MY WALL?": A CONSTRUCTIONIST APPROACH TO THE EXPRESSION OF SERVICE PROVISION IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

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RESUMO

A provisão de serviço no inglês estadunidense é comumente associada à estrutura *have something done*, como em *I had my hair cut*. Entretanto, já existem registros de que a forma transitiva, como *I cut my hair*, também pode expressar provisão de serviço. Desse modo, existem duas formas distintas associadas a um mesmo significado, o que constitui um problema para a abordagem funcional-cognitiva, contradizendo o Princípio da Não-Sinonímia (GOLDBERG, 1995). A partir disso, e à luz da Gramática de Construções Baseada no Uso (GCBU), nos perguntamos quais as diferenças semânticas entre essas duas estruturas que levam um falante a escolher uma ou outra forma para expressar um evento de provisão de serviço. Para responder a essa questão buscamos descrever de forma extensiva essas duas estruturas (aqui chamadas de construções) e compará-las. Argumentamos que a Construção Causativa de Provisão de Serviço (CCPS) assim como a Construção Transitiva de Provisão de Serviço (CTPS) evoca uma cena de provisão de serviço, porém a última evoca pelo menos um evento a mais, e que elas perfilam diferentes elementos da cena evocada. Essas diferenças parecem gerar um efeito de sentido, que traduzimos em termos de envolvimento, em que o uso da CTPS está associado a um maior grau de envolvimento por parte do falante quando comparado ao uso da CCPS. Para testar essa hipótese, realizamos um experimento de escolha forçada com 38 americanos monolíngues que tinham de escolher entre instâncias das duas construções para completar uma frase. Os dados coletados não apresentaram um padrão nas escolhas realizadas pelos participantes e, portanto, foram inconclusivos. Acreditamos que as incongruências nas respostas dos falantes tenham sido influenciadas pelo design da tarefa, e por isso, uma nova tarefa foi idealizada. Esse segundo experimento não pôde ser totalmente realizado por questões de tempo e se tornou um estudo preliminar com 6 participantes, com resultados promissores.

Palavras-chave: construção gramatical; perfilamento; semântica; inglês americano

ABSTRACT

The provision of service in American English is commonly associated with the "have something done" structure, as in "I had my hair cut." However, there is research indicating that the transitive form, as in "I cut my hair," can also express the provision of service. Thus, there are two distinct forms associated with the same meaning, posing a challenge to the functional-cognitive approach, and contradicting the Non-Synonymy Principle (GOLDBERG, 1995). In light of the Usage-Based Construction Grammar (UBCG), we ask which semantic differences between these two structures lead a speaker to choose one form over the other to express a service provision event. To answer this question, we extensively describe these two structures (here considered constructions) and compare them. We argue that the Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC) as well as the Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC) evokes a service provision scene, but the latter also evokes at least one additional event, and they profile different elements of the evoked scene. These differences seem to generate a meaning effect, which we translate in terms of involvement, in which the use of SPTC is associated with a higher degree of involvement by the speaker compared to the use of SPCC. To test this hypothesis, we conducted a forced-choice experiment with 38 monolingual Americans who had to choose between instances of the two constructions to complete a sentence. The collected data did not show a pattern in the choices made by the participants and, therefore, were inconclusive. We believe that the inconsistencies in the participants' responses might have been influenced by the task design, and thus, a new task was devised. This second experiment could not be fully conducted due to time constraints and became a preliminary study with 6 participants, yielding promising results.

Keywords: gramatical construction; profiling; semantic; American English

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SUMMARY

1 INTRODUCTION

When you go to hair salon and pay a stylist to cut your hair or go to a garage and ask a mechanic to fix your car, you are convincing a third person, either verbally or through money exchange, to perform an action for you. This scenario of hiring someone (mostly a professional) to performing a service is commonly labeled as service provision. In English, service provision events are frequently expressed as:

(1)   I got my hair cut.
(2)   She had her nails done
(3)   You got a car fixed.
(4)   They had their sink repaired.

All of these examples exhibit the same structure, which involves the verbs "get" or "have" followed by an object and a verb in its past participle form. The association, in English, between this syntactic structure and the expression of service provision is extremely common and is in fact prescribed in different grammars and instructional books, as can be seen in the following images:

Figure 1 — Grammatical prescription

Source: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/grammar/british-grammar/have-something-done#google_vignette; accessed in: 10/13/2023, 20:13

Figure 2 – Interchange 3 explanation

Get or have something done ▶

Use get or have, the object, and the past participle of the verb to describe a service performed for you by someone else.

Do something yourself	**Get/have something done for you**
I **clean** my apartment every week.	I **get** my apartment **cleaned** (by Hazel) every week.
He **is washing** his car.	He **is having** his car **washed**.
They **fixed** their computer.	They **got** their computer **fixed**.
Did you **repair** your watch?	Did you **have** your watch **repaired**?
Where can I **print** these pictures?	Where can I **get** these pictures **printed**?

Source: Interchange 3

As figures 1 and 2 show, the structure of the type "Have/get something done" is said to be used when "someone does something for us", and most typically when one asks or hires a third person to perform a service. Moreover, as both figures also show, the explanation around this structure also tends to involve a comparison with an alternative structure namely, a transitive one. In particular, it is argued that, while the transitive form is associated with a "do it yourself" meaning component, the "have/get structure" is associated with a "someone does it for you" meaning. This idea can be illustrated with examples (5) and (6) below:

(5)   Taylor dyed her hair.
(6)   Hayley had her her dyed.

According to the rules presented in figures 1 and 2, sentence (5) should be interpreted as if "Taylor" dyed her hair by herself, by taking hair tools and applying dye to her hair with her own hands. And (6) would indicate that "Hayley" required a third person to actually get the tools and apply the dye on her (Hayley's) hair.

Even though this distinction is widely disseminated, there have been recent studies showing that speakers from the United States do not necessarily make such associations (VILELA, 2009; SANTOS, 2019). More specifically, it seems that the transitive form as in (5) can have not only a "do it yourself" reading, but also a

service provision reading. Likewise, sentence (6) can have two readings, at least when devoid of context: (i) Taylor applied the dye to her hair by herself; or (ii) Taylor paid a hairdresser to apply the dye to her hair.

In a study carried out by Santos (2019), evidence of this ambiguity surfaced amongst her investigations. Her research was about the processing of causative constructions by American monolinguals and Brazilian bilinguals, focusing on the possible interference of the Portuguese construction when learning the English pattern. In order to verify the existence of this interference she carried out two experiments: one involved an acceptability judgment task, and the other, a production task.

In the first task, both American monolingual speakers and Brazilian bilingual speakers judged the use of the transitive structure to refer to a service provision as acceptable. In the second experiment, both groups produced sentences in which the transitive form referred to a third person performing an action or service. Santos thus argued that both Brazilians and American accept and produce the transitive structure in order to convey the idea of service provision. These findings reveal that prescriptive materials seem to be disconnected from the actual use of these structures, and, more interestingly, they indicate that in American English there are two distinct formal structures available to express what seems to be the same content (a service provision event).

In order to investigate this topic, we are going to dispose of the Usage-Based Construction Grammar (UBCG) theoretical framework, a cognitive-functional variant of Construction Grammar (LANGACKER, 1987; GOLDBERG, 1995; 2006; CROFT, 2001). Based on UBCG principles, the two alternatives available in American English to express service provision are expected to be associated to two distinct grammatical constructions, i.e., two pairings of form and meaning: The Service Provision Causative Construction, that licenses uses such as "I got my nails done" and "They had the car fixed", and the Service Provision Transitive Construction, exemplified in "She painted her office" and "We remodeled our house".

This, however, presents an issue for the chosen framework. Since the UBCG claims that a speakers linguistic knowledge can be described as pairings of form (phonological, syntactic information) and meaning (semantic and pragmatic

information), it's a widespread principle that one structure is associated with a particular meaning and vice-versa. This means that two different forms cannot be associated with the same meaning – an assumption that has been labeled by Goldberg (1995) as the Principle of No-Synonym.

Assuming this principle as true, we ask: What is the semantic or pragmatic difference between the two constructions?

In accordance with the framework adopted, we hypothesize that the two constructions analyzed present several semantic differences in meaning. In particular, we argue, that, while both constructions evoke a service provision scene, only the Service Provision Transitive Construction also evokes at least one extra step taken related to the performance of the service itself. Moreover, it will be argued that the two constructions *profile* (in Langacker's (1987) sense) different elements and relationships evoked by them. Lastly, we argue that a few of these differences – that will be further detailed in chapter 3 – produce a difference in meaning effect, so that the Service Provision Transitive Construction implies a higher degree of involvement of the subject referent in the execution of the service (when compared to the Service Provision Causative Construction).

To verify this claim, we carried out a forced-choice task, in which participants had to choose between an instance of the Service Provision Causative Construction or an instance of the Service Provision Transitive Construction to complete a story shown (half the items showed a lot of effort made by the character). Since this experiment did not capture relevant data, we proposed a pilot experiment. In this second task participants were exposed to a story in which characters uttered instances of both constructions and had to answer which of them was more involved in the service provided. The preliminary results point to a correlation between the use of the constructions and the degree of involvement of the subject referent.

In sum, we'd like to argue that this study offers three different contributions: (i) it provides evidence that the Principle of No-Synonym (GOLDBERG, 1995) stands true; (ii) it offers a more in-depth description of the Service Provision Causative Construction; and (iii) it describes the poorly documented Service Provision Transitive Construction.

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the presentation of the basic principles of the UBCG and other theoretical assumptions and concepts this work is based on. In chapter 3, we focus on the description of the two target constructions, presenting our proposal regarding their conceptual import. Chapters 4 and 5 are devoted to reporting the two experiments we carried out. Lastly, in chapter 6, we sum up our main findings and discuss possible developments of this research.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this second chapter, we explore the principles and concepts of the theoretical frameworks this work is based on. Therefore, in the first section we highlight the bases of Usage Based Construction Grammar (UBCG) and the Psychological Principles of Linguistic Organization (GOLDBERG, 1995), while the second section focuses on the Cognitive Grammar concepts we adopt (LANGACKER, 1989, 1991).

2.1 THE USAGE BASED CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Usage Based Construction Grammar (UBCG) is a theoretical framework generalized from different models of linguistic knowledge. It encompasses theories such as Radical Construction Grammar (CROFT, 2001) and Cognitive Grammar (LANGACKER, 1989). Three main premises are shared by all such models. In particular, they assume that linguistic knowledge (i) can be described as an inventory of form-function pairings that constitute a structured network and that can be combined amongst them, (ii) is organized by domain-general processes, and (iii) arises from and is permanently affected by linguistic use. Each of them, according to Pinheiro and Ferrari (2020), contrasts with distinct aspects of Generative Linguistics – the hegemonic linguistic framework.

The first premise refers to the architecture of linguistic knowledge. The main idea is that the speaker's knowledge can be entirely described as a network of grammatical constructions. The notion of construction, which can be defined a form-function pairing, is not a novel idea, as Saussure (1916) already described language as a system of signs, i. e., bipolar elements constituted by an acoustic image and a concept. According to him, if we think of how a word is represented in our minds, we have a phonological representation and a meaning attributed to it. For instance, a word like *ball* can be represented as the form /bɑɫ/ paired with the meaning of a specific type of spherical object, as illustrated in:

Figure 3 — sign
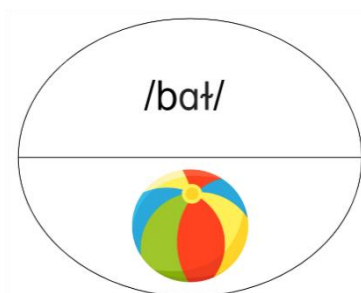
However, the definition of construction goes beyond Saussure's signs, since it allows for syntax, morphological information, and even prosody to be regarded as form. Moreover, Saussure's notion of "concept" — which will be referred to here as function — is broadened as to encompass any semantic or pragmatic property. Therefore, in Usage Based Construction Grammar the totality of the speaker's linguistic knowledge can be described in terms of constructions, as is exemplified below:

Table 1 — Types of Constructions

Type	Example
Word	chair
Morphological pattern	v-er; (*player*)
Idiom	the X-er, the Y-er; (*the more the merrier*)
Argument structure construction	SVO (*I love you.*)

Table 1 illustrates the construction *continuum*, which is organized according to the phonetic realization (or fulfillment). While constructions can be concrete and fully filled (like words), they can also display a mixture of fixed elements with opeyn slots (like morphological patterns) or even consist solely in very abstract syntactic patterns, with no phonetically realized elements (such as argument structure constructions).

Since everything that speakers know about their language can be described as constructions, linguistic knowledge is argued to be a lexicon of constructions, i. e., a *constructicon* (construction + lexicon). Therefore, it is argued that the only difference between grammar and lexicon is one of degree, not type – which implies that they are not clearly distinct components of the speaker's linguistic knowledge. This represents a clear contrast with the ideas defended by Generative Grammar, which assumes the existence of a lexicon – a list of individually stored items – that is distinct in nature from the rules or operations that are applied to them.

Even though our linguistic knowledge – the *constructicon* – is an inventory, it does not mean it is unstructured. Instead, constructions are connected and structured, thus resulting in a network of form-meaning pairings. Moreover, these connections are not random: the constructions connect with each other through specific types of links (or relations). Diessel (2019), in particular, proposes six different types of links, namely, symbolic relations, sequential relations, taxonomic relations, lexical relations, horizontal relations and filler-slot relations. We will expand only on the taxonomic and horizontal links for they are the most important ones for this work.

Taxonomic links are the ones that connect constructions with different degrees of abstraction. For example, a very abstract construction such as the passive construction might be connected to particular partially filled constructions (e.g N WAS KICKED) that might also be connected to a fully filled construction (e. g. "The ball was kicked"[1]). All these connections are examples of taxonomic links, as demonstrated below:

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[1] In principle, any sentence can be stored as a construction if there is a high frequency of use. (GOLDBERG, 2006).This idea will be further explored later in the chapter.

Figure 4 — Taxonomic Link
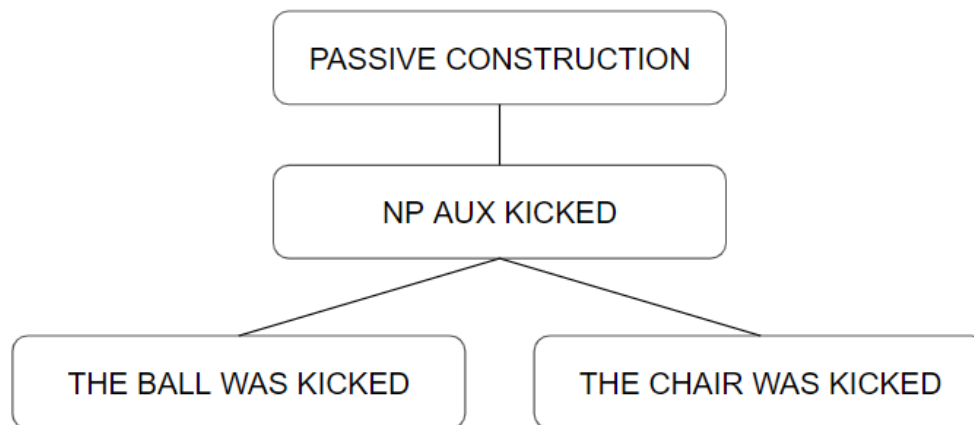
The second kind of link essential for this study is the horizontal link, which is the one between constructions belonging to the same level of abstraction. In figure 4, one can assume that *The ball was kicked* and *The chair was kicked* are connected by this type of link. We could also broaden the view of the network above and propose that there are other horizontal links, which are depicted by a horizontal line, such as in Figure 5:

Figure 5 — Horizontal Links
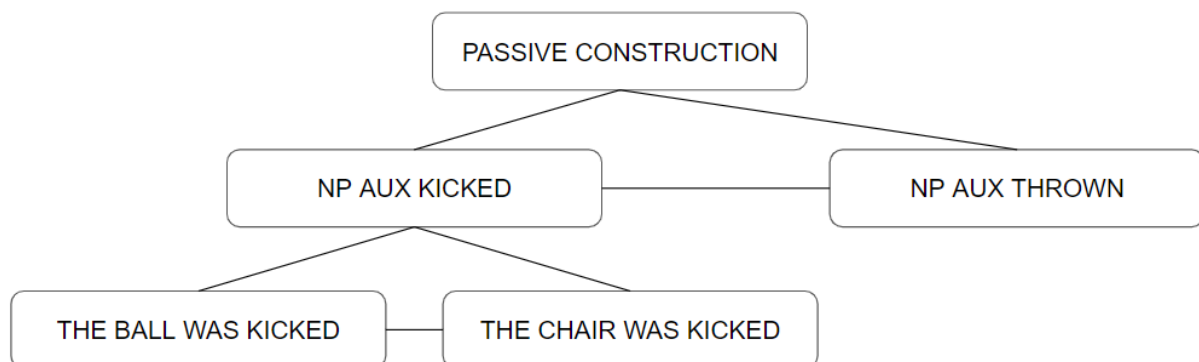
Besides the aforementioned constructions connected by horizontal links, the two constructions directly licensed by the passive construction are also connected by this type of link. Both are instances of the passive construction, which include one open slot plus one particular auxiliary verb and an inflected main verb. Therefore, it

is clear that both partially schematic passive constructions belong to the same level of the *constructicon* (regarding their degree of abstraction).

However, this type of link does not only connect constructions that are instances of the same (immediate) construction as the ones represented in figure 5. Vasilyeva and Waterfall (2011) carried out three studies to explore if passive primes increase the production of sentences that have a different structure but share similar pragmatics.

In all of them the participants were exposed to drawings of transitive events and two possible primes: an active or a passive sentence. Both sentences described the scenes with the same lexical items, their only difference being their structure. The procedure consisted in the experimenter describing one picture using an active or passive prime and later asking the participant to describe a different picture. The difference between the three studies were the participants: on the first one they were English-speaking children, on the second one they were Russian-speaking children, and on the third one they were Russian-speaking adults. In all three cases, they were monolingual native speakers.

In the first study, the authors found that the English-speaking children increased their use of the syntactic structure present in the prime, i.e., if the applicator used an active structure to describe the picture, the children tended to use an active structure more often to describe the other pictures presented to them (and the opposite happened when the applicator used a passive structure).

Interestingly, in the second and third studies, the Russian native speakers — independently of their age — increased their use of many different structures that have the same discourse role, i. e., to emphasize the patient of the action. Therefore, when the applicator used an active structure, the participants were more likely to reuse the same structure. However, the effect when the applicator used the passive structure was even stronger, since the participants not only used the passive structure more often but increased the use of any structure with a similar pragmatic import – an emphasis on the patient role of the action designated by the verb.

Therefore, Vasilyeva and Waterfall demonstrated that the priming effect is not only structural, but also motivated by meaning. In constructionist terms, these results

support the idea that constructions are connected – via horizontal links – not only based on its structure but also based on its semantic or pragmatic similarities.

The second premise of the model is that linguistic knowledge relies on domain-general cognitive processes. It is based on the Generalization Commitment and the Cognitive Commitment (LAKOFF, 1990). These two principles are deeply connected. The first one is a commitment to understanding the non-linguistic abilities that are responsible for human language, which implies that an explanation to linguistic phenomena is to be sought in domain-general processes such as schematization, analogy and chunking. The second one is a commitment to use the knowledge from other cognitive sciences (including, for instance, psychology and neuroscience) to comprehend linguistic structures.

Therefore, the claim is that there is no need to propose language specific processes if – according to the hypothesis – cognitive processes such as chunking and analogy are enough to explain linguistic phenomena. This is the Cognitive Linguistics (CL) alternative to the generativist notion of modularity of the mind, in which distinct modules are autonomous and ruled by specific processes. Therefore, there are two different answers to the question of whether linguistic processes are language specific or if they are also applied to other cognitive domains, according to Bybee (2010, p. 6-7):

> The best strategy for answering this question is to start first with domain-general processes and see how much of linguistic structure can be explained without postulating processes specific to language. If this quest is even partially successful, we will have narrowed down the possible processes that have to be specific to language.

Therefore, the proposal is to try to use the processes already known to cognitive psychology to explain language structure, so that only if or when it fails to properly do so, we can consider language-specific processes. The rationale is that, if scholars start their explanations assuming domain-specific processes, it becomes harder to identify how the general domain ones affect language. This is why the UBCG approach seems to be well suited to allow us to understand how and to what extent language is shaped by domain-general mechanisms.

To illustrate this view, think of the strategy we use to memorize long numbers, such as our phone number. In the US they consist of ten digits and hardly ever someone memorizes each of them individually. Instead, we usually gather them in three groups. This process of grouping elements is called *chunking* (BYBEE, 2010; (CHASE; SIMON, 1973)). The crucial point here is that, while it can be used to expand our work memory in non-linguistic situations, it is also present in language.

Gibbs and O'Brien (1990) showed how this process is present in idioms. They conducted three separate experiments to investigate how people interpret idioms and their meanings. The first experiment consisted of the participants being shown an idiomatic phrase (e.g. "spill the beans"), asked to define it and then form a mental image from it. This task was followed by the experimenter asking a series of questions about the participants' mental image. The second and third experiments were structurally identical to the first one, the only difference being the phrases shown to the participants. Specifically, in the second experiment participants were shown paraphrases of the idioms from the first experiment (e.g. "to reveal secrets"), while in the third one they were shown literal phrases corresponding to those idioms (e.g. "spill the peas").

In the first experiment, the authors found that most participants had the same or a similar definition and mental image of the figurative meaning of the idioms presented to them (e.g."spill the beans" means to tell secret information to someone you shouldn't). The second one showed differences between people's definitions of the paraphrases and of the idioms (e.g. the participants did not attribute the same meaning to "spill the beans" and "revel a secret"), as well as variation between their definitions of the paraphrases (e.g. participants defined "to reveal a secret" differently from one another) – they presented fewer interpretations of figurative meaning. Lastly, in the third experiment the participants formed mental images different from the ones evoked by the idioms in the first experiment (e. g. "spill the peas" and "spill the beans" have very different definitions) and were less consistent in them – i. e, participants showed more variation between their mental images and definitions of the literal phrases than in the case of the idiomatic phrases. These results suggest that speakers are able to interpret idioms as a holistic unit – as one single element – with its figurative meaning, but also are capable of identifying and interpreting its constituents (albeit not as consistently) and therefore, its literal meaning.

We understand these results as evidence in favor that the *chunking* process is also applied to language. The three experiments conducted by Gibbs and O'Brian (1990) show that an expression such as "spill the beans" has a completely different meaning – to reveal a secret – from the meaning of its individual components, so much that an expression such as *spill the* peas does not evoke anything close to reveling a secret. This reveals that besides attributing meaning to these three elements (spill, the, beans), speakers also group them and attribute to this group a meaning different from their individual ones. This grouping of elements and its reading as a unit is precisely what chunking is about. Hence, from this study, among many others (BYBEE, 2002A; ELLIS, 1996; HILPERT, 2008), we admit that chunking is a process also applied to language.

Analogy is also a domain-general process applied to language. It is the process related to creativity, thus responsible for novel ideas and expressions. Gick and Holyoak (1990) showed how analogy applies to problem solving. Their experiment consisted in telling the participants a story featuring a problem and its solution and later, asking them to solve a novel problem. The participants were exposed to three different stories and types of solutions, that were named *attack-dispersion, open supply route* and *tunnel.* As a result, the authors found that participants proposed the same type of solution they had previously heard largely more than other types of solution. The percentages of participants that used the same type of solution as the previous story are respectively: 100%, 70% and 80%. These results indicate that the participants were able to identify analogous elements between the first story they heard and the problem they were trying to solve and therefore, propose an analogous solution.

This ability is also observed in language, according to Bybee (2010, p. 57):

> (analogy) allows the expression of novel concepts and the description of novel situations is the ability to expand the schematic slots in constructions to fill them with novel lexical items, phrases or other constructions.

Bybee and Eddington (2006) studied the use of new expressions based on prior combinations of verbs meaning *to become* with adjectives in Spanish, as in:

(7) *ponerse nervioso*   to get nervous

    quedarse   *solo* to end up alone

    quedarse sorprendido   to be surprised

    volverse loco   to go crazy

In their corpus-based study, they found that some combinations had higher frequency – and therefore, were conventional –, while others were novel. However, these less frequent or novel combinations were not random. The verb *quedarse,* for example, appears more frequently with *sorprendido (surprised)* and less with other semantically similar adjectives, as in:

(8) *quedarse deslumbrado*   to become dazzled

    quedarse asombrado   to become amazed

    quesdarse pasmado   to become stunned, astonished

    quedarse asustado   to become afraid

The same also happens with the verb *ponerse*, which appears more frequently with the adjective *nervioso* (nervous) and less with other semantically similar adjectives, as in:

(9) *ponerse pálido*   to become pale

    ponerse histérico   to become hysterical

    ponerse furioso   to become furious

    ponerse colorado   to turn red/become flushed

The distribution of verbs *to become* (*poner, quedar, etc*) and adjectives combinations suggest that the more frequent expressions serve as base for the formation of new ones. In other words, speakers expand its use and create new ones through analogy.

The third premise is related to language learning and how linguistic knowledge changes throughout one's life. According to the generative approach, speakers have an innate linguistic knowledge that is further specified according to the grammar of their native language when they are given access to linguistic *input* during the critical period of language acquisition. In contrast, the UBCG approach is known as emergentist, in two different senses:

> First, it is emergentist in the sense that the generalizations that underlie linguistic competence emerge from the analysis of linguistic units stored in memory (initially, rote-learned holophrases), rather than being innately specified (as under many rival accounts). Second, the approach is emergentist in the sense that children's language acquisition is emergent from – indeed, a by-product of – their use of language as a social tool.

(AMBRIDGE & LIEVEN, 2015, p. 478-479)

Therefore, the claim is that there is no innate linguistic knowledge: all we know about language is learned through exposure to language use and structured and organized by domain-general cognitive processes. This is shown by many studies in language acquisition.

Language acquisition (or language learning) is largely based on the schematization — or abstraction — process. There are many studies on how children are great at detecting patterns (see, for instance, Gómez and Gerken 1999), but at the same time their knowledge revolves around "pivot words" (BRAINE, 1976) – at the beginning children's speech is very repetitive and variation occurs with differences of elements around one fixed word. These two facts support the idea that schematization is essential for language learning and through that children are able to create generalizations, expanding their language knowledge and therefore use.

Diessel (2015) discusses how this is also true for verb-argument constructions. He takes Debrowska's research on a child's speech to present this idea. In this study, the author investigated interrogative sentences in the corpus of a two-year-old child called Naomi (SACHS, 1983). She singled out particular utterances, ones with at least two words long and which began with a wh- word or an

auxiliary and ended with a question mark (DABROWSKA, 2000). A few of them are seen below:

(10) What doing? (many times)   1;11.11

(11) What's Mommy doing? (many times)   1;11.21

(12) What's donkey doing? (4 times)   2;0.18

(13) What's Nomi doing? (2 times)   2;0.18

(14) What's toy doing?   2;0.18

(15) What's Mommy holding?   2;0.26

(16) What's Georgie saying?   2;1.19

(17) What is the boy making?   2;11.17

(18) What is Andy doing?   2;11.18

(DABROWSKA, 2000, *apud* DIESSEL, 2015, p. 305)

These examples show that her knowledge of interrogatives derives from the wh- word *what* and the verb *doing*, which were used repeatedly before any intervening elements appeared. At first, only the noun *Mommy* was used between them, and only after she turned two years old, other nouns were used – as in (12) and (13). A little later, she started alternating the types of verbs, with *holding* and *saying*, in (15) and (16) respectively. Lastly, she was able to identify that *what* and *is* are two different elements and started using them separately, as seen in (17) and (18).

In all of these utterances the pattern is the same, the referent of *what* always corresponds to the verbal object and the verb is in its progressive form with an -ing ending. Therefore, we note that the uses are based on the same pattern and the same element. They were used many times before any change was made and before there was an increase of complexity throughout the child's development. It

started with the use of the contraction *what's*, the change of the intervenient noun, followed by the change of the verb used and the separation between the wh word *what* and the auxiliary *is*. Given this overall development, Diessel (2015) posits the following network:

Figure 6 — Emerging taxonomy of WH-constructions in child speech
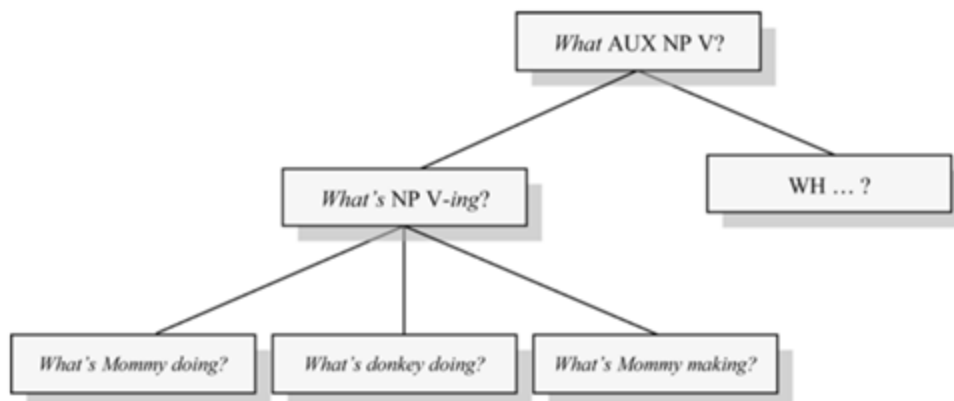
Source: DIESSEL, 2015, p. 306

This network captures how the process of *schematization* works and allows for the emergence of constructions in different degrees of abstraction. The lowest level represents the more concrete constructions, the ones uttered by Naomi such as the examples (5) and (6), and their pattern is captured by a higher-level construction [What's NP V-ing]. Moreover, from this and other similar constructions a more abstract construction, [What Aux NP V?], is created. Therefore, in the UBCG account, language learning – the formation and changes made to the *constructicon* — is dependent on domain-general processes, such as schematization.

The notions that language can be described as a network of form-function pairings, it is organized by domain-general processes, and it arises from and is permanently affected by linguistic use are the bases for this research and are essential for the understanding of this work. In the next section we will discuss another important theoretical proposal: Goldberg's (1995) Relevant Psychological Principles of Language Organization.

2.1.1 Relevant Psychological Principles of Language Organization

In her 1995 book, *Constructions: a construction grammar approach to argument structure*, Goldberg demonstrated how to apply construction grammar to argument structure. Previously, this framework was known to explain and describe idioms, especially the ones with open slots. Goldberg then sought to expand the model's range of constructions by focusing on the phenomenon of argument structure. In this groundbreaking work, the author systematizes four well known functionalist principles that are claimed to be involved in the organization of linguistic knowledge, the Relevant Psychological Principles of Language Organization. For our analysis of the expression of service provision, we refer to two of them: (i) The Principle of Maximized Motivation; and (ii) The Principle of No Synonymy.

This first principle mentioned dictates that:

> If construction A is related to construction B syntactically, then the system of construction A is motivated to the degree that it is related to construction B semantically (cf. Haiman 1985a; Lakoff 1987). Such motivation is maximized.
>
> (GOLDBERG, 1995, p. 67)

In other words, if two constructions share syntactic information, they must also share semantic information. As a result, the constructions are argued to motivate each other. However, we understand that this principle must be broadened. Specifically, we argue that constructions A and B do not need to be related *syntactically, but* must instead share *formal* information to motivate each other. In other words, we assume that, if two constructions share formal features, they must share semantic or pragmatic information, in which case they can be said to motivate one another.

This principle is explored at length in Goldberg and Awera's 2012 article *This is to count as a construction,* in which they motivate the formal and semantic properties of the English IS-TO Construction. Some instantiations of this construction shown by the authors are the following (GOLDBERG; AUWERA, 2012, p. 110):

(19) The match is to begin at 11pm.

(20) "Arguments are to be avoided; they are always vulgar and often convincing" (Oscar Wilde).

In the aforementioned article, the authors present the formal and semantic properties they deem necessary to motivate. One of these interesting properties is the constraint to non-finite copulative verbs. The existence of this constraint implies that the IS-TO construction licenses (19), but not *The match will to begin at 11pm*. Moreover, there's a non-copulative verb constraint, which suggests that this construction licenses (19), but also *When is the match to begin?*.

After presenting the construction's properties, the authors seek to motivate them. In order to do that, they assume that these properties are inherited by the Is-to construction from other constructions of the English language. As a result, they posit the following network (GOLDBERG; AUWERA, 2012, p. 121):

Figure 7 — The constructions that motivate the various properties of the is-to construction
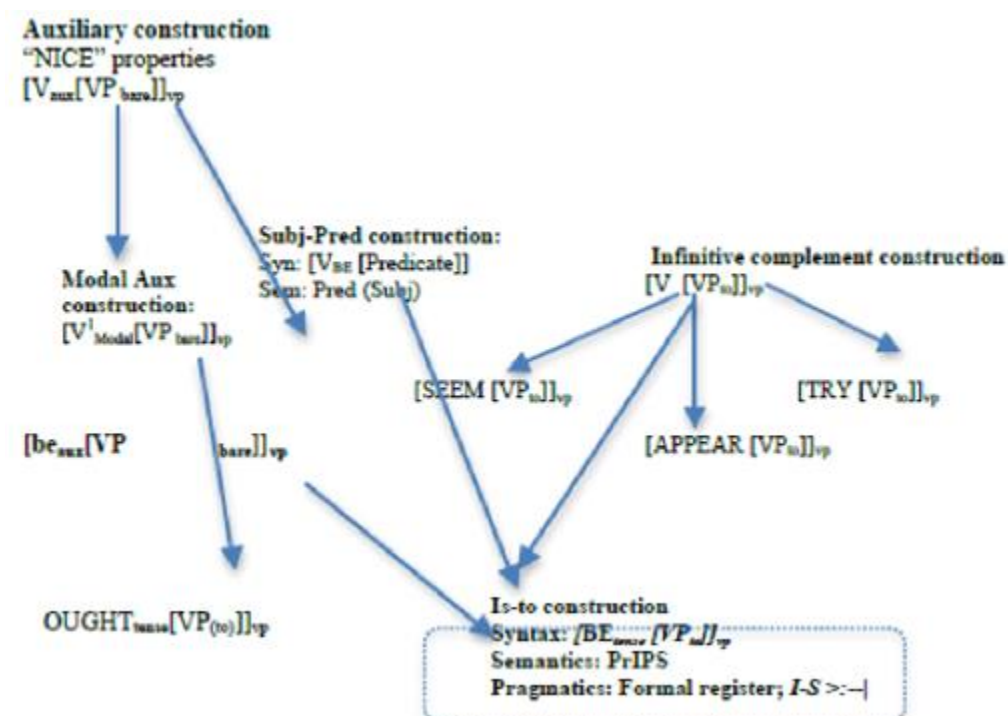
Source: (GOLDBERG; AUWERA, 2012)

This network aims to represent the properties of the Is-to construction as well as the constructions of the English language that motivate them. Here, we shall focus on the constructions that motivate the constraints mentioned above: the Infinitive complement construction (as in *I need to eat chocolate*), which motivates the non-finite copulative verb constraint; and the Auxiliary Construction (as in *Am I late?*), which motivates the non-copulative verb constraint.

The Infinitive complement construction is described as being constituted by a main verb followed by the preposition *to* and complemented by a verb in infinitive form, as in:

(21) He seemed to cry.

(22) She was condemned to go.

It should also be pointed out that the *to*-marked infinitive is often associated with a future orientation (WIERZBICKA, 1988, *apud* GOLDBERG; AUWERA, 2012). This can be observed in (22), in which the condemning precedes the going: before *she* went anywhere, *she* had already been *condemned*. This stands in opposition to sentences such as *She regretted going to the beach*, in which the regret happens after the event of *going.*

Notice that both the formal and the semantic properties associated to the Infinitive complement construction are inherited by the Is-to construction. Therefore, in a sentence such as (19), one can observe both the same syntax, with the main verb *be* being followed by the preposition *to* and the verb *begin* (its infinitive form), and the future orientation (if we substitute *is to* for *will* a similar idea is expressed: *The match will begin at 11pm.*)

Another construction represented in the motivation network is the Auxiliary Construction, which is characterized by the four NICE properties: (i) Negation: they can be directly followed by negation; (ii) Inversion: they invert in subject-auxiliary inversion; (iii) "Code": they can serve as answers to questions with their VPs elided; and (iv) Emphasis: they can be used for emphasis. These four properties are also

present in the IS-TO construction, as seen, respectively, in the examples below:

(23) The game is not to begin at 8pm.

(24) Is the game to begin at 8pm?

(25) Yes, it is.

(26) The game *is* to begin at 8pm.

In the examples above, the verb form *is* behaves as an auxiliary verb in the Is-to construction. Since this construction inherits formal properties from the Auxiliary Construction, it is possible to claim that the Is-to Construction is motivated by it.

In other words, after identifying these properties in the Is-to Construction, the authors seek other constructions that share the same features in order to account for how they came to be and the links constituting the *constructicon*.

The second principle mentioned, *The Principle of No Synonymy*, dictates that:

> If two constructions are syntactically distinct, they must be semantically or pragmatically distinct (cf. Bolinger 1968; Haiman 1985a; Clark 1987; MacWhinney 1989). Pragmatic aspects of constructions involve particulars of information structure, including topic and focus, and additionally stylistic aspects of the construction such as register (cf. discussion in section 1.1).
>
> (GOLDBERG, 1995, p. 67)

In other words, if two constructions display a different syntax, they must display a difference in their semantic or pragmatic features. Once more, we broaden this definition. Therefore, we can rephrase this principle as: If two constructions are *formally* distinct, they must display different functional properties.

Hence, according to this principle, if we analyze two seemingly synonymous constructions – like, for instance, [soil] and [ground] – we must find functional differences between them, since they are formally distinct. *Soil* and *ground* can have the same objective reference – i.e., they can refer to the same entity in the world –,

however, they are used in different contexts and evoke different semantic nuances. In fact, *soil* is a word used to talk about earth highlighting geographic aspects (Oxford Learner's Dictionary), like where plants grow (fertile soil or soil erosion) and countries' delimitations (American soil or Brazilian soil), whereas *ground* highlights the solid surface of the earth (Oxford Learner's Dictionary), as in:

(27) He hit the ground

(28)The bunker is underground.

This principle is also applied to different words associated to more abstract constructions. Speelman and Geeraerts (2009), for example, examine Dutch causative constructions, particularly the ones with *doen* and *laten* – as shown in the examples below:

(29) *Zij lieten Woody adopteren door een echtpaar*

     They let Woody adopt   by   a   married-couple

     "They had Woody adopted by a married couple"

(30) *De stralende zon doet de temperatuur oplopen*

     The radiant   sun does the temperature rise

       "The bright sun makes the temperature rise"

<div align="right">(KEMMER; VERHAGEN, 1994, p. 142)</div>

Doen and *laten* are two verbs that constitute near-synonymous constructions. Both are used to express causative events, i. e., events constituted by a *causer*, a *causee* and an *affectee* (KEMMER; VERHAGEN, 1994). Therefore, the authors sought to identify their uniqueness, based on the widespread idea that different

forms have different meanings. In order to do that, they conducted a corpus-based study, in which they located the uses of both constructions and analyzed their context of production. Their findings can be summarized as follows:

> The analyses showed that the highest probability of *doen* is observed in the contexts of affective causation: an inanimate stimulus causing a conceptually and syntactically central cognizer to experience some mental state (an intransitive event). Conversely, the *laten*-construction has the highest chances of being observed when the causer is animate, the effected predicate is transitive, the causee is implicit or marked with a preposition (syntactically and conceptually peripheral), and the caused event is non-mental.
>
> (SPEELMAN & GEERAERTS, 2009, p. 219)

Thus, even though they seem synonymous, these two Dutch constructions have distinct semantic features. The *doen*-construction is more commonly used with an inanimate *causer* and an intransitive event, while the *laten*-construction is usually found in contexts that the *causer* is animate, the predicate is transitive and the *causee* is not phonetically realized or headed by a preposition.

This principle is not only applied to words, but also to other types of construction too. Zukhovska (2020) applied simple and distinctive collexeme analysis methods in order to differentiate detached augmented and unaugmented Participle I clauses with the explicit subject. These structures license, respectively, the following sentences:

(31) The plain is like a field of poppies, with the flowers growing most thickly near the river.

(32) I stood up, holding on to the back of my chair, my heart beating like a hammer.

Her analysis showed that the English augmented [with[SubjCOMMON NOUN][VPARTICIPLE I]] construction, such as (31), is mostly used in newspapers

and magazines, with animate subjects "that are construed as AGENTS of a process/state expressed by the present participle" and are usually filled by the nouns "people", "woman" and "man" (or 'people nouns'). In contrast, the unaugmented [with-less[SubjCOMMON NOUN][VPARTICIPLE I]] construction, as in (26), appears mostly in fiction texts, in which it is used to give descriptive and additional information. Moreover, the agent of the matrix clause is usually an agent/experiencer, and it is expressed by a noun that evokes the BODY_PART semantic frame. Therefore, through these collexeme analyses the author demonstrated that these two formally different constructions are also functionally distinct.

Both principles are essential to this work. The two constructions analyzed here are well suited for the expression of service provision, therefore, they seem synonymous. Hence, we propose to study both their similarities (i.e., how they motivate each other) and possible functional differences (since they have different forms).

2.2 COGNITIVE GRAMMAR

Ronald Langacker, the founder of Cognitive Grammar (LANGACKER, 1989, 1991), is one of the biggest names of the Cognitive Linguistic movement and has dedicated his work to the understanding of how domain-general processes are related to language. A great contribution of his work is the exploration of the different ways people can conceptualize the same basic scenario – a set of operations he calls *focal adjustment* –, and how that can be expressed linguistically. A classic example is the difference between active and passive voice:

(33) The boy broke the vase.

(34) The vase was broken by the boy.

Both examples refer to the same transitive event, however this event is expressed in two differ manners. In (33) the emphasis is on the subject referent *the*

boy, the agent of the action designated by the verb; in other words, the focus of the utterance is on the fact that the boy caused the destruction of the vase. Contrarily, in (34) the emphasis falls on *the vase*, the patient of the action designated by the verb; in other words, the focus of the sentence is on the fact that the vase was damaged, not on who caused it.

In this work, two pair of notions related to focal adjustments are directly relevant: *figure/ground* and *base/profile*. In a given scene, the figure is a substructure that is more prominent than the rest and is perceived as the center, i. e, the element which the scene is organized around. However, this organization is not fixed, as it is usually possible to structure the same scene around different figures. Take this following scene as an example:

Figure 8 — vase and table scene

Source: https://pt.dreamstime.com/estilo-de-encadeamento-desenhos-animados-para-decoração-móveis-mesa-redonda-ilustração-do-vetor-gravação-desenho-animado-image207570907 (accessed: July, 17th; 10:30 AM)

The above figure shows a couple of elements, particularly a vase and a table. To describe this scene, there are some alternatives on how to organize its figure and ground (similarly to (33) and (34)), for example:

(35) The vase is on the table.

(36) The table is under the vase.

In (35), the most prominent element (figure) is the vase (since the utterance focuses on the object and where it is located), while the setting (ground) is the table. However, in (36), the focus is the table, which becomes the figure and stands out from the ground constituted by the vase. Therefore, speakers can refer to the same scene but place more emphasis on one element in relation to the rest.

This difference in prominence is also captured by the pair *base/profile*. However, while *figure/ground* is related to the cognitive capacity of focus or attention, *base/profile* is related to linguistic meaning. According to Langacker:

> The semantic value of an expression resides in neither the base nor the profile alone, but only in their combination; it derives from the designation of a specific entity identified and characterized by its position within a larger configuration. (1989, p. 183)

In this case, the profile is what stands out from the base in a process called *profiling*. To illustrate these notions, it is common to refer to the definition of hypotenuse (LANGACKER, 1989), as in:

Figure 7 — Hypotenuse
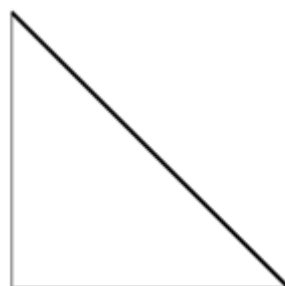
In a right-angled triangle, the side opposite to the right angle is a hypotenuse. Therefore, to capture this definition you need the image (at least a mental one) of a right-angled triangle, which is the base. Given this base, the word "hypotenuse"

gives more prominence to the side opposite to the right angle. Therefore, its meaning derives from the position of the triangle sides and angles in comparison to the triangle as a whole. In the above figure, the hypotenuse is profiled – highlighted – against the triangle (the base).

This distinction captures the difference between the two uses of the expression *gei* in Mandarin in Newman (1993). In his article, Newman investigates the Mandarin *gei* (*give* or *to* in English), as in:

(37) tā   gěi wǒ qián

he give me money

"He/she gave me money."

(38) tā   gěi   qián gěi wǒ

He/she give money to me

"He/she gave money to me."

The author claims that in all of these uses the same scene is conceptualized: one in which a *giver* transfers a *thing* to the *recipient*. Therefore, in Langacker's terms, they all evoke the same base. However, what differentiates them is the profiling: the author argues that the *gei* (give) profiles the *thing* and the *gei* (to) profiles the *recipient*. Thus, there is one word (*gei*) that can be translated to English into two different ones because this word is able to give prominence (profile) to two different elements.

These differences in prominence of elements are essential in understanding the analysis presented here. Our hypothesis is that the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction evoke a service provision scene, but the Service Provision Transitive Construction also evokes at least one extra situation involving the service provision and a possessive relation. They also profile different elements of it. This idea will be expanded in chapter 3.

3 ANALYSING AND DIFFERENTIATING THE CONSTRUCTIONS

The main objective of this work is to identify the distinction between two constructions: the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction. This chapter is aimed at describing them, including their formal and semantic features, as well as identifying the properties they share and the ones that set them apart.

In order to make this description clear, it is important to recall one aspect of the UBCG framework. As observed in chapter 2, UBCG represents the speaker's linguistic knowledge as a network of symbolic units, i. e., form-function pairings called constructions. Formal properties can be morphological or phonological patterns, syntactic structure and even prosody. As for meaning, it can be represented by any type of semantic or pragmatic information. Therefore, in order to fully comprehend the constructions being analyzed, it is important to describe both their form and meaning.

It is also crucial to recall our hypothesis. In this work we aim to understand which properties of the two constructions in focus favor the speaker's choice between one or the other when they want to express service provision. One possible answer, our hypothesis, is that the two constructions evoke different scenes. Although in both conceptual bases there are elements of service provision, the Service Provision Transitive Construction additionally evokes (i) at least one more step related to the service executed by the subject referent and (ii) one particular possessive relation. In this chapter, we will delve into the description of the SPTC (3.1), of the SPCC (3.2) and their differences (3.3).

3.1 THE EXPRESSION OF SERVICE PROVISION: CAUSATIVE SYNTATIC STRUCTURE

In this section the goal is to analyze some previous research concerning the Service Provision Causative Construction and then present our own description as a contribution to the understanding of this construction.

3.1.1 Previous studies

The Service Provision Causative Construction is the construction traditionally associated with service provision, as shown in educational material and grammar books (EASTWOOD, 2002; MURPHY, 2012). It licenses sentences such as:

(39) Sarah had her car fixed yesterday.

(40) Mark got his beard trimmed in the barbershop.

(41) Joe and Mary had their house remodeled.

All these sentences denote a situation where the subject referent arranges for someone else to do something for them. In this case, the subject referent is not the agent directly responsible for the execution of the service denoted by the verb (as clearly shown in the second example), although they do bear some degree of responsibility. If we take a closer look at (39), there is no doubt that Sarah was not the one who actually picked up the tools and worked on her car, yet she was the one who indirectly made it happen (for example, perhaps she was the one who went to a garage and paid for a mechanic to do so). The same can be said about Mark in (40) and Joe and Mary in (41), regarding the respective actions shown in the sentences.

While this construction seems to lack an in-depth account in the linguistic literature (both within and outside the field of CG), it does appear in grammar books and ESL textbooks, as the only legitimate way to express service provision, as seen below:

"Use get or have, the object, and the past participle of the verb to describe a service performed for you by someone else." (Interchange 3, p. 59)

"We use *have* + object + -*ed* form when we talk about someone doing something for us which we ask or instruct them to do." (Cambridge Online Dictionary)

"Have + object + past participle: this structure can be used to talk about arranging for things to be done by other people. The past participle has a passive meaning." (Practical English Usage, p. 232)

In all of these, the structure containing auxiliary "have/ get" followed by the past participle is associated with service provision and the idea of having someone do something for the subject referent. Even if they are not explicitly using constructionist terms, they are describing a construction — a form-function pairing — that we label here as Service Provision Causative Construction. We understand that this structure is a type the causative construction since the act of making someone do something is a causative event (one's action causes the other person to act) and it's composed by two phrases.

As we said, this construction has not been investigated extensively in the linguistic literature. However, causative phenomena in general have been investigated quite widely. In construction grammar, Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) delve into it. In this paper, they scrutinize the causative construction, identify its general meaning and develop a cross-linguistic analysis. Some of the sentences they investigate are the following:

(42) She made them leave.
(43) He had her write a letter.
(44) She let him eat some of the brownies.

All of the above sentences are instances of a causative construction, yet they have different properties. For example, the sentence presented in (42) is constituted by an intransitive verb "leave" while in (43) and (44) the verb used is a transitive one, "write" and "eat", which creates the need for an argument that is not mandatory in (42). In order to capture the similarities and differences between distinguishable causative usages, they posit a general causative construction, which is said to evoke a general causative scene, while at the same time establishing parameters to distinguish noticeably different types.

According to Kemmer and Verhagen (1994), there usually are three participants in a causative event: (i) the causer, the entity that causes the entire event; (ii) the causee, the entity executing the action; and (iii) the affectee, that appears in certain causative events and corresponds to the entity that is affected by the action predicated. In examples (42), (43) and (44), the causers are "she" and "he", which correspond to the syntactic subjects. The causees are represented by "them", "her" and "him", the entities that respectively write a letter and eat some of

the brownies. And lastly, the affectees are "letter", and "brownies", the endpoints of the actions performed by the causees. Therefore, the authors claim that all causative constructions evoke a causative scene constituted by two core participants and in some cases, three.

Even though all instances of the causative construction share a single semantic characterization, they also have distinct features. Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) propose three parameters to help classify the different types of causative constructions: (i) physical vs. non-physical causation; (ii) direct vs. mediated causation; (iii) cause *per se* vs. enablement and permission. These are not necessarily independent; they can interact and originate more specific types of causation, such as direct *physical causation* and *indirect physical causation* among others.

Drawing on this classification, the authors analyzed causative constructions cross-linguistically. They mostly compared one-participant and two-participant causative events — Intransitive Causative Constructions (ICs) and Transitive Causative Constructions (TCs), respectively — in order to argue that causative clauses are expansions of simpler clauses rather than reductions from more complex underlying patterns (as is commonly argued in generative grammar).

However, the examples mentioned in their study — like (42) and (43) — do not encompass the Service Provision Causative Construction or the expression of service provision in any way.

Another researcher, Gilquin (2003), uses *Frame Semantics* to describe causative constructions and discuss the differences between the uses of *get* and *have* in these constructions, such as:

(45) He got his employees to work late.
(46) She had her friends go on vacation together.

Similarly to Kemmer and Verhagen, Gilquin proposes a general semantic representation for causative constructions. According to her, causative constructions can evoke a frame constituted by three or four elements: *causer, causee, patient* and *effect*. The first three correspond, respectively, Kemmer and Verhagen's *causer, causee* and *affectee*. That is, the first is the entity that makes the event happen; the second is the one that acts out the event influenced by the *causer*; and the third is

the entity affected by the *cause*. Notice that the latter is not included in what Gilquin denominates "the basic frame of causation", but it appears when this frame is combined with the frame of a transitive action.

While Gilquin's and Kemmer and Verhagen's proposals are largely aligned – both assume the existence of two core and optional one participant in the causative event –, only the former posits the *effect* element. According to Gilquin, the *effect* is the event or state performed by the *causee*. In a nutshell, while Kemmer and Verhagen focus on the participants of the causation event, Gilquin also takes into account a semantic element that do not correspond to event participants.

In (45) and (46) only the *basic* elements are present. The first sentence evokes a scene in which "he", the causer, obligated "his employees" (causee) to perform an event ("work late"). In the second one, "she" (causer) probably convinced "her friends" (causee) to "go on vacation" (event). None of them shows the possible fourth element, which is commonly present in sentences such as:

(47) Ed made the students rewrite their final papers.
(48) Jess got her computer fixed by a guy at the shop.

In both cases there are four elements, because they also show upon whom the actions were performed and who executed them. Therefore, there is a *causer* ("Ed" and "Jess") that induces the *causee* ("the students" and "a guy at the shop") to perform an *event* ("rewrite" and "fix") upon the *patient* ("final papers" and "her computer"). Even though in these two sentences all of these elements are evoked, they do not need to always be phonetically realized, as shown in (48), in which the patient could have been omitted.

Although all causative constructions share a common semantic representation, there are also considerable differences amongst them. Gilquin chose to investigate, in particular, the differences between causative constructions including the verb *get* and those including *have*. She explored the British component of the International Corpus of English and analyzed the construction's frequency and contexts of use. Gilquin concluded that constructions with *get* usually involve more difficulty and effort in obtaining the *effect*, while the ones with *have* do not have this undertone and are usually associated with the presenting of a fact. In (45), it seems like it was an accomplishment that the employees worked late, i. e., that *he* made a
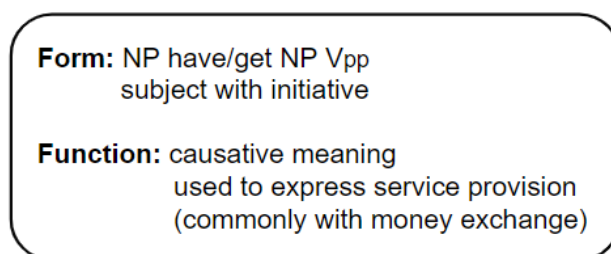
big effort and finally was able to convince or force his employees to do so; whilst in (46), it does not seem like going on vacation was the result of an effort by *she* or that her friends were co-opted or convinced to go.

These investigations are preliminary and need to be broadened in order to allow solid conclusions. Besides, they do not structure a systematic description of the constructions. Because the focus is on semantics, the syntactic aspects of the constructions tend to be neglected or disregarded.

While these studies might shed some light into the Causative Construction, they do not mention service provision or do a closer inspection of the Service Provision Causative Construction pattern. In general, they encompass causatives that explicit the causation chain – showing all its elements, including the agent of the main verb. They usually do not explore structures in which the agent of the main action is not mandatory and the subject is not the agent but has agency upon the event depicted.

To fulfill these absences, Vilela (2009) adopts a constructionist approach in her attempt to detail this construction. She thus proposes the following description:

Figure 10 — Vilela's description of the PCC

Form: NP have/get NP Vpp
     subject with initiative

Function: causative meaning
     used to express service provision
     (commonly with money exchange)

This structure, named by her as Passive-Causative Construction, is specialized in a particular causative scene (a service provision one) and is associated with a form that is represented as [NP HAVE/GET NP Vpp] in figure 1. This construction licenses sentences such as:

(49) Jennifer got her lashes done by her friend.
(50) Emma had the microwave fixed.

In (49) and (50), there is a Noun Phrase ("Jennifer" and "Emma") followed by a verb "got" in (49) and "have" in (50), another NP ("her lashes" and "the microwave", respectively) and a verb in past participle form ("done" and "fixed"). Both also have what Vilela (2009) refers to as a *subject with initiative*, meaning that, while "Jennifer" and "Emma" are non-agentive subjects, they nevertheless initiate a causative event. These forms are associated with a service provision scene. In (49), "Jennifer" asked or hired a friend to perform an extension on her lashes, while in (50) "Emma" presumably paid a third party to repair a microwave.

This is a more structured constructionist description of this kind of Causative Construction. Vilela's work, however, does not address the difference between such as the one between (49) or (50) and their transitive counterpart. Furthermore, the semantic of service provision is not deepened, in that the analysis does not detail the elements and relations it entails.

Besides that, we argue that the naming of this construction is not the most accurate. The English passive is known for its focus on the patient or theme that is placed on prototypical subject position (a highlighting one), and also for the use of the verb "to be" followed by the main verb in its past participle form. More importantly there is no verb to be as auxiliary (only "have" or "get") and this auxiliary is not immediately followed by the main verb in its past participle form, as the verb and the participle are separated by an NP. To illustrate these differences let's compare one instance of each construction:

(51) My hair was cut.
(52) Joshua had his hair cut.

Both sentences can be used to describe the same event, namely a hair being cut by a hairdresser. However, they don't have equivalent structures and do not construe the event in the same way. In particular, (51) highlights the *hair,* the element that was affected and modified by the action *cut,* without profiling the possessor of the hair. Besides, the predicate is comprehended by verb "to be" and the main verb in its past participle *was cut* (past form of the verb to be + past participle of cut). This utterance seems to simply describe a situation, i. e., inform about this happening.

In (52), on the other hand, the element in initial (subject) position corresponds to the individual that not only is somehow affected by the action, but, more importantly, is the one who makes the action happen by initiating a chain of events that end with the event designated in the utterance. This also means that the subject referent has volition: in (52), for instance, Joshua wanted and acted in order to make the hair be cut (this is in contrast with (51), in which, of course, the hair does not have volition. Lastly, as aforementioned, the existing auxiliary verb is not the verb *to be*, but the verb *had* and the main verb, *cut,* does not immediately follow the auxiliary.

Therefore, we argue that the passive label is not the most appropriate one. For this work, we are calling this structure the Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC). The particular association of form and meaning of the SPCC is going to be explored in the next section.

3.1.2 Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC)

In the previous section, we delved into different studies about causative constructions and the one specific type that interests us, the Service Provision Causative Construction. By saying that there are types of causative constructions, we are arguing that there are some lower-level constructions, i. e., relatively more concrete forms of the general Causative Construction. In this section, we are going to discuss one of them: the one we call Service Provision Causative Construction.

Deriving out of those researches mentioned in 4.1.1, we propose a description of the SPCC combining elements from these preceding works with new features that help close the identified gaps and refine a few aspects of it.

As aforementioned, Vilela (2009) describes the SPCC (which she calls Passive-Causative Construction) quite extensively, analyzing both ends of the construction (form and function). Still, her proposal for the syntactic structure does not encompass all possible formal patterns of the construction. Take, for example, the following sentences:

(53) Hayley had her house remodeled by the property brothers.
(54) Taylor got her nails done.

These sentences show a clear difference in form, as (53) has an extra element in comparison to (54). Both start with a NP ("Hayley" and "Taylor"), followed by one of these two verbs "have" or "get", another NP ("her house" and "her nails") and a second verb in its past participle form ("remodeled" and "done"), which is the structure proposed by Vilela. Yet, in (53) there is one more element, "by the property brothers" — a PP, the passive agent. Even though this element is commonly ellipsed, it can still be licensed by the construction and therefore needs to be included as part of its form. Consequently, the form of the SPCC proposed is: [NP Have/Get NP Vpp (PP)].

Also, Vilela's detailing of the semantics of the construction lacks depth. While she does associate the form above mentioned with the meaning of service provision and adds that the causation chain only happens with the volition of the subject referent, she does not go further. That is, there is no elaboration on the elements that constitute the service provision, their relations or the semantic roles attributed to them.

In order to further elaborate the semantics of the construction, we will turn to Langacker's cognitive semantics, which provides theoretical concepts such as base, profile and profiling — discussed in chapter 2.

The first step to describe the semantics of the SPCC is to recall Goldberg's notion of argument roles, which are related to the roles of specific slots in particular argument structure constructions (and not to broader categories such as *agent, patient* and *theme*, among others). Thus, the semantic roles involved in causative constructions must be specific to the event evoked by them.

Therefore, in order to examine the argument roles of the SPCC, we must understand the details of the scene that it designates. Here we argue that this construction evokes a service provision scene in which the service requester (which is the referent of the syntactic subject) takes the initiative to ask or hire — and in some cases pay — the service provider, thus leading the service provider to act upon the service affectee (which is the referent of the syntactic object), as illustrated below:

Figure 11 — SPCC semantics
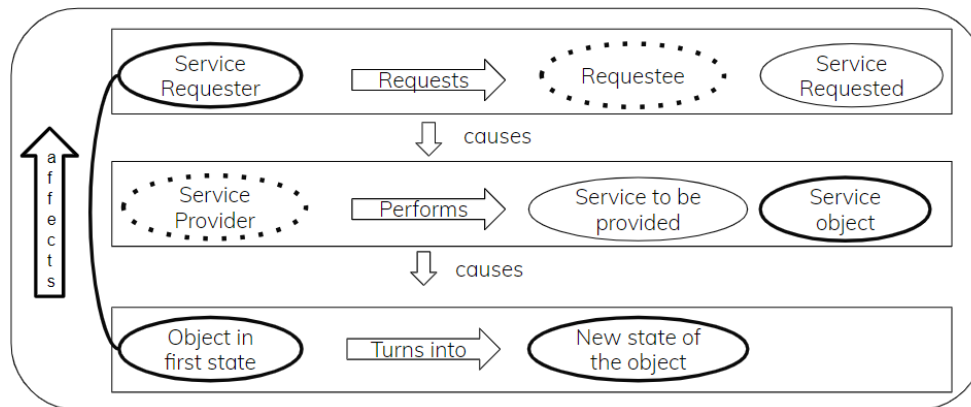
Each rectangle in Figure 11 represents a stage of the service provision scene, comprehending the action taken, the agent responsible for it and the element affected by it. The first rectangle represents the start of the causative chain, the middle one represents the actual service being performed and the last one, the change in state of the object affected by it.

In (53) Hayley hired the property brothers and later on, the property brothers remodeled Hayley's house, thus changing its state. In this case, the top rectangle represents the reaching out to the property brothers, inside of it there are three elements (each one represented by one circle): the hirer Hayley, the performed action (hire) and the hired individuals (property brothers). The rectangle below represents the second action taken, the actual remodeling of the house. Inside this rectangle there are again three elements: the service provider (property brothers), the service to be provided (remodeling) and the service object (her house). Lastly, the object (her house) undergoes a change of state (since it becomes a remodeled house). Therefore, the SPCC evokes a service provision scene which includes three steps (represented by rectangles) – namely the hiring, the performance of the service and the change underwent by the object of the service –, and all of them involve different elements (represented by circles) and their relations.

Even though this construction evokes these steps involved in the service provision and their elements, it only profiles a few elements of each of them, the ones that are phonetically realized. Regarding the first step, the only element profiled is the service requester (SR); regarding the second step, two elements are profiled: the service provided and the service affectee (SA). So, while the sentence *Hayley had her house remodeled by the property brothers* evokes the three steps

aforementioned (the hiring of the service, the actual remodeling and the state change), it only profiles the service requester Hayley, the execution of the service (the remodeling done by *the property brothers*), the service affectee *her house* and the service provider the property brothers*. This *profiling* is represented in the figure by the difference in the lines of the elements: the heavy-lined ones are profiled, while the others are not.

Thus, the scene evoked in (53) involves "Hayley" (service requester), "the property brothers" (service provider) and "her house" (afectee). The action of having a third party remodeling one's house implies that the owner paid a group of individuals, which then changed the structure and decoration of the house. These stages are evoked by the use of the SPCC, however the only situation being profiled is the last one, which was performed by the *the property brothers*.

To illustrate this process using the model in figure 11, it is possible to describe the semantics of (53) as follows:

Figure 12 – Semantics of example (53)
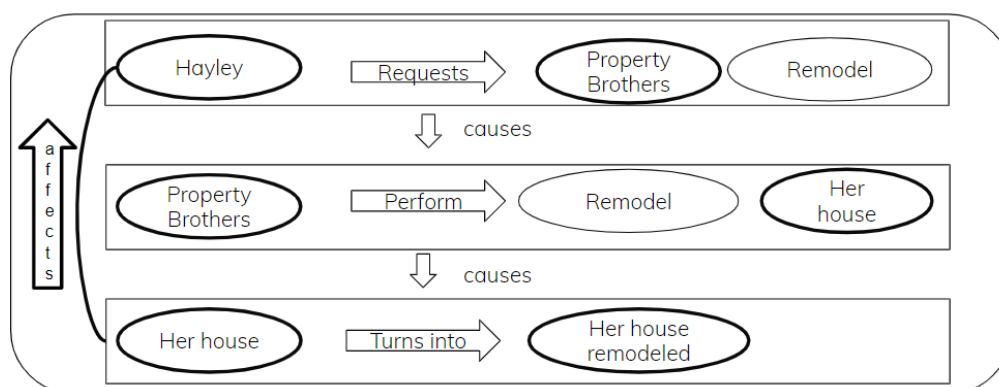
Therefore, the Service Provision Causative Construction can be described as follows:

Figure 13 — SPCC description
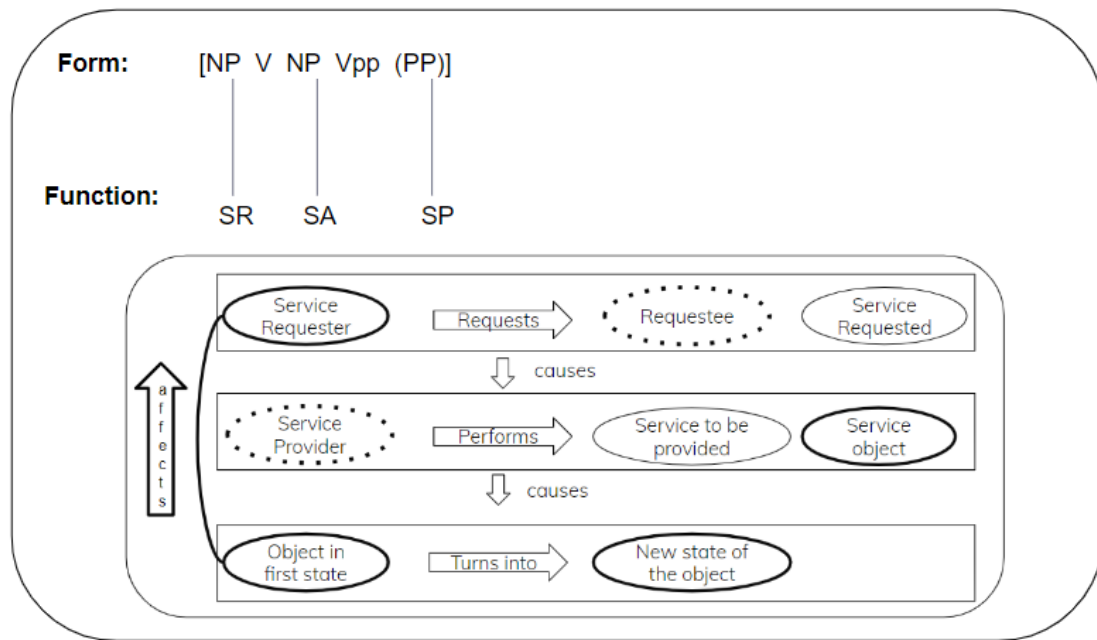
Figure 13 illustrates the two poles of the Service Provision Causative Construction: its form and its meaning. The first line shows its syntactic structure, while the second line shows the semantic roles assigned to each syntactic argument. This part of the formal notation is directly borrowed from Goldberg (1995). A mere list of semantic roles, however, seems largely insufficient to account for all the semantic complexities of the construction. The last part of the representation thus specifies the whole base evoked by the SPCC, including both its unprofiled and profiled elements.

3.2 THE EXPRESSION OF SERVICE PROVISION: TRANSITIVE SYNTACTIC STRUCTRURE

After discussing the more prototypical structure used to express service provision, we are going to explore its transitive alternative next. In order to accomplish that, we are going to review some studies related to this construction and, then, present our own proposal.

3.2.1 Previous studies

The other construction associated with the expression of service provision is the one we are labeling as the Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC). We

consider this a subtype of the transitive construction that licenses uses such as in the following:

(55) Justin Timberlake highlighted his hair.

(56) Katie straightened her hair.

(57) He landscaped his garden.

Out of context, a sentence like (55) may have two different interpretations: (i) Justin Timberlake highlighted his own hair; or (ii) someone else (for instance, a hairstylist) highlighted Justin Timberlake's hair. The first reading is the one commonly associated with the transitive form in English and supported by grammar books and textbooks. And the second is a service provision reading. Thus the same syntactic structure is associated with different meanings, leading us to classify them as subtypes of the same construction, a transitive one. So, to analyze the transitive construction specialized in service provision and its structure's idiosyncrasies, it is relevant to analyze the construction that we refer to here as the Agentive Transitive Construction (ATC). The ATC is the more prototypical transitive construction, which licenses sentences such as:

(58) Matt kicked the ball yesterday.

(59) Sienna is going to punch him.

This construction is explored in Diessel (2015) as an example of Argument Structure Construction. To start, he contrasts the transitive construction traditional description with more recent psycholinguistic findings, as seen in the following passage:

> In English, a (prototypical) transitive sentence consists of a clause-initial NP encoding the subject, a transitive verb denoting a causative event, and a postverbal NP encoding the object (e.g., Peter closed the door). In the syntactic literature, transitive sentences are commonly analyzed as fully compositional expressions formed from primitive categories by means of general rules; but research in psycholinguistics suggests that speakers of English conceive of the NP-V-NP sequence (or SVO) as a holistic entity that is associated with a particular scene involving an actor (or experiencer) and undergoer (or theme). (DIESSEL, 2015, p. 302)

The psycholinguistics studies quoted here support constructionists' models and reveal the existence of a form-function pairing in which the syntactic sequence NP V NP is paired with a transitive scene involving specific elements, namely an actor and a theme. Diessel illustrates this idea and refines the meaning associated with the transitive syntax, as seen in figure 14:

Figure 14 — Diessel's transitive construction description
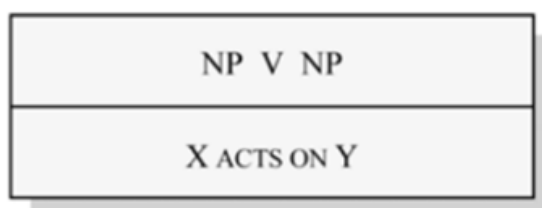
In this figure, Diessel shows the prototypical form-function pairing of the (agentive) transitive construction. On top, he represents the syntax [NP V NP], and at the bottom, the semantics, that can be summarized as *X acts on Y*. In example (58), *Matt* acts on *the ball,* and this action is designated by the verb *kick* — so Matt moved his feet to make contact with the ball in order to move it.

Therefore, the Transitive Construction has been explored in linguistic research, but its association with service provision has been neglected. Yet, some recent studies (VILELA, 2009; SANTOS, 2019) have shown that at least Americans produce and interpret uses of transitive structure for this purpose.

Vilela (2019) examines L1 transference in Brazilian learners of English. Her aim was to investigate a possible interference of the agent-beneficiary alternation of Brazilian Portuguese in the understanding and use of what she called the Passive-Causative Construction of English. These structures are exemplified below:

(60) a. O cabelereiro cortou o cabelo de João.
   The hairdresser cut John's hair

   b. João cortou o cabelo.
   John cut the hair

(61) John had his hair cut.

The examples in (60) demonstrate the alternation, in Brazilian Portuguese, between these two forms – one which the subject is the agent and the other which the subject is the beneficiary of the action (i. e, the service being provided). Both of them depict the same event of John paying a hairdresser to cut his hair, however in Brazilian Portuguese this can be expressed with two different structures – one highlighting the agent (the hairdresser) and the other highlighting the beneficiary (John). (61), on the other hand, exemplifies the structure more commonly associated with service provision in English, usually referred as *have something done* or *have/get + object + participle*. Therefore, Vilela tried to understand if having Brazilian Portuguese as a first language and consequently having the structure in (60a) available and associated with the expression of service provision, affects the learning and use of structures such as (61) when learning English as a target language.

In order to do that, she elaborated an extensive experiment with three different parts consisting of two tasks each. The first part included two production tasks: (i) one where participants read a text and had to complete a sentence using the verb and the complement given; (ii) and another one in which they saw a picture with a to do list consisting of some chores that had been completed and some that still had to be done and were asked to write a text about what they saw.

The second part had two comprehension tasks: (i) in the first one the participants were exposed to a small dialogue followed by a sentence stating a conclusion about what was read, and they had to indicate if the sentence was true, not necessarily true or false; (ii) in the second one, they were shown a set of pictures and had to mark and/or enumerate three sentences describing each picture according to what they thought was more appropriate, or alternatively mark with a (*) if the sentence was considered not good.

Lastly, on the third part they were asked to go back to part two and explain: (i) why they judged the sentences as they did in task 1; (ii) why they marked any sentence as not good in task 2, if that was applied.

For all of these tasks to generate relevant data for Vilela's investigation, she needed to assess different moments of the learning experience, and to do that she separated the English learners in three groups, according to their proficiency levels

(which were tested in the pre-experiment phase): intermediate level, advanced students and proficient level. Besides these groups, she also worked with a group of Portuguese speakers that never studied English, one group of Italian English learners (since Italian does not have the alternation present in Brazilian Portuguese), and a control group made of English speakers with no knowledge of Portuguese.

For our purposes the interesting group to analyze is the control group, consisting of American native English speakers. That is because the experimental design included the two structures we investigate and was able to assess if English speakers produce (first part) and accept (second part) the transitive structure in service provision context.

For the two production tasks this group used the transitive construction in 53,3% and 69,2% of the time, respectively. Vilela attributes these high numbers not only to the fact that service provision can be expressed by the transitive structure, but also to the fact that some actions such as *redecorating the office* and *remodelling the house* (which appeared in the target items) could have been interpreted not as something executed by a professional, but by the referent of the sentence subject – meaning that it is possible that there was an agentive reading of them.

In part two, the author analyzed the data by interpreting the participants' answers as semantic roles attribution. In other words, depending on the answer, Vilela understood that the subject of the sentence was read as an agent or a beneficiary of the portrayed action. In task one, the subject was associated with a beneficiary role in 50%, 66,7% and 83,3% of the cases in the three dialogs presented, respectively. The percentages grew as the complexity of the action was higher and there were more textual elements marking the service provision. In task two, the beneficiary reading was chosen in 83,3% of the answers for the first three items and in 66,7% of the answers on the fourth one. Therefore, the data points to the fact that American native speakers of English use and accept a beneficiary subject in transitive constructions expressing service provision.

Santos (2019), like Vilela, investigated how language transfer affects the expression of service provision by Brazilian learners of English. This is because service provision in Portuguese is commonly associated with a Brazilian Portuguese construction that is very similar to the English transitive construction, while in English it is traditionally associated with the Service Provision Causative Construction. In order to explore this idea, she carries out two different experiments involving two

groups of participants: (i) English speaking Brazilians; and (ii) monolingual Americans.

The first experiment was a comprehension task that explored the interpretation of transitive sentences. The participants were shown small texts consisting of three sentences: the first two contextualized the story while the last one revealed if the subject referent was the agent (of the action denoted by the verb) or not. Take the example below:

(62) Isabela likes to be beautiful at all times.

Yesterday, she cut her hair.

She cut her hair herself.

(SANTOS, 2019, p. 78)

In (62), the first two sentences set the tone by exploring how Isabela enjoys beauty and that a change was made in her hair. After that, the final sentence reveals that she was directly responsible for it, which means that she may have used a pair of scissors to cut her own hair. The participants' task was to judge the last sentence shown to them. They had to choose one number from 1 to 5 in a Likert scale representing how much the participant agreed with the interpretation of the story represented by the final sentence. The numbers in the scale varied from completely agree (1) to completely disagree (5).

The second experiment was a *cloze* task, in which the participants had to complete a sentence such as:

(63) Every Sunday morning, Edward goes to the barbershop to _____.

These sentences showed an incomplete story according to which the subject referent goes to a place where services are provided, such as a salon and a mechanic shop. In all of them there was a blank space after the preposition *to* in order to induce the participant to write about the action that happened in these places.

In both tasks, American monolinguals associated the transitive construction with the service provision to some degree. In experiment 1, the mean of the number chosen in the Likert scale was 4 for both the monolingual and the bilingual group,

thus implying a rejection of the subject agent interpretation. In experiment 2, on the other hand, the monolingual group used a transitive form to complete the sentences presented in 3 out of 5 items (specifically, in 11,8%, 11,8% and 35,3% of the answers of these items). Meanwhile, the bilingual group produced the transitive construction in all 5 items. They appeared, respectively, in 22,8%, 25,7%, 20%, 62,8% and 37,% of the answers collected for those items. Therefore, Santos (2019) concluded that American English speakers do produce the transitive construction as a way to express service provision (albeit to a lesser degree in comparison to the canonical construction).

This research is able to show that the transitive construction can be understood as a way to express service provision and to document this type of use. However, the author is not focused on analyzing this use, which would involve explaining the reasons behind this phenomenon or comparing the two constructions available to express this kind of event. Arising out of this gap, we propose a description of this type of transitive construction and, later, a comparison between it and the SPCC.

3.2.2 Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC)

As aforementioned, we argue that the Service Provision Transitive Construction is a lower level — more concrete — transitive construction. In other words, we treat it as a type of transitive construction with a semantic constraint for verbs that allow a service provision reading, such as:

(64) Nicole painted her living room walls.
(65) Alex did her nails.

According to Diessel, discussed in the previous section, the prototypical transitive construction (ATC) is an association between the syntax NP V NP and a general meaning of *X acts on Y*, in which an agentive subject referent is responsible for executing the action suffered by the patient (object referent).

From this description, it is possible to argue that the Service Provision Transitive Construction is motivated by the Agentive Transitive Construction. The former inherits its linear syntax [NP V NP] and the requirement of a transitive verb.

However, they differ regarding the semantic role of the participants. While in the prototypical ATC the subject is an agent, in the SPTC the subject is the service requester — the initiator of the causation chain.

Furthermore, we argue the SPTC inherits the notion of subject referent responsibility, meaning that the subject referent is somehow accountable for the action designated by the verb. However, while in the ATC the responsibility is a direct one, in the SPTC it is clearly an indirect one. This will be clarified below.

Even though these two constructions are similar in many ways, they also present significant differences, especially in their function. Semantically, the Service Provision Transitive Construction is closer to the SPCC — which is of course to be expected, since they share a common function (expressing service provision). However, if their meaning was limited to expression of service provision, we would have in American English two distinct forms with the exact same meaning, which would constitute a violation of Goldberg's (1995) No-Synonym Principle. Nonetheless, we argue that is not the case. More specifically, we propose that the SPTC resembles the SPCC in that it also evokes a service provision scene while at the same time it differs from the SPCC in important ways. First, it also evokes at least one action that is prior to the service provision scene itself, as illustrated below:

Figure 15 — SPTC Semantics
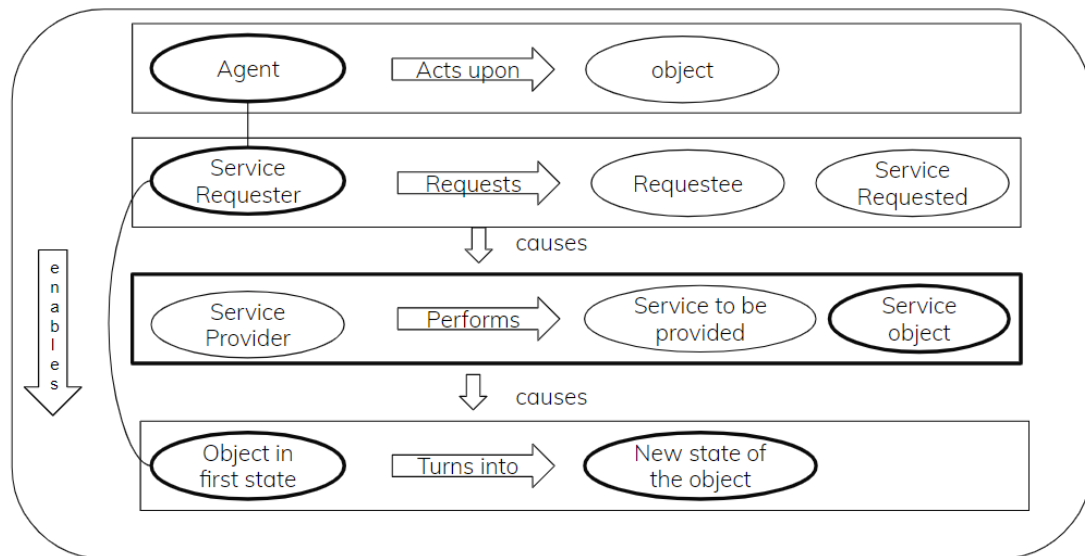
In figure 15, there are the three service provision situations (represented by the rectangles): the request for the service, the execution of the service, and the change in state of the object affected by it, respectively. It is important to highlight that the elements constituting them, are labeled specifically for each situation, which means that in some cases the same referent has a different name in distinct situation. Since the first situation is the requesting of a service, there is a service requester (subject referent) requesting a service (depicted action) to a service requestee (the one who is going to execute the service). This first situation, led by the subject referent, causes the second situation (the service provision), in which the now service provider (previously requestee) performs the service provided (previously the service requested) upon the service object (object referent). The service execution (second situation) causes the next situation, in which the object referent changes state — from its first state to its new state.

Then, there is the relation between situation three (change in the state of the object) and the subject referent. In the SPCC, the state change affects the subject referent, usually in a positive way. For example, if car changed from being broke to being fixed, the person who "had it fixed" will be benefited by it. Whilst in the SPTC, this relation is one which the subject referent enables the change in state, i.e, this person has some degree of responsibility for making this event happen. If we take the same example as before (a car being fixed) this might mean that the subject referent chooses the mechanic responsible for fixing the car or that they took the car to the garage.

This enabling relation is a reflection of at least one extra action executed by the subject referent, represented as another situation evoked by the SPTC. In figure 6, this extra situation is represented by the rectangle above the service provision situations. Since different services and different contexts can involve varied activities, the elements represented are quite abstract and broad. As aforementioned, these somehow enable the service provision and denote a degree of involvement, and consequently, of responsibility by the subject referent.

Applying this analysis to example (64), we obtain the following representation:

Figure 16 — Semantics of example (64)
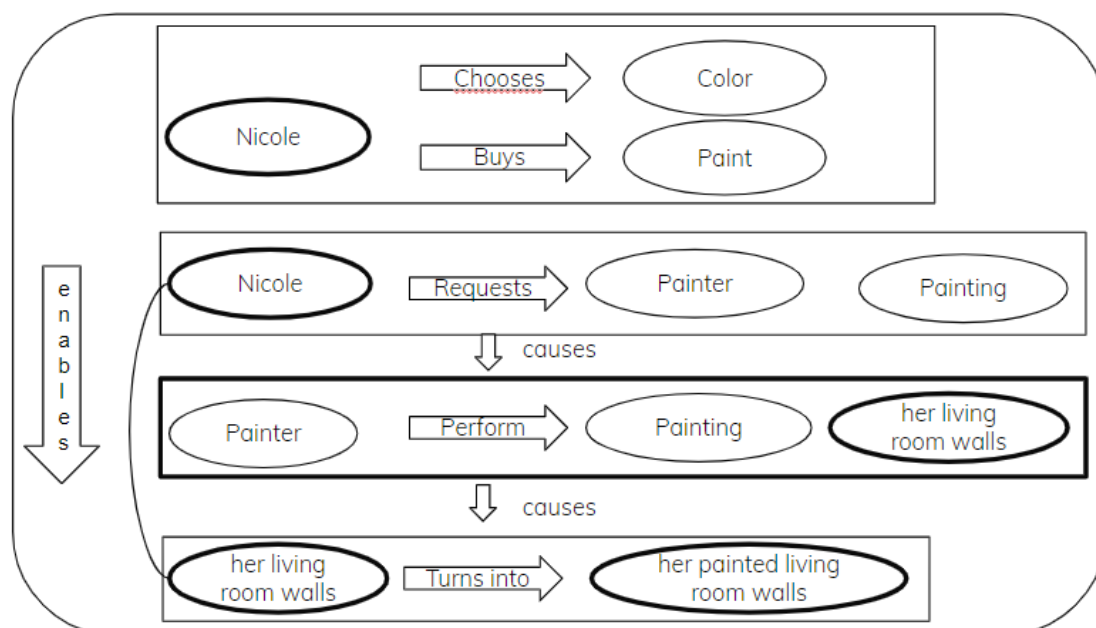
In essence, in order for Nicole's living room walls to be painted, different steps had to be taken both by her and by the painter she hired. The first step, represented by the rectangle on top was for Nicole to hire a painter, and then she needed to choose the color and paint she wanted to be used. Next, the painter had to buy the supplies required, they had to file and prep the wall in order to be able to apply the paint to it (actually paint the wall, the service requested). All these steps are represented in figure 15, each action separated in different rectangles.

Another difference between the meaning of the SPTC and that of the SPCC is that the former evokes an extra relation, namely, a possessive relation between the service requester and the service affectee. So, to complete the semantics of the construction we need to represent it as follows:

Figure 17 — SPCC representation with the possessive relation
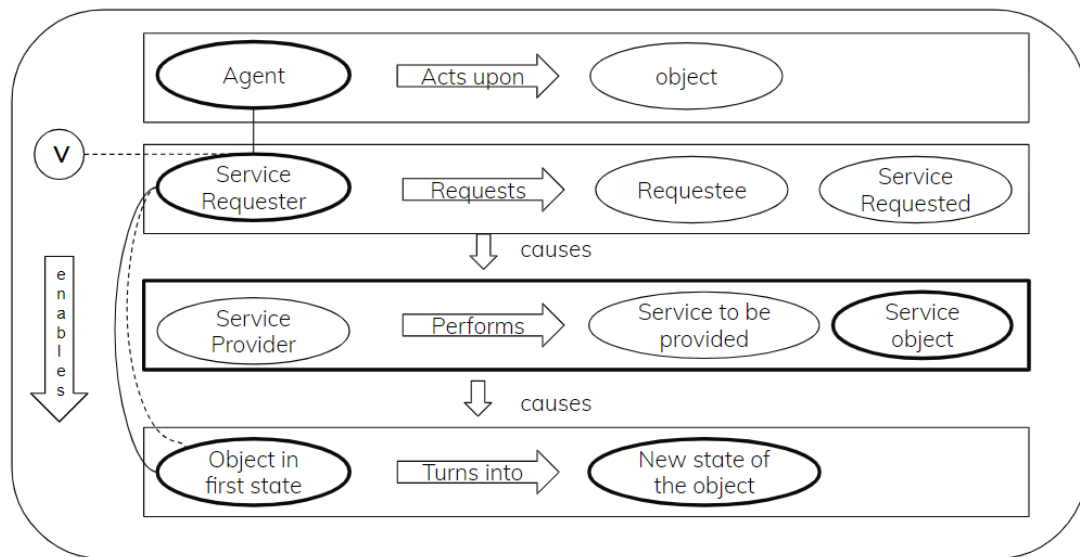
In figure 17, besides the elements already discussed above, there are three new components: (i) the element *V;* (ii) the reference point (service requester); (iii) the target (the object); and their relation (dotted lines). All together they constitute a possessive scene. In chapter 2, we explored how a possessive relation (LANGACKER, 1991) involves a viewer (V) tracing a path through a reference point (possessor) to get to its target (possession). This happens because some elements are more conceptually prominent (reference point) than others (target), therefore, to mentally access a possession, the speaker must go through the possessor. In (65), the nails that were done (i. e., manicured) belong to "Alex". In this case, the element "Alex" is more prominent and therefore is a reference point that one is going to use in order to access a less prominent element, the target "nails".

To make this clearer, let's explore some possibilities on how to rewrite (65) without the possessive relation:

(66) ?Alex did the nails.
(67) ?Alex did nails.
(68) Alex did some nails.

The first two, (66) and (67), are not agrammatical per se, yet they do not sound natural. Perhaps in very specific contexts they are possible, but even then, they do not trigger a service provision reading. Sentence (66) could be fit if these

specific nails had already been mentioned and all the participants had knowledge about them, and still, it would trigger an agentive interpretation — i.e, the interpretation according to which "Alex" did her own nails. Example (67) seems even more improbable, however one reading could be that "Alex" used to be a nail designer and she used to do manicure for her clients – but again she would be the agent of these action. Lastly, sentence (68) seems natural, yet again suggests an agentive reading of "Alex", and not a service provision scene in which "Alex" hired someone to apply nail polish to undefined nails.

Another option would be not to exclude the possessive relation, but to substitute the possessive pronoun for a name. In other words, to establish a possessive relation between the *service affectee* and someone other than the subject referent. To test this alternative, here are examples (65) and (66) rewritten accordingly:

(69) Nicole painted Paul's living room walls.
(70) Alex did Maria's nails.

Again, the rewritten sentences are not agrammatical *per se*, in that they are possible utterances of American English. However, they are not the type of sentence we are analyzing here. In (69) and (70), the actions – paint the walls and do the nails – are obviously not performed by the people who benefited from them. It is explicit that Paul did not paint the walls of his living room (in fact, Nicole did), and that Maria did not manicure her nails (in fact, Alex did). Even though Nicole and Alex could be providing a service for Paul and Maria respectively, the agents and not the beneficiary of these actions are in the subject position. It is also not possible to say that Nicole or Alex was responsible for hiring someone to execute the services depicted (painting of the walls and doing of the nails). Therefore, these sentences are not instances of the same construction as those in (64) and (65), in which the subject is the beneficiary and the agent of the actions performed are not mandatorily realized. Thus, we reiterate that the SPTC seems to have a semantic constrain in which there must have a possessive relation between the subject referent (beneficiary of the service) and the affectee.

The last aspect of figure 17 we must analyze is the width of the lines. The participants and relations represented by thinner lines are not profiled, while the

ones represented by heavy lines are profiled. Differently from the SPCC, the SPTC profiles the action(s) executed by the service requester (subject referent), the service provision situation (denoted by the verb), the service affectee (object referent), and at the same time, it profiles and specifies the relation between the service requester and the service affectee as a possessive one (as shown by the dotted lines). This means that, when realized, the construction will have its slots filled and the item (another construction) filling the slot of the service provided (which is necessarily a verb) will be the one to profile the action performed by the service provider, thus complementing the meaning of the syntactic construction. So, when one utters (56) (to recall: "Katie straightened her hair"), he/she is *profiling* — highlighting — the fact that Katie is the one responsible for a least one other action related to the service prevision other than starting the causation chain that ends with the change in her hair, but also that the hair belongs to her. Thus, it was **her** initiative that affected **her** hair.

The description of the Service Provision Transitive Construction can be summarized as follows:
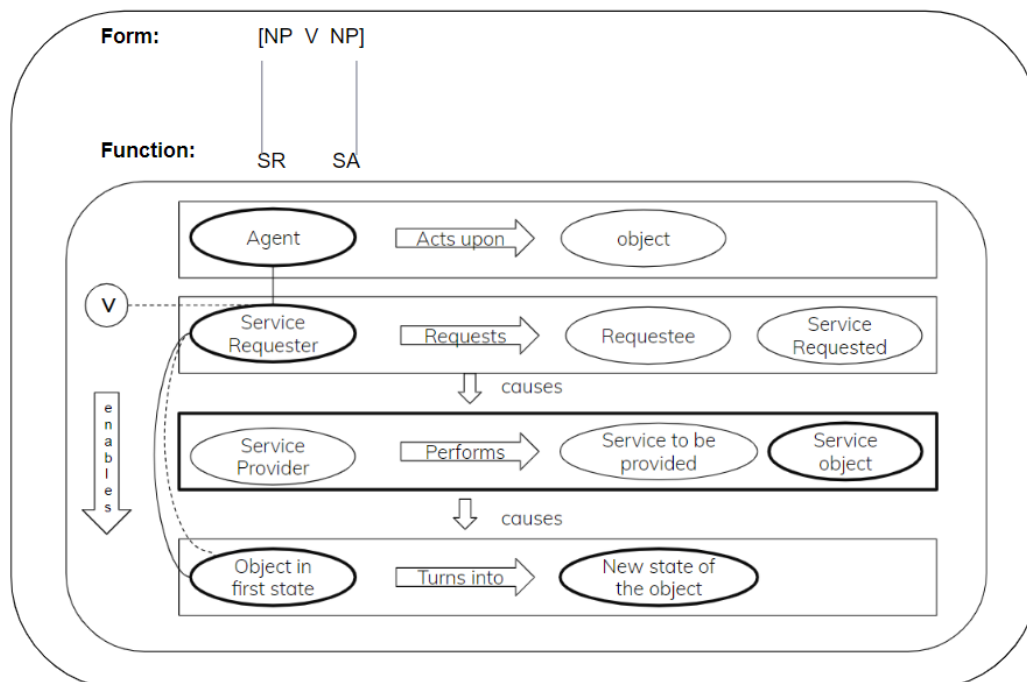
Figure 18 — SPTC description

Figure 18 illustrates the description proposed for the Service Provision Transitive Construction. On top there is its syntactic structure ("form") and below there are the semantic roles assigned to the syntactic elements, as well as the scene evoked by the construction as its function. All these elements were explored in this section.

At this point we have discussed and described the Service Provision Causative Construction as well as the Service Provision Transitive Construction. We explored what previous studies have said about them and presented our proposal for each of them, including their form and their function. To accomplish our goal of differentiating these constructions there still a need to compare them directly, which is the aim of our next section.

3.3 COMPARISON AND SUMMARY

Our proposal, then, is that the Service Provision Causative Construction (i) has the periphrastic form of [NP V NP Vpp (PP)], (i) evokes a causative scene — in which a service requester solicits a service provider to act upon a service affectee — and (iii) profiles the following elements: service requester, the service provider and the change of state of the service affectee. On the other hand, the Service Provision Transitive Construction (i) displays the transitive form [NP V NP], (ii) evokes both a causative scene in which the service requester solicits a service provider to act upon a service affectee that is possessed by him/her and at least one additional action performed by the service requester and (iii) profiles the following elements: the service requester and the service afectee.

In figures 13 and 18 there is a summary of the description of both constructions, including their form and their meaning. As form there is the syntax of each of them, which is the first and more prominent difference noted. As meaning we have the representation of our proposal, in which both constructions evoke a service provision scene (with its three situations and their relations). However, they profile distinct elements of this scene and the SPTC also evokes other situations and relations.

To illustrate this proposal, let's analyze these two apparently interchangeable sentences:

(71) I had my sink fixed.

(72) I fixed my sink.

According to our proposal, sentence (71) evokes the following representation:

Figure 19 — Semantics of example (71)

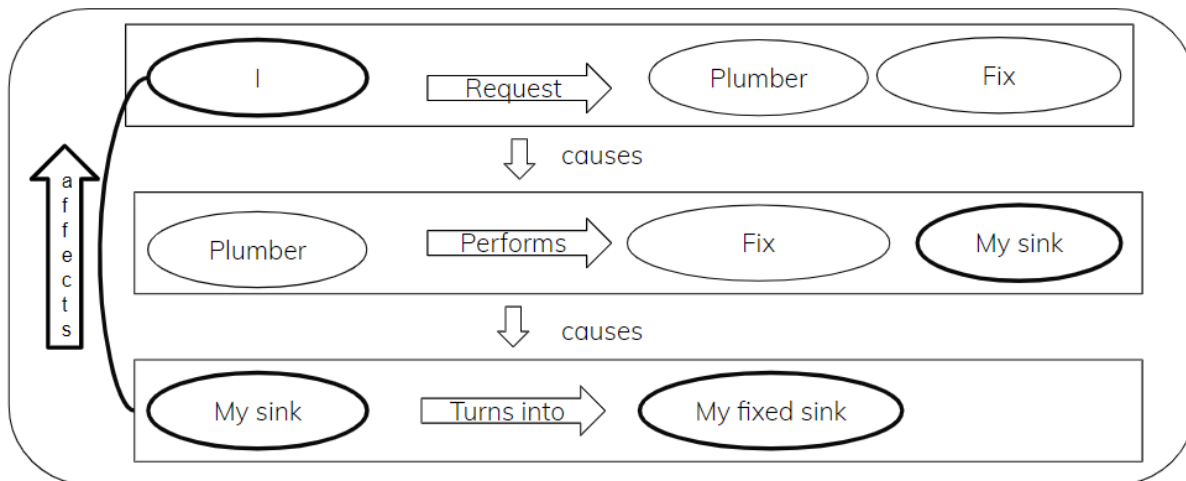Figure 19 shows a causative chain, in which "I" hired someone to repair the sink, someone carried out this task and the broken sink was turned into a fixed sink. At the same time, it *profiles* the service requester (I), the affectee (sink), the new state of the affectee (fixed) and the affection relation (fixing).

It's transitive counterpart, the sentence in (72), evokes:

Figure 20 — Semantics of example (72)
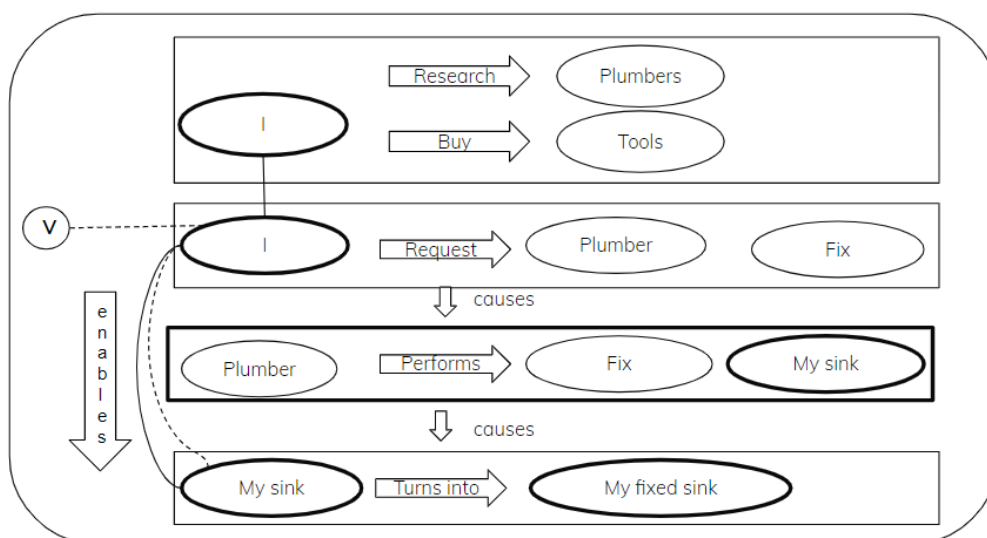
In figure 20 there is the same causative chain as in figure 19: *I* started this chain by requesting a professional to fix a particular sink (that belongs to *I*). In addition, it evokes at least one other action external from but associate with the service provision scene itself — a few possible examples are saving money to afford the service, searching for the best plumber, among others that are also performed by the service requester. Moreover, it profiles the referent subject (I), the affectee (sink) and the service provision (fix).

Therefore, even though the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction seem to be interchangeable and to have the same meaning, they exhibit many semantic differences. Both evoke a service provision scene, but the SPTC also evokes at least one additional action related to the service provision scene, as well as a possessive relation. Moreover, the two constructions differ in term of profiling.

In this chapter, we explored the constructions studied and proposed one particular semantic representation for each of them, thus making their conceptual differences explicit. In the next two chapters we delve into our attempts to test these ideas empirically.

4 EXPERIMENT 1

As previously mentioned, this research aims to understand the difference in meaning (semantic, pragmatic or both) between two service provision constructions. In the previous chapter (3) we dissected our proposal to answer that. We believe that the differences then presented create a distinct meaning effect in the use of the constructions and to test it, we carried out an offline experiment. Thus, this chapter is going to be focused on explaining the task design and the results taken from it.

4.1 HYPOTHESIS

According to Goldberg's Principle of No-Synonym (GOLDBERG, 1995), if two constructions have a difference in form, they must also present a difference in meaning. It has been shown (Santos 2019) how service provision events (such as getting a haircut or one's car fixed) can be expressed in American English by two different constructions:

(73) Yesterday, I went to the mechanic, and <u>I had my car fixed</u>.

(74) Yesterday, I went to the mechanic, and <u>I fixed my car</u>.

Since these two constructions have different forms, we must assume that they are associated with two distinct meanings. Certainly, assuming they convey different meanings does not imply they cannot denote the same event: it simply means there must be some difference between them, semantic and/or pragmatic. We argue essentially that, while both evoke a service provision scene, they profile different aspects of it and only the SPTC (illustrated by (74)) (i) also evokes the steps needed to perform the service and (ii) involves a possessive relation (as seen in the previous chapter).

What this implies, concerning examples (73) and (74), is that both evoke a service provision scene in which (i) the subject referent hired a mechanic, (ii) the mechanic repaired a particular car and (iii) the car "became" repaired. According to our hypothesis, sentence (73) evokes only these three situations, whilst (74) additionally evokes the different steps involved in the service provision event (for example, getting the money to pay for the mechanic, taking the car to the garage, buying the piece needed, getting the tools). Their difference can be represented as:

Figure 21 — Illustrating the hypothesis
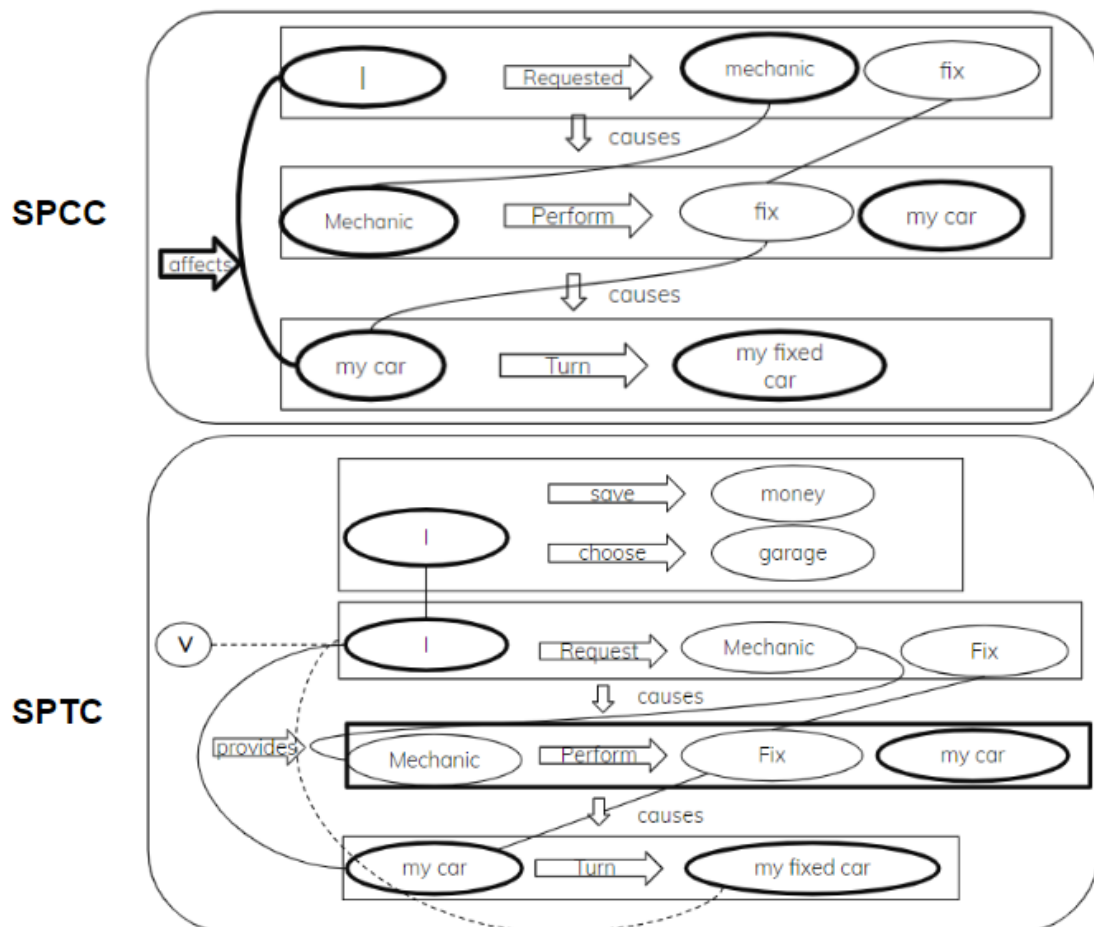
The three situations evoked by the SPCC are represented by the three rectangles in the first picture shown above. The first situation is the one in which the requester (*I*) requests a future service (*fix*) to the requestee (*mechanic*) involving a future service provision object (*car*). The second one is the actual executionof the service, in which the service provider (*mechanic*) executes the service (*fix*) upon the service provision object *(car).* And the third is the situation involving a change of state concerning the object of the service (in this case, the broken car turning into a fixed car). These events are connected creating a causative chain, so that the first situation causes the second that causes the third. Not only the situations are connected, but the elements involved in them also bear particular relationships. The elements that have the same referent are connected, as well as the service requester and the service object, since the change of status of the latter affects the

requester. Lastly, it should be noted that there is the difference in the length of the circle lines (representing the elements of the scene). This is because only the heavy-lined ones are those that are profiled by the construction. The SPCC thus profiles the three elements involved in the service provision (the requester, the service provider and the object affected by it), as well as the relationship of affectation between the service object and the requester (the *car* being fixed affects *I*).

The three situations evoked by the SPCC are also evoked by the SPTC. However, in addition to them, the SPTC also evokes some steps that are taken previous to the service provision. In this specific case, they could be actions such as *I* saved some money and had the hassle of choosing the best garage to take their car. This situation is represented by the first rectangle in figure 1, followed by the three situations aforementioned. Another difference shown in figure 1 is the presence of the element V and the two types of relationships represented by the dotted lines. These are part of the possessive relationship (explored in chapter 2) between the element linguistically represented by *I* and the element linguistically represented by *my car*. Lastly, there is a difference in profiling between the SPCC and the SPTC, since the SPTC profiles the service requester, the object affected by the service and the situation of the service being performed. These differences are summarized in the table below:

Table 2 — Hypothesis summary

CONSTRUCTION	EVOKES	PROFILES
Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC)	1. Request situation: REQUESTER requestes a FUTURE SERVICE$_i$ to a REQUESTEE$_j$ involving a FUTURE SERVICE PROVISION OBJECT$_k$ 2. Service provision situation: SERVICE PROVIDER$_j$ performs a SERVICE$_i$ involving a SERVICE PROVISION OBJECT$_k$ 3. Change of state situation: CHANGE OF STATE OBJECT$_k$ turns into a NEW STATE OBJECT$_k$ 4. Causation relationships: 1 CAUSES 2 + 2 CAUSES 3 5. Affectation relationship: 3 AFFECTS 1	1. Requester + Service Provider (*subject*) 2. Future service provision object + Service provision object + Change of state object (*direct object*) 3. New state (*object predicative*) 4. Affectation relationship (*verb*)
Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC)	1. Request situation: REQUESTER$_m$ requestes a FUTURE SERVICE$_i$ to a REQUESTEE$_j$ involving a FUTURE SERVICE PROVISION OBJECT$_k$ 2. Service provision situation: SERVICE PROVIDER$_j$ performs a SERVICE$_i$ involving a SERVICE PROVISION OBJECT$_k$ 3. Change of state situation: CHANGE OF STATE OBJECT$_k$ turns into a NEW STATE OBJECT$_k$ 4.Generic agentive situation: AGENT$_m$, acts upon PATIENT 5. Possessive relationship: TARGET$_m$ belongs to REFERENCE POINT$_k$	1. Requester + Target (*subject*) 2. Future service provision object + Service provision object + Change of state object (*direct object*) 3. Performance of the service situation (*verb*)

	6. Providing Relationship): 4 PROVIDES 3	

On the above table we detailed our hypothesis, which includes a number of particular differences between the SPTC and the SPCC. However, for time and complexity purposes we were not able to test all of them, therefore, we designed a forced-choice experiment to test item 4 which captures the fact that the SPTC evokes the steps taken before the service (in addition to the service provision scene). The reasons for this and the details of the task are going to be explored in the next section.

4.2 METHOD

This experiment takes advantage of the meaning effect different (between the two constructions at stake) produced by the different properties shown in table 1. In particular, it focuses on properties 4 and 6 evoked by the SPTC (which are absent from the SPCC). As discussed above, we argue that, in the SPTC, (4) (an action performed bythe subject referent) enables (6) (a change of state undergone by the object referent). This creates (in the frame designated by the SPTC) an idea that the subject referent is, to some extent, personally and directly involved in achieving this new state. In other words, the proposed representation for the SPTC meaning pole (as illustrated in the previous section) produces a meaning effect which can be translated into the idea of a *of direct involvement of the subject referent*. This meaning effect is the semantic component (which is present in the SPTC and absent from the SPPC) that will be subject to experimental verification.

Specifically, the experimental stimuli included a small narrative text ending with a blank space. In half of the items, the texts depicted a situation in which the main character is shown as putting a high degree of effort towards reaching a certain goal (which is the change of state brought about by a certain service). The other half , in turn,included texts suggesting a lower degree of effort and involvement on the part of the main character. The participant then had to choose between two options on how

to fulfill this space – either an instance of the SPCC or of the SPTC.Thus, there were four possible combinations:

Table 3 — Possible combinations

More involvement	SPCC
More involvement	SPTC
Less involvement	SPCC
Less involvement	SPTC

Our expectation was that in stimuli associated twithhigher involvement the participants would choose to provide the SPTC answer more often than in stimuli associated to lower effort. This can be summed up as following:

Table 4 — Experiment 1 prediction

HYPOTHESIS	EXPERIMENTAL PREDICTION
The PCC only evokes the service provision scene and profiles the service performance, while the SPTC evokes the service provision scene, involving a possessive relation, and profiles the events performed by the service requester.	The alternative with the instance of the SPTC will be chosen more times when the text presents a bigger involvement by the subject.

4.2.1 Experimental design

In order to test the hypothesis proposed in the previous section, we designed a forced-choice experiment on Google Forms. The task contained 22 items, including 14 fillers and 8 target items (4 indicating more effort e 4 indicating less effort). The fillers and target items were interspersed yet their distribution was random. There was also the concern about the ordering of the options, i.e., they were counterbalanced. These actions were taken in order to avoid bias.

4.2.2 Stimuli

The target items consisted in a small text contextualizing a situation that caused a service to be provided. This small text was always followed by blank space. The task was to choose the preferred way to fulfill this space – with either an instance of the Service Provision Causative Construction or an instance of the Service Provision Transitive Construction. There were two types of target items: (i) the ones presenting a higher degree of effort by the service requester; and (ii) the ones presenting a lower degree of effort made by the service requester. Here are a couple examples:

(75) Julius' garden had been slowly dying for a while. But when his mom started to complain, he called the gardner and _____.

    1. had it landscaped

    2. landscaped it

(76) Sophia's car broke down on the highway last week. However, she was broke and couldn't afford a mechanic. Because of that, she decided to walk the 5 miles to her job in order to save some money. After several weeks of effort she finally _____.

    1. had it fixed

2. fix it

The first example involves a low degree of effort by the subject referent. In fact, the story is quite straightforward, with the service requester depicted as someone doing the bare minimum to make the service happen. In contrast, the second text is an example of a target item showing a higher degree of effort by the subject referent. In those, the text is longer, demonstrating the lengths the service requester went to in order to make the service happen. All stimuli depicting a high degree of effort included items aimed at highlighting this idea. Therefore in (76) the text is longer, with more previous actions being attributed to the subject referent *Sophia*. These actions highlight her effort in order to bring about the final effect (such as walking to save money). To reinforce that even more, in the last sentence there are words that make her hard work explicit – in this case, *after several weeks of effort.* That way, the participant should not have any doubt regarding who made more effort and had therefore a higher degree of responsibility for the final action. This structure can also be seen in (77) and (78):

(77) John's beard was out of control after lockdown and he really wanted to feel less like a caveman. To do that, he traveled to the only barber who knew black hair in another town, where he at last _____.

(78) Katie was invited to be a bridesmaid. But her nails were chipped, they looked terrible and she didn't have a lot of free time to fix it. To be able to look her best, she worked out a plan to stay late at her job a couple of days so she could leave a little early on the Friday before the wedding to go to the salon. After all that, she managed to _____.

These two items visibly present longer texts than (3), describing in more detail how "John" and "Katie" made a lot of effort in order for the service to be executed. This was also highlighted by the use of expressions such as "at last" and "After all that". These uses were added to the texts in order to emphasize the ideas of effort

and personal involvement, which, as we have seen, our hypothesis associates with the SPTC.

4.2.3 Participants

In total, there were 38 participants whose answers were taken into consideration. Considering the phenomenon explored in this research has been observed in American English and the fact that learning other languages can affect the way constructions are stored and accessed (COOK, 2000; ODLIN, 1989, 2003), we restricted the participation to a specific demographic. In order to participate, the speaker had to: (i) have been born in the United States; (ii) have lived at least most of their life there, and (iii) be monolingual or have started to learn a second language later in life (as a young adult or older). To ensure that all participants fulfilled these prerequisites, all of them were obligated to provide their information before answering the experiment, as follows:

Figure 22 — Pre-experiment information

As seen in the picture, we explained the requirements that the experimental subjects needed to fulfill in order to participate and then asked them to check the boxes containing information that are true about them. Those who did not check all three boxes were disregarded as valid participants and their answers were not accounted for.

In order to reach the demographic needed to complete the task, we mainly used the internet. While we contacted people primarily via email and WhatsApp, we also disseminated the link to the experiment in language and linguistics forums, as well as in different Facebook groups.

4.2.4 Statistical analysis

In order to draw conclusions from the data collected in any experimental process, it is essential to use inferential statistics. In this research, we analyzed the amount of times each construction was chosen, in each experimental condition. In order to check whether the distribution of choices (constructions) varies across the experimental conditions, we used a chi-square test of homogeneity. In this test, a p-value of 0.05 was considered for the rejection of the null hypothesis.

4.3 RESULTS

In this work we aimed to differentiate the meaning of the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction. We propose that both constructions evoke a service provision scene, *profiling* different aspects of it, and that only the SPTC also evokes at least one extra step needed to perform the service and involves a possessive relation. As an effect, this creates an idea that the subject referent, to some extent, is more personally or directly involved in the making of this new state.

To verify this claim, we carried out a forced-choice experiment in which participants had to choose between instances of the two constructions. The experimental prediction was that participants would choose the SPTC more often when the target item presented a text suggesting a higher degree of involvement on the part of the subject referent than in stimuli with a more neutral context.

We used the chi-square statistic method to analyze the data collected. However, before presenting the statistic results, it could be useful to see the full numbers and the percentages of the answers provided in the task, as follows:

Table 5 — Experiment 1 results

	SPCC	SPTC
More responsibility	139 (50%)	14 (53,8%)
Less responsibility	139 (50%)	12 (46,2%)
Total	278	26

From the all the 304 answers, the majority was an instance of the SPCC and only a small percentage was made up from instances of the SPTC. The distribution of the use of each construction did not change much according to the type of text. The SPCC was used exactly the same amount of time in both types: 139 in the target item suggesting more involvement and 139 in those with a more neutral context. Regarding the SPTC, a small numeric difference was found: from the 26 uses, 14 were associated with texts suggesting more involvement by the subject referent and 12, with texts suggesting less responsibility.

To analyze the data, a chi-square test of independence was performed. The results revealed a non-significant difference between the samples, X^2 (1, N = 304) = 0,14, p= .707.

4.4 DISCUSSION

The aim of the experiment was to verify the hypothesis proposed to explain the semantic difference between the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction. In a nutshell, we propose that the SPCC only evokes the three situations involved in the service provision scene, while the SPTC additionally evokes at least one extra step related to this service. This conceptualization evoked by the constructions generates an idea that the subject referent, to some extent, it is more personally involved in the making of this new state when the SPTC is used in opposition to the SPCC.

As shown in 4.3, the forced-choice task we carried out did not demonstrate a significant association between the variables assessed. There are a few reasons that could explain this result. First, of course, the hypothesis here presented could simply be wrong. However, there are other possible factors that might have affected the answers provided and the results obtained, which lead us to not disregard out hypothesis immediately.

One possibility is that the influence of formal education might have increased nervousness and the fear of judgment while realizing the proposed task. This was a production task, therefore, participants may have chosen not to opt for the instances of the Service Provision Transitive Construction for fear of making a "grammatical mistake" – despite the fact that they were explicitly told that there wasn't a right or wrong answer – or being judged for using a "wrong" way to express service provision. Even though the task design and the initial text were thought to minimize this feeling and to reassure participants that the experiment was a safe environment for them to provide their most natural answer, any task or survey can trigger this kind of feeling.

Another possibility is that since the SPTC is a non-canonic form (and possibly innovative), many participants may not have it as part of their linguistic variety. Therefore, they might recognize this form and its association with service provision expression, but not use it (and consequently, produce it in the task). Thus, a production experiment is not able to bring this knowledge about.

Taking in consideration these issues and their possible effects on the experimental results, a new comprehension experiment was designed aiming at minimizing the interference of grammatical prescription and distinctions in internalized grammar. For reasons such as time and procedural difficulties, this new task became a preliminary study that needs to be developed further. This enterprise will be detailed in the next chapter.

5. EXPERIMENT 2

As mentioned in the previous chapter, we carried out an offline forced-choice experiment to test (one aspect of) the proposed hypothesis. The results did not reveal a relevant association between the presence of a high degree of effort (on the part of the subject referent) and the use of the Service Provision Transitive Construction. However, we understand that there is a reason why this could have happened in this specific experimental design. Therefore, we designed a new experiment that could mitigate some of those previous issues and assess our hypothesis more fairly. Unfortunately, for methodological and time reasons this was not fully carried out and is, so far, only a preliminary experiment. This chapter is going to be focused on exploring this new task design and the preliminary results.

5.1 OVERVIEW

The first experiment we carried out did not result in a relevant association between the variants we tested. There might be a couple of reasons why that happened that do not involve ruling out our hypothesis. As seen in 4.4, one of these possibilities is the fact that it was a production task which could have created participants' fear of making a "grammatical mistake" or being judged for choosing a non-canonical structure (i.e., one that is not prescribed in grammar books). Therefore, in this second experiment we attempted to minimize these issues in order to fairly test our hypothesis.

As in experiment 1, this second experiment attempted to test (one particular aspect of) the hypothesis presented in chapter 3. We argue that while the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction evoke a service provision scene, only the SPTC additionally evokes extra steps associated with said service. These differences can be translated as a difference in degree of effort made by the subject referent in each scenario.

Taking into consideration the reflections made upon the results of the first experiment, the second task was thought-out to minimize the issues perceived the first time and test the hypothesis previously proposed. Therefore, differently from the first one, this second experiment was a comprehension task. In it, the participant read a text constituted by two stories describing the same scene. In one story, the

scene at stake was expressed by means of the the Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC), while, in the other, it was denoted by the Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC). After reading the texts, the participants were asked in which of these cases the main character of the story was more involved in the process of accomplishing their goal. The participants could choose between the following options: (i) the SPCC instance; (ii) the SPTC instance; (iii) an opt-out alternative (lack of difference between the two texts). This task design relies on the assumption that the scenes (and meaning) evoked by the constructions are interpreted (by the interlocutors) in terms of a difference regarding the degree of involvement in the service provided on the part of the service requester. Therefore, we expected most participants to choose the answer related to the SPTC in the target item when asked about who was more involved in the action described in the text. This idea can be summarized as follows:

Table 6 — Experiment 2 expectations

HYPOTHESIS	EXPERIMENTAL PREDICTION
While the SPCC evokes only the service provision and profiles certain element of it; the SPTC evokes a least one extra step taken by the referent of the service requester in addition to the service provision scene and profiles different aspects of it.	The alternative with the name of the person who uttered the SPTC will be chosen more often.

5.2 STIMULI

In order to carry out this experiment, we once more used the Google Forms platform. This task consisted in 24 items, 16 of them being fillers and 8 being target items. The filler items and target items were interpolated in no particular order; and the options provided were also counterbalanced. These decisions were taken in an attempt to avoid bias.

5.3 TARGET ITEMS

In each page, participants were exposed to a small text, in which we explored one person's background story and their relationship with two other people. These other two always had the same individual goal which, for some reason, they still hadn't accomplished. Throughout the text the participants are told that both of them were able achieve their goal around the same time. Moreover, they are also told that, in a strange coincidence, the main character of the story overhead each of them discuss their personal accomplishments in different conversations. To illustrate this structure, here is one target item:

Figure 23 — Target Item

Hunter studies in a small university where he can recognize almost everyone's face. He had
seen a couple of other students discussing good painters to hire around campus. Yesterday,
while walking to class he walked past two different groups of students and he recognized
Layla in the first one and Bryan in the other. He heard them saying these words:

1. Layla: I painted my walls.

2. Bryan: I had my walls painted.

Who was more envolved in the painting of the wall?

○ I can't tell

○ Layla

○ Bryan

In this text, participants are introduced to Hunter and given some background story on how he knows two other people, Layla and Bryan. The familiarity between them helps to explain how Hunter knows that Layla and Bryan have the same goal, which is to find someone to paint their walls. It also justifies Hunter overhearing them – in different contexts – talking about how they accomplished their goal. After this contextualization, Layla and Bryan's speech was replicated and each utterance was

presented as an instance of a different construction. In this particular example, the first utterance was an instance of the Service Provision Transitive Construction, while the second was an instance of the Service Provision Causative Construction.

At the end, the participant had to answer a question about how they interpret the story. Across different items, the questions were slightly different from one another. In the example presented above the question was about who had had more involvement with the event denoted by the verb in the character's utterance, but other questions were about effort (as opposed to involvement). Participants had three options to choose from, yet they could only choose one. The three options were always the names of the two people who had achieved their goals plus one additional opt-out alternative (phrased as "I can't tell"). The table below shows the scenes illustrated in the task:

Table 2 — Target items

I build my house. I had my house built.	I painted my walls. I had my walls painted.
I had my car fixed. I fixed my car.	I had my pool cleaned. I cleaned my pool.
I redecorated my bathroom. I had my bathroom redecorated.	I had my living room refurnished. I refurnished my living room.
I had my garden landscaped. I landscaped my garden.	I polished my car. I had my car polished.

5.4 PARTICIPANTS

Considering the phenomenon explored in this research has been observed in American English and the fact that learning other languages can affect the way constructions are stored and accessed (COOK, 2000; ODLIN, 1989, 2003), we restricted the participation to a specific demographic. In order to participate, the speaker had to: (i) be born in the United States; (ii) have lived at least most of their life there, and (iii) be monolingual or have started to learn a second language later in life (young adult or older). To ensure that all participants fulfilled these prerequisites, all of them were obligated to provide their information before answering the experiment, as follows:

Figure 22 — Pre-experiment information

As seen in the picture, we explained the requirements that they needed to fulfill in order to participate and then asked them to check the boxes containing

information that are true about them. Those who did not check all three boxes were disregard as valid participants and their answers were not accounted for.

In order to reach the demographic needed to complete the task, we used mainly the internet. We contacted people primarily via email and whatsapp, however, we also disseminated the link to the experiment in language and linguistics forums, as well as in different Facebook groups.

Unfortunately, due to scheduling issues and the difficulty of gathering participants, since they had to be monolinguals born and raised in the US, this is a preliminary study. At this point, we were only able to collect data from 6 participants. This small sample can indicate if this a task design we should explore and further expand. In order to determine that, we are going to detail the data collected and discuss it in the next section.

5.5 PRELIMINARY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Throughout this work we have been arguing in favor of a semantic difference between the two constructions discussed. In chapter 3 we proposed that the difference between them is that the SPCC only evokes a service provision scene, while the SPTC additionally evokes at least one extra step related to it. In addition to the difference in what they evoke, these two constructions also profile different aspects of it. To test this proposal, we carried out a production experiment (as seen in chapter 4) and a preliminary comprehension task detailed in the previous section.

In this second task, participants were asked to read a small text in which the same type of service provision was expressed in two different ways: with an instance of the SPTC, and with an instance of the SPCC. Then, they had to either choose which character was more involved in bringing about the expected result or select a third, opt-out alternative. Since we propose that the SPTC is associated with a higher degree of effort made by the subject referent than the SPCC, we expected the participants to choose, in the target items, the option containing the person who uttered an instance of the SPTC. Even though this was a preliminary experiment and had few participants, the results indicate that this association was indeed made by the m, as shown in the table below:

Table 7 — Experiment 2 Results

Item	SPCC	SPTC	"I can't tell"
1	0 (0%)	5 (83,3%)	1 (16,7%)
2	1 (16,7%)	4 (66,7%)	1 (16,7%)
3	0 (0%)	5 (83,3%)	1 (16,7%)
4	0 (0%)	5 (83,3%)	1 (16,7%)
5	1 (16,7%)	4 (66,7%)	1 (16,7%)
6	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)
7	0 (0%)	4 (66,7%)	2 (33,3%)
8	0 (0%)	5 (83,3%)	1 (16,7%)

These results suggest that, in general, the participants interpreted the character who uttered an instance of the SPTC as the one who made more effort in order to bring about the expected result, in comparison to the one who uttered an instance of the SPCC. The only clear exception is item 6, which was:

Figure 3 — Target item 6

Josie lives in a big sorority house, with many other girls. She knew that a couple of the girls had issues with their cars lately and she even gave them the number for a trusthworthy mechanic. Today she was looking for a pair of shoes and when she was opening different doors and looking around she interrupted two separate conversation where Katie and then, Ashley were mentioning the fixing of their cars. As soon as she walked in, she heard these exact sentences:

1. Katie: I had my car fixed.

2. Ashely: I fixed my car.

Who made the most effort in order to have their car fixed?

○ Ashley

○ Katie

○ I can't tell

The results from item 6 might differ from the rest because the fixing of a car is usually a very complex and costly task, which may make one highlight the existence

and the role of a service provider. Another possibility is that the involvement of a service requester is very limited when it comes to this kind of service, since there are not a lot of opportunities for one to be involved in this process (as opposed to, for example, having one's house painted) and most of the work must be done by a mechanic.

Moreover, in all items, even though the service provision was made clear in the text, participants might have interpreted the instance of the SPTC as a canonical transitive. This means that they might have comprehended the subject referent as the agent of the action performed, which could have compromised the results here discussed. In order to avoid that or at least to minimize this issue, we propose that for future experimental application a debriefing session could be beneficial. After finishing the task, the participants could answer a few questions about how they interpreted the utterances they were exposed to, allowing the researcher do discard the answers given by those who interpreted the sentences with an agentive transitive meaning.

Despite this caveat and the unexpected result for item 6, the results, taken as whole, overwhelmingly provide support to our hypothesis. That is, these results suggest that the participants interpreted the person who uttered an instance of the SPTC as the one who made more effort in order to bring about the desired result (when compared to the one who uttered and instance of the SPCC). Clearly these cannot be regarded as a definitive confirmation of our hypothesis, yet they seem to indicate that the correlation proposed exists and that the experimental design is well-equipped to capture that.

5.6 SUMMARY

As seen in chapter 4, the first experiment we carried out did not lend support to our hypothesis, which led us to design a second experiment. However, because of time restrains and the selectivity of possible participants, this second experiment could not be fully carried out. We were able to reach a small group of people who participated in this preliminary study, and the results gathered seem promising.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this thesis, we adopted a UBCG perspective to linguistic knowledge aiming to understand the semantic and pragmatic differences between two constructions used to express service provision in American English: the Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC) and the Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC). In order to do that, we described and compared the two constructions as well as carried out two forced-choice experiments (one of them, only in a preliminary manner) in order to test (one aspect of) our descriptive proposal.

The Service Provision Causative Construction has the form [NP HAVE/GET NP Vpp] and is (of course) associated with the meaning of service provision. Therefore, it evokes a service provision scene, which includes three situations, as well as their participants and relations. The first situation is the service requirement, in which someone requires a third person to perform a service on a given object. The second one is the service excution, in which this third person actually acts upon the object as required. The third situation is the change of state underwent by the object, upon being affected by service requestee. Even though this construction evokes all these elements, it only *profiles* the subject referent (the one who required the service), the object referent (the one affected by the service), the person who performed the service, the new state of the object and the affectation relation (in which the subject referent is somehow affected by the object's change of status).

The Service Provision Transitive Construction, in turn, has the form [NP V NP] and is associated with the meaning of service provision. In addition to including all the elements described previously, it also includes a particular possessive relationship and one extra situation (in comparison with the SPCC). Therefore, this construction evokes four situations related to service provision, as well as three three elements and their specific relations.

This extra situation, which is essentially the hallmark of the SPTC, chronologically precedes the actual provision of the service at stake. It represents any and all actions taken by the subject referent that ensures the possibility of the service completion. The other three are the core situations of service provision, also

evoked by the SPCC: (i) the hiring of the service; (ii) the service; (iii) the change of state of the object referent. These situations constitute a causative chain, in which each of them causes the next situation. In addition to these three causative relations, there is an enabling relation (the subject referent enables the change of state of the object referent) and a possessive one (the subjects referent owns the object referent). Although this construction evokes all of these elements, it only profiles (i) the subject referent, (ii) the object referent and (iii) the service execution situation.

The additional situation and the enabling relation evoked solely by the SPTC imply that, in this construction, a meaning effect in which the subject referent is – to some extent – construed as more personally involved in the change of state underwent by the object referent (in comparison to the SPCC). To test this hypothesis, we carried out a forced-choice experiment with 38 monolingual speakers of American English. They were exposed to narrative texts suggesting either a higher or lower degree of involvement (in a particular service provision situation) on the part of the narrative's main character. In this experiment, the participants were asked to fulfill the blank space with either an instance of the SPCC or an instance of the SPTC. We expected that participants would be more likely to choose the SPTC in the items with texts suggesting a higher degree of involvement. However, the data collected did not seem to support our hypothesis: we were not able to observe any pattern in the uses of the two constructions in relation to a more explicit expression of involvement by the subject referent. We believe that this result does not necessarily invalidate our hypothesis, particularly because only one of these uses (the SPCC) is prescribed by grammars and instructional books. This may have caused participants to be hesitant to choose the SPTC instance to complete the sentences presented, independently of the presence of expressions of involvement.

Taking these reflections into consideration, we designed an interpretation experiment that could elicit the difference in meaning we propose in this work. In this new task, participants read two sentences describing objectively the same service provision scene, each with an instance of a different construction, and they had to decide which subject was more involved with the described event (there was also a third opt out choice). Our expectation was that the participants would consistently choose the answer related to the SPTC. Since time was an issue, this experiment could not be fully carried out and. As a result, only a preliminary study was carried

out, with 6 participants. Even though the results cannot be considered conclusive, they do point towards a promising path. Therefore, fully carrying out this task is a possible future step of this research.

In summary, this research aimed to describe the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction. Causative expressions and constructions have been largely discussed in the literature (KEMMER & VERHAGEN, 1994; GILQUIN, 2003; VILELA, 2009), however there has not been a full constructionist description of the particular causative pattern specialized in the expression of service provision. The same can be said about the SPTC: while many works have discussed transitivity (HOPPER & THOMPSON, 1984; NAESS, 2007), there has not been an extensive constructionist description of the transitive construction specialized in the expression of service provision. By describing two constructions that at first seem to have the same meaning, we also aimed to put Goldberg's (1995) Principle of No-Synonym to the test. Lastly, we hoped to contribute to the constructionist literature and the description of the American English *constructicon*.

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