"My constructions include viewpoint":
Canadian English and constructional compositionality

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This paper argues that viewpoint phenomena need to be recognized as an important element of constructional meaning and form. It will expand on an approach to constructional meaning which argues for a construction grammar mechanism termed *constructional compositionality* (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005). The presentation shows how constructional meaning can emerge from the combination of background frames, broader constructional patterns, and constructionally restricted meaning of lexical items. Specifically, it focuses on forms which participate in the construction of cognitive viewpoint and claims that constructions reserve specific slots for viewpoint expressions and co-opt various grammatical and lexical forms to distinguish types of viewpoint. The general model represented here essentially follows Goldberg's model, but also argues for the need for additional levels of generalization.

To illustrate the role of viewpoint in constructional meaning, I will discuss two constructions in which the genitive plays a viewpoint-structuring role. The first construction is *One person's X is another person's Y*, where the genitives are used to contrast two perceptions of the same referent. The construction relies on the contrasting frames represented by the X and Y nouns (though, importantly, adjectives can also be found in these constructional slots):

(1)   *One person's food is another person's poison*
(2)   *One person's happy is another person's sad*

Genitives are further used as viewpoint devices in *X is Z's Y* constructions, such as *Iraq is Bush's Vietnam,* where the genitive participates in the construal of the Iraq war in terms of the Vietnam war, but also restricts that perception to one person's viewpoint (Dancygier 2009, 2011). Interestingly, genitives also play that role in the emergent Canadian English construction, *My X includes Y*, a phrase originating in the anti-separatist campaign of mid-nineties, whose bumper sticker slogan *My Canada includes Quebec* became a model for the construction. Recent examples (all from Canadian media) include phrases like:

(3)   *My CBC includes the CBC Radio Orchestra.*
(4)   *My Canada includes a racism-free workplace*
(5)   *My Ontario includes horse racing*

The examples are in clear contrast to uses such as *My CV includes my publications*, where the genitive is used to point to the writer of the document or the person described in it, in accordance with standard usage. For comparison, example *(3)*, a slogan against cuts to the classical music branch of Canadian public radio, expresses a point of view such that the speaker's frame of CBC radio includes a subframe of classical music performances.

Though the *My X includes Y* construction seems to have originated in Canada, the constructionally specific viewpoint meaning of the genitive can be found in other constructions, not dialectally specific. Importantly, viewpoint uses of these genitives are not available outside of the constructions, that is, in plain NPs. Along with other constructional features (indefinite pronoun *one* and the predicative construction format in one case and the verb *includes* in another, the specific frame-dependent roles of the X and Y nominals in all three constructions, etc.), the meaning of these genitives is restricted to constructional uses, and participates in the construal of viewpoint.

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