The core senses of up

4 THE CORE SENSES OF *UP*

In this chapter, I present the core usage clusters identified in the corpus in terms of their distinct patterns of grammatical profiling and concept elaboration. I introduce the distinct core senses in 4.1 and use the PP methodology to determine the sanctioning sense in 4.2. Section 4.3 is devoted to a discussion of the distinct grammatical patterning and concept elaboration of the core senses. As mentioned earlier, metaphor plays a critical role in the semantic network of *up*, which includes the meanings 'more', 'good', 'happy', and 'accessible'. These metaphorically derived senses are presented separately in Chapter 5.[17] In this chapter, I focus on meanings which do not involve conceptual metaphors as their mechanism of meaning extension.

4.1 Core senses and the Meaning Criterion

In my corpus, I identified three core senses that do not involve cross-domain mapping, all presented below.

4.1.1 'Vertically higher'

This cluster of usages demonstrates obvious spatial meaning. This cluster encodes a tr moving from a vertically lower position to a higher one, without specifying the endpoint of the motion. Instances (4–1) and (4–2) illustrate the existence of such a sense.

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17   A partial and much condensed version of the semantic analysis of *up* can be found in Lu (2016).

(4–1) *I was able to soar **up**, to fly, I could rock in the air like that balloon.*
(4–2) *Stretch **up** gently for 10 counts.*

In (4–1), the tr, *I*, goes vertically higher by means of *soar*. The endpoint of the trajectory is unspecified. For (4–2), what moves to a vertically higher position is a part of the addressee's body. Hearing the imperative, the addressee will try to extend a part of their body as the tr, along the vertical dimension. In these two examples, what is salient in the trajectory of the tr is the PATH, among the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema (Johnson 1987). The SOURCE or the GOAL of the trajectory is not specified, or not "profiled" in the CG sense. The above instances exhibit a distinct semantic characteristic, so they satisfy the Meaning Criterion of PP.

4.1.2 'Approaching'

The second sense I identified is 'approaching.' This cluster of usages is used to describe the trajectory of a primary figure along a PATH as the tr approaches a reference point.

(4–3) *She swam in what she hoped was the direction of the stairs, only to come **up** against a wall.*
(4–4) *They've got longer reach than us. To have a chance we have to get **up** close.*
(4–5) *[Y]ou were not to look at your masters when they came **up** the drive, but to hoe on regardless.*

In (4–3), the tr, *she*, travels along a PATH by means of swimming and approaches the reference point, *a wall*. In (4–4), the tr, *we*, moves along a path in order to get close to the reference point, *them*, which is not mentioned but inferable from context. *They* in (5) is the tr that performs a locomotion along the linguistically specified PATH, encoded as *the drive*. The reference point in (4–5) is again unspecified but can be inferred from context to be where the addressee is standing.

Various individual parts of the conceptual scene can be linguistically elaborated. In this cluster of uses, we can code the GOAL of the trajectory of the primary figure as in (4–3), the path as in (4–5), or neither as in (4–4).

The above instances carry an additional meaning which is different from the previous sense.

4.1.3 'Completive'

The third sense that I identified in the corpus is 'completive.'[18] The semantic characteristic of this cluster of usages is that the use of *up* portrays a process that unfolds along the temporal axis until the process finally reaches a certain point where it can be considered complete in a loose sense. Instances (4–6) to (4–8) are typical:

(4–6) *The men have been locked* ***up*** *in their cells since day one of their imprisonment.*
(4–7) *[T]he skull was taken from its tomb and split* ***up*** *among Fang families...*
(4–8) *There's metal and circuitry mixed* ***up*** *in there.*

The *up* in (4–6) is used to express that the process of locking the men in their cells by an unspecified agent reaches a boundary beyond which further development of the process is impossible. However, (4–7) and (4–8) are slightly different from (4–6). The process of locking in (4–6) has an inherent endpoint, which coincides with the moment when the key to the lock turns to its limit and brings the latch to a click. By contrast, in (4–7), the use of *up* denotes that the process of separating the tr, *the skull*, reaches an extent at which the pieces of the skull may subjectively count as being separated. By the same token, in (4–8) there is no inherent endpoint to the process of mixing, but it does seem to have a final state, though it is difficult to specify its nature.

Instances (4–6) to (4–8) show that 'completive' exhibits an additional meaning which is not found in the other two. This satisfies the Meaning Criterion, although the difference between (4–6) and the other two instances will be addressed with reference to the Concept Elaboration Criterion and the Grammatical Criterion.

4.2 Decision of the sanctioning sense

Following the methodology of PP, after the identification of the meanings the next step is to identify the most basic one from which the others derive.

The first criterion of PP, which is the earliest attested meaning, refers to the historically earliest meaning as a likely candidate for the primary sense. The Oxford English Dictionary lists the sense 'vertically higher' as the earliest meaning, which makes it fit the first criterion. The second criterion of PP is the unique spatial

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18   One may doubt how 'completive' counts as a basic core sense, given the involvement of the conceptual domain of TIME in which the usage of 'completive' occurs. The reason I consider 'completive' to be a core sense is that the rise of 'completive' is not based on a direct cross-domain mapping between SPACE and TIME. Rather, 'completive' should be regarded as an extension from 'approaching', and the mechanism of semantic extension is in fact one of "subjectification" (Langacker 1990) instead of metaphor. The rationale of such classification will become self-evident in later chapters. Interested readers are referred to Lu (2017) for a similar argument.

configuration involved in most of the senses identified. For instance, Tyler and Evans (2003) argue that eight out of the fifteen senses of *over* clearly involve the tr being higher than the lm, hence the primary sense of *over* should also involve such a spatial configuration. Applying this criterion to *up* shows that 'vertically higher', 'approaching,' and many other metaphorical meanings involve a unique spatial configuration of the tr moving to a vertically higher location or being located higher than a lm. Therefore, according to the second criterion of PP, the primary sense should also exhibit such a spatio-configurational property. The third criterion concerns the naturalness of prediction, which suggests that the selection of the primary sense in a semantic network allows for the most natural meaning extensions of all the senses from the primary sense. Among the three meanings of *up*, I consider 'vertically higher' the most natural selection of the primary sense, since the image-schematic component associated with 'vertically higher' is immanent in those extensions, but not vice versa. The image-schematic component is also apparent in the metaphorical senses.

The fourth criterion of PP concerns the way the selection of the primary sense facilitates cognitive processing. In Cognitive Linguistics, semantic extension typically occurs from a concrete domain to an abstract one. Among the core senses of *up*, 'vertically higher' and 'approaching' are more concrete, so a selection of either of the two is more natural. However, some cases of 'approaching' can have a dual reading between 'approaching' and 'completive' in context, which we will come back to in 4.3. 'Vertically higher' is therefore a more likely candidate to meet the fourth criterion of the primary sense. In Table 1 below, 'vertically higher' receives a double circle that stands for its total fulfillment of this fourth criterion, while 'approaching' has a single circle that stands for its partial fulfillment of the criterion.

The fifth criterion of PP suggests that the prototypical sense is most closely related to our lived experience concerning that particular lexical item. For *up*, I consider 'vertically higher' and 'approaching' more closely related to our phenomenological experience, since the concept of SPACE is what human beings are most familiar with. Furthermore, as has been pointed out above, some instances of 'approaching' have a dual interpretation of 'completive' which goes beyond the spatial domain. The meaning therefore receives only a single circle in Table 1 below, indicating its partial fulfillment of this criterion.

Table 1 below summarizes the above discussion, where a double circle stands for full satisfaction of a particular criterion.

	'Vertically higher'	'Approaching'	'Completive'
Earliest attested meaning	◉		
Predominance in the semantic network	◉		
Predictability with reference to other senses	◉		
Plausible cognitive antecedent	◉	○	
Human phenomenological experience	◉	○	

Table 1: Primary sense decision for *up* based on Evans' (2004) criteria

Evans (2004) also points out that the decision of the primary sense does not depend on any single criterion but on how each sense fits all the criteria in general. Following from that, 'vertically higher' best fits all the above criteria, so I consider that sense the most likely candidate for the primary sense, from which the other senses derive.

4.3 The core senses of *up* and their associated constructional schemas

In this section, I discuss the three core meanings of *up* in terms of their associated constructional schemas, which include their respective patterns of concept elaboration and grammatical behavior as mentioned above.

4.3.1 'Vertically higher' and its associated constructional schemas[19]

In my corpus, there are two important sub-groups of constructional schemas associated with 'vertically higher,' with one profiling only the PATH, and the other profiling both the PATH and either the SOURCE or the GOAL.[20] I present these two sub-groups in 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2.[21]

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19   I use the following notation in formulating constructional schemas: NP for "noun phrase," ADVP for "adverbial phrase," and PREP for "prepositional phrase".

20   Although a usage event of *up* 'vertically higher' that profiles the SOURCE, the PATH and the GOAL at the same TIME is not impossible, such usage is not found in the corpus. The absence of such an intuitive possible usage reflects the fundamental difference between an intuition-based and a corpus-based approach to the study of language.

21   Bear in mind that [V] – [UP], as a schematic representation, is simply an abstracted commonality among a group of real occurring usage events. This constructional schema can certainly be elab-

4.3.1.1 Constructional schemas of 'vertically higher' that profile exclusively PATH

An observation of authentic corpus data reveals the association of *up* 'vertically higher' with constructional schemas which conceptually profile PATH exclusively as its prototypical characteristic. These constructional schemas include, but are not limited to, the following: [V] – [UP] and [ADVP] – [UP].[22]

The first constructional schema which profiles PATH is [V] – [UP]; it is instantiated by (4–1), repeated here as (4–9), and another example (4–10).

> (4–9) *I was able to soar **up**, to fly, I could rock in the air like that balloon.*
> (4–10) *Practice had made perfect: she hardly made a sound. Peter slept on. Rung by rung, she crept **up** the ladder.*

In (4–9), the tr *I*, by means of soaring, moves along an upward trajectory which is encoded by *up*. In (4–10), the tr of *up*, *she*, is engaged in vertical motion by creeping upward along an upright object elaborated by *the ladder*.

The meaning of 'vertically higher' does not occur exclusively in constructions that contain a verb. It may also occur in the constructional schema of [ADVP] – [UP] where *up* follows another adverbial phrase, as in (4–11).

> (4–11) *Two-thirds of the way **up**, she paused to get her breath back before lifting the heavy hatch and sliding it away from the opening...*[23]

In (4–11), the entity which follows a vertical trajectory, i.e. the tr of *up*, is not provided by the first adverbial phrase nor by any of the arguments of *up*. The tr of *up* corresponds to the clausal tr that follows, i.e. *she*. In this excerpt, what is prominent is the PATH along which the tr moves, especially its length, which is linguistically elaborated by *two-thirds of the way*.

The conceptual representation of the above examples is the profiling of PATH, which leaves SOURCE and GOAL in the "maximal scope" (Langacker 1987) in the

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orated using more specific schemas, but I will not go into these details due to space limitations. Note in addition that the sub-schemas of [V] – [UP] which involve either the Interactive Focus (Lindner 1983), a deictic noun, or a prepositional phrase profile not only the PATH but also the GOAL, and will therefore be discussed in section 4.3.1.2.

22   The list of schemas presented here is not meant to be exhaustive but is only generalized from a corpus of a particular size. I do not exclude the possibility of finding additional constructional schemas given a larger corpus.

23   Another possibility is to analyze the first ADVP in (4–11), *two-thirds of the way*, as an NP, which would result in an alternative constructional schema [NP] – [UP]. Either way, what this usage cluster reveals is the potential non-verbal nature of the source of the concept elaboration. In addition to the phrase *two-thirds of the way*, what typically precedes *up* in this schema may include *half-way*, *all the way*, and the like.

Figure 4.1: The image-schematic structure of the constructional schemas that profile exclusively PATH for 'vertically higher'

general locus of attention, since the two ends of the profiled trajectory do not matter much.[24] The imagistic configuration is schematized as Figure 4.1, where the circles stand for the SOURCE and the GOAL and the arrow in the middle for the PATH. The part in bold is in the profile.[25]

Below, I turn to the other group of constructional schemas that profile not only PATH but also either GOAL or SOURCE.

4.3.1.2 Constructional schemas of 'vertically higher' that profile PATH and either GOAL or SOURCE

In addition to constructional schemas that profile exclusively PATH, I identified a set of constructional schemas that profile both PATH and GOAL. These GOAL-prominent[26] schemas include, but are not limited to, the following: [V] – [UP] that involves Interactive Focus; [V] – [UP] that involves a deictic noun; and [V] – [UP] – [PREPP]. Examples (4–12), (4–13) and (4–14) are illustrations of these three schemas.

(4–12) ... *projects ranged from rock hauling, taking rocks out of the creek, picking them **up**, hauling them up the hill, putting them in a pile.*

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24   The two constructional schemas discussed above can be elaborated using a variety of local schemas with different levels of specificity, which are in turn imminent in real occurring usage events. For instance, (4–10) can alternatively be schematized as [V] – [UP] – [NP], which can be seen also as an elaboration of [V] – [UP]. However, a presentation of constructional schemas of such an intermediate level of specificity is not relevant enough to the semantic grouping of the usage events to be included in my analysis.

25   The figures are numbered according to the chapters they appear in, such as Figure 4.1, 4.2 (if they appear in Chapter 4), 5.1, 5.2 (if they appear in Chapter 5), etc.

26   Lindner (1983) uses GOAL-oriented to refer to image-schematic structures of *up* which profile the PATH and the GOAL.

(4–13) *You want to look **up** there. Can you pick the arms that you like the best?*

(4–14) *Millie burst out laughing, and as Ben pulled himself **up** on to the cart, she said, 'You know, you are funny, the things you say.'*

In (4–12), the tr of *up*, *rocks*, reaches a vertically higher position, i.e. the end-point of its trajectory, via someone taking and carrying the rocks.[27] Here the trajectory of *up* is confined to certain region referred to by Lindner (1983: 162ff) as "Interactive Focus", i.e. the "level of activity" or "hand level", which is associated with the notion of use, possession and activity.[28] Although the endpoint of the trajectory is not linguistically elaborated, it plays an important role in the meaning of examples like (4–12). In (4–13), the tr of *up* is not identical with the tr of *look*, viz. *you*, but is instead the perpetual focus of the experiencer who is looking. The perceptual focus is also a fictive agent that can be construed to move along a vertical trajectory to the endpoint of the path, coded by the deictic noun *there* to indicate the endpoint being away from the speaker. In (4–14), the tr of *up* corresponds to the lm of the verb *pull*, which follows a vertical trajectory and finishes in a spatial relation with respect to a noun phrase, which is formally elaborated by *on to the cart*.

In this group of usage events, GOAL is also highlighted against the conceptual base. The image-schematic structure of this type of usage events is presented as Figure 4.2, with the profiled PATH and GOAL in bold.

In addition to GOAL, SOURCE is the other possibility that can be profiled along with PATH. (4–15) illustrates this possibility:

(4–15) *The smiling ticket agent who has been processing my ticket suddenly looks **up** from her computer screen and tells me the bad news.*

In (4–15), the tr of *up* is again different from the tr of the verb, and is a fictive entity that departs from a location and moves in space following an upward trajectory. But in contrast to the previous cluster, the SOURCE of its trajectory stands out from the conceptual base, since the SOURCE is linguistically elaborated as a PREPP led by *from*. This SOURCE-prominent subtype of the [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] can be image-schematically depicted as Figure 4.3, with the profiled PATH and SOURCE in bold.

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27   Note that the tr of *up* in (4–12) is *them*, which corresponds to the lm of *pick*. Such discrepancy can be witnessed in VPCs that involve a direct object, where the tr-lm relationship is different for the verb and the particle, as Langacker (2008: 404) has pointed out. Some VPCs without a direct object may exhibit such discrepancy too. Typical examples include *throw up*, *cough up*, and so on.

28   The notion of Lindner's (1983) Interactive Focus does relate to a few metaphorical meanings of *up*, such as 'accessible' or 'good'. But the focus of this chapter are the meanings that do not involve metaphorical extension, so the figuratively extended meanings associated with the implicit endpoint of the trajectory which involve the concept of Interactive Focus are studied in Chapter 5.

Figure 4.2: The image-schematic structure of constructional schemas that profile not only PATH but also GOAL for 'vertically higher'

Figure 4.3: The image-schematic structure of usage events that profile not only PATH but also SOURCE for 'vertically higher'

I have so far presented three types of constructional schemas, each with its own distinct image-schematic representation. These demonstrate two commonalities of *up* 'vertically higher'. First of all, the verb that precedes *up* needs to be instantiated in the conceptual domain of SPACE, although it does not have to be a typical action verb. In addition to that, the part of PATH in the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema is always prominent for 'vertically higher', while the SOURCE or the GOAL can selectively receive linguistic elaboration depending on the type of constructional schema at play. In the majority of cases, GOAL is profiled along with PATH and may or may not be encoded, while the profiling of SOURCE is less frequent.

The imagistic commonality among these constructional schemas can be generalized as Figure 4.4 below. The exclusive profiling of PATH renders the arrow in bold, whereas SOURCE and GOAL may be optionally profiled so are represented only in dotted circles.

Figure 4.4: The general image-schematic structure of 'vertically higher'

Below, I turn to 'approaching', the second major group of usage meaning I identified in the corpus.

4.3.2 'Approaching' and its associated constructional schemas

The second semantic cluster I found in the corpus is the meaning of 'approaching' for *up*, which portrays one entity moving in the direction of, and as a result getting close to, another, with the path of motion not necessarily being vertical.[29] The meaning of this cluster of usage is still concrete in the sense that 'approaching' is still construed against the domain of SPACE. However, although the meaning remains physical, the sense of verticality is not as strong as in 'vertically higher'. In my corpus, I identified three sub-types of constructional schemas associated with 'approaching': schemas that profile PATH and a specific concrete GOAL; schemas that profile PATH and an implicit GOAL; and schemas that profile only an implicit GOAL. These constructional schemas also share distinct commonalities in terms of concept elaboration.

4.3.2.1 Constructional schemas of 'approaching' that profile PATH and a concrete goal

In the corpus, the first constructional schema associated with *up* 'approaching' is [V] – [UP] – [PREPP]. This cluster of usage involves a construal of an entity of primary focus moving toward the direction and as a consequence getting close to the entity of secondary focus. Excerpts (4–16) and (4–17) typify this schema:

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29   Though not explicitly indicating this, Hawkins (1984: 389) seems to suggest that a usage of *up*, as in *They trotted up the path*, operates on the horizontal plane. But as will be shown later, this observation might not hold. I consider this cluster of usage to involve only a less strict vertical sense.

(4–16) *Behrens kept **up** with the fleeing lovers...*[30]
(4–17) *The Doctor set off <u>down the slope</u>. Francis caught **up** with him.*

In (4–16), the tr, *Behrens*, follows a non-vertical trajectory toward the direction of the lm, *the fleeing lovers*, in order to overtake the lm. In (4–17), the tr, *Francis*, travels along a path fast enough to be able to get close to the lm, *him*, which refers back to *the Doctor*. In both cases, the lm is the endpoint of the tr's path of motion.

The tr-lm relation in (4–16) and (4–17) look quite straightforward at first glance, but a closer look reveals that none of the trajectories in (4–16) and (4–17) are upward, as we saw in the first cluster. Specifically, the path of motion in (4–16) seems to be horizontal, and the path in (4–17) is even slightly downward. This semantic inconsistency leads to the question: Why would the use of *up* be sanctioned in usage events in which the actual trajectory in space may not be vertically upward?

Previous studies such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lindner (1983) have provided an answer to the polysemy of *up* in terms of experiential motivation. They argue that *up* obtains the meaning of 'approaching' given the experiential correlation that a person looks taller as he approaches the viewer.

However, I propose a conceptual alternative, which is the involvement of an "onstage conceptualizer" (Langacker 1991), whose location is identified with that of the lm. In (4–16), the location of the onstage conceptualizer is identical with *the fleeing lovers*. As the tr, *Behrens*, tries to overtake the lm by approaching it, the tr would appear vertically higher only if observed from the lm's point of view. The same applies to (4–17). Even if the tr and the lm both travel downward along a slope, the tr, *Francis*, would still appear vertically higher in the eye of the onstage conceptualizer as the tr approaches the lm (*the Doctor*). Therefore, what matters in this usage event is not the objective vertical dimension, but what is perceived from the perspective of the onstage conceptualizer, which is reflected by the use of *up*.[31] In other words, the upward image schema is still immanent from the viewpoint of the onstage conceptualizer rather than an offstage and objective observer.

This difference in perspective constitutes a case of "subjectification" (Langacker 1990, 1999), which I will come back to in Chapter 7.

Based on the crucial status of PATH and GOAL in this sub-schema, the image-schematic representation of [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] is shown in Figure 4.5. The path

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30   A phrasal verb constructional schema [V] – [UP] – [WITH], instantiated by *catch up with, keep up with*, etc., occurs with 'approaching' but not 'vertically higher' or 'completive', which can be seen as a distinct characteristic of this particular semantic cluster.

31   My explanation is in line with the observation in Bolinger (1971: 98–9) that the use of *up* is associated with the reduction of distance between the viewer and what is viewed, while the opposite holds for *down*. However, the author did not mention the experiential basis that motivates the meaning of 'approaching' from the literal meaning of *up*.

Figure 4.5: The image-schematic representation of the constructional schema that profiles PATH and a concrete GOAL for 'approaching'

is in profile, since the sense of motion is still strong. The endpoint of the path also stands out from the background given the presence of the onstage conceptualizer and the fact that the endpoint is spelled out by the PREPP. Both the path and the goal are represented in bold to show their conceptual prominence. The dashed arrow represents a loss of the sense of verticality, since the upward trajectory is still immanent, although only from the perspective of the onstage conceptualizer.

Below, I turn to another cluster of constructional schemas associated with 'approaching'.

4.3.2.2 Constructional schemas of 'approaching' that profile PATH and an implicit GOAL

In my corpus, I found two constructional schemas of 'approaching' that profile an implicit GOAL in addition to PATH, [V] – [UP] – [NP] and [ADVP] – [UP] – [NP]. What characterizes these schemas is the emphasis on the tr's path of motion and, more importantly, an implicit onstage point of view. Instance (4–18) elaborates the first constructional schema, [V] – [UP] – [NP]:

(4–18) *[Y]ou were not to look at your masters when they came **up** the drive, but to hoe on regardless.*

In (4–18), the tr of *came* and of *up* coincide and both refer to *they*, which follows a non-vertical trajectory linguistically specified as the lm, elaborated as *the drive*. At first glance, it may seem that only the PATH portion sticks out from the conceptual base, given the fact that the use of both *up* and *the drive* linguistically elaborates the path of motion. However, as I have argued, the use of *up* in this cluster does not encode verticality in a purely objective sense, but only involves

Figure 4.6: The image-schematic representation for constructional schemas of 'approaching' that profile the path and an implicit goal

a sense of verticality from the perspective of an onstage conceptualizer. In (4–18), the onstage conceptualizer is located at the end of the path away from the tr, and as the tr follows the linguistically elaborated path, the top of the tr becomes vertically higher in the eye of the onstage conceptualizer.

The other constructional schema that profiles PATH and an implicit GOAL is [ADVP] – [UP] – [NP].[32] (4–19) is a typical example of this constructional schema:

(4–19) *Further along the road there's another gate. You'll come across the house half– way **up** the drive.*

In (4–19), the tr of *up*, *you*, corresponds to the tr of the main verb. The primary figure moves along a non-vertical path, which is linguistically elaborated by an NP that follows, *the drive*. Quite similar to (4–18), what lies at the end of the path does not receive linguistic realization but is still conceptually prominent, since the use of *up* does not convey a sense of verticality that can be objectively observed. Instead, the upward trajectory of the moving entity is observable only from the onstage vantage point, which is located at the end of the path. Therefore, what lies in profile is the path and the implicit goal, also as the onstage vantage point, although GOAL is not linguistically elaborated.[33] Figure 4.6 shows the common imagistic representation of the constructional schemas [V] – [UP] – [NP] and [ADVP] – [UP] – [NP], which both involve a non-vertical path.

Below, I introduce a constructional schema of 'approaching' which involves only an implicit goal.

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32   A non-verbal PATH-prominent constructional schema of [ADVP] – [UP] is also associated with 'vertically higher'. Although the two schemas are structurally similar, the noun that occurs in the adverbial phrase in the two schemas is different—The nouns that linguistically elaborate the PATH in 'vertically higher' involve a salient vertical property, unlike in 'approaching'.

33   The observation on this infrequent usage cluster corresponds to my previous disclaimer at the end of section 4.3.1. The schema [ADVP] – [UP] may have more specific instantiations such as [ADVP] – [UP] – [NP] given a larger corpus.

4.3.2.3 Constructional schemas of 'approaching' that profiles only an implicit goal

In the corpus, I identified a constructional schema for *up* 'approaching' which profiles an implicit goal and in which the involvement of PATH is weaker in comparison to the previous constructional schemas. This cluster of usages, schematized as [V] – [UP], involves a primary figure reaching the end of a trajectory. (4–20) and (4–21) are typical of this schema.

> (4–20) *The Doctor turned and strode downhill, and once again Francis had to run to catch* **up**.
> (4–21) *[W]e need to let him know where to meet* **up** *in Lincoln's Inn Fields.*

In (4–20), the tr of *up*, which corresponds to that of *run* and *catch*, attempts to overtake the unspecified but inferable lm, which is *the Doctor*.[34] The entity that is overtaken, *the Doctor*, although linguistically unspecified, is conceptually the secondary figure reached by the primary figure, encoded as *Francis*. The use of *up* also signals the role played by *the Doctor* not only as the lm of the conceptual scene but also as the locus of the onstage vantage point from which Francis appears vertically higher as he approaches. Excerpt (4–21) similarly involves an entity which serves as the tr both of *meet* and of *up, he*, and is expected to encounter the unmentioned but understood secondary figure, which is the speaker. The unspecified goal is also conceptually salient, as it is both where the lm and the onstage conceptualizer resides.

Another two instances illustrate the conceptual saliency of the unspecified lm's and their critical role in the usage of 'approaching' in [V] – [UP] can be seen in (4–22) and (4–23). They are paraphrases of (4–20) and (4–21) based on [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], where the goal is linguistically elaborated.

> (4–22) *The Doctor turned and strode downhill, and once again Francis had to run to catch* **up** *with him.* (Constructed)
> (4–23) *We need to let him know where to meet* **up** *with us in Lincoln's Inn Fields.* (Constructed)

A comparison of (4–20) and (4–21) with their constructed counterparts shows that the only difference is whether or not the lm of *up* and the preceding verb are linguistically specified. It also shows that [V] – [UP] associated with 'approaching' can be analyzed as a "minimized" (Levinson 2000) version of [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], with the PREPP of the latter being reduced. However, the reason the

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[34]   Instances that belong to this cluster, such as (4–20) and (4–21), may take on dual interpretations. Here, I discuss the more concrete interpretation and will return to the other interpretation later in this section.

lm of *up* in (4–22) and (4–23) can be reduced is communication-oriented. The lm of *up* in this schema, i.e. *the Doctor* in (4–22) and *us/we* in (4–23), appeared earlier in the text and so is close enough to remain active (Chafe 1994) in the discourse participants' short-term memory. Given the fact that the entity has been mentioned and is still easily recoverable by the hearer/reader, it makes sense for the speaker/writer to omit specific reference to it in discourse, which reduces [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] to the ellipted version.

So far, I have discussed how [V] – [UP] can be viewed as a minimized version of [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], and how these two constructional schemas are conceptually similar and related via the information status of referents in discourse. Based on this similarity, the former can also be viewed on a par with the latter in terms of the imagistic content, since for [V] – [UP], PATH and GOAL also stand out from the conceptual background and receive more attention. However, as I mentioned earlier in this section, [V] – [UP] can receive another possible interpretation in addition to the reading of 'approaching'. If we compare (4–20) and (4–21) with their counterparts, it is noticeable that the sentences that instantiate [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] involve a more concrete sense than their ellipted counterparts.[35] The instances of [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] are more easily interpreted to occur in the domain of SPACE because the GOAL of the motion is spelled out as a source of contextual influence. In contrast, an omission of the physical goal opens up the possibility of the usage event being instantiated in a domain other than that of SPACE. But such an explanation begs the question: if not SPACE, then against what conceptual domain would (4–20) and (4–21) be interpreted?

As the sense of physical motion attenuates, what remains is the processual and temporal sense associated with the verb. In a telic event where the endpoint of a path is reached, the attenuation of the sense of physical motion leaves behind an interpretation that the approaching process is complete. As a result, the minimization of the PREPP in the [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] pattern gives rise to the dual interpretations of the resultant [V] – [UP]. As the temporal interpretation associated with the resultant schema becomes more 'entrenched' (Langacker 2000) through repeated use, the meaning of 'completive' may come to stand alone as a distinct sense. In addition to being an intermediate stage between 'approaching' and 'completive', the attenuation of physical sense is also symptomatic of subjectification, which I will return to in Chapter 7. Accordingly, in Figure 4.7, the attenuation of the physical sense in [V] – [UP] is represented by a broken line in shorter dashes. All the other elements remain identical to its concrete counterpart in Figure 4.5.

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35   The comparison between the two clusters of usage can also be addressed in terms of conceptual autonomy and dependence, which I will come back to in Chapter 5. I will explore how conceptual autonomy and dependence offers a clue to an analysis of such contextual influence.

Figure 4.7: The image-schematic representation for 'approaching'
in [V] – [UP] with an attenuated physical sense

4.3.2.4 Interim summary for 'approaching'36

In 4.3.2, I introduced three constructional schemas associated with 'approaching' for *up*. A distinct commonality among the three constructional schemas is the involvement of an onstage conceptualizer. The onstage conceptualizer is crucial to the development of the sense since the use of *up* does not encode an upward motion in an objective physical sense, but instead reflects what is perceived from the onstage conceptualizer's perspective. The involvement of the onstage vantage point results in the loss of vertical sense, so the actual trajectory of the moving figure in space does not have to be vertically upward, but can be horizontal and in some cases even downward.

In addition, I discussed the dual readings of [V] – [UP] between 'approaching' and 'completive'. As the GOAL-specifying PREPP is minimized in [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], the sense of physical motion attenuates, and that triggers a gradual shift from the domain of SPACE. Therefore, 'completive' can be viewed as an extension from 'approaching'. Below, I turn to 'completive'.

4.3.3 'Completive' in [V] – [UP] and its sources of concept elaboration

In 4.3.2, I argued that the meaning of 'completive' is a development from 'approaching'. In this section, I follow up on the argument and consolidate it. Consider an additional instance from the corpus that contains the phrase *catch up*:

(4–24) *[She] now walked towards the hoverspeeder very slowly, as if waiting for Defries to catch her* ***up*** *before she reached it.*

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36   One might expect an additional schema of [V] – [UP] – [PREP] that might profile the SOURCE, in addition to the GOAL-prominent constructional schema instantiated by (4–16) or (4–17). However, such instance was not found in my corpus.

Compared to the previous instances that contain *catch up*, (4–24) seems to have a stronger reading of 'completive', i.e. with a weaker sense of physical motion. The transitive use of *catch up* and the insertion of the direct object *her* in between signals the telic nature of this particular usage event.[37] Below, I introduce four local patterns of concept elaboration that are associated with *up* 'completive' that I found in the corpus.

4.3.3.1 The verb as the source of concept elaboration for 'completive'

The data reveals that the constructional schema [V] – [UP] is not a monolithic whole. In particular, there are four interesting sub-clusters that elaborate this particular schema, and each sub-cluster has its own distinct source of concept elaboration for 'completive'. Below, I first cover the usage cluster that involves a process with an intrinsic endpoint prompted by the verb. This cluster of usage includes, but is not limited to, the following types of processes: joining; closing; depleting; and filling.[38] This list is not exhaustive, and we could expect to encounter a wider variety of processes with a larger corpus. This list merely serves to illustrate the nature of concept elaboration with some sample processes that may fit into this particular group of usage events.

As stated before, 'completive' should be considered an extension from 'approaching' based on the conceptual similarity between the senses. Specifically, at least two clusters of usage, the processes of joining and closing, may be considered to relate to 'approaching', and as such may serve as the "bridging context" (Heine 2002) for the extension from 'approaching' to 'completive.' Instances (4–24) above and (4–25) below are typical of joining processes, and (4–26) is a typical closing process.

(4–25) *Now he'll come up with all sorts of bright ideas like tying me **up** or pumping me full of tranquillizers for my own safety.*

(4–26) *The smell is so terrible you want to throw up. The men have been locked **up** in their cells since day one of their imprisonment.*

(4–24) has a dual reading of 'approaching' and 'completive'. In this case, the tr of *catch*, *Defries*, travels along a path toward the lm, *her*, until the endpoint of the path; meanwhile, the endpoint of the process of joining coded by the verb

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37 See Bolinger (1971: 38) for a similar observation, where the author compares different orderings of elements of phrasal verbs such as *ponder over N/ponder N over, get over N/get N over* and *see through N/see N through* in terms of transitivity.

38 Filling processes will be addressed in detail when I discuss the possible connection between 'more' and 'completive' in Chapter 5.

Figure 4.8: The image-schematic representation of 'completive' for [V] – [UP] which depends on the verb for concept elaboration

catch is achieved so that the tr gets to meet the lm. As for (4–25), the event of tying can be understood as a process of joining two ropes together. By making the end of the ropes fastened to each other, the process of joining is complete. Similarly, at a highly abstract level, an event of closing relates to the meaning of 'approaching'. The event of locking someone up in (4–26) involves putting the prisoner into a cell, i.e. closing the gate by making the gate approach and fit into the frame.

I describe these instances to illustrate the abstract conceptual commonality between the processes of joining and closing. Both joining and closing processes have an intrinsic endpoint, which is reached at the precise moment when the tr comes into contact with the lm in a joining event, and when the only open side of the container comes into contact with the rest of the container in a closing event. Based on the above explanation of a schematic tr meeting the lm as the resultant state, a conceptual similarity between the processes of joining and closing with the meaning of 'approaching' leads to an abstracted imagistic representation as Figure 4.8.

Compared to Figure 4.7, GOAL in Figure 4.8 remains in profile, since the final state of the events of joining and closing, i.e. the intrinsic endpoint of the processes, needs to be prominent in order for the event to be categorized as 'completive'. Therefore, the conceptual representation of 'completive' which depends on the verb for concept elaboration is topologically similar to that of [V] – [UP] for 'approaching', with GOAL in this sub-cluster of 'completive' specified by the verb. The only difference between Figure 4.8 and 4.7 is the sense of physical motion having further faded away, though still being traceable, hence the dotted line.

In addition to the further attenuation of sense of physical motion, the issue of dual interpretations is worth an in-depth discussion with regard to the semantic extension from 'approaching' to 'completive', which I address below.

As I mentioned, though this is not a preferable reading, (4–25) and (4–26) could be interpreted as instantiating in the conceptual domain of SPACE, so they could still be categorized as peripheral members of 'approaching'. In contrast, an event of depletion, as in (4–27) below, is another typical instance of 'completive', which does not invoke a sense of physical motion.
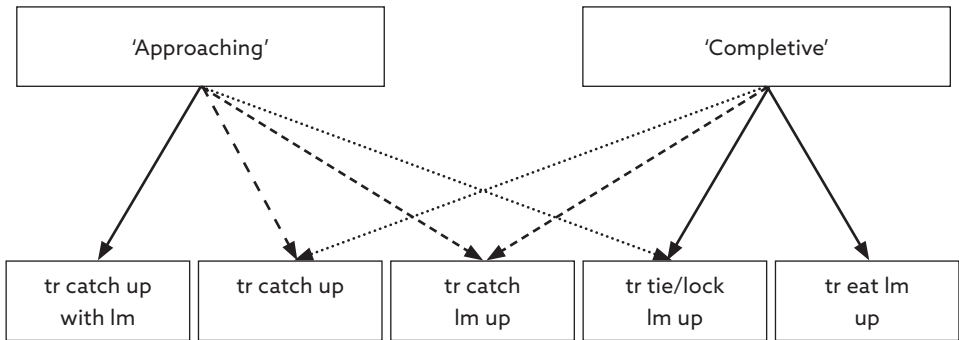
(4–27) *Many an adult struggles with their weight because of being persuaded to 'eat **up**' as a child. In our minds 'eating everything that is placed in front of us' is associated with...*

The process of EAT in (4–27) is another typical one that also involves an intrinsic endpoint. It is certainly possible to keep eating non-stop, but to eat something up involves consuming a certain amount of food, which in this case is linguistically elaborated as *everything that is placed in front of us*. Compared with (4–25) and (4–26), (4–27) does not have any sense of physical motion, which makes it possible to relate this particular instance to 'approaching'. This instance, among many others, can be considered a prototypical instance of 'completive'.[39]

The examples I have presented so far form a semantic continuum between 'approaching' and 'completive'. The instance of a tr catching up with a lm is typical of the meaning of 'approaching'. As one moves from the instance of the tr *catch up* to an event where the tr *catch* the lm *up*, one becomes less certain about the 'goodness' of the instance as a member of the semantic category of 'approaching'. The feeling of uncertainty is accompanied by the rise of an alternative reading of 'completive'. When we compare the instance of the tr *catch* the lm *up* with that of the tr *lock* the lm *up*, the sense of approaching is hardly present, and the instance starts to look like a "better" member of the semantic category of 'completive'. Beyond this point, no sense of physical motion exists at all, and the case in which the tr *eat up* the lm, among many others, belongs to the core of the 'completive' cluster. Such a continuum of semantic overlap along the route of meaning extension is shown in Figure 4.9, where the solid arrows (A → B) stand for a relation of instantiation and schematization (A is schematic of B, and B is an instantiation of A), and the dotted arrows for a categorizing relation (D is an extension from C). The solidity of the arrows represents the strength of the relation.

Below, I turn to another cluster of usage, where an NP in the co-text of *up* serves as the source of concept elaboration for 'completive'.

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39   Note that the verb in this sub-cluster of [V] – [UP] meaning 'completive' does not exclude BE verbs. Instances such as *The time is up*, *Twenty minutes is up*, *The game is up*, etc., all belong to this sub-cluster, where the endpoint of the process is determined by the amount of time specified in the co-text.

'Approaching'			'Completive'	

tr catch up with lm	tr catch up	tr catch lm up	tr tie/lock lm up	tr eat lm up

Figure 4.9: The semantic gradation between 'approaching' and 'completive'

4.3.3.2 A noun phrase as the source of concept elaboration for 'completive'

In addition to the verb, [V] – [UP] associated with 'completive' may also depend on a noun phrase (hereafter NP) in the co-text of *up* for concept elaboration. (4–27) above and (4–28) below illustrate the concept elaboration that depends on an NP in the co-text of *up*.

> (4–28) *[W]hen they decay and the bacteria decompose them, they use **up** all the oxygen in the water.*

Compared to (4–25) and (4–26), the process of EAT in (4–27) and USE in (4–28) does not guarantee an intrinsic endpoint. The non-perfective nature of EAT can be illustrated by (4–29):

> (4–29) *What would happen if you didn't drink enough milk and you didn't get enough calcium and your bones didn't grow but you kept **eating** lots of protein?*

In (4–29), the fact that EAT does not have an intrinsic endpoint becomes self-explanatory as it takes on the form of a gerund, following the verb *keep*. Therefore, since the verb *eat* does not invoke an intrinsic endpoint, the concept elaboration of 'completive' in the combination of *eat up* does not lie in the verb.

A comparison of (4–27) and (4–29) reveals that what essentially concerns the telicity of an eating process is not the matrix verb *eat* but also the object argument of it. In (4–29), the direct object of *eat*, which is *lots of protein*, does not conceptually prompt a definite amount of food consumed that would pose a final boundary to the entire process. In other words, an indefinite direct object as such may influence the telicity of the event (Hopper and Thompson 1980). In con-

trast, the direct object in (4–27), *everything that is placed in front of us*, is specific enough to impose an endpoint to EAT.[40]

The above discussion shows that the concept elaboration of *up* meaning 'completive' may not only depend on the verb, but may also be triggered by an NP in the co-text of *up*.[41] The endpoint-salient property associated with these NPs represents a GOAL-prominent image-schematic representation identical to Figure 4.8.

In my corpus, I found that a PREPP that follows *up* may also be the source of concept elaboration; I will discuss this below.

4.3.3.3 A prepositional phrase as the source of concept elaboration for 'completive'

A third source of concept elaboration for 'completive' is the PREPP that follows *up*. With the addition of a PREPP, the resultant schema looks similar to the GOAL-prominent schemas [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], which we saw in 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. However, the cluster of usage that I cover below does not involve a sense of physical motion. Instances (4–30) and (4–31) are typical.[42]

(4–30) *In the first extract, (12), one piece of continuous conversational discourse has been divided **up** into [chunks].*

(4–31) *More frequently work in different media is split **up** into specialist studies, so that although there are general studies of Gauguin's work, there are also specialist monographs on his prints...*

(4–30) and (4–31) are similar in the sense that they both involve a process of decomposition coded by a verb, and the endpoint of the decomposing process is linguistically elaborated by a PREPP led by the preposition *into* that follows *up*.[43] In (4–30), the endpoint of the process is for the tr, *one piece of continuous conversational discourse*, to split and become smaller chunks. In (4–31), the final state is for the tr, *work in different media*, to break down into smaller branches of studies. In

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40   One might question the definiteness of the object argument in (4–27). But comparing (4–29) with a constructed instance *They ate up the pizza*, where the direct object is both specific and definite, clearly shows that the concept elaboration of 'completive' in this cluster has everything to do with the property of the direct object.

41   As I have shown, the 'completive' meaning of *up* can be prompted by the definiteness of an NP in its co-text. This point will become more obvious in Chapter 5.

42   Both the instances presented here happen to be a process of decomposition. This is not to claim that this cluster of usage contains only processes of decomposition. I expect to find other types of processes that rely on a following PREP for concept elaboration for *up* 'completive'.

43   The prepositions that occur in [V] – [UP] – [PREP] for 'completive' may contain *in*, *into* and *to*. This clustering may have to do with the semantics of these prepositions, but I will not go into the details due to space limitations.

this cluster of usage, the endpoint is highly salient, since it is linguistically specified by a PREPP. Similar to what we saw in 4.3.3.2, this endpoint-salient cluster of usage also has an imagistic structure identical to Figure 4.8.

The usage clusters of *up* meaning 'completive' that I have analyzed so far are all processes with specific endpoints, and the endpoint of these processes can be imposed by either a verb, an NP, or a PREP. Since these processes have specific endpoints, the reading of 'completive' is straightforward, and that makes these usage events prototypical of 'completive'. Below, I turn to another cluster of usage of 'completive' that does not have a specific endpoint.

4.3.3.4 Underspecified but inferable endpoints

Among the verbal processes that are involved in *up* 'completive', some processes have a highly salient endpoint, whereas others do not. For instance, the events of tying and locking are typical members of the former category. In contrast, there are other verbs that do not have a salient endpoint, and so they are not the source of concept elaboration. For this latter category, the specification of endpoint lies with some other elements in the co-text, such as a PREPP that follows *up* or an NP in the co-text.[44] However, it is also possible for verbs without an inherent endpoint to appear in the [V] – [UP] construction without an NP or a following PREPP that indicates the endpoint of the process. The PREPP in (4–30) and (4–31) that encodes the final state of the decomposition process, for instance, does not have to be present; this is instantiated in the paraphrases (4–32) and (4–33):

> (4–32) *In the first extract, (12), one piece of continuous conversational discourse has been divided **up**.* (Constructed)
> (4–33) *More frequently work in different media is split **up**, so that although there are general studies of Gauguin's work, there are also specialist monographs on his prints...* (Constructed)

If we compare (4–32) and (4–33) with typical punctual events like (4–25) and (4–26), we see that such processes of decomposition may not have a specific endpoint, since one can break an entity down into two, or four, ad infinitum. For such verbs of decomposition, there is no definite answer as to how "broken down" an entity must be to count as "completive" of the process. It is therefore natural

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44   Some of these processes correspond to achievement verbs, which take place immediately, and others may correspond to accomplishment verbs, which imply an endpoint and focus on the duration of the event (Vendler 1957). For instance, *lock* and *spilt* are typical examples of the former category, while *eat* belongs to the second type.

for a decomposition process to accommodate an NP or a PREPP to linguistically elaborate the details of the resultant state, as in (4–27), (4–28), (4–30) and (4–31).

However, this does not mean that GOAL plays no role or only a minor role in the construal of sentences like (4–32) and (4–33). Although examples like (4–32) and (4–33) do not linguistically elaborate its endpoint of the process, the endpoint remains indispensable on the conceptual level. Citing McIntyre (2003), Cappelle (2005) argues that the endpoint of instances such as (4–32) and (4–33) is under-specified but contextually defined.[45] The author also proposes that *up* should be understood as a resultative particle which defines a result that an event may produce. Cappelle's view that the aspectual *up* should be treated as a resultative particle corresponds to the image-schematic representation that I depicted as Figure 4.8.

Based on Cappelle's proposal, the meaning of VPCs such as *divide up* and *split up* can be understood to involve an entity becoming smaller components as a re-sult, but the result does not have to be specified. This phenomenon is due to the low "relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1986) of the fine-grained details of the de-composition process to the communicative task at hand. For (4–32) and (4–33), what is construed as relevant is only the entity being in smaller pieces, but the detail of how small the pieces are does not concern the speaker. Therefore, only the relevant information, i.e. the decomposed entity being small enough, is cog-nitively important enough to be profiled.

The above idea applies not just to processes of decomposition, but to other processes that do not contain an inherent endpoint, which are abundant in the corpus. Instances (4–34) to (4–36) below are representative:

(4–34) *It speaks of the separation of races, and of a world which mixes them* ***up***.
(4–35) *[H]e is, perhaps, physically beaten* ***up***.
(4–36) *If I foul* ***up*** *now, they'll all laugh and say Easy Rider was a fluke.*

In (4–34), the process of mixing races together does not involve an inherent endpoint, as it is hard to tell how "together" races have to be in order for one to call the process of MIX "completed". What matters in this particular instance is the result of races being *sufficiently* mixed-together. The beating incident in (4–35) similarly does not have an inherent endpoint—no one knows how many punches one has to receive, or how bruised one needs to get, in order to be called "beaten up". (4–36) is similar, in the sense that there is no inherent indi-cator as to how awkwardly one needs to behave that would entitle the person to be understood as "fouling up". The speaker may subjectively call himself "fouled up" merely because he meets or fails certain expectations. Therefore, none of

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45   In Cappelle (2005), this usage cluster of *up* is termed "aspectual".

the above usage events contain a specific endpoint that needs to be, or even can be, spelled out. But even so, the non-punctual processual predicates combine well with the resultative particle to give rise to an "emergent" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) meaning—that those particular non-punctual processes reach a resultant state produced by the events. The endpoints are not specified because the definite results of something being blended, someone being beaten and someone behaving awkwardly are not relevant enough to be worth the effort for the speaker to elaborate them linguistically. What is at stake for the speaker is that as the event unfolds, the non-punctual process develops to a certain degree which is worth mentioning, or reaches a certain point which is considered to make a difference. Therefore in (4–34), the speaker linguistically formulates the event with a verb followed by the resultative particle *up* to express that the process of mixing develops into a situation where the races are mixed together enough. The beating incident in (4–35) is similarly reported with the resultative particle not because the process reaches an inherent endpoint but because it reaches a point where the victim has been considered by the speaker to be truly beaten. The use of *up* in (4–36) also profiles the tr acting awkwardly to a certain extent such that the tr is considered by the speaker to have made a joke of himself. Therefore, 'completive' is a meaning more "subjective" (Langacker 1985) than 'vertically higher' and 'approaching', and exhibits greater involvement of the consciousness of the conceptualizing subject, which constitutes a case of subjectification. I will return to this issue in Chapter 7.

This is why 'completive' should not be regarded as a monolithic whole, but consisting of four sub-clusters. Many instances in my corpus cannot be classified as a straightforward member of 'completive', since the specific final state of these events is not linguistically elaborated. However, the endpoint of the processes can still be subjectively inferred by the hearer, given what they believe to be a typical result of the particular kind of process at hand.

The conceptual representation for this cluster of usage events is rendered in Figure 4.10. Compared to the representation of previous sub-schemas in Figure 4.8, Figure 4.10 remains GOAL-prominent, since the resultant state is relevant but is not linguistically detailed, hence the dotted circle.

4.3.3.5 Interim summary for 'completive'

In 4.3.3, I covered four constructional schemas of *up* 'completive', each having its distinct patterns of concept elaboration. There are two major points worth reiterating.

First of all, I demonstrated how 'completive' should be viewed as an extension from 'approaching' by providing a comparison between the image-schematic con-

Figure 4.10: The image-schematic representation of usage events,
the endpoint of which is relevant but unspecified

tent of 'approaching' and 'completive'. I further illustrated the gradual shift from
SPACE to TIME by analyzing several variants of the VPC *catch up*.[46]

In addition to the extension from 'approaching' to 'completive', I dealt with
the usage cluster of [V] – [UP] that does not have an inherent endpoint, as
opposed to the other endpoint-specified (and GOAL-prominent) sub-schemas cov-
ered in 4.3.3.1, 4.3.3.2 and 4.3.3.3.

Regarding 'completive', it is worth reiterating that my analysis goes one step
further than Cappelle (2005), in that my scope expands to include the NP and
the PREPP in the co-text of *up*. I discussed how exactly this conceptual endpoint
can be linguistically elaborated by the NP, the PREPP, or the verb, which were
argued to be unusual cases of the aspectual *up* in Cappelle.[47] For most cases,
I argue that the endpoint of the processual predicate remains profiled but is not
relevant enough to be linguistically specified.

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46   Such a gradation of semantic shift is not limited to *catch up*. Some instances of *give up* are simi-
larly open to dual interpretations, such as *They want control over their health care. They don't want to give
it up to the government.* (authentic examples of 'approaching') *They want to be in charge. They don't want
to give it up.* (authentic examples between 'approaching' and 'completive') *They don't want to give up.*
(constructed example of 'completive') Such a gradual semantic shift from SPACE to TIME exhibits "atten-
uation" (Langacker 1999) instead of metaphorical mapping (Sweetser 1990), which is symptomatic of
subjectification. This is a point that I will return to in Chapter 7.

47   I do not agree with Cappelle's (2005) analysis of the usage events of *up* which involve an un-
derspecified endpoint to be the 'typical' cases of the aspectual *up*. I suspect that the reason Cappelle
believes such highly subjective cases to be the central members of *up* 'completive' is due to their high
frequency, which the author did not specifically point out. I consider such highly subjective cases to be
an extension from cases where the endpoint of the process is more specific and less subjective, with
Langacker's (1990, 1999) attenuation and subjectification as an organizing principle.

4.3.4 Summary of the chapter

The analysis in this chapter has prepared the way for further theoretical discussion in the following chapters. By distinguishing between sub-schemas belonging to the same sense, I have shown that each sense should not be understood as a homogeneous semantic category, but as a group of principally related clusters of usages in the form of constructional schemas. I analyzed the semantic categories using two important criteria that help define a sense in PP, concept elaboration and grammatical patterning. An observation on authentic linguistic data reveals that each sense does have its own pattern of concept elaboration and grammatical profiling, as has been suggested by PP, and that distinguishing between minor clusters of usage within a sense does help better capture the relation between the senses. Table 2 below summarizes the discussion in this chapter:

	Grammatical profiling	**Concept elaboration**
'Vertically higher'	—	1. Path-prominent 2. Upward trajectory instantiated in space
'Approaching'	—	1. Goal-prominent 2. Involvement of an onstage conceptualizer 3. Trajectory being upward only with respect to the onstage conceptualizer
'Completive'	[V] – [UP] as the predominant pattern	1. Goal-prominent 2. A verb, PREPP, or NP as the source of concept elaboration 3. Goal possibly underspecified 4. Trajectory being upward at the level of event structure*

Table 2: Distinct patterns of grammatical profiling and concept elaboration for the core senses of *up*

Note: * This particular point is an important issue that I will return to in Chapter 5.

   In addition, my analysis accentuates the role of schematization and categorization in language use. In CG, a combination of symbolic assemblies takes the form of constructional schemas, which I define in terms of concept elaboration and grammatical patterning. A constructional schema can be used as a categoriz-

ing structure with which one classifies a usage event as belonging to a particular semantic category. For our case of *up*, I identify the semantic category of *up* in a usage event with respect to the categorizing structure that contains this particular target lexical construction.

My analysis also points out that some cases of 'approaching' may invoke dual interpretations, but this happens only within certain constructional schemas. The reading of 'completive', through repeated use in that particular constructional schema, may become a cognitive routine and take on a life of its own.

My analysis is in line with the basic tenet of CG that language makes use of basic human cognitive abilities. I showed how the different core meanings of *up* correlate with the imagistic structure, in that different senses put different parts of the conceptual base into focus. This reflects a basic operational mechanism in human perception. Secondly, the meaning of 'approaching' involves a non-default vantage point within the scope of predication. The use of *up* makes sense only when one takes into account the onstage conceptualizer. This "shift in point of view" is also a basic operating principle in human perception.