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Further factors licensing SA constructions

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8 Further Factors Licensing SA Constructions

Some verbs do not appear in SA constructions in spite of the fact that they meet all the requirements imposed on the semantics of verbs that are admitted into them, namely, the internal operation of energy involved in the movement lexicalized in the verb and the homogeneousness of the verb's agentive quale (as discussed in Chapter 6.4, conceptually related to this requirement is the requirement for the absence of additional information about the circumstances of the movement). For example, the verbs *jump* or *crawl* meet all these requirements, yet they do not appear in SA constructions with human causees. A closer look reveals that what comes into play are pragmatic factors, which impose further restrictions on the applicability of verbs in SA constructions. As Tárnyiková (1985: 171) points out, "adequate language description must [emphasis in the original] take pragmatics into account." The scenarios in which "the causer jumps the causee" (meaning "causing him to jump") or in which "the causer crawls somebody somewhere" (meaning "causing him to crawl") are not prototypical scenarios, i.e. are neither frequent nor normal. Prototypicality as a salient feature of constructions termed here SA constructions has also been recorded by Filipović (2007: 148).³⁴ Consider:

- (8.1) ?? John jumped Harry towards the window.
- (8.2) ?? John crawled Harry to the other end of the room.

The verb *jog* may, however, be used in SA constructions with animal causees (especially with horses as in, e.g., *John jumped the horse over the fence* or *The lion-tamer jumped the lion through the hoop*) because these motion situations are typical.

Apart from the non-prototypicality of caused motion scenarios, there seems to be another factor that prevents certain verbs from being used in SA constructions. Consider:

- (8.3) The householder claimed that the burglar had jumped him in the dark and so he had stabbed him. (BNC)
- (8.4) This poor guy got arrested for the theft, but the PCs sprang him from prison and helped him escape from the city. (<http://forum.rpg.net/archive/index.php/t-229797.html>)

³⁴ Lakoff (1977) takes prototypicality as a feature of lexical causatives.

Here, *to jump somebody* means “to attack somebody” and *to spring somebody from somewhere* means “to help somebody to escape”. As can be seen, the meaning of the verbs *jump* and *spring* in transitive causative constructions with animate patients differs crucially from their self-agentive locomotion meaning. The impossibility of employing these verbs in a SA construction can thus be explained on systemic grounds, by appealing to the relationships that hold between constructions expressing caused motion. This issue clearly needs further investigation. Nevertheless, it seems that the nonapplicability of these verbs in SA constructions makes it possible to use these verbs in transitive causative constructions with animate patients for the expression of meanings that categorially differ from the verbs’ self-agentive locomotion meanings.