

# The expression of service provision in American English: A constructionist approach

*A expressão de previsão de serviço no inglês estadunidense: uma análise construcionista*

Diogo PINHEIRO 

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro  
Rio de Janeiro, Brasil  
[diogopinheiro@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:diogopinheiro@letras.ufrj.br)

Paula SASSE 

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro  
Rio de Janeiro, Brasil  
[paulasasse@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:paulasasse@letras.ufrj.br)

**Abstract:** This article investigates two constructions in American English used to express service provision: the Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC), as in "I had my nails done," and the Service Provision Transitive Construction (SPTC), as in "I did my nails." To the extent that these constructions seemingly challenge the Principle of Non-Synonymy (Goldberg, 1995), they present an issue for functionalist framework Principle. Through the lens of Usage-Based Construction Grammar (UBCG), this paper argues that while both constructions evoke a service provision event, the SPTC also evokes an additional event and profiles different elements of the scene, suggesting a greater degree of involvement by the subject referent. This difference in profiling and involvement helps explain why speakers might choose one construction over the other, thus providing evidence in favor the Non-Synonymy Principle and contributing to a deeper understanding of the relationship between form and meaning in service provision expressions.

**Keywords:** Construction Grammar; profiling; semantics; American English

**Resumo:** Este artigo investiga duas construções no inglês americano usadas para expressar a provisão de serviço: a Construção Causativa de Provisão de

Serviço (CCPS), como em "I had my nails done" (Eu fiz as unhas), e a Construção Transitiva de Provisão de Serviço (CTPS), como em "I did my nails" (Eu fiz as unhas). 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). Sob a ótica da Gramática de Construções Baseada no Uso (UBCG), argumentamos que, embora ambas as construções evocam um evento de prestação de serviço, a CTPS também evoca pelo menos um evento adicional e perfila diferentes elementos e relações da cena evocada, o que sugere um maior grau de envolvimento por parte do falante. Essa diferença no perfilamento e no envolvimento ajuda a explicar por que os falantes escolhem uma construção em detrimento da outra.

**Palavras-chave:** gramática de construções; perfilamento; semântica; inglês americano

## 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 perform 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

These examples present 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

### What someone does for us

We use *have* + object + *-ed* form when we talk about someone doing something for us which we ask or instruct them to do. It emphasises the process/action rather than who performs it:

*We're **having** the house painted next week.* (We are not going to paint the house ourselves. Someone else will paint it. The emphasis is on the fact that the house is being painted rather than who is doing it.)

#### Warning:

This pattern is not the same as the present perfect or past perfect.

### Compare

<i>I <b>had</b> my hair cut.</i>	Someone cut my hair.
<i>I've <b>cut</b> my hair.</i> <i>I'd <b>cut</b> my hair.</i>	I cut my own hair.

Source:

[https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/grammar/british-grammar/have-something-done#google\\_vignette](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.*

<p><b>Do something yourself</b></p> <p>I <b>clean</b> my apartment every week. He <b>is washing</b> his car. They <b>fixed</b> their computer. Did you <b>repair</b> your watch? Where can I <b>print</b> these pictures?</p>	<p><b>Get/have something done for you</b></p> <p>I <b>get</b> my apartment <b>cleaned</b> (by Hazel) every week. He <b>is having</b> his car <b>washed</b>. They <b>got</b> their computer <b>fixed</b>. Did you <b>have</b> your watch <b>repaired</b>? Where can I <b>get</b> these pictures <b>printed</b>?</p>
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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. 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 (3) and (4) below:

(3) Taylor dyed her hair.

(4) Hayley had her hair dyed.

According to the rules presented in figures 1 and 2, sentence (3) 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 (4) 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 (3) can have not only a “do it yourself” reading, but also a service provision reading. Likewise, sentence (4) 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 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). 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 “They had the car fixed”, and the Service Provision Transitive Construction, exemplified in “We remodeled our house”.

This, however, presents an issue for the chosen framework. In fact, it’s a widespread principle in UBCG that two different formal structures cannot be associated with the same meaning – an assumption that has been labeled by Goldberg (1995) as the Principle of No-Synonym and recently refined by Leclercq & Morin (2023) as Principle of No Equivalence. Assuming this principle as true, we ask: What is the semantic or pragmatic difference between the two constructions?

Following a long-standing cognitive grammar tradition, we aimed at advancing an in-depth description of the constructions at stake. In sum, 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.

It is uncontroversial that such a hypothesis must be subjected to empirical testing in the future, as it relies solely on introspection and theoretical reasoning. This type of armchair linguistics, however, has the advantage of allowing for detailed representation of subtle semantic properties. The present study should therefore be taken as a qualitative, exploratory research, whose aim is to *generate* descriptive hypotheses and make them available to empirical (either experimental or corpus-based) testing.

This article is structured as follows. Sections 1 and 2 are dedicated to the descriptions of the Service Provision Causative Construction and the Service Provision Transitive Construction respectively and our proposal regarding their conceptual import. Section 3 is focused on comparing the two target constructions, their similarities and differences. Lastly, in final considerations, we sum up our main ideas and discuss possible developments of this research.

## **2 SERVICE PROVISION CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION (SPCC)**

Causation and its many causative structures have been the interest of many scholars. Some being quite well-known and extensively studied (KEMMER & VERHAGEN, 1994; GILQUIN, 2003) and others that are not quite so explored. By saying that there are types of causative constructions, we argue that there are some lower-level constructions, i.e., relatively more concrete forms of the general Causative Construction.

From a constructionist perspective, Tran (2024) discusses these ideas, with a focus on state change in causatives. The author provides a general description of a transitive causative construction, highlighting how causative constructions emphasize the patient role, which displays a higher

degree of agency in comparison to other constructions, such as the passive one. More importantly to us, he discusses double-verb causatives, in which the first verb loses semantic weight in comparison to the second one.

In this work we delved into one specific type of double-verb causatives which we call the Service Provision Causative Construction (SPCC), as in:

(5) Oliver had his room painted.

(6) Selena gets her nails done every week.

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:

(9) Hayley had her house remodeled by the property brothers.

(10) Taylor got her nails done.

These sentences show a clear difference in form, as (9) has an extra element in comparison to (10). Both follow the structure proposed by Vilela: a NP, followed by the verbs “have” or “get”, another NP and a second verb in its past participle form. Yet, in (9) there is an additional element, “by the property brothers” — a PP, the passive agent. Even though this element is commonly omitted, 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)].

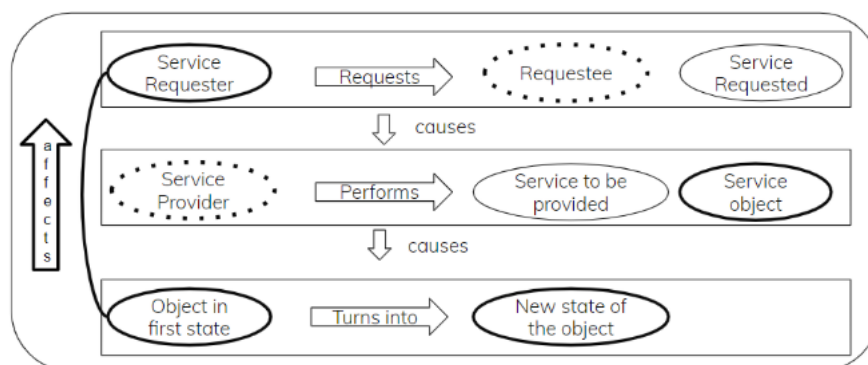
Also, Vilela’s detailing of the semantics of the construction lacks depth. While she does associate the form above mentioned with the meaning of service provision and adds that the causation chain only happens with the volition of the subject referent, she does not go further. That is, there is no elaboration 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.

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 3 — SPCC semantics



Source: my own

Each rectangle in Figure 3 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 (9) Hayley hired the property brothers and later, 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); concerning the third step, both elements are profiled, since they have the same referent in the world; lastly, the relation between the service object change of state and the service requester, which is an affectation one, is also profiled.

So, while the sentence *Hayley had her house remodeled by the property brothers* evokes the three steps aforementioned, it only profiles the service requester Hayley, the execution of the service (the remodeling) the service affectee *her house*, the service provider the property brothers and how she was the one affected by the house being remodeled. 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.

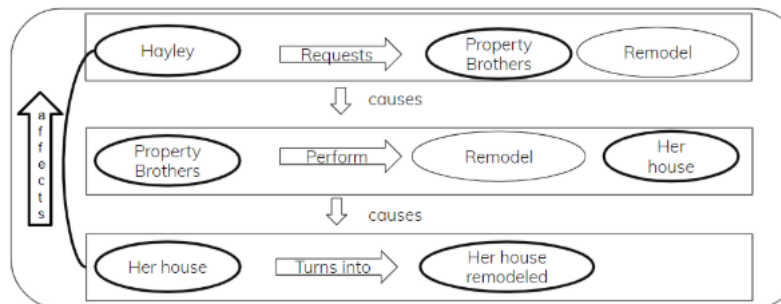
Thus, the scene evoked in (9) involves “Hayley” (service requester), “the property brothers” (service provider) and “her house” (affectee). The action of having a third-party remodeling one’s house implies that the owner paid a group of individuals, which then changed the structure and decoration of 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 property brothers*.

To illustrate this process, it is possible to describe the semantics of (9) as follows:

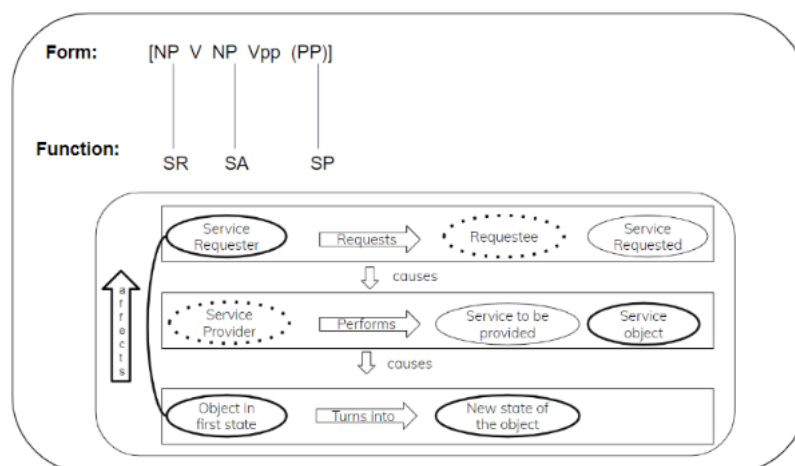
Figure 4 – Semantics of example (9)



Source: my own

Therefore, the Service Provision Causative Construction can be described as follows:

Figure 5 — SPCC description



Source: my own

Figure 5 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 SERVICE PROVISION TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION (SPTC)**

In this work we defend 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:

(11) Nicole painted her living room walls.

(12) Alex did her nails.

According to Diessel (2015), the prototypical transitive construction, named here as Agentive 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). In 2023, he includes, in his analysis, the differences between the two NPs, the first of the usually being “an animate NP that tends to be shorter and more definite than the object NP”.

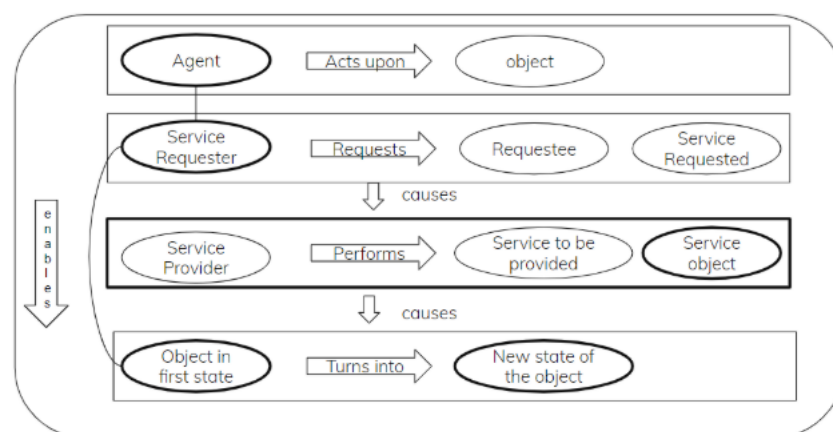
Hoffmann (2022) describes the same constructions in terms of focus. According to his proposal, the transitive construction focuses on the subject causing something to happen to the object. This analysis already discusses the similarities between causative and transitive constructions.

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 SPTC 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 that, we would have in American English two distinct forms with the exact same meaning, which would constitute a violation of Goldberg's (1995) Principle of No-Synonym. 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 6 — SPTC Semantics



Source: my own

In figure 6, 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

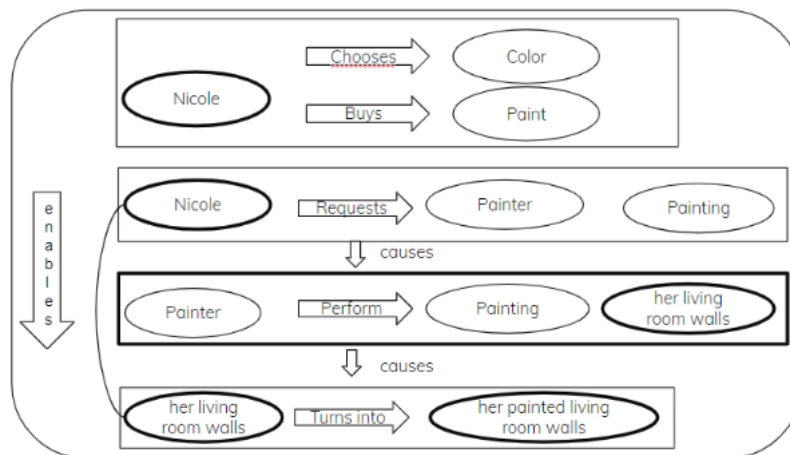
referent has a different name in distinct situations. Since the first situation is the requesting of a service, there is a service requester (subject referent) requesting a service (depicted action) to a service requestee (the one who is going to execute the service). This first situation, led by the 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 have taken 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 (11), we obtain the following representation:

Figure 7 — Semantics of example (11)

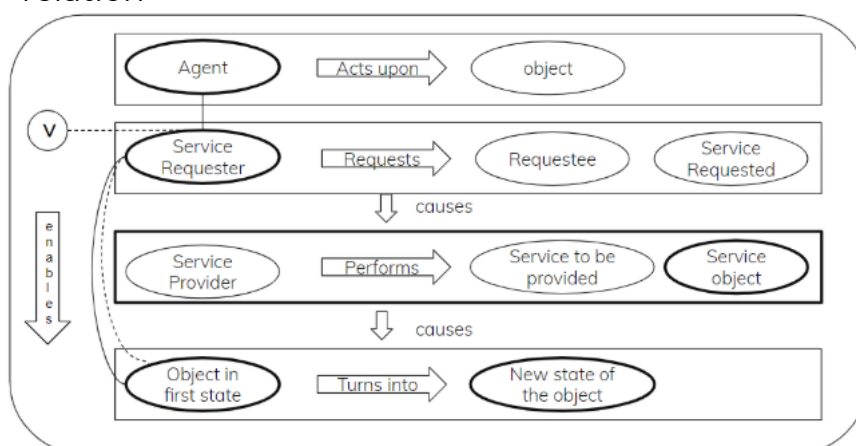


Source: my own

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 7, 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 8 — SPCC representation with the possessive relation



Source: my own

In figure 8, 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. According to Langacker (1991), a possessive relation 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 (12), 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 (12) without the possessive relation:

(13) ?Alex did the nails.

(14) ?Alex did nails.

(15) Alex did some nails.

The first two, (13) and (14), 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 (13) 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 — in which “Alex” did her own nails. Example (14) 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 (15) 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 (12) and (13) rewritten accordingly:

(14) Nicole painted Paul's living room walls.

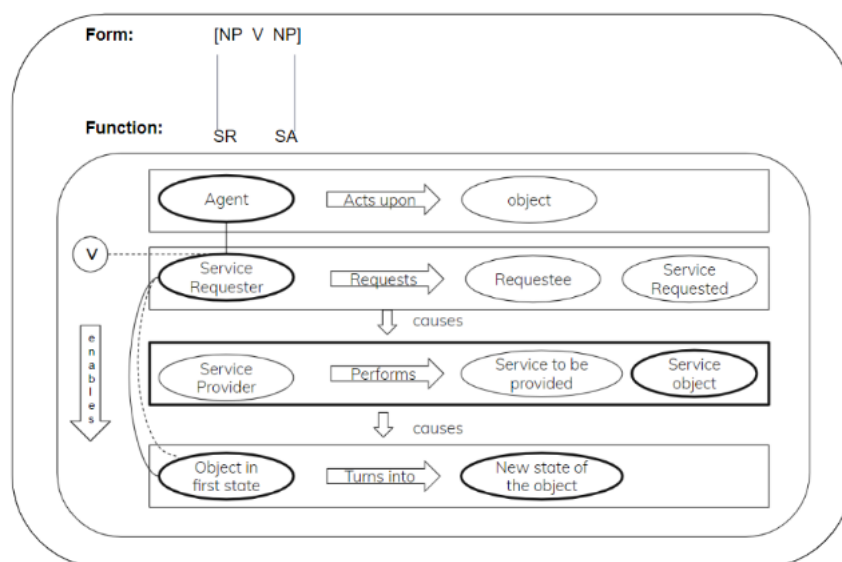
(15) Alex did Maria's nails.

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 (14) and (15), 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. Therefore, these sentences are not instances of the same construction as those in (11) and (12). Thus, we reiterate that the SPTC seems to have a semantic constraint in which there must have a possessive relation between the subject referent (beneficiary of the service) and the affectee.

The last aspect of figure 8 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 (12) (to recall: “Alex did her nails.”), he/she is *profiling* — highlighting — the fact that Alex 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 nail, but also that the nail belongs to her. Thus, it was **her** initiative that affected **her** nails.

The description of the Service Provision Transitive Construction can be summarized as follows:

Figure 9 — SPTC description



Source: my own

Figure 9 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. In our next section we are going to compare them in order to accomplish our goal of differentiating these constructions.

## 4 COMPARING THE CONSTRUCTIONS

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 affectee.

In figures 5 and 9 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.

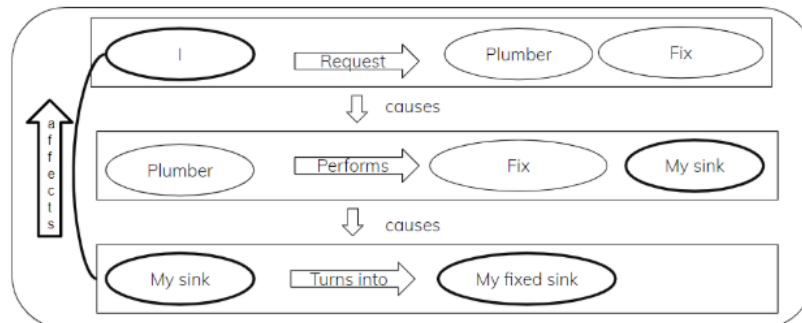
To illustrate this proposal, let's analyze these two apparently interchangeable sentences:

(16) I had my sink fixed.

(17) I fixed my sink.

According to our proposal, sentence (16) evokes the following representation:

Figure 10 — Semantics of example (16)

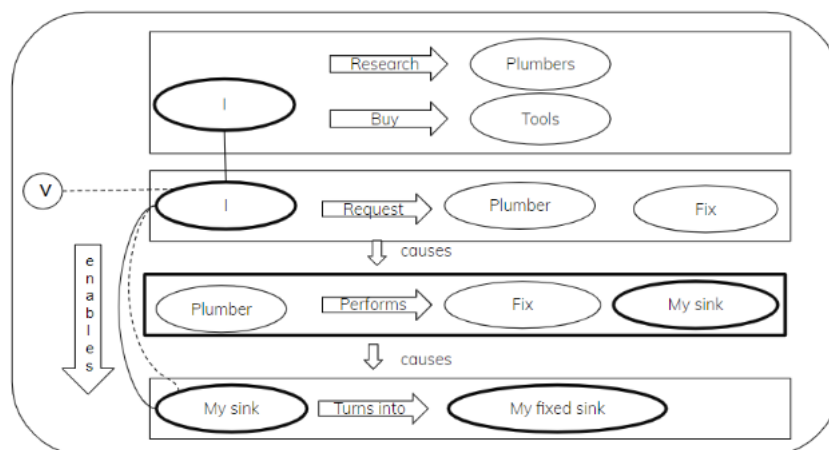


Source: my own

Figure 10 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, the utterance *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 (17), evokes:

Figure 11 — Semantics of example (17)



Source: my own

In figure 11 there is the same causative chain as in figure 10: *I* started this chain by requesting a professional to fix a particular sink (that belongs to *I*). In addition, this utterance evokes at least one other external action

associated 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 SPCC and the SPTC 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 terms of profiling.

## 5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this article we have adopted a UBCG perspective 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 have described and compared the two constructions.

The Service Provision Causative Construction has the form [NP HAVE/GET NP Vpp] and is 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 execution, 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 also 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 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 ensure the possibility of the service completion. The other three are the core situations of service provision, also evoked by the SPCC. 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 these elements, it only profiles (i) the subject referent, (ii) the object referent and (iii) the service execution situation.

This research is, however, the start of the investigation of the two constructions and it leads to many different paths to be explored. One possibility, since this was a theoretical exploration, is to conduct experiments that test the hypothesis here presented in order to verify its psychological reality and provide empirical evidence.

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