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## The metaphorical senses of up

In: Lu, Wei-lun. *A conceptual exploration of polysemy : a case study of (V) - (UP) and (V) - (SHÀNG)*. First published Brno: Masaryk University Press, 2022, pp. 63-88

ISBN 978-80-280-0038-7; ISBN 978-80-280-0039-4 (online ; pdf)

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/144936>

Access Date: 17. 02. 2024

Version: 20220831

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## 5 THE METAPHORICAL SENSES OF *UP*

In Chapter 4, I discussed three major semantic clusters for *up*. Two of them, i.e. ‘vertically higher’ and ‘approaching’, are understood against the domain of *SPACE*, and the last one, ‘completive,’ is the resultant subjective meaning after the physical sense associated with *up* completely fades away. These three clusters of usage exhibit different patterning of constructional profile and concept elaboration. It must be reiterated that the three meanings exhibit a gradual shift in the imagistic content at the conceptual level: With the shared *SOURCE-PATH-GOAL* schema in the conceptual base, ‘vertically higher’ mainly profiles *PATH* and may optionally invoke *SOURCE* or *GOAL*. On the other hand, without the involvement of *SPACE*, ‘completive’ highlights the endpoint of the image schema in a highly abstract sense. Compared to the above two senses, ‘approaching’ exhibits an intermediate degree of involvement of *SPACE* and is neither typically *PATH*-prominent like ‘vertically higher’ nor exclusively *GOAL*-prominent like ‘completive’. In addition, for ‘approaching’, an onstage conceptualizer needs to be in place to account for the attenuation of the vertical sense.

In this chapter, I follow the image-schematic analysis proposed in Chapter 4 and discuss the relation between the other meanings of *up* in non-spatial domains and the *SOURCE-PATH-GOAL* schema.

### 5.1 ‘Accessible’

The first metaphorical meaning to discuss is ‘accessible’. This meaning shares some structural commonality with the *GOAL*-prominent schema of [V] – [UP] for ‘vertically higher’, as they both involve roughly the area of Interactive Focus,

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which includes notions of possession, influence, and proximity (Lindner 1983: 161) and is thus visible and as a result noticeable (Lindstromberg 1997).<sup>48</sup> Below, I compare the two schemas of [V] – [UP] associated with ‘vertically higher’ and ‘accessible’ and investigate the usage cluster of ‘accessible’ based on the three criteria of PP (Evans 2004, 2005).

### 5.1.1 ‘Accessible’ and the Meaning Criterion

The meaning of ‘accessible’ exhibits its distinctive semantic characteristics. Compare (5–1), which appeared in 4.3.1.2 and is repeated here for ease of reference, and (5–2). The two instances both involve the VPC *pick up*, with (5–1) meaning ‘vertically higher’ and (5–2) ‘accessible’.

(5–1) ... *projects ranged from rock hauling, taking rocks out of the creek, picking them up, hauling them up the hill, putting them in a pile.*

(5–2) *By experimenting with the languages of several indigenous nations, they formed a pidgin with which they could communicate. Then she began to pick up English with astonishing rapidity.*

A comparison between (5–1) and (5–2) shows a semantic difference. As I claimed in Chapter 4, the entity that follows a vertically higher trajectory to an unspecified goal is the tr of *up*, linguistically represented by *rocks*. In (5–2), the entity that moves upward to an unspecified GOAL is *English*, which becomes more accessible to the subject *she* as a result of its vertical motion. Excerpts (5–1) and (5–2) both involve the Interactive Focus as the endpoint; the only difference is the conceptual domain that is involved in understanding the instances.

Examples (5–3), (5–4) and (5–5) are also typical instances of this cluster of usage:

(5–3) *[I]n the Middle Ages, some very clever theologians even came up with very exotic spiritual and symbolic explanations.*

(5–4) *Obviously, this is the storm that we always prayed would never show up, and a major storm coming up the Houston Ship Channel.*

(5–5) *Do I need to go to a lawyer? No. It does not need a lawyer either to draw up any document or to advise you although you may wish to consult a professional adviser if a particularly large sum is involved...*

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48 An alternative to Lindner’s idea of the Interactive Focus would be the conceptual metaphor FUNCTIONAL IS UP (Radden 2000: 96) in explaining ‘accessible’.

The above three instances are all typical of 'accessible'. In (5-3), what conceptually enters the Interactive Focus and becomes cognitively accessible is the spiritual and symbolic explanations after an effort made by theologians.<sup>49</sup> The entity that is cognitively accessible in (5-4) is a storm, which appears in the field of knowledge of the conceptualizer and becomes active. For (5-5), an agent creates a document and makes it accessible in either the cognitive or the perceptual domain as a result of a process of drawing up something.

By comparing these two instances of *pick up* which involve different conceptual domains and the three additional examples, we see that *up* in (5-2) to (5-5) does exhibit an additional meaning that is not present in 'vertically higher', thus meeting the Meaning Criterion of PP.

### 5.1.2 'Accessible' and its associated constructional schemas

A comparison between (5-1) and (5-2) has shown that the Interactive Focus is involved in both 'vertically higher' and 'accessible', which can be elaborated within the identical grammatical construction [V] – [UP]. Below, I address different types of concept elaboration of 'accessible' for *up*.<sup>50</sup>

#### 5.1.2.1 NP as the source of concept elaboration for 'accessible'

The first pattern of concept elaboration of 'accessible' is a pattern induced by an NP in the co-text of *up*. Excerpts (5-2) and (5-3) presented above and (5-6) below are typical of this usage cluster.

(5-6) *Right. You brought up a lot of good points, including one about the role of the former first lady – at that time, a pivotal role in health care.*

The primary figure that moves upward in (5-2) is a type of skill, linguistically coded by *English*. The tr enters Interactive Focus and as a result becomes

49 The phrase *come up* in (5-3) could alternatively be analyzed as 'approaching'. I observe that there is a metonymic connection between 'approaching' and 'accessible'— As an entity enters the Interactive Focus of the conceptualizer as its endpoint of trajectory, accessibility is a natural consequence of its approaching.

50 There is certainly more than one grammatical construction that might be involved in 'accessible'. But as I mentioned in Chapter 4, the main point of the discussion is not to present an exhaustive list of all possible constructional schemas for a particular sense. My main concern here is to investigate what may invoke the notion of Interactive Focus and the cognitive domain, which triggers a semantic transfer away from the prototypical meaning of 'vertically higher' for *up*. Another crucial point of my discussion is to show how the connection between A/D-alignment and domain proposed by Croft (1993) can help shed light on the complicated semantic patterns of *up* in real usage.

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available to the agent. In (5–3), the tr of *came*, coded by *some very clever theologians*, coincides with that of *up* and follows a vertical trajectory to enter the unspecified endpoint of its path. By reaching this unspecified endpoint in an abstract domain with an entity, linguistically elaborated by *explanations*, the agent elevates that particular entity and makes it cognitively accessible. The tr of *up* in (5–6) is *a lot of good points*, which is abstractly carried into the area of Interactive Focus by the tr of *brought* and becomes noticeable in the domain of COGNITION and interactively accessible to the discussants.<sup>51</sup>

However, an important question is relevant here: The underlying image-schematic content does not seem to prompt a shift in conceptual domain from SPACE to COGNITION, but how does the domain transfer happen, and what linguistic element and conceptual operation may make that happen?

To answer this question, an understanding of conceptual domain and its relation with conceptual autonomy and dependence needs to be in place. Based on Langacker's (1987) distinction between an autonomous and a dependent predication, also termed "A/D-alignment", Croft (1993) proposes that in the process of joining symbolic assemblies, the autonomous predication may cause domain mapping (metaphor) in the dependent one, and the dependent predication may induce domain highlighting (metonymy) in the autonomous one.

According to Langacker (1987, 2008), a typical feature of a dependent predication is that it has a schematic slot for another predication to fill in and to elaborate on the information gap in that particular dependent predication. A predication is "dependent" in the sense that it relies on another predication to elaborate its informational content. A preposition, for instance, encodes a relation between two entities, and typically contains two slots for two different NPs to provide details. Therefore, in relation to a participating NP, a preposition is the dependent predication and the NP the autonomous predication. A similar analogy can be made to a verb and its argument. An intransitive verb inherently contains one slot for an NP as its subject, and it is in this sense that the intransitive verb is dependent on its subject NP for elaboration.

In comparison to a dependent predication, an autonomous predication does not depend as much on another predication to fill in an inherent information gap. An autonomous predication is autonomous in the sense that it can stand alone as a self-contained predication. Therefore, in the noun-preposition assembly that I mentioned above, the preposition cannot be said to be autonomous, since it needs its two participants and can hardly be construed by itself. Likewise, an intransitive verb cannot be the autonomous predication when it combines

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51 According to *Merriam Webster Online* (accessed Jun 24, 2010), the meaning of *point* includes 'the most important essential in a discussion or matter', which I consider related to interaction and to the domain of COGNITION.

with an NP, since it is always hard to imagine any process without considering its participant. In these two types of symbolic assemblies, the NP is considered the autonomous predication, since it is much easier to imagine an NP without including the spatial relation in which it participates or the process of which the NP is a part.<sup>52</sup>

Now, let us come back to our data to see how domain mapping and highlighting causes the semantic extension from 'vertically higher' to 'accessible'. The commonality within this sub-cluster of usage is that the domain of knowledge, interaction and cognition is prompted by an NP in the co-text of *up*. In the symbolic assembly of *pick up* in (5-2), no domain other than SPACE is involved. But as *pick up* combines with *English*, *pick up* serves as the dependent predication since it contains an inherent schematic slot for *English* to provide information. In this symbolic complex, the autonomous predication is *English*, which does not require another predication and can be construed independently. Since the predication *English* is related to the notions of knowledge and skill in the cognitive domain, the domain mapping from SPACE to COGNITION in the dependent predication *pick up* can be attributed to its autonomous counterpart *English*. In (5-3), the combination of *came up* does not seem like a candidate for invoking the domain of COGNITION, since both predications, *came* and *up*, belong typically to the domain of SPACE. A look at the PREP that joins with *came up*, *with very exotic spiritual and symbolic explanations*, reveals the NP after *with* to be the source of concept elaboration for 'accessible'. As a noun, the predication *explanations* can conceptually stand alone, and when it combines with its preceding modifying elements from *symbolic* all the way up to *very*, the noun induces domain mapping in these dependent predications. As the resultant complex NP *very exotic spiritual and symbolic explanations* is joined by *with*, it also prompts the domain of COGNITION and induces domain mapping in *with*, since in a preposition-noun combination, the noun is always the autonomous predication and the preposition the dependent one. The case of *brought up* in (5-6) is similar. The assembly itself should be considered typical in the domain of SPACE, since both *bring* and *up* are prototypically space-related concepts. But as *brought up* joins the comparatively autonomous predication *a lot of good points*, the autonomous predication triggers the domain of COGNITION and induces domain transfer in the dependent predication *brought up*.

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52 Conceptual autonomy and dependence are essentially relative and context-dependent. An NP can be the autonomous predication when it combines with a verb or a preposition, but can be the dependent predication when it joins another NP to form an N-N compound. A verb can also be the dependent predication in relation to its arguments, but may serve as the autonomous predication when it is modified by an adverb or a PREP. In addition, the distinction of autonomy and dependency is determined by how much one element in a symbolic assembly needs the other for elaboration of information, so the distinction is not dichotomous but a matter of degree.

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The above discussion shows that in ‘accessible’, an NP in the co-text of *up* may do the job of introducing the domain of COGNITION and of creating a domain mapping that adjusts the reading of *up*. Below, I turn to another type of concept elaboration for ‘accessible’: the verb that precedes *up*.

### 5.1.2.2 The verb as the source of concept elaboration for ‘accessible’

In my corpus, the second source of concept elaboration for ‘accessible’ is the verb that precedes *up*. A commonality within this usage cluster is that the verbs are related to the notion of bringing into existence. The following excerpts, (5-7) and (5-8), are typical.

(5-7) *By the way, although the iTunes store is dropping its digital rights management policy, you should know that the email address you used to sign **up** for iTunes is coded into each song you buy, so if you illegally share tunes you bought at their store, it's easy to trace back to you.*

(5-8) *But also there's a big Virginia Tech fundraiser. So I'm going to go with my old college roommate, Peggy Fox, and we're going to try to drum **up** a little support for the school because it's tough this time of year for people to give.*

The verbs in (5-7) and (5-8) are verbs of physical action that can bring an entity into existence. The action in (5-7) is *sign*, with which the tr of the action registers and turns in his personal information by a process of symbol creation, and this action of creation brings his personal information into a state of being available to the iTunes store. The physical process in (5-8) is *drum*, which is a process of producing sounds by making a succession of strokes on an instrument. By engaging in this action, the tr of *drum* brings into existence *a little support*.<sup>53</sup>

It should be pointed out that verbs in this category are not limited to verbs of physical action like those in (5-7) and (5-8). I find that verbs of mental action, or cognition, are also related to the notion of bringing into existence in an abstract sense and can also trigger the meaning of ‘accessible’. (5-9) and (5-10) are representative of such verbs of cognition:

(5-9) *Harris dreamed **up** the idea as she prepared her son, then five, for a game. “It was after a crazy scene in the locker room,” she recalls.*

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<sup>53</sup> The assembly *drum up* is an example where the dependent predication also induces domain highlighting in the autonomous predication. When combined with the dependent predication *up*, a domain highlighting occurs in *drum* and metonymically shifts its reading from ‘a musical instrument’ to ‘to produce (an entity) by using a musical instrument’. Another interesting point about *drum up* is that the reason why only the drum, but not other musical instruments, is recruited in the [V] – [UP] sub-schema of ‘accessible’ may have to do with the role played by drums in a cheerleading scenario.

(5–10) *But no one in the family had ever expected her to stick with gardening; they had all assumed that sooner or later Charlotte would think **up** some more appealing project and wander away, letting the acreage revert to its natural state.*

In (5–9), the tr of the verb, *Harris*, differs from that of *up*, which is coded by *the idea*. By means of DREAM, which is a typical mental process, the primary figure causes in the cognitive domain an elevation of an abstract entity, represented by *the idea*, so that the entity becomes cognitively accessible as a result of the tr's dreaming. Excerpt (5–10) similarly involves a mental action, which is linguistically elaborated by *think*. The tr of *think* makes an entity accessible in the cognitive domain by carrying out the process, which is elaborated as *some more appealing project*.

As we look at the above two sub-clusters of usage, where verbs of physical and mental creation may prompt the domain of COGNITION, one observation is straightforward—although in some cases, there might be an NP in the co-text that could arguably trigger COGNITION, the verbs without a doubt are typically associated with the notion of bringing into existence and can certainly be considered an important source of concept elaboration for 'accessible'. From (5–7) to (5–10), where *up* is always combined with a verb to modify the resultant state of the process, *up* is the dependent predication in relation to the verb, since as an adverbial particle, *up* carries a schematic slot for a verbal process to specify the nature of that particular process. In such cases, the verb is in turn conceptually autonomous in relation to *up*, in the sense that a verb does not necessarily require an adverb to specify the result of that process.

Therefore, as the autonomous predication, the verb induces domain mapping in the dependent predication and causes a metaphorical transfer from SPACE to COGNITION.

### 5.1.3 Between 'accessible' and 'completive'

In 5.1.2, I addressed in detail how the co-texts of *up* collaborate to introduce the cognitive domain and to create a domain mapping in *up*. This generalization makes 'accessible' seem straightforward. However, in the corpus, I found some instances with a dual reading between 'accessible' and 'completive.' (5–11) and (5–12) are examples of such borderline cases:

(5–11) *Is a covenant complicated? Not really. A Deed of Covenant is a legal document which needs to be correctly drawn **up** and signed. The law relating to covenants is quite complex...*

(5–12) *The campaign, which aims to raise £500,000, was originally set **up** in memory of a seven-year-old Kent boy who dies in 1979.*



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We can formulate an interpretation of ‘accessible’ and an alternative of ‘completive’ for both (5–11) and (5–12). On one hand, in (5–11), what moves upward in the cognitive domain, reaches the Interactive Focus and become cognitively accessible is an entity coded by a *legal document*. In (5–12), the tr of *up* is the *campaign*, which becomes existent and active as a result of someone setting it up. On the other hand, for (5–11), we could alternatively construe the accessibility of the legal document as the final state brought about by the process of drawing it up, in order for the document to be signed. The state of being existent and active of the campaign in (5–12) similarly could be understood as a resultant state caused by a process of someone setting it up.

A look at the dual readings of (5–11) and (5–12) begs the question: What causes the GOAL-prominent reading for the two cases, and what distinguishes (5–11) and (5–12) from instances (5–3) to (5–10), which are typical instances of ‘accessible’ and do not seem to involve an obvious GOAL-prominent reading?

I argue that the main difference lies in the involvement of the passive construction. Langacker (2008: 120–1) points out that the past participle, formed by *-ed* and other possible morphological variants, imposes a posterior construal on the verbal process and highlights the final state of the event. Indeed, as we paraphrase the above two instances into active voice, the endpoint focus becomes much weaker, and the reading of ‘accessible’ predominates as a result, as in (5–13) and (5–14).

(5–13) *Is a covenant complicated? Not really. Someone needs to draw **up** a deed of covenant. The law relating to covenants is quite complex...* (constructed)

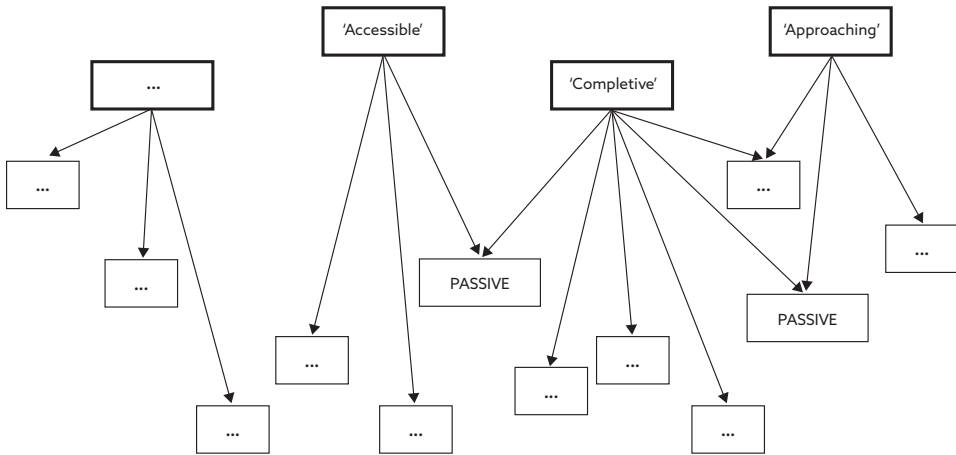
(5–14) *Someone originally set **up** a campaign, which aims to raise £500,000, in memory of a seven-year-old Kent boy who dies in 1979.* (constructed)

Therefore, a comparison of (5–11) and (5–12) with the rest of the examples in 5.1 shows that, since the imagistic content of ‘accessible’ involves an emphasis both on PATH and on GOAL, the interpretation of ‘completive’ can only stay latent when the usage event is presented in the active voice.<sup>54</sup> However, as the past participle in a passive construction does the job of profiling the final state of a verbal process, the reading of ‘completive’ becomes accentuated so that (5–11) and (5–12) may receive an obvious dual reading between ‘accessible’ and ‘completive’.<sup>55</sup>

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54 Remember that in Chapter 4, we discussed ‘completive’ being a conceptual residue as a result of the attenuation of the physical sense. For (5–11) and (5–12), the GOAL-prominent feature of ‘completive’ is imminent, but since the stronger reading of ‘accessible’ is there, the GOAL-oriented nature is downplayed, unless a passive construction brings it to focus.

55 I do not claim that a dual reading caused by the passive construction occurs only between ‘completive’ and ‘accessible’. Some other senses, such as ‘approaching’ and ‘good’, which I cover later in this chapter, may bear such ambiguous semantic relation with ‘completive’ as well.



**Figure 5.1:** A second approximation to 'completive'

Based on this new connection between 'completive' and other senses established via the passive construction, the intertwined relation between 'completive' and other semantic clusters can be updated and pictorially shown as Figure 5.1.

In addition to 'accessible', there is another usage cluster that bears a complicated relation with 'completive', which I explicate below.

## 5.2 'More'

The meaning of 'more' for *up* has been extensively studied in previous literature. The motivation for the meaning derivation has been argued to be based on the experiential correlation of MORE IS UP (Boers 1994; Lindstromberg 1997; Tyler and Evans 2003). However, the nuts and bolts of how 'more' is instantiated in real usage events has not been covered, and so I will discuss it in this section.

### 5.2.1 'More' and the Meaning Criterion

The meaning of 'more' has distinctive semantic characteristics not found in the other semantic categories. Examples (5-15) and (5-16) are typical:

(5-15) *They make a lot of money and they plow it back in – both into the economic side of things, but also into political side of things and they build **up** more influence.*

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(5–16) *The global economy remains highly complex, interconnected and imbalanced. The Chinese still pile **up** surpluses and need to put them somewhere.*

In these two examples, the use of *up* denotes the trajectory of an entity that moves upward, not in the domain of SPACE but in QUANTITY. The entity that moves vertically higher as the tr of *up* in (5–15) is coded by *influence*, and in (5–16) the upward-going primary figure is *surpluses*.

As we compare this group of usage with those in Chapter 4, we do find an additional meaning not present elsewhere, since the above instances of ‘more’ consistently involve QUANTITY. The above semantic distinctiveness satisfies the Meaning Criterion of PP.

### 5.2.2 ‘More’ and its associated constructional schemas

As we saw in Chapter 4, patterning in both grammatical constructions and in concept elaboration reflects the image-schematic content that underlies the use of language, including the semantics of *up*. There are basically three possibilities in terms of what gets profiled in the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema: More often than not, PATH or GOAL receives more attention and in only few cases is SOURCE profiled.<sup>56</sup>

I found that all the examples of ‘more’ involve an NP that triggers QUANTITY, which can be classified into three constructional schemas in terms of profiling. I explore the details below.

#### 5.2.2.1 ‘More’ in a PATH-prominent constructional schema

In the corpus, the constructional schemas for *up* ‘more’ exhibit exclusive PATH-prominency. Specifically, at least one constructional schema exhibits such conceptual characteristic, which is [NP] – [V] – [UP]. (5–15) above and (5–17) below instantiate this schema in the domain of QUANTITY, where only PATH stands out, with SOURCE and GOAL remaining in the conceptual base.

(5–17) *Bob Rafelson had fortunately obtained Jack’s signature for another BBS film before the price went **up**...*

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56 This finding is in line with observations on the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema of motion events in previous literature (e.g. Ikegami 1987; Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004; Talmy 1985, 1996). Talmy (1985, 1996), for instance, claimed that it would be more likely to window just the PATH or the GOAL than just the SOURCE, which reflects the nature of human attention as being GOAL-biased.

As I mentioned earlier, in (5–15), the primary figure that moves vertically higher as the tr of *up* is encoded by *influence*. For this particular instance SOURCE and GOAL in the trajectory do not receive linguistic elaboration and do not play a significant role. In (5–17), the primary figure that goes upward in the domain of QUANTITY is the entity represented by the expression *price*. SOURCE and GOAL are not relevant here, either. PATH sticks out from the conceptual base and is highlighted, which is reflected by the use of *up*.

In (5–17), *up* is a directional adverb that modifies the verb *went*. In the symbolic assembly of *went up*, the adverb serves as the dependent predication, since a directional adverb describes the detailed manner of motion in a process. Accordingly, the adverb requires a verb to fill in the information gap to specify what kind of process the manner is a part of. On the other hand, a verb does not require an adverb to specify the manner of the process, since manner is usually only a concept peripheral to a process. Therefore, the extent to which *up* depends on the verb is obviously greater than the extent to which the verb depends on *up*. Thus, we can safely judge *up* to be the dependent predication and the preceding verb to be the autonomous one. However, since both *go* and *up* belong to the domain of SPACE, there will be no issue of cross-domain transfer for this symbolic assembly. But as we take a further step to analyze the more complex symbolic assembly of *the price went up*, the issue of domain mapping does come up. As has been discussed, the symbolic assembly *went up* typically triggers the domain of SPACE, but what combines with it, i.e. *the price*, prompts the domain of QUANTITY. As the autonomous predication when combined with a verb phrase, the NP *the price* induces a domain mapping from SPACE to QUANTITY in its dependent counterpart, *went up*.

Following from the above discussion, we find that for 'more' in [NP] – [V] – [UP], the NP triggers the domain of QUANTITY and should be considered the major source of concept elaboration in that particular constructional schema.<sup>57</sup> Below, I turn to another constructional schema that profiles SOURCE in addition to PATH.

### 5.2.2.2 'More' in a PATH- and SOURCE-prominent constructional schema

As has been mentioned in Chapter 4, in addition to PATH, in some cases, SOURCE is also in profile in the domain of SPACE. I observe that the same holds in the domain of QUANTITY. The above imagistic structure is represented by the constructional schema [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], instantiated by instance (5–18).

<sup>57</sup> This is not to deny the role of the verb in inducing metaphorical mapping. As we can see in some of the examples, verbs may indeed invoke QUANTITY, but the point is that even in cases where the verb could be argued to create a domain mapping, there is always an NP in the co-text that also triggers the metaphorical mapping. The pattern of concept elaboration of 'more' seems a bit different from what we can observe in some other usage events, where the verb plays the major role in concept elaboration. This point will become self-evident in the discussion of 'happy' below.

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(5–18) *Now, contract that muscle 20 times at approximately one squeeze per second. Build **up** from a set of 20 to two sets of 75.*

In (5–18), the subject NP is omitted in the imperative construction and does not correspond to the tr of *up*. The tr of *up*, understood in the context to be the number of muscle contractions, follows a vertical trajectory coded by *up*, with *a set of 20* as its SOURCE and *two sets of 75* as its GOAL. In addition to the frequently profiled PATH and GOAL, SOURCE is also prominent in this example, which is reflected by use of the PREP led by *from*.

As has been discussed in 5.2.2.1, the imagistic structure does not have to do with the metaphorical mapping that occurs between the domain of SPACE and QUANTITY to account for the meaning extension from ‘vertically higher’ to ‘more’. The cross-domain mapping is likewise prompted by the other lexical elements in the co-text of *up*. The complex symbolic assembly of *build up* is formed by joining two predications both typically belonging in the domain of SPACE, which is in turn joined by the PREP *from a set of 20 to two sets of 75*. If we further break down this PREP, we can identify NPs that invoke QUANTITY: *a set of 20* and *two sets of 75*. When combined with the prepositions, these NPs serve as autonomous predications and create a domain mapping from SPACE to QUANTITY in the prepositions. Therefore, since the NP in a PREP does the job of introducing the domain of QUANTITY, it makes sense to consider that also as an important source of concept elaboration for ‘more’.

### 5.2.2.3 ‘More’ in PATH- and GOAL-prominent constructional schemas

The third type of imagistic structure for ‘more’ profiles the path and the goal of the trajectory. This imagistic structure can be prompted by two constructional schemas. The first schema identified in the corpus is [NP] – [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], which is instantiated by (5–19) below.

(5–19) *I put it up for auction on eBay, for charity. Turns out, people actually bid– bid **up** to \$8,800.*

In (5–19), the primary figure that goes upward in the domain of QUANTITY is the price for something auctioned. The vertical trajectory has a relevant endpoint, which is elaborated by the PREPP led by *to*.

As I footnoted previously, a verb may also be a typical source of concept elaboration for ‘more’, as is illustrated by the occurrence of *bid* in (5–19). In the symbolic assembly of *bid up*, the predication *up* requires a verb to fill in its schematic slot to elaborate on the nature of the process that it modifies, while *up* is not an

obligatory part of the predication *bid*. Therefore, in this assembly, *bid* should be considered the autonomous predication and *up* the dependent one. As the verb combines with *up*, it induces a domain transfer from SPACE to QUANTITY in *up*, since the verb itself, meaning 'to raise the price of', invokes QUANTITY.

Therefore, as we have seen with the illustration of (5-19), in addition to the subject NP and the NP contained in the PREPP, a verb may also introduce QUANTITY and should be considered an important source of concept elaboration for *up* 'more'.<sup>58</sup>

After [NP] – [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], the second GOAL-prominent constructional schema for 'more' is [NP1] – [V] – [UP] – [NP2]. In this cluster of usage, the domain of QUANTITY is also involved, but compared to [NP] – [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], the conceptual endpoint of the second schema is not elaborated by a PREPP, but is implicitly prompted by one of the verbal arguments. Excerpts (5-20) and (5-21) are typical instances.

(5-20) *Oliver did sets of pushups and sit-ups. He'd built **up** the muscles in his arms and shoulders quite a bit...*

(5-21) *If you're a Clinton -- for the Clinton campaign. You know, they needed to not have him win 11 in a row and build **up** this huge mathematical delegate lead, and I think there are two interesting things to say about that.*

The figure that moves vertically higher in terms of quantity in (5-20) is the amount of muscles in someone's arms and shoulders as a result of exercise. In (5-21), the tr of *up*, the entity that follows an upward trajectory in the domain of QUANTITY, is *this huge mathematical delegate lead*, which generates an interpretation that a larger number of delegates has been accumulated as a result.

Note that the image-schematic structure that underlies (5-20) and (5-21) does not involve just PATH. In addition to PATH, its endpoint should also be considered prominent. In these particular cases, GOAL is prompted by the definite object NPs, which pose a limit to the progression of the event. As we discussed in 4.3, the definiteness of an argument of the verb may impose a boundary on how the event is construed and as a consequence may serve as the source of concept elaboration for 'completive'. In a similar vein, the definite verbal arguments in (5-20) and (5-21) subtly prompt an endpoint for the vertical trajectories in the domain of QUANTITY, with the GOAL-prominent imagistic structure being imminent in the conceptual base.

Some may still question the GOAL-prominency of (5-20) and (5-21), doubting the saliency of the endpoint focus in these two instances. But if we take a further

58 I addressed the role played by the NP in the PREP in 5.2.2.2 and established its potential to introduce the domain of QUANTITY. Here, I turn to the role played by the verb. But there is a good possibility that the NP and the verb may both contribute to prompt QUANTITY.

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look at the constructed counterparts of (5-22) and (5-23) below, the endpoint focus of (5-20) and (5-21) becomes clear.

(5-22) *Oliver did sets of pushups and sit-ups. He would build **up** muscles in his arms and shoulders quite a bit.....* (constructed)

(5-23) *If you're a Clinton -- for the Clinton campaign. You know, they needed to not have him win 11 in a row and build **up** a huge mathematical delegate lead, and I think there are two interesting things to say about that.* (constructed)

In (5-22), the indefinite NP, *muscles*, does not do the same work of creating an event boundary like its definite counterpart does in (5-20).<sup>59</sup> The interpretation of (5-23) is a person putting on some mass in some area, but the sentence does not specify the final state of certain muscle groups after a bulk-up. The demonstrative *this* in (5-21) does a similar job of delimiting the progress of event by imposing a boundary to the process of increasing. Replacement of the demonstrative with an indefinite article removes the boundary and leaves with (5-23) only the interpretation of the number of delegate getting higher.

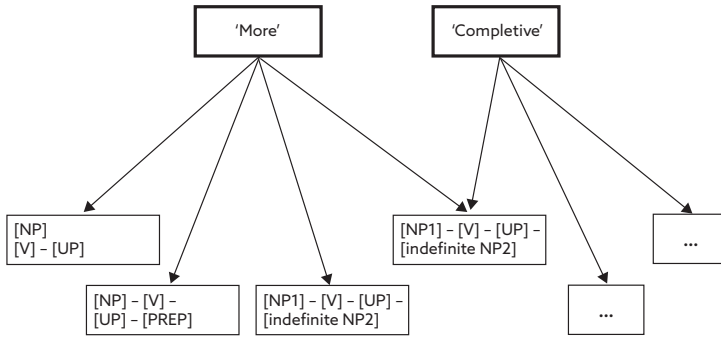
A comparison between the two GOAL-prominent constructional schemas reveals a very subtle difference in how *up* is to be interpreted in the constructions. For [NP] – [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], the endpoint of the PATH is explicitly elaborated by a PREPP, so it is still easy for one to attribute the salient endpoint focus to the PREPP as the source of concept elaboration. By contrast, for [NP1] – [V] – [UP] – [NP2], the endpoint focus is implicitly introduced by the definiteness of one of the verbal arguments, which may increase the possibility for one to attribute the endpoint focus to *up*. Therefore, in this constructional schema, it is not uncommon for *up* to pick up a dual reading between ‘more’ and ‘completive’. Figure 5.2 below pictorially summarizes our discussion above, where the dual reading of *up* between ‘more’ and ‘completive’ occurs in the construction of [NP1] – [V] – [UP] – [NP2] with a definite NP2.

After an exploration of the constructional schemas associated with ‘more’, I find that in addition to ‘accessible’, ‘more’ can also be linked with ‘completive’ via a particular constructional schema, which now facilitates a third approximation to ‘completive’. It turns out that ‘completive’ bears a semantic connection not only with ‘approaching’ and ‘accessible’ but also with ‘more’, and the connections are made possible by different constructional schemas. Figure 5.3 reflects this modification:

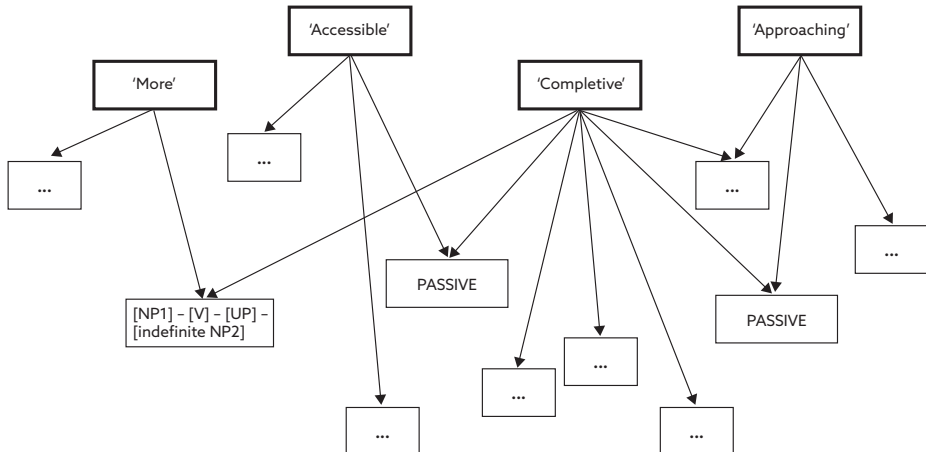
From the above discussion, two issues can be underlined. First and foremost, the grammatical constructions that participate in the usage cluster of ‘more’ are

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59 The endpoint focus in (5-20) could also be highlighted by the past participle. The point of our discussion here is simply that the definiteness of the NP could be another contributory factor in the GOAL-prominent feature of (5-20) and (5-21).



**Figure 5.2:** Dual interpretations of *up* between 'more' and 'completive' within certain constructional sub-schema



**Figure 5.3:** A third approximation to 'completive'

similar to those of 'vertically higher'. Therefore, the main difference between the two lies in whether the domain of QUANTITY is involved. As our discussion has shown, there are a couple of patterns of concept elaboration that may trigger QUANTITY. Based on Croft's (1993, 2006) insight, I generalize from my corpus that in a usage event that involves 'more', QUANTITY must be introduced either by the verb or by the NP in the co-text of *up*. Specifically, the domain mapping from SPACE to QUANTITY has to be induced by an autonomous predication that combines with *up* in the whole complex symbolic assembly. The second observation is that within one constructional schema, the readings of 'more' and 'completive'



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may co-exist. On one hand, the QUANTITY-related nature of the NP may induce a domain mapping in *up*, resulting in the meaning of ‘more’. On the other hand, the definiteness of the NP may impose an endpoint on the process so that the meaning of ‘completive’ is also imminent in the conceptual base. *Up* in this particular constructional schema illustrates the possible intricacy of how conceptual domains and image-schematic structures may collaborate to influence meaning in use.

### 5.2.3 Beyond the domain of QUANTITY into the event stricture level

The above discussion has sufficed to establish ‘more’ as a distinct sense based on PP, since it exhibits both an additional meaning and a distinct pattern of concept elaboration that invokes QUANTITY triggered by the verb or an NP in the co-text. However, some cases in our corpus seem to involve QUANTITY at a more abstract level. Compare (5–24) and (5–25) as an illustration.

(5–24) *Should they be speeding **up** because someone is behind them? Or, should they be slowing down because sooner or later their hectic pace will do them in?*

(5–25) *‘My uncle used to employ her. William Coombes. I do know her quite well.’ She sounded indignant and resentful, and he slowed **up** deliberately.*

An analysis of (5–24) following my argument in 5.2.2 would render a simple analysis that the reading of ‘more’ is based on MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN, and that the use of *up* in this particular instance is motivated by the construal of speed as an amount of physical objects. However, such explanation does not hold for (5–25), which also involves the notion of speed, as a conceptualization of speed as an amount of physical objects would turn the assembly of *slow up* into an anomaly.

I believe that an appropriate understanding of the pair has to be found at a very abstract level of “event structure metaphor” (Barcelona 2000; Lakoff 1993; Radden 2000), although the pair does involve MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN in a schematic way. In particular, I argue that to better understand (5–24) and (5–25), a couple of event structure metaphors should be involved. The first one is AN ATTRIBUTE (PROPERTY) IS AN OBJECT.<sup>60</sup> This can be instantiated by the sentence *I don’t have any luck* (cited from Radden 2000: 66). Following on from the metaphor, I further propose a more specific one, which is THE DEGREE OF A PROPERTY IS THE AMOUNT OF OBJECTS, which can be illustrated by *I may have more luck* (authentic, from the BNC). The above event structure metaphor, joined by MORE IS UP, results

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60 In Radden (2000), the conceptual metaphor is formulated as AN ATTRIBUTE (PROPERTY) IS A POSSIBLE OBJECT.

in A HIGHER DEGREE OF A PROPERTY IS A GREATER AMOUNT OF OBJECTS, which sanctions *up* in instances like (5-24) and (5-25).

This complex event metaphor gives (5-24) an alternative interpretation at a more schematic level than the domain of QUANTITY. In addition to a possible interpretation of 'more of quantity in terms of speed', *speed up* in (5-24) may alternatively mean 'a higher degree of speediness', and this result is brought about by a process initiated by the tr of *speed*. This schematic event structure account now renders the interpretation of (5-25) possible. Following the same line of argument, the combination of *slow up* may come to mean 'a higher degree of slowness' as a result of a speed reduction process.

Therefore, the experiential pattern MORE IS UP may be at play for (5-24) and (5-25), though in a highly abstract sense. In other words, what is at issue is not a real amount of entities but instead the intensity of a property metaphorically viewed as the amount of an entity.

The idea of relating the progress of an event to QUANTITY is not new. For instance, Lindner (1983: 194) insightfully proposed the idea of "abstract processed region", with which she argued that the progression of an event can be viewed as an abstract object processed, and that as the event unfolds, the abstract region gets larger. Citing Lindner, Boers (1994) similarly suggested that the use of *up* involved bringing the event to a degree of higher intensity on a scale of quantity. Following up on her proposal of processed region, Lindner argued that the goal state conveyed by completive *up* was reached as the processed region was congruent with, or closely approximated, the intrinsic capacity of the original abstract object. This observation corresponds to part of my previous claim in Chapter 4 that the endpoint of the GOAL-prominent *up* 'completive' may be specified by either a telic verb, a definite NP, or a PREPP in the co-text of *up*.

However, in spite of the above similarity, my analysis differs from Lindner's account in that I argue that the endpoint of the goal state is "subjectively" (Langacker 1985, 1987) and "contextually" (Cappelle 2005) determined. That is, I do not agree that the use of completive *up* necessarily has to involve a total completion of an event or a close approximation of the intrinsic event boundary. Instead, I propose that the goal state be subjectively and loosely defined and is inferable from contextual clues.

Let us return to the case of *slow up*, which was claimed to involve COMPLETION IS UP and to mean 'completive' from Lindstromberg's (1997: 188) point of view. In contrast, in my corpus, I do find instances of *slow up* that are modified by hedges such as *a little* or *a bit*, which are quite the opposite in meaning to the concept of total completion or approximation to the extreme claimed in the previous studies. Excerpts (5-26) and (5-27) are counterexamples against the previous analyses:

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(5-26) *Sixty yards. Hitch could hear shouting from the other boat, though most of the words were indistinct. He saw one man motioning animatedly with his arms, as if to deflect the other boat from its route. Forty yards. ‘Steady now,’ Hitch said and Morton slowed up a little more.*

(5-27) *I KNOW we went two-nil up quite early and three-nil up before half-time. Then the game slowed up a bit. But I scored the last two goals in the second half.*

Although as (5-26) and (5-27) show, completive *up* can be modified by semantically contradictory hedges, this fact calls for a more schematic explanation than the previous analyses rather than a total rejection of the accounts. In most cases of completive *up*, the interpretation of going to the extreme of a process may hold if not otherwise specified, and Lindner and Lindstromberg are certainly right about that “default interpretation”. But as we see in (5-26) and (5-27), the above generalization may not necessarily stand. These less typical examples can be incorporated to form a more satisfactory explanation only when the subjective and contextually-defined nature of completive *up* is taken into account.

Based on the above discussion, I take one further step to modify my previous analysis in Chapter 4. My revision first and foremost argues in line with Cappelle (2005) that the exact meaning of completive *up* is context-dependent, and that although in most cases, the particle does seem to mean ‘to an extreme or to an approximation of the extreme’ as Lindner (1983) and Lindstromberg (1997) claimed, the interpretation applies only to the prototypical situation. In order to accommodate less typical instances like (5-26) and (5-27), a more schematic definition for completive *up* needs to be sought.

To supplement my previous account, I propose the incorporation of an event structure metaphor that allows for a construal of the degree of a process as the amount of objects. Congruent with Lindner’s (1983) and Boers’ (1994) explanations, I establish a link between ‘more’ and ‘completive’, not via a direct involvement of the domain of QUANTITY but at a highly abstract level of event structure. The addition of the event structure metaphor facilitates the introduction of MORE IS UP, where the upper extreme or the event boundary is imposed by the immediate co-text, which may be elaborated by a definite NP, a PREPP, a telic verb, or even a degree adverb. As a process unfolds, the property associated with the processual predication becomes more intense and can be viewed as moving upward as the amount of abstract object increases.

The proposed account helps justify why *up* can be recruited as an aspectual particle in English. This account provides the conceptual motivation for why *up* has been chosen repeatedly in usage events, so that the directional adverb may undergo subjectification and is still able to retain its image-schematic content.<sup>61</sup>

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61 Up to this point, I have laid out the highly intricate association between ‘more’ and ‘completion’. The whole picture presented thus far is more complex than what was simplistically shown in

## 5.3 'Happy'

Another figurative meaning in the corpus that involves cross-domain mapping is 'happy', which invokes the conceptual domain of EMOTION. Below, I discuss this usage cluster in terms of the three criteria of PP.

### 5.3.1 'Happy' and the Meaning Criterion

To attest to the status of 'happy' as a distinct sense, we need to take a look at some instances to confirm its additional meaning not present in the other senses. Excerpts (5–28) to (5–30) are typical:

(5–28) *Enough of all the gloom and doom. Have another drink, Motherham, and cheer **up**.*

(5–29) *“And the biggest [o]p in the history of Ford Motors. My God, look at that grille; it’s ugly as sin.” She lightened **up** a bit with the banter.*

(5–30) *Here’s just the thing to liven **up** dull office meetings or family gatherings or to just scare the cat. The Vectron Ultralite flying saucer lifts off and flies without wires or tethers. [J]ust point the infrared controller (similar to your TV remote unit) at the Vectron, pull the trigger, and it will take off and hover.*

In all the above excerpts, EMOTION is clearly present, which is prompted by the verb in the constructional schema of [V] – [UP]. The tr of *up* in (5–28), coded by *Motherham*, moves vertically higher in the domain of EMOTION and as a result becomes better in terms of mood. In (5–29) and (5–30), the figure that follows an upward trajectory is people’s feeling and the surrounding atmosphere, which leads to a resultant state of a happier mood. Therefore, *up* 'happy' does form a distinct usage cluster that exhibits an additional meaning not present in the other established senses, and this satisfies the Meaning Criterion of PP.

### 5.3.2 'Happy' and its associated constructional schema

A structural commonality of 'happy' in the corpus is that it consistently appears in the construction of [V] – [UP]. In Chapter 4, I introduced a usage cluster of [V] – [UP] with only PATH profiled. I argue that 'happy' is similarly PATH-prominent as an extension from it.

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Figure 5.3 as a third approximation. It should become evident that a pictorial representation will fail to do justice to the entirety of what we have covered. In addition, the complexity of the semantic network of *up* presented so far demonstrates the dynamicity of language in use, which calls into question the meaningfulness of a purely quantitative analysis. The discussion so far, after all, reveals the vagueness of sense boundaries, with borderline cases all over the place that may invoke multiple constructional schemas and may belong to multiple semantic categories.

An important characteristic of ‘happy’ is that the meaning relies on its preceding verb as the autonomous predication that induces a domain mapping for concept elaboration. For *cheer up* in (5–28), *up* is the dependent predication and *cheer* the autonomous one, since as an adverb, *up* to a large extent invokes a verbal process that participates in it. In contrast, although the verb may also invoke a resultant state, its conceptual dependence on *up* is relatively weaker, since there are other more important roles (such as its arguments) that a verb may invoke. Therefore in (5–28), the verb *cheer*, which triggers EMOTION, induces a domain mapping in *up* for *up* to metaphorically represent the positive pole in the domain of EMOTION. In a similar vein, in the symbolic assembly of *lighten up* in (5–29), the autonomous predication of *lighten*, with its meaning being related to EMOTION, introduces this domain and creates the metaphorical reading for *up* to stand for a positive mood.<sup>62</sup> The metaphorical reading of *up* in the combination of *liven up* in (5–30) is similarly produced by the autonomous predication *liven*.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, ‘happy’ is indeed a distinct sense, based on the fact that this usage cluster shows an additional meaning not found elsewhere and that it invokes EMOTION triggered by the verb, which constitutes its own pattern of concept elaboration.

Below, I turn to another complex usage cluster that also involves a fuzzy boundary with ‘completive’.

### 5.4 ‘Good’

‘Good’ is another semantic category that I identified in the corpus, which involves GOOD IS UP in the domain of EVALUATION (Taylor 2003b: 339). The author proposes the experiential basis for ‘good’—that people tend to desire more money and more food, and that the experiential association between more quantity and positive evaluation motivates the extension of ‘good’ from ‘more’. I largely agree with the author’s claim that ‘good’ is an extension from ‘more,’ and I further propose that the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP is essentially a schematic pattern of thought with culture-specific details. I argue that, in English, it may be true that GOOD IS UP is abstracted from the ideas of more money being positive, more food being positive, etc. But in a different

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62 One of the meanings of the verb *lighten* is ‘to become more cheerful’, according to *Merriam Webster Online* (Access date: Jan 25, 2010). In addition to HAPPY IS UP, the example of *lighten up* may also invoke the metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (Kövecses 1991).

63 An interesting point is that the assembly of *liven up* is another clear case where *up* induces domain highlighting in the autonomous predication. With the meaning of its root *life* being ‘a quality that differs a vital being from a dead one’, the word *liven* is metonymically extended to mean ‘a certain kind of manner of a vital being’.

language (and a different cultural community), the specific details of what counts as good is language- or culture-specific. In Chinese, for instance, the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP also exists, but in addition to food and money, the number of descendants and the amount of luck may also constitute part of the experiential basis for GOOD IS UP. Therefore, although the resultant abstracted pattern of thought is universal, the details of how this general pattern is motivated in a language are dependent on the specifics of that particular linguistic community.

#### 5.4.1 'Good' and the Meaning Criterion

In the corpus, I identified a group of instances that reflect an additional meaning not present in the other semantic categories. (5-31) and (5-32) are typical.

(5-31) *I had so many clothes but my mother never said no to more. I was always keen on dressing **up** and going out to meet my friends.*

(5-32) *Not to mention the words they need to describe manufacturing processes, distribution systems, schedules, and sales performance. So whether your students are studying for exams or brushing **up** their English for professional reasons, this dictionary will deliver the answers -- often before the question has even been asked!*

In the above excerpts, the interpretation of *up* depends on the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP. In (5-31), the tr of *up*, which coincides with that of *dress*, also follows an abstract upward path in the domain of EVALUATION and finishes better-looking. Similarly, the tr of *up* in (5-32), *their English*, moves along the vertical dimension in the domain of EVALUATION so that it is evaluated to be more positive as a result.

Judging from the strong reading of 'good' that we saw in (5-31) and (5-32), this usage cluster does satisfy the Meaning Criterion of PP.

#### 5.4.2 'Good' and its associated constructional schemas

As can be seen from my analysis earlier in this chapter, no matter what grammatical construction *up* occurs in, the domain mapping is always induced by either an NP or the verb in its co-text. In the corpus, I also found such observation to stand for 'good', which I discuss below.

5.4.2.1 An NP as the source of concept elaboration for ‘good’

In my corpus, I found at least two types of grammatical constructions associated with *up* ‘good’: [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] and [V] – [UP] – [NP]. For both of these sub-schemas, an NP in the co-text of *up* always plays the vital role in introducing EVALUATION. Excerpts (5–33) to (5–35) exemplify this:

- (5–33) *The training of probation officers could continue and be included in the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work and the Diploma in Social Work courses, but if these do not measure **up** to required standards, they will be replaced with [a new] training syllabus put out to tender in the educational market place.*
- (5–34) *The department is leading the work set out by President Obama to close the detention facility at the Guantanamo Bay naval base. And to ensure that policies going forward for detention, for interrogation and transfer of detainees live **up** to our nation’s values.*
- (5–35) *Indeed, no sign possesses the power to win others’ hearts quite like a heart-ruled Leo, and this month is full of possibilities to build **up** your reputation and cultivate new allies.*

The instances (5–33) and (5–34) instantiate the GOAL-specifying [V] – [UP] – [PREPP], where the NP in the PREPP led by *to* induces a domain mapping from SPACE TO EVALUATION. In (5–33), it is unclear whether it is the verb *measure* (which is what joins *up* to form a larger assembly) that prompts EVALUATION. But if we look at the autonomous NP that combines with the dependent predication *to* in the PREPP that follows, we see that that the domain mapping from SPACE TO EVALUATION is induced by that particular NP, which is *required standards*. By the same token, in (34) we cannot be sure whether it is the verb that invokes EVALUATION, but it looks clear that EVALUATION in this instance is introduced by *our nation’s values*, which is the autonomous predication that joins the dependent predication *to* in the PREPP.

Example (5–35) instantiates a PATH-prominent [V] – [UP], which involves an object NP associated with EVALUATION. In this particular instance, as *up* joins the verb *build*, neither of the predications introduces GOOD IS UP. But as the complex assembly is combined with another one, *your reputation*, domain mapping is induced by the autonomous NP, *your reputation*, in the dependent predication *build up*. Remember that the VPC *build up* appeared in my discussion of ‘more’, where an NP in the co-text triggers the domain of QUANTITY. If we compare those examples with (5–35), it is straightforward that in these cases, the interpretation of *up* is influenced by the domain triggered by the NP. This comparison highlights the role of the NP in understanding the semantics of *up*.

### 5.4.2.2 The verb as the source of concept elaboration for 'good'

Between the two constructional schemas associated with 'good', I found that the PATH-prominent [V] – [UP] may contain a sub-group of usages that involves the verb as the source of concept elaboration. Specifically, I found that many verbs in this cluster contain an abstract meaning of 'to cause to become better'. Instances (5–31) and (5–32) presented above, and (5–36) below are such cases where the verbs invoke EVALUATION.

(5–36) *The Sun newspaper is to set up a service called 'Hard Views' aimed at 'cleaning up and improving the standards of journalism in television.'*

In (5–31), the verb *dress* 'put on outfit' frequently coincides with the purpose of making one better-looking or more presentable, and so invokes EVALUATION. It induces domain mapping in *up*, since the verb is the autonomous predication and the adverb the dependent one. Similarly, in (5–32), the verb *brush* 'apply brush to' often coincides with the idea of making something clean and pleasant to the eye. Given the A/D-alignment in the assembly, the verb triggers the domain transfer in *up* for the adverb to pick up an evaluative sense. Note that meanwhile, *up* also induces a domain highlighting in *brush* that creates a focus on the resultant state of the entity brushed being clean and presentable. The same conceptual operation happens to (5–36) as well, where in *clean up*, the asymmetry of conceptual autonomy and dependency allows *clean* to introduce EVALUATION to *up* and forms the source of concept elaboration for 'good'.

In addition to (5–31), (5–32) and (5–36), which are instances that typically prompt EVALUATION, I found instances that are less typically, if not peripherally, associated with this conceptual domain. The verbs in (5–37) and (5–38) are processes of communication, and their relation to EVALUATION is not as direct as in the above three instances. But these verbs may still serve as a valid source of concept elaboration for the evaluative meaning of *up*, even when the verbs are only distantly related to EVALUATION.

(5–37) *The Treasury Select Committee will have fun discussing the precise significance of that measure, which is another attempt to talk up the economy and persuade consumers that it is all right to spend now.*

(5–38) *He was the picture of success. They often wrote him up in the newspapers.*

In (5–37) and (5–38), the tr of *up* is the object NP taken by the verb, *the economy* and *him* respectively. The verbs of communication, which are *talk* and *write*, introduce EVALUATION and induce the domain mapping, based on the A/D-alignment. The domain mapping induces the tr to follow an upward path and to finish



vertically higher in the domain of EVALUATION, which contributes to the reading of the tr being positively evaluated as a result of such processes of reporting.

The discussion above shows that, in addition to the meaning not present in the other meanings, the semantic category of *up* ‘good’ does have its own pattern of concept elaboration. The source of the concept elaboration of ‘good’ is based either on an NP or on the verb in the co-text of *up* that serves as the autonomous predication, which induces domain mapping in *up* to create a metaphorical transfer from SPACE to EVALUATION. Therefore, since ‘good’ satisfies at least two criteria of PP, it has the status of a distinct sense.

### 5.4.3 Between ‘good’ and ‘completive’

Just as with the gray areas that I have addressed between ‘completive’ and some other meanings, I found a connection between ‘good’ and ‘completive’. Here, the role of the GOAL-prominent [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] associated with ‘good’ is important. Remember that in (5–33) and (5–34), it is the NP in the PREPP following *up* that creates a domain mapping from SPACE to EVALUATION. But as we look into the image-schematic structure that underlies the constructional schema, we see that an endpoint focus of the PATH is specified by the PREPP led by *to*. In other words, this grammatical construction imagistically represents that the tr of *up*, by moving vertically higher in the domain of EVALUATION, reaches an endpoint that is linguistically elaborated by the PREPP. Thus, [V] – [UP] – [PREPP] can be said to invoke two possible semantic representations—possibly a kind of ‘completive’ based on its imagistic structure, or a kind of ‘good,’ given the metaphorical mapping that is induced by the NP in the PREPP.

The second overlap that I have noticed in my corpus between ‘good’ and ‘completive’ arises again with the presence of past participles, such as in (5–39) and (5–40) below:

(5–39) *Having cleaned up at Lingfield, the Muddles took a circuitous route to Southwell to follow their dream of building a new super track.*

(5–40) *But, you know, they— they—[they’ve] dressed up for their jobs. They look well. They look like [they’re] interested.*

In (5–39) and (5–40), the verbs *clean* and *dress* invoke EVALUATION, and as a result, a domain mapping from SPACE to EVALUATION is induced in *up*. But a reading of ‘completive’ is also felt. The working is similar to what we saw in ‘accessible’, which overlaps with ‘completive’ via constructions that contain a past participle. The same holds between ‘good’ and ‘completive’. In particular, (5–39) and (5–40) can on one hand be seen as a kind of ‘good’, in the sense that the verbs

that precede *up* trigger the domain of EVALUATION to create a domain mapping that changes the reading of *up*. On the other hand, the examples can be seen as a kind of ‘completive’, since the past participle that precedes *up* imposes a posterior construal that highlights the GOAL-prominent feature of the trajectory for *up*.

## 5.5 Summary of the chapter

Summarizing this discussion of the metaphorical senses for *up*, Table 3 lists the distinct patterns of concept elaboration for each of the metaphorical senses:

	Grammatical profiling	Concept elaboration
‘Accessible’	--	Upward trajectory instantiated in the domain of COGNITION
‘More’	--	Upward trajectory instantiated in the domain of QUANTITY
‘Happy’	--	Upward trajectory instantiated in the domain of EMOTION
‘Good’	--	Upward trajectory instantiated in the domain of EVALUATION

**Table 3:** Distinct patterns of concept elaboration for the metaphorical senses of *up*

A comparison between the senses discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 reveals that the extension of meaning from the prototypical sense of ‘vertically higher’ follows two distinct, though often intertwined, mechanisms. Along one path, for ‘approaching’ and ‘completive,’ the meaning extension finds its root in the basic cognitive ability of viewpoint shift and in the attenuation of the physical sense. The source of concept elaboration is imagistic in nature for this route. On the other hand, the other meanings are extended by means of domain mapping that occurs in the process of joining smaller symbolic assemblies into a larger complex one. The source of concept elaboration comes from an autonomous predication in the co-text of *up*, which may be the verb that combines with *up*; an NP as an argument of the verb; or the NP in the PREPP.

## 5 The Metaphorical Senses of *Up*

Note that the two paths may merge with each other and may not be clear-cut. I discussed in Chapter 5 that ‘completive’ and some of the metaphorical meanings overlap in intricate ways. Such an overlap of semantic categories illustrates the fact that the above two cognitive mechanisms, i.e. image-schematic transformation and cross-domain mapping, operate not in an exclusive manner but in conjunction. In many cases where a cross-domain mapping and the GOAL-prominent feature co-exist at the conceptual level, it is usually the metaphorical reading that prevails, with the ‘completive’ reading remaining imminent unless it is somehow profiled (e.g. by a past participle).

These two different cognitive mechanisms, as well as the intricate semantic connections between ‘completive’ and the other senses, came to light only as a result of the employment of authentic data, which enables us to identify the bridging context between senses. My analysis also highlights that we should understand a sense as a conceptual commonality abstracted from a wide variety of usage events, which subsumes minor groups of usage events that can be described in terms of constructional schemas. With the discussions in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I have demonstrated that this way of linguistic description allows us to fully explore the semantic patterns of a lexical item and to identify possible connections between senses by way of breaking down distinct senses into minor groups of symbolic assemblies.