

SAYING SOMETHING FOR A PARTICULAR PURPOSE: CONSTRUCTIONAL COMPATIBILITY AND CONSTRUCTIONAL FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT. *This paper explores the compatibility of a group of speech predicates (i.e. speech verbs used to saying something for a particular purpose or with a specific result) with six constructional patterns (i.e. transitive construction, that-construction, motion construction, caused-motion construction, way construction, and resultative construction). In so doing, the present corpus-based research offers additional evidence in support of the hypothesis that constructional compatibility is semantically and pragmatically grounded. It is further argued that lexico-constructional compatibility can be either blocked or licensed by the different internal and external constraints at work in each concrete subsumption process. Finally, we point to the need of distinguishing between central and more peripheral instances of the same grammatical construction. In most cases, peripheral members will be shown to be metonymic extensions, thus providing yet another case in favor of metonymic links as a relevant type of inheritance link in the configuration of constructional families.*

KEY WORDS. *Speech verbs, constructions, Lexical-Constructional Model, lexical templates, lexico-constructional subsumption.*

RESUMEN. *En el presente artículo se explora el grado de compatibilidad de un grupo de verbos de habla (aquellos que se usan para decir algo con una finalidad concreta o con un resultado específico) con seis construcciones (la construcción transitiva, la construcción con that, la construcción de movimiento, la construcción de movimiento causado, la construcción de movimiento causado con way y la construcción resultativa). Los resultados de la investigación aportan evidencia adicional a favor de la hipótesis según la cual la compatibilidad construccional tiene una base semántico-pragmática. La citada compatibilidad aparece también regulada por una serie de restricciones externas e internas. Por último, el presente estudio aporta datos sobre la estructura de naturaleza prototípica de las construcciones gramaticales. La mayoría de los miembros periféricos de las citadas construcciones son el resultado de extensiones metonímicas, lo que ratifica la relevancia de este tipo de enlace en la configuración de las familias construccionales.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Verbos de habla, construcciones, Modelo Léxico-Construccional, plantillas léxicas, subsumción léxico-construccional.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Within contemporary approaches to language, the *Lexical-Constructional Model* (henceforth, LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b; Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2009) stands out as a unique attempt to bring together opposing views on the relationship between lexical and syntactic meaning, such as those proposed by projectionist theories of language (*Role and Reference Grammar*, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) and those put forward by constructional frameworks (Goldberg 1995, 1998, 2002, 2006; Croft 2001; Michaelis 2003).

In this paper we take advantage of the methodological and theoretical tools provided by the LCM in order to unveil the constructional compatibility of a group of English speech verbs, namely those which are used to say something for a particular purpose or with a specific result (e.g. order, suggest, ask, inform, describe, reason, etc.). This paper draws on previous work by Pérez (2009) and Pérez and Ruiz de Mendoza (2011) on the constructional nature of speech acts and speech act verbs. Nevertheless, it goes beyond them in considering a whole and yet unexplored group of speech verbs and analyzing their compatibility with a wider range of grammatical constructions: transitive construction, *that*-construction, motion construction, caused-motion construction, *way* construction, and resultative construction. In so doing, the present corpus-based research offers additional evidence in support of the hypothesis that constructional compatibility depends on the semantic/pragmatic scope of predicates and that such compatibility can be either blocked or licensed by the different internal and external constraints at work in each concrete lexical-constructional subsumption process. It also points to the need of distinguishing between central and more peripheral instances of the same grammatical construction. In most cases, peripheral members will be shown to be metonymic extensions, thus providing yet another argument in favor of metonymic links as a relevant type of inheritance link in the configuration of constructional families.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 1 introduces some basic notions of the LCM, which are central to the analysis carried out in sections 2 and 3. Section 2 offers an exhaustive description of the semantics and pragmatics of the speech verbs under scrutiny in terms of lexical templates. Section 3 explores the functioning of those speech verbs in relation to six grammatical constructions and explains their compatibility issues on the basis of internal and external conventions, as proposed in the LCM.

2. CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE LCM

Projectionist (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) and constructivist (Kay and Fillmore 1999; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Michaelis 2003; Bergen and Chang 2005) models have traditionally held opposing views on the nature of the relationship between lexical and grammatical meaning. The former assume that morphosyntactic

structure can be derived from lexical representations, and largely ignore the role of grammatical constructions in such process. Thus, projectionist models do not take into account the subcategorical conversions which stem from the use of particular grammatical constructions, and which result in either an increase or a reduction of the number of arguments of a given predicate. A sentence like *They laughed him out of the room* would fall outside the explanatory power of the RRG approach, since the direct object *him* and the prepositional complement *out of the room* cannot be directly derived from the logical structure of the intransitive predicate *laugh*. Nevertheless, both elements are compatible with the latter when it takes place within the caused-motion construction. This type of phenomena has been amply studied within constructional approaches to language. Construction grammarians postulate a syntax-lexicon continuum and define constructions as form-meaning pairings that are not predictable from their constituent parts. Lexical categories, therefore, only differ from constructions at other levels of linguistic description, like the argument structure constructs, in their internal symbolic complexity. Grammar is thus conceptualized as a structured inventory of constructions that are related through a number of inheritance mechanisms like *polysemy links*, *instance links*, and *metaphorical extensions* from a central category (Goldberg 1995: 79). Constructional approaches, however, run short of explaining the reasons why predicates display diverse compatibility values with different constructions.

For over a decade, the LCM has been devoted to bridging the gap between opposing frameworks like the functional and constructional theories outlined above (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2008a, 2008b, 2009).¹ To this end, it has developed an exhaustive system of meaning representation both for lexical and grammatical constructions. The LCM thus arises as a usage-based, comprehensive theory of meaning construction at all levels of linguistic description, including both core-grammar and those aspects of language which have traditionally fallen within the scope of pragmatic and discourse studies (e.g. implicatures, speech acts, and discourse coherence).

Figure 1 illustrates the overall architecture of the model (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2008a: 4):

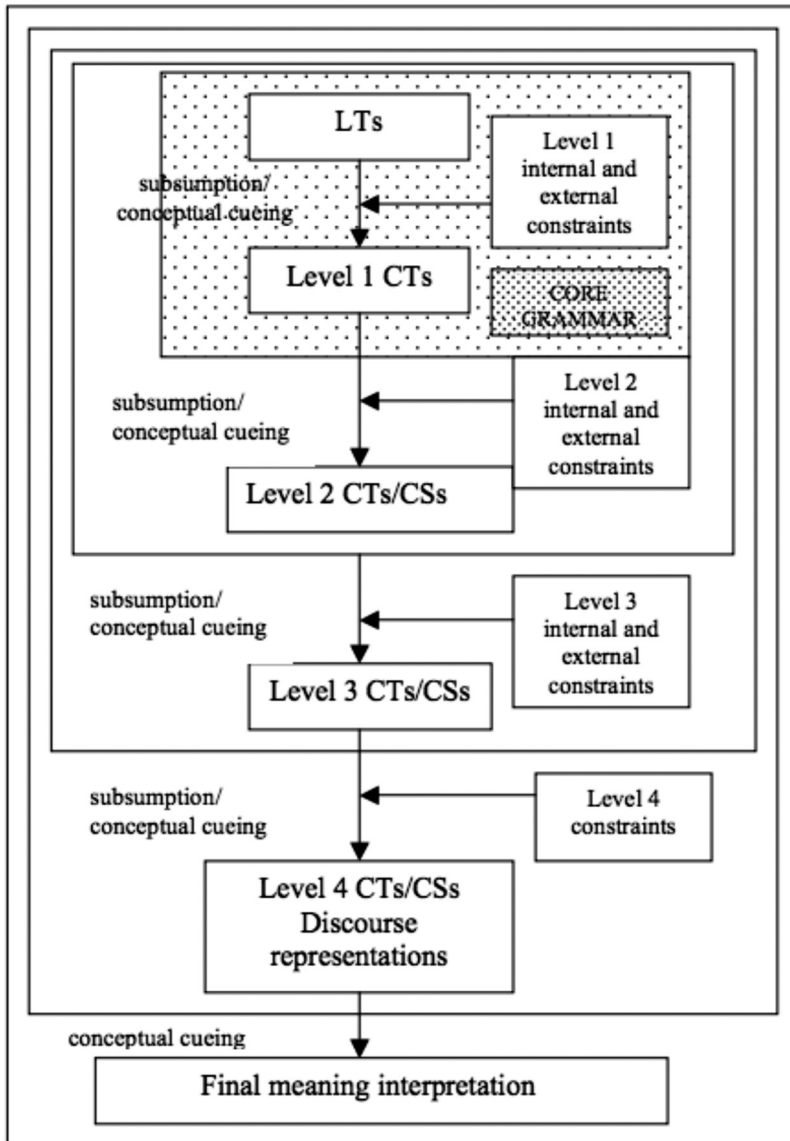


Figure 1. The overall architecture of the Lexical Constructional Model.

LT = lexical template; CT = constructional template; CS = Conceptual Structure

As figure 1 shows, the LCM intends to be operational at four levels of linguistic description (Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2008a: 2):

Level 1: constructions producing core grammar characterizations.

Level 2: constructions accounting for heavily conventionalized situation-based low-level meaning implications.

Level 3: constructions that account for conventionalized illocutionary meaning (situation-based high-level implications).

Level 4: constructions based on very schematic discourse structures.

The final interpretation of an utterance is the result of an integration process –referred to as *subsumption* within the LCM– between the lexical template of a predicate and a particular grammatical template. Throughout this process, the lexical template needs to be adapted to the requirements of the grammatical construction, thus reducing or increasing the number of arguments involved. The unification process of the argumental structure of a predicate with a given grammatical construction has been shown to be regulated by a number of *internal* and *external* constraints.

Internal restrictions offer a principled specification of how and which lexical classes can modify their internal configuration in order to become compatible with different grammatical constructions. By way of illustration, the compatibility of ‘break’ verbs with the causative/inchoative alternation (*The dog broke the vase/ The vase broke*) stems from the fact that ‘break’ verbs belong to the lexical class of ‘existence’ verbs. Such *lexical class constraint* also explains why other verb classes, like ‘destroy’ verbs, which do not belong to the category of existence predicates, cannot equally function in the aforementioned alternation.

On the other hand, external constraints consist in the possibility of performing high-level metaphoric and metonymic operations on the lexical items involved in a lexical-constructional subsumption process. Such cognitive operations have been found to allow the use of certain predicates in grammatical constructions which are not at first sight compatible with their lexical class. As noted above, the activity predicate *laugh* turns into a causative accomplishment predicate when it appears within the caused-motion construction. As observed in Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008a: 3), the necessary subcategorical conversion undergone by this predicate is licensed by the underlying activation of the high-level metaphor EXPERIENTIAL ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION.

The LCM methodology exhibits two relevant features that follow from the considerations outlined above. The first one has to do with the ubiquity of cognitive operations. In this connection, Ruiz de Mendoza (2007) has put forward the so-called *equipollence hypothesis*, which claims that similar cognitive processes are at work at all levels of linguistic description. By way of illustration, cognitive mappings like metaphor and metonymy have been shown to function beyond the lexical level, and to play a likewise relevant role in the description of argument-structure (Ruiz de Mendoza 2007), illocutionary (Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza and González 2011; Pérez and Ruiz de Mendoza 2011), and discourse constructions (Galera Masegosa

2010). Regarding the second methodological feature (i.e. the existence of a continua between linguistic phenomena), the LCM takes an orthodox stance, however:

while it recognizes that such continua exists, the LCM regards them as epiphenomena arising from the intrinsic nature of the categories in question. The LCM focuses on the representational adequacy of each level in the model and on the principles that constrain interaction between representations from different levels (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2008a: 4).

3. LEXICAL TEMPLATES FOR SPEECH ACT VERBS

Within the LCM, the lexical representation of relational predicates is carried out by means of lexical templates. These represent an elaboration of the logical forms of the predicates, as postulated in the *Role and Reference Grammar* framework (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005), and integrate relevant elements from decompositional and frame-based theories of lexical representation. Example (1) illustrates the former:

(1) Role and Reference Grammar Logical Structures
predicate **do'** (x, [**predicate'**(x)])

In (1), those elements in bold represent fixed features (predicates) and are considered semantic primitives (cf. Wierzbicka 1972, 1996, 2002a, 2002b; Jackendoff 1990, 1996a, 1996b; Levin and Rappaport 1996). The rest of the components are variables, which will differ in specific languages. Verb class adscription is based on the *Aktionsart* distinctions proposed in Vendler (1967): *states*, *activities*, *achievements*, *semelfactives*, and *accomplishments*, plus their corresponding causatives. The following table captures the formalism associated with each verb class (Van Valin 2005: 45):

Table 1. Inventory of RRG logical structures.

| VERB CLASS | LOGICAL STRUCTURE | EXAMPLE | INSTANTIATION OF LS |
|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---|
| State | predicate' (x) or (x,y) | see | see' (x,y) |
| Activity | do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)]) | run | do' (x, [run' (x)]) |
| Achievement | INGR predicate' (x) or (x,y), <i>or</i> INGR do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)]) | pop (burst into tears) | INGR popped' (x) |
| Semelfactive | SEML predicate' (x) or (x,y) SEML do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)]) | glimpse, cough | SEML see' (x,y) |
| Accomplishment | BECOME predicate' (x) or (x,y), <i>or</i> BECOME do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)]) | receive | BECOME have' (x,y) |
| Active accomplishment | do' (x, [predicate' ₁ (x, (y))] & BECOME predicate' ₂ (z,x) or (y)) | drink | do' (x, [drink' (x,y)]) & BECOME consumed' (y) |
| Causative accomplishment | α CAUSES β where α, β are LS of any type | kill | [do' (x, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME [dead' (y)]] |

Mairal and Faber (2002, 2005) have pointed out some of the weaknesses of the RRG model of lexical representation. Among them, they highlight the fact that the RRG logical forms only include syntactically relevant information. It is also noted that the semantic primitives lack clarity, consistency, and typological adequacy. Finally, the explanatory power of the RRG lexical templates has a limited scope: it only accounts for those arguments which derive directly from the meaning of the predicate, but fails to offer a conclusive explanation of those which stem from the use of a predicate in a particular construction.

While the RRG lexical templates only include those features of predicates which have a direct effect in their syntax (argumental structure included in their *Aktionsart*), the LCM lexical templates also comprise a semantic component. This includes all semantic and pragmatic information relevant to the understanding of the predicate and its use.

Therefore, the LCM lexical templates metalanguage includes semantic primitives, lexical functions and *Aktionsart* distinctions. They are thus endowed with typological adequacy. Figure (2) displays the general structure of an LCM lexical template:

(2) Lexical Templates within the LCM

<pragmatic information> [semantic component] + [syntactic component]

The syntactic component of the LCM lexical templates corresponds to the RRG logical forms. The semantic component displays several interesting features. To begin with, it includes an inventory of semantic primitives (i.e. a finite set of terms which define each lexical domain). These primitives, identified by the *Lexematic-Functional Model* (henceforth, LFM; Martín Mingorance 1998; Faber and Mairal 1999; Mairal and Faber 2002, 2005), are similar to those proposed by Wierzbicka (1972, 1996, 2002a, 2000b) in her *Natural Semantic Metalanguage*, and are thus recognized as typologically valid. The set of semantic primitives gives way to more specific hyponyms through the application of an inventory of universal lexical functions. The latter are also used to capture the pragmatic and semantic parameters which make-up the meaning of each predicate and distinguish it from others within its same lexical hierarchy. Such lexical functions are inspired in previous works by Alonso Ramos and Tutin (1992), Mel'cuk et al. (1995), Mel'cuk and Wanner (1996) and Alonso Ramos (2002) in the field of lexical collocations. By way of illustration, the lexical template for the speech verb *to direct* would be the following:

(3) **direct**: <FORMAL> [MAGN₁[PERM]₂, LOC^{SOC}₍₁₎] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])]
 CAUSE [do' (y, ø)] x=1, y =2

The external variables (x) and (y) stand for the speaker and the addressee respectively. These arguments are bound to corresponding internal variables (marked by the subscripts 1 and 2 respectively), each of which holds for one or more lexical functions within the semantic module of the template. The *Aktionsart* Module adds the semantic primitive (say'), the type of *Aktionsart*, i.e. a causative activity, and the

number of arguments of the predicate. This semantic primitive defines the lexical domain of the verbal predicate under consideration.

The lexical function MAGN indicates that the illocutionary force of the action (direct) is intensified to a high degree. The lexical function PERM indicates that the speaker has power over the addressee and is thus entitled to ask the addressee to do things. Finally, the function LOC^{SOC}₍₁₎, where LOC suggests figurative location and SOC the high social position, captures the fact that the speaker's power originates in his higher social status. Finally, the pragmatic component captures the fact that a verb like "direct" is used in more formal situations than a similar performative predicate like "order".

In the remainder of this section, we shall analyze the meaning of a group of verbs of speech in terms of lexical templates as proposed within the LCM. The group of verbs selected for the study are the following: *order*, *suggest*, *request*, *ask*, *question*, *reason*, *remind*, *inform*, *notify*, *describe*, *outline*, and *discuss*. They all belong to the group of speech verbs used *to say something for a particular purpose/with a specific result* as included in the lexematic classification provided by Faber and Mairal (1999). For the sake of clarity, these predicates can be grouped into three main categories:

- (1) *Verbs used to say something so that the addressee performs an action:*
order, suggest, request₁, ask₁
- (2) *Verbs used to say something in order to get something:*
request₂, ask₂, ask₃, question
- (3) *Verbs used to say something to someone to tell them about it (so that the addressee knows):*
reason, remind, inform, notify, describe, outline, discuss.

The lexical templates for the verbs of speech included in this study are listed below:

- (4) **order**: [Imper, MAGN₁[PERM]₂, LOC^{SOC}_(1>2)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [do' (y)] x=1, y=2
- (5) **suggest**: [MinusImper, LOC^{SOC}₍₁₌₂₎] [do' (x, [say' (x,y,z)])] CAUSE [do' (y,z)] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (6) **request₁**: [MinusImper, LOC^{SOC}₍₁₌₂₎] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [do' (y)] x=1, y=2
- (7) **request₂**: [LOCT_y(z=object) Result LOCTF_y(z=object) >] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [give' (y, x, z)] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (8) **ask₁**: [MinusImper, LOC^{SOC}₍₁₌₂₎, Syn(request₁)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [do' (y)] x=1, y=2

- (9) **ask₂**: [LOCT_y(z=object) Result LOCTF_y(z=object) Syn(request₂)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [give' (y, x, z)] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (10) **ask₃**: [LOCT_y(z=knowledge) Result(LOCTF_x(z=knowledge)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [say' (y, z)] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (11) **question**: <Formal> [LOCT_x (lack of knowledge) LOCT_y(z=knowledge) Result(LOCTF_x(z=knowledge)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSE [say' (y, z)] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (12) **reason**: [Magn(disbelieve)₂ Magn(believe)₁ > Result(believe)₂] [do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] x=1, y=2
- (13) **remind**: [LOCTP_y (z=knowledge) LOCT_x (z=knowledge) Result (LOCTF_y (z=knowledge)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y,z)])] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (14) **inform**: [LOCT_x(z=knowledge) ResultLOCTF_y(z=knowledge)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y,z)])] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (15) **notify**: <FORMAL> [LOCT_x(z=information) ResultLOCTF_y(z=knowledge)] [do' (x, [say' (x,y,z)])] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (16) **describe**: [LOCT_x(z=knowledge) ResultLOCTF_y(z=knowledge) Magn] [do' (x, [say' (x,y,z)])] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (17) **outline**: [LOCT_x(z=knowledge) ResultLOCTF_y(z=knowledge) Minus] [do' (x, [say' (x,y,z)])] x=1, y=2, z=3
- (18) **discuss**: <Magn (disagreement) _{x&y}>Result (decision/agreement)_{x&y}> [do' (x&y, [say' (x&y)])] x=1, y=2

The fact that the lexical templates of all the verbs under scrutiny share the primitive 'say' reflects that fact that all the predicates belong to the same lexical domain (i.e. speech verbs). The different lexical functions, however, distinguish one predicate from the others by singling out their semantic and pragmatic idiosyncrasies. At the same time, the performative nature of some of them is captured in their corresponding logical structures, which depict the predicates as causative activities (i.e. ([do' (x, [say' (x,y)])] CAUSES do' (x, [do' (x)])) which not only describe the action, but simultaneously perform it.

4. CONSTRUCTIONAL COMPATIBILITY OF SPEECH ACT VERBS

The specifications included in the lexical template for each predicate, together with a number of internal and external constraints, will prove essential in order to understand the semantic grounding of the verbs and their ascription to the different grammatical

constructions.² The ensuing analysis will thus provide further evidence supporting the hypothesis that linguistic form is subservient to conceptual structure.

4.1. *The transitive construction*

In prototypical transitive constructions the patient is affected by the action performed by the agent (e.g. *Peter killed the snake*). Some of the verbs under scrutiny are compatible with this configuration: *direct*, *order*, *request*_J, *suggest*, *ask*_J, *remind*, *inform*, and *notify*.

- (19) The LORD your God has *directed* me to teach you his commands
(From <<http://www.biblestudytools.com/nirv/deuteronomy/6.html>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (20) He *ordered* him to tell no one
(From <<http://www.bible.cc/luke/5-14.htm>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (21) ... and *requested* him to intervene and get a compromise done
(From <<http://www.articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com> > Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (22) I *suggested* him to buy a car
(From <<http://www.soju.kubao.eu/ef7>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (23) I contacted the moderator and *asked* him to get involved in helping me
(From <<http://ww.englishforums.com/English/AskedForHimAskedHim/.../post.html>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (24) ... and *notified* him to go on Sunday
(From <<http://www.books.google.es/books?id=9Q08AAAAIAAJ> > Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (25) She *reminded* him to thank the hostess
(From <<http://www.yatedo.com/s/Elena+Marcos>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)
- (26) He *informed* them of his arrival.
(From <<http://www.dictionary.infoplease.com/inform>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)

In all cases, the receptor of the communicative act is syntactically realized by the object and is affected by the action performed by the agent. The data shows that the transitive construction is compatible with those speech verbs used to say something so that the addressee performs an action (group 1: *direct*, *order*, *request*_J, *suggest*, *ask*_J). On the contrary, verbs in group 2 (i.e. those used to say something in order to get something)

are only compatible with this construction if the requested entity is a material object (cf. *I requested/ask him to give me a glass of water* vs. **I asked/questioned him to tell me X*). Predicates in group 3 (i.e. those used to say something to someone to tell them about it so that they know) can only function in the prototypical transitive construction if the knowledge/information transferred from the speaker to the addressee has as a goal that the latter performs an action (see examples 24-26 above), but not otherwise. In *He described/outlined the landscape*, for instance, the object does not function as a patient and is not affected by the action. These semantic restrictions function as internal constraints on the subsumption of the predicates under scrutiny with the transitive construction, thus explaining their compatibility issues.

As shown in Taylor (1989), peripheral instances of the transitive construction display some, but not all features of prototypical members. Thus, we may find examples of the transitive construction such as *Sarah has a book*, where the syntactic structure of prototypical transitive constructions is inherited, but not so its semantic structure, since the object (i.e. book) does not function as a patient and it is not affected by the action. Those speech verbs, which are not compatible with the prototypical transitive construction, still qualify as peripheral members of the category. These are the following: *describe*, *outline*, *discuss*, and *reason*.

(27) He *described* his method of composition as “word association”.

(From <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/07/books/ray-bradbury-popularizer-of-science-fiction-dies-at-91.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0> Accessed on August 2, 2012)

(28) She listened as he *outlined* what her life was to be like from now on.

(From <<http://www.masterandpets.tumblr.com/post/14088421089>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)

(29) But he *reasoned* the matter so clearly she hardly could help but agree.

(From <[http://www. books.google.es/books?isbn=1557095795](http://www.books.google.es/books?isbn=1557095795)> Accessed on August 2, 2012)

(30) In addition, they *discussed* the importance of international partnerships.

(From < <http://www.climatologynews.com/link.asp?ID=1668615>> Accessed on August 2, 2012)

Peripheral members of a given grammatical construction are but special cases of it and they are accounted for by means of *instance links* (Goldberg 1995: 79). In other cases, non-prototypical members of the transitive construction are characterized by the fact that the object does not realize the semantic function of patient (as in prototypical instances), but rather expresses the result of the action. In an utterance like *He ordered the attack*, the attack is the result of the action of ordering. Peripheral members of this type are derived through a process of metonymic extension. The metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT

underlies their interpretation, thus providing evidence of the workings of external constraints, more specifically *metonymic links*, as yet another inheritance mechanism endowing the family of transitive-constructions with a systematic internal structure.

4.2. *The that-construction*

The *that-construction* emphasizes the transmission of ideas. Of all the elements of the communicative act, focus is placed on the message being transmitted. In at least one of its three potential realizations (i.e. [V that], [V n that] or [V to n that]), this construction is compatible with the following speech verbs: *order*, *request*_J, *suggest*, *ask*_J, *reason*, *remind*, *inform*, *notify*, *describe*, *outline*, and *discuss*.

- (31) He *ordered* to me that I should teach the citizens...
(From <<http://www.ideas.time.com/2011/12/06/can-we-teach-kids-to-be-good-citizens/>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (32) He *requested*_J to me that I prepared a small document with some Internet addresses related to Astronomy.
(From <<http://www.ret005t6.eresmas.net/english/html/just.html>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (33) He *suggested* to me that I should learn English.
(From <<http://www.englishforums.com/English/SuggestSomebodyToInf/.../post.html>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (34) He *asked*_J to me that I accepted a French red wine as a present.
(From <<http://www.porelmondoenmoto.com/en/index.php?menu=1&con=1&coun=Panama>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (35) Most people *reasoned* to me that there was simply no other choice.
(From <<http://truth-out.org/news/item/8738-a-tale-of-two-cities-ciudad-juarez-and-el-paso?tmpl=component&print=1>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (36) Patrick De Geest *reminded* to me that the Q.3 of this puzzle is related with the subject of the Puzzle 110 of these pages.
(From <http://www.primepuzzles.net/puzzles/puzz_235.htm> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (37) The nurse *informed* me that visiting hours were over.
(From <<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/inform>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (38) Paypal has *notified* me that I need to update their program.
(From <<https://support.mozilla.org/questions/831180>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)

- (39) She *described* to me that the early years at the I-Center were much like the movie “Animal House”.
(From <http://www.sjsu.edu/ihouse>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (40) ... when ordering the laptop the Apple online order page *outlined* to me that I had 3 years Mechanical Warranty.
(From <<https://discussions.apple.com/thread/4064261?start=0&tstart=0>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)
- (41) Have you ever *discussed* to me that you wanted to obtain a college degree?
(From <<http://straightfromthea.com/2012/07/02/fan-mail-39-questions-from-ushers-alleged-stalker-tameka-raymond-may-use-stalker-in-custody-battle-photos/>> Accessed on August 8, 2012)

Interestingly enough, the only predicates that are not compatible with the that-construction are *ask₃* and *question*. In both cases, no message is communicated by the speaker, but rather he asks the addressee to share his knowledge/information with him. The incompatibility of these two verbs with the that-construction is a clear example of how the semantics of a construction is a decisive factor that can block lexical-constructional subsumption in those cases in which there is a clash with the meaning of the predicate.

4.3. *The motion construction*

This construction puts emphasis on the receptor of the message, which is conceptualized as its destination. It is, therefore, closely linked to the PATH image-schema (Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The motion construction has two possible realizations, depending on the order of the constituents: [V n TO x] and [V TO x n].

As was the case with the that-construction, all speech verbs under analysis are compatible with this configuration, except for *ask₃* and *question*.

- (42) That bishop, connoisseur of the creative activity of Gaudí, *ordered* to him the construction of a new Episcopal palace
(From <<http://www.gaudiallgaudi.com/AA017%20Astorga.htm> > Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (43) The wizard *requested* to me the XML file.
(From <<http://www.qnasap.com/cant-upgrade-nw701/>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (44) I *suggested* to him the enterprise of exploring the Western part of our continent
(From <<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/jefferson/jeffwest.html>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)

- (45) I have been approached by two policemen that *asked*₂ to me the documents in a way enough intimidating.
(From <<http://www.lordbyroncollege.com/teaching-opportunities>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (46) I remember the first time someone *reasoned* to me the desire to invade Iraq.
(From <<http://www.getbig.com/boards/index.php?topic=320982.0;wap2>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (47) It *reminded* to me the house of Cesar Manrique in Lanzarote Island a little bit.
(From <<http://www.members.virtualltourist.com/m/155ca/405da/5/>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (48) When Abu Dharr *informed* to him the purpose of his visit, ...
(From <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/6370488/Essence-of-Life-Ain-alHayat>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (49) ... and *notified* to him the arrival of the British Commissioners.
(From <<http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/science-religion>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (50) I *described* to him the country of Europe, particularly England, which I came from.
(From <<http://www.literaturepage.com/read/robinsoncrusoe-214.html>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (51) I then *outlined* to him the progress which we have made and the timetable as it stood now.
(From <<http://www.nuclearfiles.org> > Library > Correspondence> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (52) On our way back, I *discussed* to him the benefits of marketing it.
(From <<http://jkhalid.multiply.com/journal>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)

The motion construction is compatible with a high number of predicates, including those that could not be subsumed into the prototypical transitive configuration: *discuss*, *outline*, *describe*, and *inform*. This is due to the fact that the motion construction maps the destination element of the PATH schema onto the receptor of the message (e.g. *He ordered to him the construction of the bridge*) rather than onto a proposed action (e.g. *He ordered him to build the bridge*), as was the case with the transitive construction. Such mapping does not activate the high-level metaphor DESTINATIONS ARE GOALS, which, on the other hand, is at work in the examples of speech verbs within the transitive construction analyzed in section 4.1. Predicates like *describe*, *outline*, *discuss*, and *inform* are used to convey information, but do not usually put forward an action for realization. As a consequence, their semantics are compatible with those of the motion construction.

4.4. *The caused-motion construction*

Goldberg (1995: 152) characterizes the *caused-motion construction* as that in which the agent causes the movement of the patient along a path described by a directional expression (X causes Y to move to Z). This author offered the nowadays well-known example *Sam sneezed the napkin off the table*, in which it is precisely the caused-motion pattern which explains the use of the originally intransitive verb *sneeze* in a transitive sentence.

Examples (53) to (60) below illustrate those speech verbs that can be subsumed with the caused-motion construction:

- (53) Officers surrounded him and *directed* him out of the auditorium
(From <<http://spectrum.ieee.org/consumer-electronics/gadgets/how-a-taser-works>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (54) Captain David *ordered* him out of the barracks
(From <http://www.yinkuz.blogspot.com/2012_09_08_archive.html> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (55) The officer alleged that he believed that the defendant was impaired and *requested* him out of his vehicle to conduct a DUI investigation
(From <<http://www.sobeldefense.com/past-cases.php>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (56) It was the singer Sven Hedlund who *suggested* him into the band after seeing him playing.
(From <http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=_Ajp66AIDl8> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (57) Well, I *asked* him into my room... there was conversation, one thing and another...
(From <<http://www.classiclit.about.com/library/bl-etexts/achekhov/bl-achek-trip.htm>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (58) Having reached this point, will you allow me to ask you some questions? It is your duty, having *questioned* me into this dilemma, to question me ...
(From <<http://www.books.google.es/books?isbn=0486205150>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)
- (59) Usually I'm pretty good about selling even the coolest of things that I want to keep but Steve *reasoned* me into saving these.
(From <<http://milesapaandme.blogspot.com/2012/05/weeks-of-finds.html>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)

- (60) In 1998 my wife finally *discussed* me into going to the physician to get a check-up
(From <<http://ow2-lose-weight.blogspot.com>> Accessed on August 21, 2012)

All speech verbs in group 1 (i.e. verbs used to say something so that the addressee performs an action) are compatible with the caused-motion construction, as illustrated by examples (53) to (57). This is also the case with those predicates which are used to say something in order to get something (group 2). However, of those verbs included in group 3 (i.e. verbs used to say something to someone so that the addressee knows) only *reason* and *discuss* (examples 59 and 60) have been found to function in the construction under scrutiny. As can be seen in their lexical templates, these are the only two intransitive verbs within their group and it is precisely this feature that allows their subsumption with the caused-motion construction. Transitive verbs like *describe*, *outline*, *inform*, *notify* and *remind* have this syntactic slot occupied by their own corresponding objects. An attempt to use them in the caused-motion construction (e.g. **He described me into buying the painting*) would be nonsensical.

4.5. *Caused-motion construction with way*

As observed in Goldberg (1995: 199-205), the *way* construction entails that a path is created to effect motion and such motion occurs despite some kind of difficulty. Compatibility with the speech verbs under analysis is illustrated below:

- (61) I *questioned* my way into an additional Philosophy major
(From <<http://www.mannmuseum.com/law-school-essay>> Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (62) I just *reasoned* my way into atheism
(From <<http://sguforums.com/index.php?topic=43075.10;wap2>> Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (63) My now fiance just “*discussed*” his way into marriage
(From <<http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20101219071939AAwod5c>> Accessed on August 28, 2012)

Most of the speech verbs under analysis are incompatible with the syntactic pattern under consideration. In fact, only *reason*, *discuss* and *question* seem to tie in well with the semantics of the *way* construction. This is no surprise, however, if we observe the semantic specifications of these predicates as described in the corresponding lexical templates in section 3. In all cases we find an inherent difficulty that needs to be overcome: the lack of knowledge of the speaker, in the case of *question*; the addressee’s disbelief, in the case of *reason*; and the initial disagreement, in the case of *discuss*. In contrast, no such difficulty is present in the semantics of the rest of the speech verbs under scrutiny. Since the *way* construction requires the existence of some kind of

obstacle, either physical or metaphorical, along the path, lexical-constructional subsumption with the latter predicates is blocked.

4.6. Resultative construction

Searches for the resultative construction with the speech verbs under analysis have turned out to be little productive. Only those speech verbs in group 1 (i.e. *order*, *request*₁, and *suggest*) and the predicates *ask*₁ and *question* in group 2 seem to be compatible with this constructional pattern³:

- (64) Clayton *ordered* them quiet
(From <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40352122>> Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (65) Janeway *ordered* the door open and leapt aside
(From <<http://www.fanfiction.net/s/3395510/1/No-Good-Deed> > Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (66) Cath pointed out that if a Patient *requested* the door closed it would be closed
(From <[http://www.easygp.net/.../Mins_for_Meeting_15th_March_2012\[1\].pdf](http://www.easygp.net/.../Mins_for_Meeting_15th_March_2012[1].pdf)> Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (67) He took out a wise, helped opened the door and *suggested* the door open to facilitate people entering
(From <<http://s2.elforo.de/enfermeria/viewtopic.php?p=147993&sid=c7d4b80b3e65a2da4bb1fa6780f80d17>> Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (68) The babysitter *asked* the children quiet
(From <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/98080224/214_1181161849> Accessed on August 28, 2012)
- (69) He *questioned* them puzzled
(From <<http://m.fanfiction.net/s/8332943/5/>> Accessed on August 28, 2012)

Still, the few attested examples are fairly marginal and mostly restricted to collocations with a limited number of adjectives (i.e. *open/closed*, *quiet*, *dead*, *puzzled*). These findings fair well with those of previous studies (cf. Pérez and Ruiz de Mendoza 2011), where the resultative construction was also found to be hardly productive with verbs of speech. Interestingly enough those verbs compatible with the construction are all performative in nature. As noted in their corresponding lexical templates, they are distinguished from non-performative predicates in their logical forms, which depict them as causative activities (i.e. ([do' (x, [say'(x,y)] CAUSES do' (x, [do'(x)]))). Therefore, they all have as a goal that the addressee performs an action. It is precisely this semantic ingredient that licenses their use within the resultative construction. As Pérez and Ruiz de Mendoza (2011) rightly observed, this constructional configuration is characterized by

the fact that the protagonist (i.e. the person that issues the order or manipulator) expects the addressee to carry out an implicit action in such a way that it results in some explicit consequences on someone else (the undergoer of the implicit action). ‘Order a door open’, for instance, is thus a compressed version of ‘order the addressee to act in such a way that, as a result, the door becomes open’. Those speech verbs whose semantics do not entertain a potential future action by the addressee cannot, therefore, be used with the resultative construction. Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2009: 188) have identified this type of phenomenon, where a component of the lexical template (or the lack of it, as in the case under consideration) can block the subsumption process with a given construction, as an instance of a specific internal constraint named *Lexical Blocking*.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The present paper has put forward the *Lexical Constructional Model* as an explanatorily sound model for the investigation of the way in which the representation of speech verbs and certain grammatical constructions interact. This has been achieved through the specification of the semantics and pragmatics of the speech verbs in terms of lexical templates and a corpus-based search on their compatibility with the selected grammatical constructions. Throughout the analysis, it has been made manifest how lexical-grammatical subsumption can be either licensed or blocked by a number of internal restrictions, which take into account the syntactic and semantic configuration of the verbs as captured by their corresponding lexical templates (i.e. caused-motion construction, *way* construction, resultative construction). In other cases, the integration of a lexical predicate in a given construction is allowed by the underlying workings of high-level metaphoric and/or metonymic mappings. Metonymic mappings have also been shown to be one type of the collection of inheritance links involved in the extension of constructional families from their most prototypical cases (i.e. transitive construction).

NOTES

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1. The reader is referred to Butler (2003), Butler and González-García (2005) and González-García and Butler (2006) for an in-depth comparison of functional and cognitive models of language.
2. Unless otherwise specified, all examples have been obtained through *WebCorp* (Kehoe and Renouf 2002; Renouf 2003; Renouf, Kehoe y Barnejee 2005, 2007; Morley 2006), which makes use of Internet databases as a linguistic corpus. The sources of all examples have been manually checked and only those written by native speakers of English have been included. The dimensions of the data accessed through *WebCorp* exceeds that of other conventional contemporary corpora (*British National Corpus*, *Corpus of Contemporary American English*). The qualitative nature of the present study and the richness of examples offered by *WebCorp*, which often returns instances of linguistic phenomena with a low frequency of occurrence, justifies its choice.

3. Examples of this kind have also been analyzed as cases of the manipulative subjective-transitive construction (cf. González-García 2008, 2009). The constructions in this family are characterized by expressing a high degree of involvement of the subject NP (the protagonist) on the rest of the predication (e.g. He believed me guilty). Likewise, the adjective usually refers to an inherent property of the object. Only in the manipulative variant does the object of the verb appear as the undergoer of an action that will have an expected result.

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