

Where in the network of constructions does an alternation occur? Taxonomic and horizontal links between allostructions. Evidence from Portuguese

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Allostructions (Capelle 2006, Perek 2015) are alternate constructions which are posited at the relatively lower levels of schematicity. Allostructions inherit the same propositional/referential meaning from the constructeme and instantiate the form, which is partially underspecified in the constructeme. Based on the alternation between the overt and null *se* constructions in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as in (1)-(2), and on the pied-piping and chopping relative constructions in European Portuguese (EP), as in (3)-(4), we argue that the allostructions are mainly determined by semantic factors, especially differences in *construal* (Langacker 2008), i.e. a difference based on the *absolute* vs. *energetic* construals (Soares da Silva et al. 2021) and on the cognitive accessibility of the antecedent of the relative clause.

- (1) *e aí quando ela menstrua, e tá pronta pra casar, aí eles vão e se casam, né* (BP, C-Oral)
'and then when she gets her period, and is ready to marry, they get married?'
- (2) *não precisa nem de festa [...] pra gente \emptyset casar, Leandro.* (BP, C-Oral)
'There is no need not even for a party [...] for us to marry, Leandro'
- (3) *se podemos reduzir estas questões àquele triângulo de que tantas vezes falamos* (EP, C-Oral)
'if we can limit these questions to that triangle that we talked about so many times'
- (4) *esta minha colega \emptyset que eu há bocado falei que o marido era* (EP, C-Oral)
'this colleague of mine that I talked [Ø] earlier whose husband was'

In relation to the taxonomic network we propose that the alternations are allostructions which are posited at the level of the constructeme and below. The constructional variants inherit the propositional/referential meaning from the constructeme and specify the contrasting aspects of form and meaning. For example, the overt and null *se* constructions are allostructions of the reflexive construction [NP (SE) V]_{REFL}, the passive construction [NP (SE) V]_{PASS}, etc., and chopping and piedpiping relative constructions are allostructions of the oblique relative clause [NP (REL_PRON)_{OBL} V].

Besides the taxonomic relationship between the constructions, the allostructions also hold horizontal relationships within the network (Diessel 2019). Because the referential meaning at the immediate superordinate level is shared by the allostructions, the nature of the inheritance links is also implicit in the horizontal links. However, the horizontal links are also established between alternations that, although they are at the constructeme level, do not share the referential meaning of the immediate superordinate level; rather, a more underspecified meaning posited at a higher level in the taxonomy. For example, and in the case of *se* constructions, the anticausative overt *se* construction will establish links, not only with the anticausative null *se* construction, but also with all the other overt *se* constructions (e.g. reflexive overt *se* construction, passive overt *se* construction, etc.), sharing the form and an aspect of the meaning, i.e. energetic construal for all overt *se* constructions, but not the referential or propositional meaning (e.g. reflexivity, passivization, etc.). Similarly, the chopping and pied-piping alternation in relation to the Indirect Object construction will not only establish links with one another, but the Indirect Object pied-piping construction will establish links with, for example, the pied-piping alternate of the Oblique relative construction. These types of links, therefore, establish different degrees of similarity between the alternative constructions, as suggested by Ungerer (forthcoming).

References

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