Construal as an explanation for alternating construction?
The case of Spanish *hacerse* y *volverse*

In contrast with many other major European languages, Spanish possesses a large number of verbs which are used in different contexts to express a change-of-state, e.g. *ponerse enfermo* 'get sick', *quedarse sordo* 'become deaf', *volverse loco* 'become crazy', *hacerse grande* 'grow big', *salir herido* 'get injured', etc.

In a recent study Delbecque & van Gorp (2015) argue for a semantic differentiation between *hacerse* and *volverse*, two of the most generally used Spanish change-of-state verbs (CSV). Building on the original, basic meaning of the verbs —*hacer* 'to make', *volver* 'to return', etc.— Delbecque & van Gorp suggest that each verb imposes a particular construal on the change of state expression. Bybee & Eddington (2006), on the other hand, emphasize the importance of the adjective, and find that the each CSV is combined with a specific, semantically more or less coherent group of adjectives.

Our goal is investigate the applicability of the notion of construal as an explanation for the selection of CSV. The analysis focuses on ten specific adjectives, which are frequently combined with *hacerse* and *volverse*: *posible* 'possible', *imposible* 'impossible', *necesario* 'necessary', *innecesario* 'innecessary', *imprescindible* 'essential', *visible*, *invisible*, *transparente*, *borroso* 'blurred' and *viral*.

The analysis is based on data retrieved from CORPES XXI, a corpus of 21st century Spanish. The corpus includes 419 cases of the ten adjectives in combination with *volverse* and 2862 with *hacerse* (3281 in total). A distinctive collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004) was performed on the whole data set, whereas a subset consisting of up to 50 cases of each V+ADJ combination was annotated for more detailed quantitative analyses. We included 21 variables highlighting different semantic and syntactic aspects of the usage contexts, and where chosen in order to be able to account for possible differences in construal, for example, Subjectivity, Progression/Regression, Positivity, Cause, etc.

The distinctive collexeme analysis shows that four of the adjectives are strongly associated with *volverse*, three show a strong preference for *hacerse*, while the remaining three do not prefer either verb. Of the 21 variables, five come out significant in a preliminary analysis. In our dataset, *volverse* is associated with negative change and negative connotations of the usage context. This finding is consistent with the negative assessment aspect of the conceptualization of *volverse* in Delbecque & van Gorp (2015, § 6). *Hacerse* is associated with abstract subjects (3rd order entities) and the presence of a cause. In addition, with *hacerse* it is more often possible to view the supposed change of state as a simple evaluation, not as an actual change. The presence of an external cause with *hacerse* can be seen as surprising, giving that this verb is associated with a process of auto-generation (Delbecque & van Gorp 2015, § 6). The association between *hacerse* and abstract subjects and an evaluative reading of the supposed process of change, on the other hand, are not really considered in Delbecque & van Gorp's (2015) model.

Our preliminary conclusion is that although there are differences between the usage contexts of the two verbs with the ten adjectives under study, these differences are not easily interpreted in terms of construal. This is, of course, not unexpected, given the abstract nature

of both subjects and adjectives involved in the expressions. In this case, then, instead of generalizing over the two verbs it might be preferable to regard the specific verb+adjective combinations as constructions in their own right.

References
Bybee, Joan & David Eddington. 2006. A usage-based approach to Spanish verbs of 'becoming'. *Language* 82(2), 323-355.
CORPES XXI = Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORPES XXI) [en línea]. *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES)*. <http://web.frl.es/CORPES>.
Delbecque, Nicole & Lise van Gorp. 2015. Pseudo-copular use of the Spanish verbs *hacerse* and *volverse*: two types of change. *CogniTextes* 13. https://doi.org/10.4000/cognitextes.844
Gries, Stefan Th. & Anatol Stefanowitsch. 2004. Extending collostructional analysis: A corpus-based perspective on 'alternations'. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 9(1), 97-129.