Migration of Forms   **Forms of Migration**

'He smiled me into love'

The subsumption process of the intransitive-transitive migration

'thy beauteous lips,
… smiled me into love,
Now smile my life away!'
[Sydney Owenson, *Stanzas*]

Annalisa Baicchi

annalisa.baicchi@unipv.it

1

1. My cat **meowed me out of** bed

2. She **screamed him back into** the house

3. The court **frowned her out of** the place

4. She had **gazed me into** cowardice

≈ ≈ ≈

5. She **put** her lipstick back **into** her bag

6. He **took** the cigarettes **out of** his pocket

The Lexical-Constructional Model (LCM) (http://www.lexicom.es/drupal)

Ruiz de Mendoza 2005; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2006 a, b, c; Ruiz de Mendoza 2007; Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza 2006 a, b;

Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi 2006; Gonzálvez-García & Butler 2006; Baicchi 2007 a, b.

- multiple cases of argument realizations;

- constraints that regulate the unification of the argument structure of a predicate and a construction (*They stared me into silence*);

- constructions play a central role in semantic interpretation.

The seller **shouted me out of** *the shop*

The caused-motion construction → <u>conflict</u> that arises between lexical units and the grammatical construction in which they are embedded:

X – pred – Y (= NP) – Z (= PP)

X = the causer

Y = the causee

pred = the causing event

Z = the resulting event

- When applied to some verbs, the caused-motion construction is capable of adding <u>further argumental structure</u> to them

- The construction and the verb in combination provide us with a richer representation than the one we can obtain from the parts, in a gestaltic fashion

7. I **blew the ant off** the plate (Talmy 1975:229)

8. Fred **sneezed the tissue off** the table (Goldberg 1995:152)

9. Will you please **show him into** the living room? (J.D.Salinger, The inverted forest)

10. She **knocked him into** the thorny bed of roses (Theatre News 1978, vol. 6.1)

Will you please **show him into** *the living room?*

- **to show**

- **X – pred – Y (= NP) – Z (= PP)**

- **sb + to show + sb +** *into-location*

- **internal constraint:**

  → <u>**addition of argumental structure**</u>

11. Hecklers **shouted him off** the stage (Palm Beach Post, November 27th , 2000)

12. He **stared me into** a half-confusion (S.Richardson, Clarissa Harlow)

13. Hope was there, and **laughed me out** of sadness (E.Brontë, Death)

14. She was the charming woman who had **smiled me into** subjection (J.Scott, The Colonel Red Huzzars)

He **gazed me out of** *the club*

- **to gaze at (intr.)→ to gaze (trans.)**
- **X – pred – Y (= NP) – Z (= PP)**
- **sb + to gaze + sb +** *out-location*
- **internal constraint:**

  → <u>**addition of argumental structure**</u>

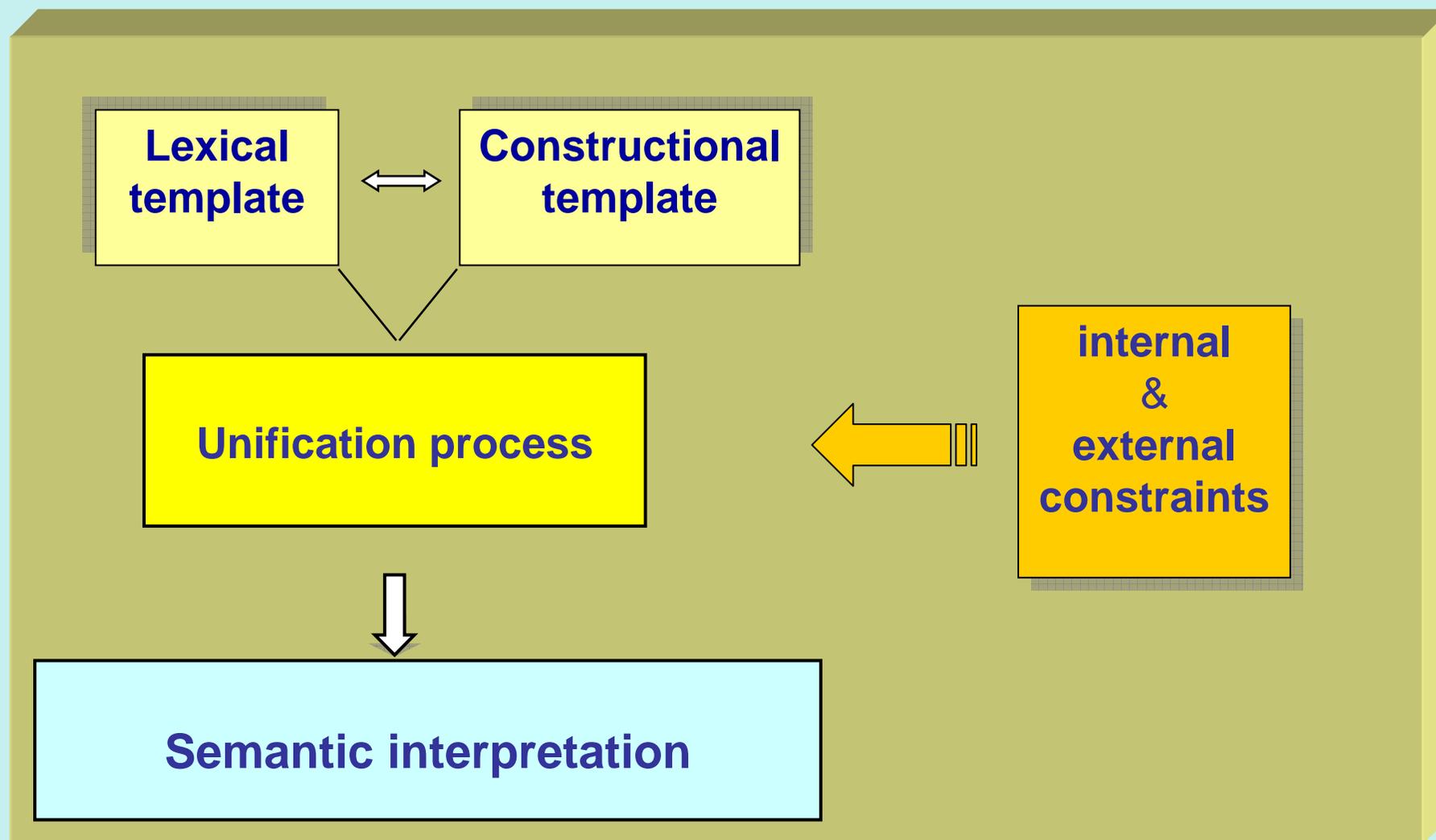 → <u>**subcategorial conversion**</u>

Figure 1. The core elements of LCM

A Lexical Template is a low-level semantic representation of the syntactically relevant content of a predicate:

predicate:

[semantic module   <lexical functions>]

+

[Aktionsart module <semantic primes>]

This formalism assumes

(a) the existence of <u>small meaningful units</u> encoding conceptual content;

(b) the necessity to identify an <u>inventory of primes</u> which must be epistemologically finite, systematic and internally consistent, and also capable of providing typologically valid lexical representations.

11

A Constructional Template is a high-level semantic representation of syntactically relevant meaning elements abstracted away from multiple lower-level representations.

The transitive construction:
- [do' (x, y)]

    → vs. {RRG, *to sing* = do' (x, [sing' (x)]) , Van Valin 2005}

The caused-motion construction

He **gazed me out of** *the club*

- **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x, y]) CAUSE [BECOME *NOT **be-in'** (y,z)]

    – **pred'** (x, y) CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-in'** (y,z)]

*He **gazed me out of** the club*

Lexical template external to the construction:
gaze-at' (x, y)

$\downarrow$

Abstract semantic representation of the Caused Motion construction:
[Lexical template] CAUSE [BECOME *NOT be-LOC' (y,z)]

$\downarrow$

Constructionally coerced modification of the lexical template
gaze' (x, y)

$\downarrow$

Unification of the modified template with the construction:
[**gaze** (x, y)] CAUSE [BECOME be-LOC (y,z)]

$\downarrow$

Fully specified semantic representation:
[**gaze** (**he, me**]) CAUSE [BECOME be-LOC (**me, club**)]

Internal constraints :

- make reference to the internal semantic make-up of the lexical and constructional templates
- specify the conditions under which a lexical template may modify its internal configuration.
- the **'PREDICATE-ARGUMENT CONDITIONING'** applies to the caused-motion construction
- Here the constructional template coerces the lexical template through the subsumption process

External constraints:

- involve Aktionsart changes and result from the (im)possibility to perform high-level metaphoric and metonymic operations on the lexical items involved in the subsumption process.

Hecklers **shouted him off** *the stage*

- gestaltic "Law of Minimum Principle" →

  we tend to organize our experience so that it is as simple as possible (Benjafield 1996:173).

- "Law of Similarity" enables our mind to group similar elements into collective entities depending on the relationship of structural form.

The specific pseudo-transitive use of the predicate *gaze* in
He gazed me out of the club is grounded in the hgh-level metaphor
EXPERIENTIAL ACT IS EFFECTUAL ACTION:

        SOURCE   **TARGET**

        effector   ← →   actor [both are doers]
        effectee   ← →   goal/experiencer [both are objects]
        effecting   ← →   acting [both are kinds of doing]
        instrument   ← →   ø
        purpose   ← →   purpose

Lexical domains	Nuclear terms
existence	*be / happen*
change	*become*
possession	*have*
speech	*say*
emotion	*feel*
action	*do, make*
cognition	*know, think*
movement	*move (go / come)*
physical perception	*see / hear / taste / smell / touch*
manipulation	*use*

Lexical domains and nuclear terms (Faber & Mairal 1999)

PERCEPTION:

See: to see sb/sth at a distance/briefly

Look (at): to see sb/sth by intentionally directing one's eyes

Stare (at): to look at sb/sth for a long time with wide open eyes

Google (at): to stare at sb/sth in surprise

Gape (at): to google at sb/sth with an open mouth

Fragment of the lexical domain of visual perception

15. I **googled him into** my life
16. Some guy **stared me out of** it (it = a parking space)
17. She then **gaped me into** a very agreeable and richly spacious hall
18. Some very blinding lasers **dazzled me into** a state of confusion
19. All of my classmates laughed at me and **stared me into** silence
20. She had **gazed me into** cowardice
21. The devil smiled as he **gazed me out of** the club
22. Her beauty must have **dazzled him out of** his wits
23. He **listened me into** a cave
24. Margot **listened me into** greater clarity
25. Grass was poison-sprayed which **whiffed me into** headache

example	HIGH-LEVEL METAPHOR
stared me out of a space	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
gaped me into a hall	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
dazzled me into confusion	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
listened me into greater clarity	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
stared me into silence	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
gazed me into cowardice	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
gazed me out of the club	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
dazzled him out of his wits	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
whiffed me into headache	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

26. He **touched me out of** the blue
27. The master hand **touched me into** life and beauty
28. He **palmed me out of** the chamber
29. Ill-health **palmed him away from** politics
30. She **knocked him into** the thorny bed of roses
31. The disease **knocked him into** a coma for four days
32. They **manhandled me out of** the cell **and down** the dark corridor
33. The policemen woke me and **manhandled me into** a car
34. The rhythmic sound of rushing water **caressed me into** an inevitable Zen moment
35. He lightly **caressed her out of** the van
36. A PR **pawed me into** the first press conference

example	HIGH-LEVEL METAPHOR
touched me out of the blue	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
palmed me out of the chamber	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
palmed him away from politics	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
knocked him into the bed	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
knocked him into a coma	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
manhandled me out of the cell	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
caressed me into a Zen moment	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
caressed her out of the van	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION
pawed me into the conference	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION

37. My mom **talked me into** the car
38. The seller almost **shouted me out of** the shop
39. He **chatted me into** a nervous wreck
40. He **whispered me out of** the courtyard **into** a small garden
41. He **talked them out of** their suspicions
42. My vet **shouted me into** silence
43. He **snarled me into** a poker room
44. He would explode in a roar, **shouting us into** obedience.

example	HIGH-LEVEL METAPHOR
talked me into the car	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
shouted me out of the shop	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
chatted me into a nervous wreck	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
whispered me into a garden	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
talked them out of suspicions	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
shouted me into silence	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
snarled me into a poker room	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
shouted us into obedience	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

45. She **laughed me out of** the classroom

46. They **cried me into** their house

47. The very same bunch that **whined and cried us out of** Vietnam are trying to do it again.

48. My damned dog has **whined me out of** bed to feed her

49. He **whined me out of** money.

50. He **meowed me out of** bed this morning

51. My golden idiot retriever **barked them out of** the yard last night.

52. Jason **rustled me out of** bed for a trip to the Vinegrove

53. The sights and sounds of a firetruck going passed our house finally **rustled me out of** bed.

54. He **clinked me into** a cave

55. They **laughed me out of** the classroom

56. My children have just **whined me into** submission

57. A whiff of wind **rustled me out of** my reverie

58. The bell **chimed her into** decisive action

59. The survivors reached Genoa where the earthy Italians **laughed them into** doubt

example	HIGH-LEVEL METAPHOR
laughed me out of the classroom	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
meowed me out of bed	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
rustled me out of my reverie	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
clinked me into a cave	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
whined me into submission	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
chimed her into decisive action	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
cried me into their house	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION
laughed them into doubt	SOUND PRODUCTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

Lexical subdomains	concrete	figurative
Visual	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
Auditory	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
Olfactory	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION	A PERCEPTUAL ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
Tactile	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION	AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
Taste	Ø	Ø
Speech	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION	COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
Sound emission	SOUND EMISSION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION	SOUND EMISSION IS EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

High-level metaphors licensing subcategorial conversion

Constructions are not simply

"learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function"
(Goldberg 2005:5),

but rather the realization of

"the concept of construction, understood as a free-standing
theoretical entity" (Gonzálvez-García & Butler 2006: 83).

Motion, Causation, Force

Caused-motion construction → change-of-state force-dynamics pattern

Different types and degrees of Force

- physical
    - *He lightly caressed her out of the van* <u>VS.</u>
      The policemen manhandled me into a car
- psychological
    - *He stared me into a half-confusion*
- intra-psychological
    - *I duped myself into thinking I could be part of the crew team*

Conclusive remarks

- c-m cx is not idiosyncratic or limited to a few exceptions
- pervasiveness of c-m cx across lexical domains
- priority of CT over LT
- some uses of lexemes go beyond the usual argument structure of predicates
- Dictionaries: necessity of an attempt
  - to produce a syntactic dictionary based on semantic principles
  - to provide a full inventory of configuration patterns
  - to explain the semantic motivation that underlies different complement strategies
- TEFL: necessity to make students aware of how meaning is 'constructed' and not simply 'assembled'.

Thank you !