

GRAMMATICALIZING RESULTANT STATE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Abstract: The New Testament presents twenty-two verbs that grammaticalize the resultant state of an entity undergoing change. This article introduces the method of analysis and description and resolves these verbs into five groups according to the manner in which they grammaticalize resultant state. The introductory discussion develops the method of semantic, syntactic, and lexical analysis and description. The discussion then describes the licensing properties of the verbs in each group, specifies the lexical realization of all observed required complements of the verbs, clarifies the verbs' interpretation, and illustrates their translation. (Article)

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1. *Preliminary Considerations*

This discussion develops the method for specifying the semantic, syntactic, and lexical requirements of the verbs that grammaticalize resultant state and specifies the conditions under which Greek grammar permits the omission of verbal complements.

1.1 *Semantic Description*

Verbs that grammaticalize resultant state require completion by two complements (two-place verbs) or three arguments (three-place verbs). The two-place verbs require completion by arguments that function as a semantic Patient (P), “the entity undergoing an action,” and a semantic Resultative (R), “the final

state of an entity undergoing change.”¹ The three-place verbs require completion by arguments that function as a semantic Patient, Resultative, and Agent (A), “the animate entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity.” The Resultative semantic function is restricted to arguments, that is, phrasal elements that are required to complete the meaning of words. This semantic function never describes adjuncts, that is, phrasal elements that provide a specification of meaning beyond that required for the correct grammatical use of other words.

1.2 Syntactic Description

The verbs that grammaticalize resultant state realize their arguments as required complements. The two-place verbs raise the Patient as the first required complement (subject) and the Resultative as the second required complement. The usage description for these verbs places the abbreviations of the semantic functions in the order of their first and second required complements, which yields usage PR. These verbs do not admit to passivization because the Resultative complement cannot function as the verbal subject. The three-place verbs raise the Agent as first complement, and, when passivized, the Patient as subject. This identifies the Patient as the second required complement and the Resultative as the third required complement. The usage description places the abbreviations of the semantic functions in the order of their first, second, and third required complements, which yields usage APR. Since the Resultative complement never functions as the verbal subject, Resultative is the only semantic function that is both restricted to arguments and cannot describe the verbal subject.²

1. These and subsequently introduced semantic functions receive description according to the thematic roles developed in Saeed, *Semantics*, 139–71, and Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis*, 31–45.

2. A discussion of the Resultative construction in English appears in Goralach, *Phrasal Constructions*, 58–63. Although the English and Greek Resultative constructions differ insofar as the English construction relies on word order, both constructions restrict the Resultative argument from functioning as the first (subject) complements of verbs, even when the verbs

1.3 *Lexical Description*

The twenty-two verbs permit the omission of the verbal subject when its referent can be retrieved from the context. When the subject is the first required complement, it receives description as a noun phrase (N), that is, a noun with all of its modifiers or a pronoun.³ Non-first required complement noun phrases (N) receive description by an abbreviated statement of their syntactic case after a plus sign (N+acc, N+dat, N+gen) or derive their syntactic case from the first or second required complement (N+1 or N+2). Adjective (Adj) required complements always derive their syntactic case from the Patient complement, which is either the first or second required complement (Adj+1 or Adj+2). The verb phrase (V) required complement receives description by its introductory word after a plus sign (V+ἵνα). Prepositional phrase (P) required complements receive description according to their governing preposition after a slash (P/εἰς, P/ἐν). Adverb (A) required complements receive description according to the adverb after a slash (A/ἀφόβως, A/ἔλαττον).

1.4 *The Permissible Omission of Required Complements*

Both two-place and three-place verbs permit omission of their non-first required complement[s] whenever the previous or immediately following context supplies a definite referent for the complement[s]. Such Definite Null complements (DNC's) receive illustration in the following examples.⁴

are passivized.

3. The subject noun phrase is not marked for syntactic case which is determined by the type of verb phrase in which it appears: nominative case in indicative and subjunctive clauses, genitive in the genitive absolute, and either dative or accusative in various classes of infinitive phrases.

4. Definite Null Complements receive investigation under the designations, "definite object deletion" in Mittwoch, "Idioms," 255–59, "latent object" in Matthews, *Syntax*, 125–26, "contextual deletion" in Allerton, *Valency*, 34, 68–70, and "definite null objects" in Lambrecht and Lemoine, "Definite Null Objects," 13–55.

ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ (Rev 11:15)

The kingdom of this world became [the kingdom] of our Lord and of his Christ.

Ἰησοῦς οὖν γινούς ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάξειν αὐτὸν ἵνα ποιήσωσιν βασιλεία (John 6:15)

Then Jesus knowing that they are about to come and take him so that they may make [him] king.

2. Active Usage APR

Eight verbs grammaticalize usage APR with active base forms: *καθίστημι* ('appoint, make'), *καλέω* ('call'), *λέγω* (call, name), *ὀνομάζω* ('name'), *ποιέω* ('make'), *στρέφω* ('turn'), *τίθημι* ('set, make'), and *ὑψόω* ('raise'). The verbs admit to passivization in which the verbs consistently raise the Patient complement as subject. Each of the verbs also has an active usage of effect in which the verbs require completion by an Agent and a Patient (AP), and the usage of resultant state appears to be derived from the usage of effect through augmentation by a Resultative argument.

With this active usage of resultant state, the realization of the Agent complement is N. The only observed realization of the Patient complement is N+acc. The realizations of the Resultative complement are N+2, Adj+2, A/ώς ('like'), Adj+2, and P/εἰς ('into'). The N+2 Resultative appears on 160 occasions within the Greek New Testament (GNT).⁵

5. Active Usage A-P-R with N-N+acc -N+2: *καθίστημι*, Luke 12:14; Acts 7:10, 27; Rom 5:19a, 19b; Heb 5:1; 7:28; 8:3; Jas 4:4; 2 Pet 1:8; *καλέω*, Matt 1:21, 23 (Isa 7:14), 25; 2:23; 5:9; 21:13 (Isa 56:7); 22:43, 45; 23:7, 8, 9, 10; 27:8; Mark 11:17 (Isa 56:7); Luke 1:13, 31, 32, 35, 59, 60, 62, 76; 2:4, 21a; 6:15; 7:11; 9:2, 10; 10:38; 15:19, 21; 19:2; 20:44; 22:3, 25; 23:33; John 1:42; Acts 1:19, 23; 3:11; 7:58; 13:1; 14:12a, [12b]; 15:22, 31; 27:8, 14, 16; 28:1; Rom 9:7, 25, 26; 1 Cor 15:9; Heb 2:11; 11:18; Jas 2:23; 1 Pet 3:6; 1 John 3:1; Rev 1:9; 11:8; 12:9; 16:16; 19:13; *λέγω*, Matt 1:16; 2:23a; 4:18; 9:9a; 10:2; 13:55; 26:3, 14, 36a; 27:16, 17b, 22b, 33a, 33b; Mark 12:37; 15:7, 12b; Luke 22:1, 47; John 1:38c; 4:5, 25b; 5:18; 9:11a; 10:35; 11:16b, 54; 15:15a, 15b; 19:13, 17a, 17b; 20:16c, 24; 21:2; Acts 3:2; 6:9; 9:36; 24:14; 1 Cor 8:5; Eph

τίς με κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ μεριστὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (Luke 12:14)
Who appointed me judge or arbitrator over you?

ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι οὐχ ἡμαρτήκαμεν, ψεύστην ποιοῦμεν αὐτόν (1 John 1:10)
If we say, "We have not sinned," we make him a liar.

The Adj+2 Resultative, twice introduced by A/ὡς ('like'), appears on thirty-three occasions within the GNT.⁶

εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (1 Cor 9:18)
Proclaiming, I make the gospel free of charge.

ποίησόν με ὡς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου (Luke 15:19)
Make me like one of your hired workers!

The P/εἰς realization occurs only with στρέφω on one occasion.

ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα (Rev 11:6)
They have authority over the waters to turn them into blood.

On seven occasions, either the Patient or Resultative is a DNC.⁷

2:11a, 11b; Col 4:11; 2 Thess 2:4; Heb 7:11; 9:2, 3; 11:24; Rev 2:2, 20; 8:11; ὀνομάζω, Mark 3:14; Luke 6:13, 14; 1 Cor 5:11; ποιέω, Matt 4:19; 21:13; 23:15; 27:22; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46; John 2:16; 4:46; 8:53; 10:33; 19:7, 12; Acts 2:36; 1 Cor 6:15; 2 Cor 5:21; 11:7; Heb 1:7; 1 John 1:10; 5:10; Rev 1:6; 3:12; 5:10; τίθημι, Luke 20:43; Acts 2:35; Rom 4:17; 1 Tim 2:7; 2 Tim 1:11; Heb 1:2, 13; 10:13; ὑψόω, Acts 5:31.

6. Active Usage A–P–R with N– N+acc– Adj+2: καλέω, Matt 5:19a, 19b; Luke 1:36; 2:23 (Exod 13:2); Acts 8:10; 9:11; 10:1; Rev 19:11; ποιέω, Matt 3:3; 5:36; 12:16, 33; 19:4; 20:12; 26:73; 28:14; Mark 1:3; 3:12; 10:6; Luke 3:4; John 5:11, 15; 5:16; 7:23; 16:2; Acts 20:24; Eph 2:14; Rev 12:15; 17:16; 21:5; τίθημι, 1 Cor 9:18; and N–N+acc–A/ὡς Adj+2: καλέω, Rom 4:17; ποιέω, Luke 15:19.

7. Active Usage A–P–R with N–N+acc–DNC: καλέω, Luke 19:29; 21:37; Acts 1:12; and N–DNC–N+2: καλέω, Luke 2:21b; ποιέω, John 6:15; Acts 26:8; τίθημι, 2 Pet 2:6.

ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγή καὶ Βηθανία[ν] πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ἐλαιῶν
(Luke 19:29)

He drew near to Bethphage and Bethany at the mountain called
[Mountain] of Olives.

ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι (Acts 26:28)

Quickly you are persuading me to make [me] a Christian.

3. *Middle Usage APR*

Only *προχειρίζω* (appoint) in one occurrence grammaticalizes the middle usage APR. In this occurrence, the Agent complement is realized by N, the Patient complement by N+acc, and the Resultative complement by N+2.

... προχειρίσασθαι σε ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα (Acts 26:16)

... to appoint you a servant and witness.

4. *Passivized Usage APR*

Five verbs grammaticalize usage APR only when passivized: ἀποκαθίστημι ('restore, return'), ὀρίζω ('declare'), προσαγορεύω ('designate'), σχίζω ('tear'), and τελειώω ('make [perfect]'). When not passivized, the verbs grammaticalize an active usage of effect (AP).

In the seven occurrences of this passivized usage, the Patient complement (subject) is realized by N and the Resultative complement by N+2, Adj+2, and P/εἰς ('into'), while the Agent complement is realized twice by P/ὑπό [+gen] ('by') and otherwise is DNC.⁸

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν (Acts 10:42)

He is the one appointed by God judge of the living and dead.

8. Passivized Usage A-P-R with N-N+2-P/ὑπό [+gen]: ὀρίζω, Acts 10:42; προσαγορεύω, Heb 5:10; N-N+2-DNC: ὀρίζω, Rom 1:4; N-Adj+2-DNC: ἀποκαθίστημι, Matt 12:13; and N-P/εἰς-DNC: σχίζω, Matt 27:51a; Mark 15:38; τελειώω, John 17:23.

... ἵνα ᾧσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν (John 17:23)
 ... so that they may be made perfect into one.

5. *Consistently Passivized Usage APR / Passive Usage PR*

Five verbs admit to interpretation with two possible usages. The historical usage is passivized APR, but since the NT never presents a realized Agent complement and the verbs consistently appear with passive forms, the NT usage also can be interpreted as passive usage PR: μεταμορφώω ('change [in appearance]/be changed [in appearance]'), μετατρέπω ('change/be changed'), μεταστρέφω ('turn/be turned'), προσαγορεύω (designate/be designated), and συσχηματίζω ('conform/be conformed').

In the eight occurrences of the consistently passivized usage APR/passive usage PR, the Patient complement (subject) is realized by N and the Resultative complement by N+dat and P/εἰς ('into') and the Patient and Resultative complements never are null.⁹

μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ (Rom 12:2)
 Do not be conformed to this age.

ὁ γέλωσ ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος μετατραπήτω καὶ ἡ χαρὰ εἰς κατήφειαν (Jas 4:9)
 Let your laughter be turned into mourning and [your] joy into gloom.

6. *Active/Middle Usage PR*

Three verbs grammaticalize usage PR with active and middle base forms. Since two of the verbs (εἰμί and ἔρχομαι) have novel meanings in constructions with a Resultative, they receive translation according to these novel meanings: γίνομαι ('become, come to be, be made [into], prove to be'); εἰμί P/εἰς ('become'); and ἔρχομαι P/εἰς ('become, come to be').¹⁰

9. Consistently Passivized Usage A–P–R/Passive Usage P–R with N–N+dat–DNC/N–N+dat: μεταμορφώω, Rom 12:2; συσχηματίζω, Rom 12:2; 1 Pet 1:14; N–N+2–DNC/N–N+1: προσαγορεύω, Heb 5:10; and N–P/εἰς–DNC/ N–P/εἰς: μεταμορφώω, 2 Cor 3:18; μεταστρέφω, Acts 2:20a, 20b; μετατρέπω, Jas 4:9.

10. Further discussion of this usage of γίνομαι appears in Danove,

With the active/middle usage PR, the Patient complement is realized by N. The N+1 realization of the Resultative, eleven times introduced by *A/ώς* ('like') and twice by *A/ώσεί* ('as if'), appears on 103 occasions only with *γίνομαι*.¹¹

ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν (Rom 2:25)
But, if you are a breaker of [the] law, your circumcision becomes
uncircumcision.

The N+gen realization of the Resultative occurs only once with *γίνομαι*.

ἐγένετο γνώμης τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν διὰ Μακεδονίας (Acts 20:3b)
He came to be/became of a mind to return through Macedonia.

The Adj+1 realization of the Resultative appears on 133 occasions only with *γίνομαι*.¹²

“*Γίνομαι*,” 43–70.

11. Active/Middle Usage P–R of *γίνομαι* with N–N+1: Matt 4:3; 5:45; 13:32; Mark 1:17; Luke 1:2; 4:3; 6:16; 10:36 [article omitted]; 11:30; 13:4; 20:33; 24:19; John 1:12, 14; 2:9; 4:14; 9:27; 10:16; 12:36; 15:8; Acts 1:16, 22; 5:24; 7:52; 12:18b; 15:39; 21:30; 26:29; Rom 2:25; 4:18; 7:13a; 11:6, 17, 34; 15:8; 16:2; 1 Cor 1:30; 4:9, 16; 7:23; 8:9; 9:22b, 23; 10:6, 7, 20; 11:1; 13:1, 11; 14:20a; 2 Cor 5:21; 7:14; Gal 3:13, 24; Eph 3:7; 5:1; Phil 3:17; Col 1:23, 25; 4:11; 1 Thess 1:5b, 6, 7; 2:14; 1 Tim 4:12; Titus 3:7; Heb 2:17; 5:5; 6:20; 7:20, 22, 23; 10:33; 11:6, 7; Jas 1:22, 25; 2:4, 11; 3:1; 1 Pet 3:6, 13; 5:3; 2 Pet 1:4, 16, 20; Rev 8:8; 16:3, 4; 18:2; N–*A/ώς* N+1: Matt 6:16; 10:25; 18:3; 28:4; Luke 22:26; Acts 4:4; Rom 9:29; 1 Cor 4:13; 9:20; Gal 4:12; Rev 6:12c; and N–*A/ώσεί* N+1: Mark 9:26; Luke 22:44b.

12. Active/Middle Usage P–R of *γίνομαι* with N–Adj+1: Matt 9:16; 10:16; 12:45; 13:22; 17:2; 20:26; 23:26; 24:32, 44; Mark 2:21; 4:19, 22, 32; 6:14, 26, 35; 9:3, 6, 50; 10:43; 13:28; 16:10; Luke 6:36, 49; 8:17; 9:29; 11:26; 12:40; 13:2; 16:11, 12; 18:23, 24; 19:17; 23:12; 24:5, 31, 37; John 5:6, 9, 14a; 8:33; 9:22, 39; 12:42; 20:27; Acts 1:18, 19, 20; 4:16; 7:13, 29, 32, 39; 9:42; 10:4, 10a, 40; 12:23; 16:27, 29; 19:17, 28; 20:18; 21:40; 23:10; 24:25; 26:19; 27:16, 36; Rom 3:4b, 19; 6:5; 7:13c; 10:20; 12:16; 15:16, 31; 1 Cor 3:13, 18a, 18b; 7:21; 9:22a, 27; 10:32; 11:19; 14:20b, 25; 15:10, 58; 2 Cor 5:17; 6:14; 12:11; Gal 4:16; 5:26; Eph 4:32; 5:7, 17; Phil 1:13; 2:8, 15; 3:6; Col 1:18; 3:15; 1 Thess 2:1, 7, 8; 1 Tim 2:14; Phlm 6; Heb 1:4; 2:2; 3:14; 5:9, 11, 12; 6:4, 12; 7:26; 11:24, 34; 12:8; Jas 1:12; 2:10; 5:2; 1 Pet 1:15; 2 Pet 2:20; 3 John 8; Rev 1:18; 2:8, 10; 3:2; 6:12b; 11:13b; 16:10.

ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν (1 Thess 2:7)
We became/proved to be gentle among you.

The three verbs occur with the P/εἰς realization of the Resultative on thirty-one occasions.¹³ As the footnotes indicate, all occurrences of εἰμί P/εἰς and a majority of the occurrences of γίνομαι P/εἰς may be attributed directly or indirectly to quotations of or allusions to the LXX.

ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται (John 16:20)
Your sadness will become/be made into joy.

καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν (Matt 19:5)
And the two will become one flesh.

μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα (Mark 5:26)
Gaining nothing but, instead, becoming worse . . .

Resultative adjectival phrases built on P/ἐν occur on five occasions only with γίνομαι.¹⁴

γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο (Luke 22:44)
Coming to be in agony, he prayed more earnestly.

οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ (Rom 16:7)
[Those] who also came to be/became in Christ before me.

13. Active/Middle Usage P–R with N –P/εἰς: γίνομαι, Matt 21:42a (Ps 118:23); Mark 12:10 (Ps 118:23); Luke 13:19 (Ps 103:12 LXX); 20:17 (Ps 118:23); John 16:20; Acts 4:11 (Ps 118:23); 5:36; Rom 11:9 (Ps 69:23 LXX); 1 Cor 15:45 (Gen 2:7 LXX); 1 Thess 3:5; 1 Pet 2:7 (Ps 117:22 LXX); Rev 8:11; 16:19; εἰμί, Matt 19:5a (Gen 2:24 LXX); Mark 10:8a (Gen 2:24 LXX); Luke 3:5a (Isa 40:4 LXX), [5b] ([Isa 40:4 LXX]); Acts 8:20 (perhaps Isa 34:12; Jer 30:18, 27; 51:12); 13:47 (Isa 49:6); 1 Cor 6:16 (Isa 40:4 LXX); 14:22 (Gen 2:24 LXX); 2 Cor 6:18a (2 Sam 7:14), 18b (2 Sam 7:14); Eph 5:31 (Isa 40:4 LXX); Heb 1:5a (2 Sam 7:14), 5b (2 Sam 7:14); 8:10a (Jer 38:33), 10b (Jer 38:33); and ἔρχομαι, Mark 4:22; 5:26; Luke 8:17.

14. Active/Middle Usage P–R of γίνομαι with N–ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, Luke 22:44a; N–ἐν ἐκστάσει, Acts 22:17b; N–ἐν πνεύματι, Rev 1:10; 4:2; N–ἐν Χριστῷ, Rom 16:7.

The sole verb phrase realization of the Resultative, V+ἵνα (that), occurs once with γίνομαι.

τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βουλή ἐγένετο ἵνα τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀποκτείνωσιν (Acts 27:42)

The plan of the soldiers came to be that they would kill the prisoners.

Adverbial realizations of the Resultative, P/κατὰ μόνας ('by oneself'), A/ἀφόβως ('fearlessly'), A/ἔλαττον ('less'), A/ναί ('yes'), A/ὁμοθυμαδόν ('unanimously'), and A/ὁσίως ('holily'), occur on seven occasions only with γίνομαι.¹⁵ According to English grammar, these adverbial phrases require translation by adjectives.

ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς παραβολάς (Mark 4:10)

When he came to be alone, those around him with the Twelve were asking him about the parables.

χήρα καταλεγέσθω μὴ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν ἑξήκοντα γεγονυῖα (1 Tim 5:9)

Let a widow be enrolled not having become less than sixty years.

The DNC Resultative occurs on five occasions only with γίνομαι.¹⁶

ὃς οὐ κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης γέγονεν (Heb 7:16)

Who has come to be/become [a priest, cf. 7:15] not according to a law of a command concerning the flesh.

7. Conclusion

This article has applied a method of semantic, syntactic, and lexical analysis and description to the twenty-two verbs in the GNT that grammaticalize the resultant state of an entity

15. Active/Middle Usage P–R of γίνομαι with N–P/κατὰ μόνας, Mark 4:10; N–A/ἀφόβως, 1 Cor 16:10; N–A/ἔλαττον, 1 Tim 5:9; N–A/ναί, 2 Cor 1:19a, 19b; N–A/ὁμοθυμαδόν, Acts 15:25; N–A/ὁσίως, 1 Thess 2:10

16. Active/Middle Usage P–R of γίνομαι with N–DNC: Luke 2:42 [cf. παιδίον, 2:40]; 20:14 [cf. κληρονομία]; 2 Tim 3:9 [cf. ἔκδηλος]; Heb 7:16 [cf. ἱερεὺς; 7:15]; Rev 11:15b [cf. βασιλεία].

undergoing change. These verbs were organized into five groups according to their common usage, the characteristics of the verbs in each group were described, the lexical realization of required verbal complements was specified, the verbs' interpretation was clarified, and the translation of the verbs within each group was illustrated.

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