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46. *Up* (and *down*) as viewpoint constructions

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Polysemy has been a central issue in cognitive linguistics, with a sea of literature already addressing the topic in various languages. Among all polysemous lexical constructions, spatial terms are perhaps the most extensively studied. In English, *up* is the particle that has received most attention, partly for its relatively high frequency (Dehé 2002) and partly for its cognitive significance of elaborating the positive pole of the vertical dimension (i.e. the vertical schema in Johnson 1987). However, in the various works on the semantics of *up* in English (Boers 1994; Cappelle 2005; Lindner 1983; Lu 2011; Rudzka-Ostyn 2003; Tyler & Evans 2003), the viewpointing function of *up* has never been discussed in detail. Compare the following examples for illustration:

- (1) It was quiet in the harbor though and he sailed up onto the little patch of shingle below the rocks.
(authentic, from *Old Man and the Sea*)
- (2) It was quiet in the harbor though and he sailed down to the little patch of shingle below the rocks.
(constructed)
- (3) It was quiet in the harbor though and he sailed to the little patch of shingle below the rocks. (constructed)

The three examples present different takes on the same conceptual scene (i.e. a man sailing into a harbor). The narrator in (1) views the sailing event from within the harbor, seeing the skiff approaching. On the other hand, the narrator in (2) reports the event from outside of the harbor, seeing the skiff off into the harbor. The narration in (3) reports the motion event in a viewpoint-neutral way.

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However, a related question arises, as to why the narrator chooses to use *up* to encode his viewpoint, and to help the reader construe the scene. I claim that the choice is motivated by the flow of information in the narrative. Look at what happens afterwards.

- (4) There was no one to help him so he pulled the boat up as far as he could.

In the sentence that follows (1), the narrator continues to tell what happens on the shingle in the harbor. Therefore, we see that the narrator's use of *up*, which prompts a viewpoint also from within the harbor, creates a continuation of viewpoint in the narrative.

Note also that in the first half of (1), the narrator also tells the story from within the harbor, so the use of *up* is coherent with the rest of the passage. But had the narrator chosen to use either *down* or no viewpoint marker, the viewpoint structure in the entire passage would not be as coherent.

Interested readers are referred to Lindstromberg (2010: 191) and Lu (submitted) for a discussion of the conceptual motivation of *up* meaning 'approaching' and *down* 'departing'. Lu (in preparation) offers a full account of how *up* and *down* works as viewpoint constructions in literary narratives.

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