

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE MINAS GERAIS  
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**A FUNCTIONAL-COGNITIVE STUDY OF PARTICLE AND VERB IN  
'COME OUT'**

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'COME OUT'**

Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Linguísticos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, como requisito parcial para a obtenção do título de Mestre em Estudos Linguísticos.

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À minha família.

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## ABSTRACT

Taking into account that linguistic structures are highly motivated as opposed to completely arbitrary, the objective of this work was to analyze the multi-word verb COME OUT, so as to investigate how the verb and particle contribute to the meanings of this multi-word verb in the different contexts it is used. In order to do so, empirical data was collected from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and a random selection of 579 lines of concordances from all the occurrences of COME OUT was extracted by the software R. This multi-word verb was chosen due to the fact that it was the most frequent in the Corpus containing the particle OUT and a qualitative analysis was carried out. The notion of ‘image schema’ has been extended beyond that proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1987) and also comprises the notion of ‘spatial primitives’ and ‘schematic integrations’ (Mandler and Cánovas, 2014). Besides the concept of ‘image schema’, this study also attempted to investigate in what way the several meanings of the preposition OUT expanded from the spatial to the abstract domain, taking into account the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, including the notion of ‘primary metaphor’ (Grady, 1997), as well as applying the concepts of ‘Trajector’ and ‘Landmark’. Based on this theoretical framework, the research questions that guided this study were: in what way do the concrete and abstract meanings of OUT corresponded to the container schema?; does the identification of TR and LM reveal any patterns of OUT in COME OUT?; what is the relationship between earlier schematic structures [primitives] (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014) and the metaphorical language found in empirical data?; which conceptual metaphors underlie the mappings from the source to the target domains? The results suggested a strong relationship between the containment schema and the linguistic structures observed, not only in the concrete, but also in the abstract domains. However, the notion of container as a ‘bounded region’ does not seem compatible with the contexts analyzed for the particle OUT in the multi-word verb COME OUT. The empirical data pointed to an alignment between the first schemas (pre-verbal) and the formation of metaphorical structures resulting from these schemas.

**Keywords:** Multi-word verbs, Cognitive Linguistics, English Syntax, Prepositions.

## RESUMO

Partindo-se do pressuposto de que as estruturas linguísticas não são arbitrárias, mas altamente motivadas, este estudo analisou o *multi-word verb* COME OUT da língua inglesa, à luz da Linguística Cognitivo-funcional, para verificar como o verbo e a partícula contribuem para os sentidos desse *multi-word verb* nos diferentes contextos em que ele é empregado. Para tanto, dados empíricos foram extraídos do *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) e uma seleção aleatória de 579 ocorrências desse *multi-word verb* foi extraída pelo software R. A escolha desse *multi-word verb* deu-se em função dele ser o mais frequente no *Corpus* com a partícula OUT e uma análise qualitativa foi realizada. A noção de ‘esquemas imagéticos’ amplia-se para além daquela proposta por Lakoff and Johnson (1987) e inclui no arcabouço teórico no qual se baseia este trabalho a noção de ‘*spatial primitives*’ e ‘*schematic integrations*’ (Mandler and Cánovas, 2014). Além dos conceitos de ‘*image schema*’, este estudo investigou de que forma os muitos significados da preposição *OUT* se expandem do domínio espacial para o domínio abstrato, tendo em vista a teoria de metáforas conceituais, incluindo a noção de metáforas primárias (Grady, 1997), além de empregar os conceitos de ‘*Trajector*’ e ‘*Landmark*’. Com base nesse construto teórico, buscou-se responder às seguintes perguntas: de que maneira os significados concretos e abstratos de *OUT* correspondem ao esquema de contenimento?; a identificação do TR e LM podem revelar algum padrão para a partícula *OUT* em *COME OUT*?; há alguma relação entre as estruturas esquemáticas mais primitivas [‘*primitives*’] (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014) e a linguagem metafórica encontrada nos dados empíricos?; quais metáforas conceptuais subjazem os mapeamentos do domínio fonte para o domínio alvo? Os resultados indicaram para uma forte relação entre o esquema de contenimento e as estruturas linguísticas observadas, tanto no domínio concreto quanto no abstrato. Entretanto, a noção de container como uma região demarcada (*bounded region*) pareceu não ser compatível com os contextos observados para a partícula *OUT* no *multi-word verb* analisado. Os dados linguísticos apontaram para um alinhamento entre os primeiros esquemas (‘*primitives*’) e a formação de estruturas metafóricas advindas desses esquemas.

**Palavras-chave:** *Multi-word verbs*, Linguística Cognitiva, Sintaxe de Inglês, Preposições.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

- COCA** - Corpus of Contemporary American English  
**DD** - Discursive Domains  
**LM** - Landmark  
**TR** - Trajector

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years, numerous studies under the scope of Cognitive-Functional Linguistics framework have contributed considerably to the area as they encompass several dimensions of the language, such as social and cognitive, which tended to be neglected by other approaches to language. Unlike other language theories, Cognitive Linguistics assumes a non-modular perspective and the notion that general cognitive principles shared by language act together with other cognitive capacities. Moreover, an important principle of Cognitive Linguistics is that the investigation of the human mind cannot be separated from the body and that human experience, cognition and reality are conceived as being grounded in the body (Ferrari, 2011, p. 14).

Regarding multi-word verbs<sup>1</sup>, traditional accounts have always regarded these linguistic structures as an arbitrary combination of a verb and particle(s). The arbitrariness of multi-word verbs, however, has been firmly refuted by cognitive scholars who argue that the particles can contribute significantly to the meaning of the whole combination. In this study, I attempt to demonstrate that multi-word verbs are highly motivated as opposed to being completely arbitrary, when analyzed from a cognitive perspective. In order to do so, I rely on important notions introduced by Cognitive Linguistics theorists (Langacker, 1987; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Grady, 1997; etc.), such as “conceptual metaphors”, “trajector” (henceforth called TR) and “landmark” (henceforth called LM) and “image-schema”. The identification of TR and LM (Langacker, 1987, p. 217-218), for instance, can provide a better understanding of how the different versions of the particles in multi-word verbs may be interconnected, since the particles are relational units and they contain “schematic information” about the TR and LM (Oliveira, 2012, p. 20).

The starting point for the present work was an influential study regarding the semantics of the particles *up* and *out* in multi-word verbs carried out by Susan J. Lindner (1981). Her research consisted of a lexico-semantic analysis of Verb Particle Constructions (VPCs) with OUT and UP and her aim was to verify how these particles would contribute to the whole meaning of multi-word verbs. The author collected her data from different sources ranging from English

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, the term “multi-word verbs” is used to refer to a verb + one or more particles, either preposition or adverb.

dictionaries to spontaneous conversations and proposed three major subschemas for the particle OUT (“removal” (OUT-1), “expansion” (OUT-2) and “departure” (OUT-3)) and two major subschemas for the particle UP (“vertically higher” and “approach”).

Relying on Lindner’s (1981) findings, different scholars, such as Cook and Stevenson (2006) and Morgan (1997), also conducted studies on particles in multi-word verbs. The work done by Cook and Stevenson (2006) aimed at statistically determining the senses of the particle UP when used in multi-word verbs. Morgan (1997), on the other hand, analyzed the particle OUT in a few representative multi-word verbs revisiting Lindner’s examples and supplementing Lindner’s non-metaphorical analysis. Unlike Lindner (1981), though, Morgan (1997, p. 329) accounted for the contribution of the verb in the source domain of the VPC, which, according to her, may be either literally, metonymically, or metaphorically.

Still regarding the analysis of particles in multi-word verbs, Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) draws on Conceptual Metaphor Theory to explain the motivation for the different meanings. She focuses her analysis on the semantics of the particles and offers schematic representations of the categories involving the TR and LM relationship. Finally, Tyler and Evans (2003), although not investigating multi-word verbs, but focusing the study on the semantic of prepositions, provided a detailed account of how distinct senses of spatial particles derived from a ‘proto-scene’. In doing so, the authors also provided a diagram representing a ‘proto-scene’ for each particle as well as their functional element.

The described works and a number of other studies have relied on Cognitive Linguistics principles not only to try to explain the motivation for the polysemous nature of multi-word verbs, but also for their syntactic behavior. Due to the relevance of such studies, I propose to analyze the particle OUT in the multi-word verb COME OUT and to contribute with some insights concerning the different meanings that emerge from its use. In order to do that, I will account for Lindner’s (1981) research but, unlike her, I will gather data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), from written and spoken language. The reason for doing so is that a Corpus as large as COCA might provide instances of use that are likely to be contextually more enriching, as there is a considerable set of data to be analyzed.

Furthermore, the investigation of the particle OUT in multi-word verb COME OUT as proposed here will be distinctive from Lindner’s study in respect to the amount and quality of

the data gathered, since she looked into 600 cases in English with the particle OUT, whereas this research will be carried out by analyzing the lines of concordances for a single multi-word verb with OUT provided by a search on COCA.

Finally, the results in this study may also shed light on the teaching of multi-word verbs to non-native speakers, considering that the complexity involved in the semantics and syntax of these structures can be extremely challenging for non-native speakers of English to learn, as demonstrated by several studies (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999); Kovács (2007); Barbosa (2015), etc.) carried out with theoretical and empirical data about the topic, not only in English but also in other languages that have the same kind of verbal configuration for verb and particles. According to Rudzka-Ostyn (2003, p. 3), a major problem for non-native speakers of English is “gaining insight into the meaning(s) of the particles and understanding why one particle is used and another is not”. Barbosa (2015), in her study about the teaching of the preposition *über* in Germany based on image-schema and conceptual metaphors, investigates the use of classroom exercises which rely on these concepts of Cognitive Linguistics and concludes that they can be very effective tools to help students understand the meanings of the preposition *über*. She also provides examples of other authors’ work, such as Bellavia (2007) and Littlemore (2006), among others, whose studies demonstrated how students’ learning can be facilitated by a pedagogical approach based on Cognitive Linguistics principles.

Thus, taking into consideration that the polysemy of multi-word verbs may be motivated by cognitive processes, this study will aim at deepening the existing knowledge about the potential meaning of verb and particle in the multi-word verb COME OUT in the different contexts it is used. In addition to that, I will attempt to describe the processes that motivate the extended meanings of this multi-word verb. In order to do that, the following questions will be addressed:

- 1) In what ways do the concrete and abstract meanings of OUT in COME OUT correspond to the CONTAINER schema?
- 2) How does the identification of TR and LM in COME OUT help reveal the corresponding major schemas of verb and particle?

- 3) What is the relationship between the schematic structures [primitives] Mandler & Cánovas, 2014) formed in infancy and the metaphorical language found in empirical data for COME OUT?
- 4) Which conceptual metaphors underlie the mappings from the source to the target domains in COME OUT?

With regard to the structure of this work, it will be organized in six chapters, “Introduction” being the first one. In this first chapter, a characterization of the research under the scope of Cognitive Linguistics will be provided, as well as the objectives that will guide the present study.

Chapter two introduces some key fundamentals regarding Cognitive Linguistics theoretical approach. It will account for the notions of TR and LM and will discuss the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, starting from a presentation of the first concepts brought by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) followed by the concept of primary metaphor proposed by Grady (1997) as a development of the theory. The notion of image schemas, which is crucial for this research, will be briefly discussed in order to provide an account of its complexity and the issues related to the term.

The third chapter will review some important work done on the semantics of particles and multi-word verbs, relying on of Cognitive Linguistics principles. Among them is the research conducted by Susan Lindner (1981), which has encouraged many other studies since its publication due to its relevance in the area. Additionally, Tyler and Evans’ (2003) study on the semantics of English prepositions will provide valuable insights for the present work, as it accounts for the different senses of the spatial particles derived from their sanctioning sense. Finally, I will discuss Morgan’s (1997) paper, which revisited Lindner’s (1981) research so as to address the metaphorical motivation of verbs and complement some of Lindner’s findings.

Chapter four will discuss the methodology applied in the present study, primarily discussing the *Principled Polysemy Model* suggested by Tyler and Evans (2003), which intends to reduce subjectivity in accounting for the polysemous nature of multi-word verbs and particles.

The fifth chapter “Data analysis and results” will provide an examination of instances of *come out* and will attempt to organize these uses into distinct semantic categories. In doing so, some



of the metaphors that may have motivated the extended meanings of the multi-word verb will be listed and described. A semantic network showing the primary sense of COME OUT as well as some possible extended meanings will be also provided.

Finally, chapter six will point out the conclusions led by the research findings as well as some implications for the teaching of multi-word verbs to non-native speakers of English.

## 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As previously stated, this study relies on Cognitive Linguistics principles. Before discussing the notions of conceptual metaphor, image schemas and TR and LM, which are fundamental in the proposed analysis, I briefly review what the major areas of Cognitive Linguistics are and its two key commitments.

### 2.1 Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth called CL) is a relatively recent approach to language investigation, which emerged in the 1980s as a consequence of some scholars' dissatisfaction with the models available at the time. Among its most prominent scholars are George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, Leonard Talmy and Gilles Fauconnier, who attempted to explain the connection between form and function, syntax and semantics through their work. This theoretical approach to language found support in other cognitive sciences, such as Philosophy, Psychology and Neurosciences, and it searches to establish a relationship between the functioning of the mind and bodily experiences. CL proposes that language, rather than being an autonomous module in our mind, shares with other cognitive capacities such as memory, perception, attention, categorization and so forth, more general processes in order to be produced. Such capacities not only apply to language but are human beings' general cognitive mechanisms.

Cognitive Linguistics comprises two major areas: Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive approaches to grammar (Evans, 2007). Some models of grammar have been proposed by Leonard Talmy (2000), Langacker (1987 and 1991), Charles Fillmore (Fillmore et al., 1988) and Adele Goldberg, who developed a constructional approach to grammar. As far as Cognitive Semantics is concerned, Evans (2007) includes among the most prominent theoretical constructs in this branch the “image schema theory” (Mark Johnson, 1987; Jean Mandler, 1992, 1996, 2004), “encyclopaedic semantics” (Charles Fillmore, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985; Ronald Langacker, 1987), “categorization” (Eleanor Rosch, 1975, 1977, 1978), “Idealized Cognitive Models – ICMs” (George Lakoff, 1987), “conceptual metaphor theory” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Grady, 1997; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) and “mental spaces theory” (Gilles Fauconnier, 1985, 1994, 1997). Moreover, one of the guiding principles for this area of

CL is that conceptual structure is embodied (Evans, 2007). The world is experienced through embodiment (and perception) and these experiences give rise to our conceptual system. The notion that human language reflects conceptual structures that are connected to humans' bodily experiences is, therefore, an important assumption of CL.

Another important premise of CL is that meaning is a cognitive construction. Meaning is constructed through means of real communicative interactions, i.e., lexical items are just points of access for meaning to be built upon context guidance. This refers to the encyclopaedic nature of meaning as opposed to the dictionary view (Ferrari, 2011, p. 18-19). According to Evans (2007, p. 8), "the conventional meaning associated with a particular linguistic unit is simply a 'prompt' for the process of meaning construction: the 'selection' of an appropriate interpretation against the context of the utterance". So as to discuss the encyclopaedic nature of meaning, Ferrari (2011) provides, as example, the particle "em" in Portuguese language used in these utterances:

- 1) a. *O doce está na caixa.* [The sweet is in the box.]
  - b. *Coloquei as flores no vaso.* [I've put the flowers in the vase]
  - c. *Tem um risco na porta da geladeira.* [There's a scratch on the fridge door]

Like the particle IN in English, "em" relates two entities, one being contained by the other. The author argues that in (1a), the TR "doce" (the sweet) is assumed to be totally contained by the LM "caixa" (box). However, in (1b) the TR "flowers" is only partially contained by the LM "vaso" (vase). Finally, in (1c), there is no containment involved in that relation, as the TR "risco" (scratch) is on the surface of the refrigerator door. Ferrari (2011) proposes, then, that the meaning of this preposition emerges depending on the meaning of the other linguistic components and, hence, does not have a fixed meaning. Likewise, Evans (2007, p. 9) states that meaning construction involves the selection of a meaning "that is appropriate in the context of the utterance". To illustrate this point he provides an example discussed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), considering a context in which a child plays on the beach:

- 2) a. *The child is safe.*
  - b. *The beach is safe.*
  - c. *The shovel is safe.*

According to Evans (2007, p. 9), the word “safe” does not assign any “single fixed property” to the words “child”, “beach” and “shovel”. As for (2a), we should interpret the sentence in a way that “the child will not come to any harm” (Evans, 2007, p. 8). (2b) and (2c), on the other hand, do not have the same interpretation, since they do not mean that either the beach or the shovel will come to harm, instead they mean, respectively, that the “beach” is not dangerous for the child and the “shovel” cannot inflict harm to the child. Thus, he identifies the encyclopaedic nature of meaning representation as another guiding principle in Cognitive Semantics.

The research in Cognitive Semantics and cognitive approaches to grammar is guided and oriented by two key commitments: The 'Generalization Commitment' and the 'Cognitive Commitment'. Evans (2007, p. 4) states that the 'Generalization Commitment' concerns the investigation of “how the various aspects of linguistic knowledge emerge from a common set of human cognitive abilities upon which they draw, rather than assuming that they are produced in encapsulated modules of the mind”. One example Ferrari (2011, p. 25) provides is the study of polysemy, which occurs not only in lexicon, but is also present in morphology and syntax. To illustrate the polysemy in morphology, she provides an example of the augmentative suffix *ão* in Portuguese, analyzed by Gonçalves et al. (2009):

- |     |                           |  |
|-----|---------------------------|--|
| (3) | a. bigodão [big mustache] | TAMANHO [SIZE]   |
|     | b. pratoão (big dish)     | QUANTIDADE DE COMIDA [QUANTITY OF FOOD]                    |
|     | c. abração (big hug)      | INTENSIDADE [INTENSITY]                                    |
|     | d. resmungão (big grump)  | ITERATIVIDADE/PEJORATIVIDADE<br>[ITERATIVITY/PEJORATIVITY] |
|     | e. filmão (great film)    | AVALIAÇÃO POSITIVA [POSITIVE<br>EVALUATION]                |

The author argues that the suffix can add different meanings to its base, but despite these differences, the meanings can be related as they share some kind of increase in size (Ferrari, 2011, p. 25). Besides this example of polysemy in morphology, Ferrari (2011) also illustrates the phenomenon of polysemy in the lexicon, by presenting an analysis of the verb “ter” [*have*] in Portuguese carried out by Pinheiro (2009).

Finally, the polysemy in syntax is substantiated by the analysis of Goldberg (1995) for the ‘caused motion’ construction. As seen by the examples of polysemy in different aspects of language (lexicon, morphology and syntax), CL assumes the same ‘general principles’ can be applied to all levels of linguistic analysis (Ferrari, 2011, p. 23).

As per the Cognitive Commitment, it refers to the engagement of CL in aligning its hypothesis with the studies of other disciplines that also research the brain and the mind (Ferrari, 2011, p. 26). According to Evans (2007, p. 4), the Cognitive Commitment

represents a commitment to providing a characterization of the general principles for language that accord with what is known about the mind and brain from other disciplines. It is this commitment that makes cognitive linguistics cognitive, and thus an approach which is fundamentally interdisciplinary in nature. (Evans, 2007, p. 4)

By briefly presenting the major areas of study and the two key commitments of CL, this section attempted to demonstrate the importance of this approach to language for the present analysis. In the next sections, I will discuss some of the theoretical constructs under the scope of CL that were considered fundamental for the investigation of the semantics of COME OUT, namely ‘image schemas’, ‘conceptual metaphor theory’ and ‘trajector’ and ‘landmark’.

## 2.2 Image Schemas

Image schemas are patterns that emerge from repeated bodily experiences and our interaction with the world (Johnson, 1987). Although the term image suggests visual perception, ‘image schemas’ seem to arise by means of all sensory and perceptual experiences. Johnson (1987, p. 29), in his book *The Body in the Mind*, defines a schema as “a recurrent pattern, shape and regularity in, or of, ongoing ordering activities”. In addition, Johnson (1987, p. 29) states that “these patterns emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions”. His theory attempts to demonstrate that there is a link between human beings’ embodied experiences and linguistic abilities.

Ferrari (2011, p. 86-87) argues that these mental abstract structures reflect domains, such as CONTAINER, TRAJECTORY, FORCE and BALANCE, which are responsible to structure

our embodied experience. Johnson (1987, p. 29) explains that 'image schemas' also serve the purpose of organizing humans' experience so that the process of understanding evolves. In order to show how these structures consist of “active organization of representations into meaningful, coherent units”, Johnson (1987, p. 30-31) considers the IN-OUT orientation, which is part of everybody's ordinary day. These examples comprise not only physical orientation in space, but also abstract non-spatial relations:

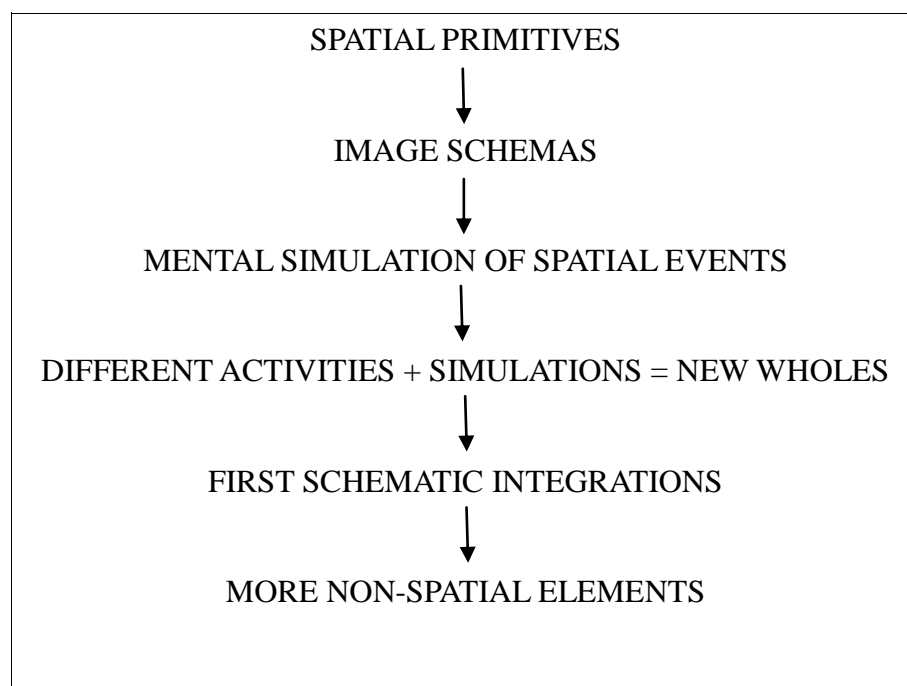
You wake *out* of a deep sleep and peer *out* from beneath covers *into* your room. You gradually emerge *out* of your stupor, pull yourself *out* from under covers, climb *into* your robe, stretch *out* your limbs, and walk *in* a daze *out* of the bedroom and *into* the bathroom. You look *in* the mirror and see your face staring *out* at you. You reach *into* the medicine cabinet, take *out* the toothpaste, squeeze *out* some toothpaste, put the toothbrush *into* your mouth, brush your teeth *in* a hurry, and rinse *out* your mouth. (Johnson, 1987, p. 30-31)

*Walking out of a bedroom and reaching into the cabinet medicine* can be accounted as examples of experiences in the physical domain, whereas *waking out of a deep sleep and emerging out of stupor* seem establish a non-spatial relation. These uses of *in* and *out* to describe the various experiences in our daily lives show how the image schema of CONTAINER pervades language.

By focusing on developmental research, Jean Mandler & Pagán Cánovas (2014) argue that studies about 'image schema' did not take into account how the conceptualization of spatial scenes begins in the infants' minds, or how this conceptual mind develops and changes as language starts being produced. According to them, Lakoff and Johnson's theory does not distinguish information about the world that result from perception, action or the internal feelings involved in actions, which would require more clarification of the term 'embodiment'. As a consequence, when discussing how pre-verbal conceptualization influences language, Mandler & Pagán Cánovas (2014) propose three types of cognitive structures: 'spatial primitives', considered to be the first building blocks (e.g. CONTAINER); 'image schemas', which are defined as representations of simple spatial events using 'primitives' (e.g. THING INTO CONTAINER); and 'schematic integrations', which uses the other types of cognitive structures to build concepts that would include non spatial elements. The authors argue that these three structures are different in terms of “their content, their development origins and their imageability”, i.e. the ability to form a mental image. Accordingly, Mandler & Pagán Cánovas (2014) propose that the term 'image schema' should be reconsidered as it is one of the three types of cognitive structures which comprise the early conceptual system.

'Primitives' and 'image schemas' are the most basic structures as babies focus their attention mainly on motion and path along space with emphasis on containment and occlusion. As per 'schematic integrations', these are formed a little later in infancy when feelings and other sensations, which are non-spatial elements, are combined with the more basic structures. The following diagram summarizes the steps suggested by the author on how the three cognitive structures are conceptualized by infants.

**Table 1:** Sequential steps on the formation of cognitive structures by infants (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014)



Source: the author's own elaboration (2016), based on (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014)

The diagram shows that 'image schemas' are created after the first 'primitives' have already been built. Once 'image schemas' are formed, they allow infants to perform mental simulations of spatial events such as “thinking about something in its absence” (Mandler & Pagán Cánovas, 2014, p. 10), and that would involve making an image of something ('imagery'). From that point on, it would be possible to use an 'image schema' in a similar way to understand something, an event that Mandler & Pagán Cánovas describe as “mapping a familiar schematic structure onto something different in an attempt to understand it” (Mandler & Pagán Cánovas, 2014, p. 11). Other non-spatial, more abstract concepts like 'force', 'time' and 'emotion' are finally integrated to the 'image schemas' and form the first 'schematic integrations'. As proposed by Mandler & Pagán Cánovas (2014, p. 19), throughout people's

lives these blends continue to incorporate more non-spatial elements, which will remain unable to be imaged even in adult life, for example the existing force in a car crash.

Building on the spatial primitives, the ability to create image schemas enables infants to run mental simulations of spatial events. Then the ability to connect disparate experiences with these simulations and integrate them into new wholes produces the first schematic integrations, which gradually incorporate more and more non-spatial elements. Non-spatial elements still cannot be imaged, even for adults; one can think about a car crash and even shudder while doing it, but the simulation will show the break-up of the car, not the force that causes it. (Mandler & Pagán Cánovas, 2014, p. 19)

As per the CONTAINER schema, Evans (2007, p. 9-10) points out that, in Mandler's terms,

the CONTAINER image schema is more than simply a spatio-geometric representation. It is a 'theory' about a particular kind of configuration in which one entity is supported by another entity that contains it. In other words, the CONTAINER schema is meaningful because containers are meaningful in our everyday experience (Evans, 2007, p. 9-10).

Very early in life, infants begin to conceptualize CONTAINMENT. They are very attentive to actions of things or people going in and out of containers and “at some point they understand themselves as containers” as well but they are “still making no connection between what comes in and what is eliminated” (Mandler & Pagán Cánovas, 2014, p. 7). However, as Mandler & Pagán Cánovas point out, it is common in CL to represent CONTAINMENT as having bounded region in space. This theoretical assumption is not in correspondence with data collected from research with infants, which show that this is not how they conceptualize CONTAINERS:

The static, abstract definition of a container as a bounded region in space, commonly accepted in cognitive linguistics, does not correspond to the image schemas formed by infants, who primarily attend to motion into and out of containers, rather than worrying about regions and boundaries.” (Dewell, 2005 *apud* Mandler & Pagán Cánovas, 2014, p. 7)

Mandler & Pagán Cánovas (2014, p. 6) also state that infants pay more attention to the action of going in and out of a container than the container itself. The authors suggest that these early experiences are the basis for the notion of amount being not relevant to containers. For that reason, characteristics such as size or limits of a container would not be as objects of attention as the fact that things or people go in and out of containers. One way to substantiate this thesis is to verify whether the instances of the particle OUT in empirical data will show that the schema of CONTAINER reflects any relevance regarding the aspect of a container



with bounded region in space. The findings in this work seem to suggest that infants' early conceptualization of CONTAINMENT maintain its characteristics mainly in the use of metaphors and are more important than the concept of CONTAINER with a bounded region in space. As a consequence, the 'quantity' aspect becomes irrelevant as well and the container not big enough to hold an object.

Thus, a question posed by Mandler & Pagán Cánovas (2014) aims at bringing about the discussion whether the earliest and developmentally most relevant schemas are also the most productive in language. As far as the CONTAINER schema is concerned, the answer to that question tends to be positive, as the discussion of the findings in the present study showed.

### 2.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Through studies carried out by cognitive researchers - Lakoff & Johnson (1980); Lakoff (1987) - metaphors started to be viewed from a cognitive perspective as a crucial process used by language to go from concrete to abstract domains. The starting point for what came to be known as Conceptual Metaphor Theory was the book *Metaphors We Live By*, written by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, in 1980. A conceptual metaphor, according to Kövecses (2010, p. 4) “consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another” and that “a conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience”. Thus, considering the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, Lakoff (2006, p. 189) argues that a love relationship can be described and reasoned about, as example, in the following ways:

- Our relationship has hit a *dead-end street*.
- Look *how far we've come*.
- It's been a *long, bumpy road*.
- We can't *turn back* now.
- We're at a *crossroads*.
- We may have to *go our separate ways*.
- The relationship isn't *going anywhere*.
- We're *spinning our wheels*.

- Our relationship is *off the track*.
- The marriage is *on the rocks*.
- We may have to *bail out* of this relationship.

According to Lakoff (2006, p. 189), there is a general principle, which is part of the conceptual system, that makes it possible for us to understand the domain of love in terms of the domain of journeys. Regarding the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, Evans and Green (2006, p. 295) point out that

what makes it [the metaphor] conceptual (rather than purely linguistic) is the idea that the motivation for the metaphor resides at the level of conceptual domains. In other words, Lakoff and Johnson proposed that we not only speak in metaphorical terms, but also think in metaphorical terms. From this perspective, linguistic expressions that are metaphorical in nature are simply reflections of an underlying conceptual association. (Evans and Green, 2006, p. 295)

In the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the concrete domain is referred to as the “source” domain while the abstract domain is called the “target” domain. Kövecses (2005, p. 4) states that “the target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain”. The correspondence between the source domain and the target domain occurs through what is referred to as mappings. According to Lakoff (2006, p. 189), mappings are “tightly structured” and that “there is a set of ontological correspondences” that characterize them. For the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, for instance, Lakoff (2006, p. 189) exemplifies the mapping as follows:

- The lovers correspond to travelers.
- The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle.
- The lovers’ common goals correspond to their common destinations on the
- journey.

With the development of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, however, many scholars (e.g., Cameron, 2010; Deignan, 2008) have argued against the fact that the theory does not account for language in use, that too much emphasis is given to thought and that the data is intuitive in general. Despite those arguments, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been strongly

accepted among cognitive researchers, although some of its fundamental constructs have been elaborated since the release of *Metaphors We Live By*.

In view of this new approach to metaphor theory, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1999) have also refined their theory in their book *Philosophy in the Flesh* adding the distinction between 'Primary Metaphors' and 'Complex Metaphors'.

## 2.4 Primary Metaphors

The term 'Primary Metaphor' was coined by Joseph Grady (1997) in his work *Foundations of Meaning: Primary Metaphors and Primary Scenes*, where he raised some important questions concerning the traditional view of conceptual metaphor, that according to him, were left unanswered. Some issues he addressed involve, for instance, a better understanding of the fact that not all elements of a domain correspond to the elements in the other – he calls it *poverty of the mappings*. In addition to that, he questions the lack of experiential motivation to explain many metaphors used in the literature as examples of cross-domain mappings. Grady (1997) suggests that the analysis of conceptual metaphor should account for more basic events, such as 'primary scenes'. He argues that, due to cognitive abilities, repeated experiences including their perceptual aspect, such as lifting an object, give rise to conceptual structures, which he named *primary scenes*:

(...) *primary scenes* are minimal (temporally-delimited) episodes of subjective experiences, characterized by tight correlations between physical circumstance and cognitive response. They are universal elements of human experience, defined by basic cognitive mechanisms and abilities, which relate in some salient sense to goal-oriented interaction with the world. The paired experiential dimensions of which they are composed are *subscenes*.” (Grady, 1997, p. 24)

According to Grady (2007), primary scenes will give rise to two distinct concepts: primary source and target concepts. Their characteristics differ considerably from the characteristics of source and target domains offered in the former conceptual metaphor theory. Grady's theory proposes that it is the mappings involving the primary scenes which allow for simple metaphorical expressions. He defines primary metaphors as the ones “which have a direct experiential basis, and which motivate highly predictable sets of data” (Grady, 2007, p. 47). He also argues that more complex metaphors may be compounds of these primary metaphors.

Another important point made by Grady (2007) refers to the notion of image schema and its role on metaphorical mappings. The author argues that the accounts of image schema in the literature provide far too abstract and too extensive a concept as opposed to the 'minimal', basic aspect of primary scenes. Moreover, he states that

At the level of the primary metaphor it is clear though (...) that target concepts cannot be characterized as having image-schematic structure. Given that target concepts do not have image-schematic structure per se, any claims that metaphoric mappings are constrained by image-schematic structure of the target concept would obviously have to be rephrased. I propose that if the term *image-schema* is reserved for those schemas which do have image content, then we need another term for the type of "super-schematic" structure shared by source and target concepts of primary metaphor. (Grady, 1997, p. 162-163)

The relevance in discussing the terminology for 'image-schema' refers to the fact that the present study is within the framework of the CONTAINER schema. In order to demonstrate that image-schema is more abstract than primary scenes, Grady (1997, p. 185) discusses Johnson's (1987) account of containment, such as our bodies, rooms, and so on, saying that "the schematic mental representation of containment relationships" is likely to account for all these containment representations. However, "the types of experiences from which such a relationship would be abstracted are too different to be considered instances of the same experience type" (Grady, 1997, p. 185). In conclusion, Grady considers primary scenes to be more basic structures than image-schema, as some metaphorical expressions that are apparently motivated by the containment schema do not seem to share many properties regarding experiential motivation, besides having different aspects of containment highlighted.

Given the importance of this new view on the emergence of conceptual metaphors, Lima (2006) analyzed some of Grady's (1997) proposed metaphors (DESIRE IS HUNGER, ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, DIFFICULTY IS HEAVINESS, ANALYZING IS CUTTING, CONSIDERING IS WEIGHING and EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PROXIMITY), taking into account the different nature of this new approach. The scholar addresses and discusses some of the main issues concerning the source and target domains, the primary principles of the construct and the licensing of metaphorical expressions.

With regard to the characteristics of source and target domains, Lima (2006) claims that in the former view these domains would range from the most schematic (e.g. vertical elevation) to the most vivid (e.g. cooking), whereas in Grady's view "they are narrower, more localized domains of experience, with very specific characteristics" (Lima, 2006, p. 111). She summarizes the characteristics of primary source and target domains as follows:

**Table 2:** Grady's (1997) characteristics of Primary Source and Target domains

PRIMARY SOURCE DOMAINS	PRIMARY TARGET DOMAINS
They have image content.	They do not have image content; they involve responses of the sensory input.
They do not involve many details or scenes.	
They must be tightly correlated with some other experiential domain (co-occurrence of experiences).	They are as familiar as the source domains since they are common, recurrent experiences.
They should be inherent to human experience (i.e. they are not learned).	
They are relational, not nominal concepts (e.g. they refer to properties of things, relation among things or actions involving things, but not the things per se).	They refer to basic units of cognitive function, at the levels we have conscious direct access.

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016), based on Lima (2006)

As previously stated, in contrast to the former view of conceptual metaphor theory that considered the image schema as its fundamental construct, Lima (2006, p. 115) argues that in Grady's (1997) view it is the primary scene. As the primary scenes are defined as "more local structures, motivated by particular moments in our experiences", the instances involving the container image schema comprise many primary scenes and, as a consequence, give rise to distinct metaphors. One important issue raised by Lima (2006) concerning Grady's (1997) theory of primary metaphors relates to the fact that cultural aspects are not relevant, as primary metaphors "are part of our universal human experience" (Lima, 2006, p. 116). Lima (2006), however, holds that several languages should be studied, so as to verify whether different cultures conceptualize the same co-occurrent experiences and generate similar primary metaphors.

Finally, as per the licensing of metaphorical expressions, the former view believes that it is the mapping between domains that gives rise to metaphorical expressions. However, some mappings occurred between very generic or complex domains and the primary scenes were impossible to be identified. As a consequence, Grady (1997) proposed that the licensing of metaphorical expressions is a result of the mappings of primary scenes. Even so, in her analysis, Lima (2006) still considered Grady's (2007) ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE primary metaphor as an example of a mapping between domains that are too generic to account for all types of physical objects to be mapped onto the domain of organization.

Despite the unresolved issues regarding this new view of conceptual metaphor, it has contributed greatly to the development of the theory and is central to the present work, since it helps to explain the different meanings for the object of this analysis. In the next section, I discuss some aspects related to the entities, namely TR and LM, whose relationship should shed light into the different configurations instantiated by the verb and particle.

## 2.5 Trajector and Landmark

In order to better understand how particles contribute to the meanings of multi-word verbs it is important to identify the participants in the spatial scene encoded by these particles. Rudzka-Ostyn (2003, p. 9) points out that “we unconsciously foreground or focus on a (moving) entity and view it against a background seen as a container or surface”. These entities are the *Trajector* and *Landmark*.

TR and LM are the terms designated to the two entities that participate in a relational predication (Langacker, 1987, p. 217). The TR, according to Langacker (1987, p. 217), “has special status”, since it is the entity that is foregrounded in a spatial scene. Because of that, the TR is the moving entity and tends to be more salient than the LM, more mobile, smaller, geometrically simpler and more dependent. The LM, on the other hand, provides a reference for the TR and it is characterized as less salient, more stable, tends to have more relevant and complex geometric properties and is more independent (Oliveira, 2012, p. 20).

To better illustrate the concepts of TR and LM, consider the concordance lines for the multi-word verb COME OUT taken from COCA:

**Table 3:** Examples to illustrate the concepts of TR and LM

1	"or the pimples on my forehead. Because I'll know I'm going to <b>come out</b> of the process extremely good-looking. \" She did a little lindy-turn under my"
2	"Okay. \" I wondered if he'd heard what I said. When he <b>came out</b> in his bathrobe, I pretended to dry off his hair and kissed him"
3	"P.O.W.s. The atrocities you inflicted upon unarmed German prisoners. All of it will <b>come out</b> , Ike. It's not too late, Ike. It's not"
4	"what you know. Write about things you are familiar with. The funniest writing <b>comes out</b> of our own experiences and frustrations. And practice, practice-by doing the \'"
5	"EXT. HINKLEY MART - DAY The kids are waiting at the car. Erin <b>comes out</b> of the store with a bottle of water and uses it to rinse off"

Source: COCA 2015

The identification of TR and LM is as follows:

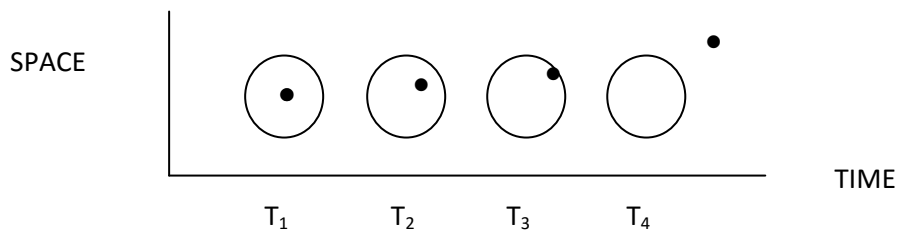
**Table 4:** TR and LM

	TRAJECTOR		LANDMARK
1	I	come out	of the process
2	He	came out	of his bathrobe
3	All of it (atrocities)	come out	of secrecy (become known)
4	The funniest writing	comes out	of our own experiences and frustrations
5	Erin	comes out	of the store

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016)

Linder (1981) states that it is not so easy to visualize the concepts of TR and LM in terms of motion and location when more abstract entities are represented, for example A LOVE B, A THINK, etc. As for the particle OUT, according to Lindner, in its most prototypical schematic representation (a path in the spatial domain), it “codes a LM object and the set of points to be occupied by the TR, which are defined relative to the LM” (Linder, 1981, p. 82).

**Figure 1:** Diagram showing TR moving in relation to LM



Source: Lindner (1981, p. 82)

This diagram shows a movement (trajectory) of a given entity (TR) through time. In Lindner’s (1981) analysis of the path profiled by the particle OUT in a varied set of multi-word verbs, the author found many ways in which the kind of relationship between the TR and the LM is established:

- i. The LM does not involve the TR completely (e.g. The cat was in the box and jumped out);
- ii. Only part of the TR is in the LM (e.g. Pluck the feather out);
- iii. The boundary of the LM is not perfectly defined all sides (e.g. Call Fred out of the ocean.);
- iv. The LM contains the TR among its subparts (e.g. Bit the dust out of the rug.);
- v. The TR is part of the LM (e.g. Carve out the best piece of meat for yourself.); etc.

From all the evidence provided by Lindner’s work, it is possible to see that the many meanings derived from the basic spatial orientation of OUT might not be simply arbitrary, but have an experiential motivation that will account for the various meanings of the particle in multi-word verbs. The author states that it is necessary to look for the similarities as far as possible and not to look for all possible differences in meaning. Indeed, to look for the similarities in patterns is to look for the schematic information provided by the particles.



In the next section I provide a review of some of the studies conducted to investigate the semantics of particles/prepositions, more specifically, the particle OUT.

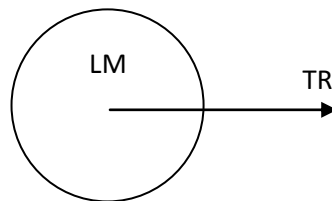
### 3 THE PARTICLE OUT

Although this analysis accounts for both the meanings of verb and particle in COME OUT, it is important to discuss the relevant work done regarding the semantics of prepositions and particles, especially the ones that accounted for the particle OUT, since they underpinned the analysis of this particle in the present work.

#### 3.1 Lindner's (1981) work

The particle OUT, like many other particles in English, comprises a semantic network which contains a diversity of configurations. Lindner (1981) states that OUT, as well as other particles, has many concrete and abstract meanings, which are related and comprise unified concepts. She represents the most prototypical schema for the particle OUT as follows:

**Figure 2:** Superschema representing prototypical OUT

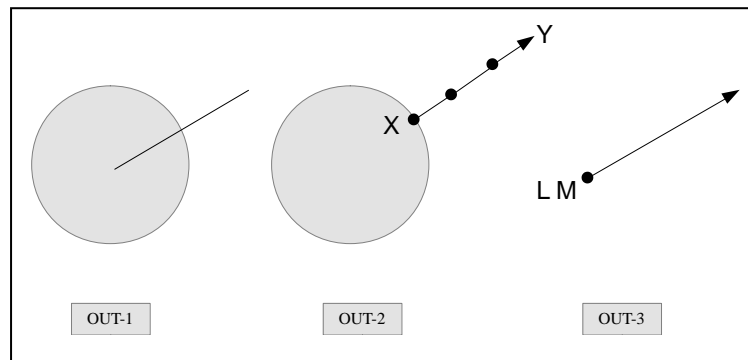


Source: Adapted from Lindner (1981, p. 140)

As an example of this representation, Lindner (1981) provides a use of OUT in *John went out of the room*. Here, the room is the LM (represented by the circle) and John is the TR (represented by the arrow). However, in another example provided by the author, *let out your anger*, it's possible to notice the metaphorical extension of the particle, as it has an abstract rather than a literal meaning. It's not physically possible to remove anger (TR) from a body (LM), nonetheless, the schematic representation of OUT remains the same. In his book *The Body in the Mind*, Johnson (1987, p. 33) refers to Lindner's work and points out that the schematic representation in figure 2 "is the repeatable pattern of OUT movement in each of the specific actions" and that "in each different case the schema is realized in a different way, though it retains a recognizable form".

By analyzing different configurations of OUT in 600 multi-word verbs, Lindner (1981) proposed three major subschemas for this particle:

**Figure 3:** Three major subschemas for OUT



Source: Lindner (1981)

*Removal* (OUT-1) represents the most prototypical OUT and means *paths in the spatial domain*. In this subschema OUT codes a LM and the various points occupied by the TR, which are defined in relation to the LM (e.g. go out).

OUT-1 is schematic not only for projections onto the spatial domain of a trajector's change of location, but also for "projections" onto various abstract domains (temporal, perceptual, cognitive, social, etc.) of a trajector's change of state. In other words, because versions of the spatial relation OUT-1 are perceived as similar to various nonspatial relations in abstract domains, these nonspatial relations themselves will become, via metaphoric extension, versions of OUT. (Lindner, 1981, p. 103)

For this first subschema, Morgan (1997) summarizes the following classes of extension of OUT provided by Lindner (1981):

**Table 5:** Summary of the classes of extension of OUT-1

• Distinguishing, choosing, and rejecting	E.g.: <i>The professor singled him <b>out</b> for criticism.</i>
• LM is some abstract, coherent complex of information	E.g.: <i>In telling his mother about his trip, he left <b>out</b> the part about going to Black's Beach.</i>
• LM is a restriction or obligation	E.g.: <i>Walk <b>out</b> on someone</i>
• LM is an abstract neighborhood of possession	E.g.: <i>Did you lend <b>out</b> all your books?</i>
• LM as privacy	E.g.: <i>The new play came <b>out</b> on Broadway.</i>

• The individual construed as LM	E.g.: <i>Lets <b>out</b> his emotions.</i>
• Change from hiddenness to accessibility	E.g.: <i>It came <b>out</b> that he had cheated.</i>
• Change from accessibility to inaccessibility	E.g.: <i>His engine blew <b>out</b>. (Nonfunctioning)</i>

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on Morgan (1997) and Lindner (1981)

The subschema *expansion* (OUT-2) is reflexive and shows “the progressive enlargement of the TR as it approaches its final form” (Linder, 1981, p. 124). What differentiates it from OUT-1 is the fact that the TR does not cross a boundary in order to be OUT. Instead, as the author states, “the TR becomes OUT when its outline broadcasts away from its initial LM boundary”, like in the example she provides: “stretch out the rope” (Lindner, 1981, p. 124).

(...) instantiations of OUT-1 profile a number of series of configurations between two concrete or abstract objects, and the trajector's path is calculated with respect to a LM object that is somehow construed as distinct. In contrast, versions of OUT-2 will profile the change of shape of a single object (the trajector of OUT-2), namely, the change from some initial (LM) form to a final form that occupies a greater area than the initial one. (Lindner, 1981, p. 122-123)

The classes of extension of OUT-2 found in Lindner (1981) are the following, according to Morgan (1997):

**Table 6:** Summary of the classes of extension of OUT-2

• Expansion in the spatial domain	E.g.: <i>Roll <b>out</b> the cookie dough.</i>
○ 1-D TR: increase in length	E.g.: <i>Stretch <b>out</b> the rope.</i>
○ 2-D TR: increase in area	E.g.: <i>Flatten <b>out</b> the dough.</i>
○ 3-D TR: increase in volume	E.g.: <i>He puffed <b>out</b> his cheeks.</i>
• Expansion of discontinuously occupied space	E.g.: <i>He laid the cards <b>out</b> on the table.</i>
• Expansion in abstract domains (nonspatial expansion)	E.g.: <i>The company branched <b>out</b>.</i>
○ "Clarification"	E.g.: <i>Lay <b>out</b> your ideas clearly.</i>
○ "Distribution"	E.g.: <i>Hand <b>out</b> brochures.</i>
○ Temporal extension	E.g.: <i>Drag <b>out</b> an affair.</i>
• Expansion to full or canonical form	
○ Expansion to intrinsic limit	E.g.: <i>Roll <b>out</b> the red carpet.</i>
○ Expansion to contextually or conventionally defined limit	E.g.: <i>She really fills <b>out</b> that dress.</i>
○ Canonical arrangement	E.g.: <i>Lay <b>out</b> the silverware.</i>

○ Expression of mental constructs	E.g.: <i>Act <b>out</b> the title in charades.</i>
○ Full temporal extension of an event	E.g.: <i>Will the patient see the week <b>out</b>?</i>

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on Morgan (1997) and Lindner (1981)

Finally, the subschema *departure* (OUT-3) refers to the “movement away from a LM designated as origin, center or source” (Lindner, 1981, p. 137) as in, for example, *they set out for Alaska*.

We interpret an object’s moving OUT of itself as going beyond its original boundary. If, on the other hand, we (...) shrink the LM down to a single point, it will not be able to ‘contain’ a trajector, but instead serve as the trajector’s initial location or source or some other reference point (center) against which to calculate the trajector’s movement, whence OUT-3. (Lindner, 1981, p. 139)

As for the extensions of OUT-3, Lindner (1981) offers the following classification, listed in Morgan (1987):

**Table 7:** Summary of the classes of extension of OUT-3

• Away from origin	E.g.: <i>They set <b>out</b> for Alaska.</i>
• Away from source (sound)	E.g.: <i>Cry <b>out</b> in pain.</i>
• Away from central point	E.g.: <i>Let <b>out</b> a seam.</i>

Source: Elaborated by the author, based on Morgan (1997) and Lindner (1981)

Undoubtedly, the three schemas of OUT cover a variety of configurations profiled by this particle, depending on the “specific information of the domain, the abstractness or concreteness of the LM or TR, the position of the viewer, if any, etc.” (Lindner, 1981, p. 140). Lindner (1981, p. 140) concludes, however, that, although her study did not provide a single meaning of OUT that was able to contribute do all multi-word verbs, “these versions will be united under cross-cutting schemas which represent what they have in common”.

### 3.2 Tyler and Evans’ (2003) work

In their book *The semantics of English Prepositions*, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 200) state that OUT hardly ever functions as a preposition and is found primarily in multi-word verbs. The authors argue that OUT specifies a spatial relation such that “the TR is exterior to a bounded

LM”. Considering that OUT is construed by means of the image schema of containment, the authors explain that some of the consequences for the TR not to be contained would be, for example, the TR not having its movements constrained, being visible, being unprotected or having its position in relation to the LM not established. However, they suggest a single functional element for OUT, namely *non-containment*.

According to Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 206), “in spatial scenes in which the vantage point is exterior to the bounded LM, it follows that if the TR is also exterior then the TR is often visible”. This being the case, spatial scenes, such as these, are likely to extend the meaning of OUT, for instance, in circumstances in which being visible becomes being known. As the authors point out, a correlation similar to *seeing is knowing* happens through *pragmatic strengthening* and knowledge becomes a conventionalized sense of OUT.

For the particle OUT, the authors identified a number of senses as shown in table 4:

**Table 8:** Senses of OUT

CLUSTERS	SENSES	EXAMPLES
The location cluster	Not in situ sense	<i>Amy is out sick for the day</i>
	No more sense	<i>Have you got any milk? - No, we're out</i>
	Completion sense	<i>This jacket needs to dry out before you wear it again</i>
The vantage point is interior cluster	Exclusion sense	<i>They used a special filter to block out the radio waves</i>
	Lack of visibility sense	<i>The moment her son went out, Katie started wondering what he was doing</i>
The vantage point is exterior cluster	Visibility sense	<i>The sun/moon is out</i>
	Knowing sense	<i>The secret is out</i>
The segmentation cluster	Distribution sense	<i>The player dealt out the cards</i>
	Reflexivity sense	<i>The syrup spread out</i>

Source: the author’s own elaboration (2016), based on Tyler and Evans (2003)

Besides discussing these distinct senses of OUT, Tyler and Evans (2003) also separate OUT from OUT OF. Although OF is not the focus of this discussion, the multi-word verb COME

OUT is many times followed by OF and the arguments provided by the authors will serve the purposes of the present study.

Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 211) propose a functional element for the particle OF, namely “the TR and LM being in an *intrinsic relationship*”. It means that “the TR belongs to, or is a property of, the LM as opposed to being accidentally connected” (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 211). As the authors state, OF also has many different senses associated with it, although only two have been accounted for being relevant in the discussion of OUT OF, namely two distinct source senses. One refers to a part-whole relationship and is named by the authors the *locational source sense* as in the example *this wine is a product of Italy*; the other takes into account the fact that “one entity is transformed into another” and the authors call it the *material source sense*. The authors argue that the sense of source associated with OF is important for the distinction between OUT and OUT OF, since “the latter explicitly designates a source whereas the former does not” (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 212).

### 3.3 Morgan’s (1997) work

Morgan’s (1997) work is a semantics-oriented study on verb-particle constructions with OUT. She adopted a metaphor approach to her analysis and used Lindner’s (1981) examples in order to complement her findings regarding the particles extension as well as verb extension. The author was mainly concerned with verb-particle constructions that did not involve “literal motion, literal object manipulation, or literal bounded regions” (Morgan, 1997, p. 328). This being the case, the author focused her study on the following verb-particle constructions:

**Table 9:** Verb-particle constructions discussed in Morgan’s (1997) work

VERB-PARTICLE CONSTRUCTION	LINDNER’S SUBSCHEMA	LINDNER’S CLASSIFICATION
Spread out	OUT-2	Reflexive OUT
Give out / ring out	OUT-3	Movement away from origin, center, or source
Pick out	OUT-1	Metaphoric change of location
Make (something) out	OUT-1	Metaphoric change of location
Figure out	OUT-1	Metaphoric change of location

Source: Morgan (1997, p. 328)

In her case studies, Morgan (1997) considers four possibilities for the metaphorical extensions of verbs and particles. In the specific case of OUT, which is conceptualized through the CONTAINER schema, the author proposes the following:

**Table 10:** Morgan’s (1997) literal and extended verbs and particles

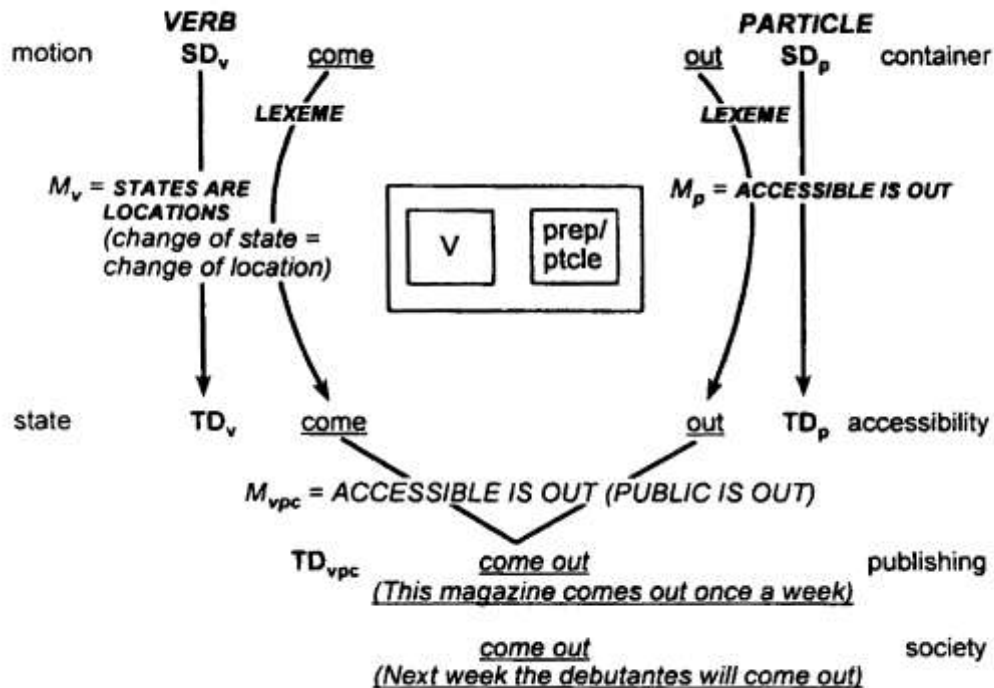
VERB	CONTAINER	EXAMPLE
Literal	Literal	<i>We jumped out of the car.</i>
Extended	Literal	<i>The water ran out of the tub.</i>
Literal	Metaphorical	<i>The syrup is spreading out.</i>
Extended	Metaphorical	<i>He figured out the way to San Jose.</i>

Source: Morgan (1997, p. 328)

As her aim was to address verb-particle constructions that included non-literal motion, manipulation of objects or bounded regions, the last example (*figure out*) was one of the constructions analyzed. According to Morgan (1997, p. 343), the verb *to figure* has been extended to mean “reaching a solution by thinking” whereas the particle OUT is extended from its literal meaning (“not within the boundaries of a container”) “to other kinds of accessibility, such as that involved when a problem is conceptualized as a locked container”. As a conclusion, to figure out has as its meaning “to make a solution cognitively accessible by thinking”, since the integration of the two metaphors THINKING IS CALCULATING (verb) and A PROBLEM IS A (LOCKED) CONTAINER give rise to the whole meaning of the verb-particle construction.

With additional observations, Morgan (1997) also addresses some of the metaphors that underlie the extended meanings for this multi-word verb: STATES ARE LOCATIONS (*He came out of his daze*); PRIVATE IS INACCESSIBLE/PUBLIC IS ACCESSIBLE (*It came out that he had cheated*); EXISTENCE IS VISIBILITY via EXISTENCE IS LOCATION HERE (*The sun finally came out today*). Moreover, she provides a diagram in attempt to explain the verb and particle mappings between source domain and target domain instantiated by these metaphors:



Figure 4: Diagram for *come out*

Source: Morgan (1997, p. 347)

The diagram shows that the verb *come*, which is a motion verb in the source domain, is mapped onto the target domain as a *state* that undergoes some kind of change via the metaphor *STATES ARE LOCATIONS*. The particle *OUT*, which encodes the image schema of containment in the source domain, is mapped onto the target domain as being accessible via the metaphor *ACCESSIBLE IS OUT*. Thus the change of location becomes change of state. Additionally, Morgan (1997, p. 347) states that “the changes in the ‘recipient’ of the accessibility are so familiar in such an utterance [*The magazine comes out once a month*] that the deictic shift is not even noticed”.

While Morgan’s (1997) work added new and interesting insights to Lindner’s (1981) research, the author concludes by suggesting that, although the goals might be different, work with multi-word verbs should also account for cognitive grammar approaches, such as construction grammar, as well as cross-linguistic examination (e.g. German and Dutch).

In this Chapter, I made an attempt to point out important outcomes of influential work done based on the theoretical premises of CL, which focused on the semantics of

particles/prepositions, more specifically, on the particle OUT. The next Chapter will detail the methodological model and tools used in the present study.

## 4 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will present the methodological procedures adopted in this research. To do so, I will first shed light on the theoretical framework that gave rise to the categories used in data collection and analysis. I will also make an attempt to show how these procedures served the purpose of this research, which aimed at deepening the existing knowledge about the potential meaning of verb and particle in the multi-word verb COME OUT.

### 4.1 The Principled Polysemy Model

A key issue concerning the semantic analysis of prepositions refers to the establishment of criteria to find out what the most central meaning is. According to Mahpeykar and Tyler (2015, p. 6), the central meaning is “one from which the rest of the meanings are extended systematically”. Thus, in order to guarantee more systematicity and replicability of the methodology in lexical polysemy analysis, Tyler and Evans (2003) proposed a framework of semantic analysis called the Principled Polysemy Model. This model intends to diminish subjectivity by providing some criteria for identifying the central sense of the particle OUT, on focus in this study.

In terms of linguistic evidence to determine the *sanctioning* (Langacker, 1987) sense, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 47) enumerate the following criteria:

- a. earliest attested meaning;
- b. predominance in the semantic network;
- c. use in composite forms (Langacker, 1987);
- d. relations to other spatial particles;
- e. grammatical predictions (Langacker, 1987).

The first criterion suggests that the historically *earliest attested meaning* is likely to be the one from which other more recent senses derive. Basing her study about the preposition *sob* of Brazilian Portuguese partially on these principals, Oliveira (2007, p. 236) explains that the *sanctioning* sense is “necessarily spatial”, since concepts from the spatial domain structure

other basic concepts, such as *time*, in different languages. In addition, the sanctioning sentence must give rise to all the other senses in the semantic network, directly or indirectly, and the systematic motivation for these other meanings must be found (Oliveira, 2007, p. 236-237). Concerning the establishment of the earliest attested meaning of the verb, in this study, the *Online Etymology Dictionary* will be used as to provide the origin and the earliest meaning of the verb *come* in the excerpts analyzed.

As per the second criterion, *predominance in the semantic network*, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 48) argue that it relates to “the unique spatial configuration that is involved in the majority of the distinct senses found in the network”. In sum, in the case of COME OUT, the spatial configuration involving the TR and LM in the distinct senses that is more salient will be the most likely candidate for the primary sense.

Regarding the third criterion, which refers to *use in composite forms*, Tyler and Evans (2003) claim that there are two types of composite forms: composite lexical units and verb particle forms. As their work involved looking into the semantics of prepositions alone, it would make sense to investigate different verb particle constructions that comprised all the analyzed prepositions. In the case of the present study, COME OUT is already a verb particle form and the object of analysis. As per lexical units, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 48) “suggest that participation in composite forms cannot directly determine which sense is primary, but failure to participate can be taken as suggestive that that particular sense is probably not primary in the network”. Such is the case with COME OUT, which has the composite lexical unit *outcome*, whose definition is given as:

- 1 the final result of a process, meeting, activity etc.
- 2 the possible or likely result of something.

Source: MacMillan Online Dictionary

The meaning of the composite lexical unit *outcome*, which is the result of a process, seems not directly to determine the primary sense of the multi-word verb COME OUT, but it participates in its semantic network, corresponding to one of the extended meanings, namely the ‘result of a process’ sense (cf. Chapter 5). Moreover, according to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, the origin of *outcome* is from the year 1788, which appears to be a much later use than that of the verb and particle combination:

**Table 11:** Description of the etymological roots for the particle OUT

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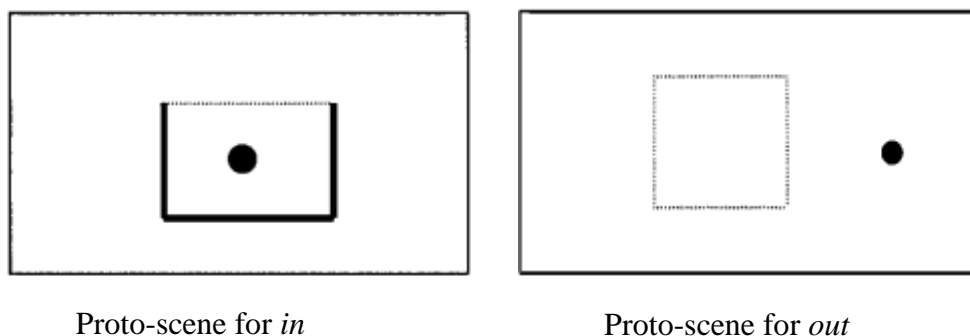
Outcome (n.)

1788, "that which results from something," originally Scottish, from *out* + *come* (v.). Popularized in English by Carlyle (c. 1830s). Used in Middle English in sense of "act or fact of coming out" (c. 1200). Old English had *utancumen* (n.) "stranger, foreigner."

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Source: Online Etymology Dictionary

The fourth criterion refers to the extent a particular spatial preposition, within a group of spatial particles, can be contrasted with another so as to determine its meaning. Regarding bounded LMs, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 183) contrast IN and OUT by stating that "the proto-scene for *in* constitutes a spatial relation in which a TR is located within a LM which has three salient structural elements – an interior, a boundary and an exterior" and that the functional element associated with this proto-scene is the one of *containment*. As per OUT, the authors argue that this particle "designates a spatial relation in which the TR is exterior to a bounded LM" and posit a functional element of *non-containment* for the proto-scene of OUT (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 200). According to the authors, a possible candidate for the primary meaning of a particle is the one derived from the particular sense used to contrast this particle with others from the compositional set. In the case of IN and OUT the contrast refers to *being contained* and *not being contained*.

**Figure 5:** Representation of CONTAINER schema for IN and OUT

Source: Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 184 and 201)

Finally, grammatical prediction regards the sanctioning sense necessarily giving rise to the other senses of the semantic network and that some "systematic motivation" for these extended senses must be observed (Oliveira, 2007, p. 237). Tyler and Evans (2003) argue that

if we recognize that what are now distinct senses were at one time derived from and related to a pre-existing (i.e., an earlier) sense and became part of the semantic network through routinization and entrenchment of meaning, we would predict that a number of the senses should be directly derivable from the primary sense. (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 49)

As I have attempted to show, the analysis of COME OUT carried out in this study referred to the principles proposed by Tyler and Evans (2003), in order to determine the primary meaning of this multi-word verb and to suggest other possible categories under which the extended meaning might fall. This procedure, I believe, may help expand the existing knowledge about the topic, as it makes a contribution to the area of CL under the light of polysemy. In the next section, I will describe the procedures followed to collect the data analyzed.

## 4.2 Data collection

The data was collected from COCA<sup>2</sup>, during the months of January and February 2016. However, once the sample was selected and the analysis began, it was necessary to access the site again from March to July 2016, since some of the concordance lines alone could not provide the full context so as to identify the TR and/or LM. Regarding this particular corpus, the decision to use it was twofold: one is that it provides free access to English texts; the second reason is due to the fact that it is a comprehensive searching tool, since it allows its users to get data from a variety of different sources such as fiction, magazines, newspapers, academic texts and even spoken language. Thus, if the analysis required a contrast among the different discursive domains, COCA would be able to provide comprehensive empirical data. Besides, the choice of a corpus such as COCA to analyze language use in context represented a way to validate the findings.

Created by Mark Davies, from Brigham Young University, COCA is the largest corpus of American English available online and has over 520 million words from in 220,225 texts. These texts include spoken, fiction, magazine, newspaper and academic discursive domains. Data was included from 1999 until 2015. See table 7 to see examples of the sources that compose the corpus:

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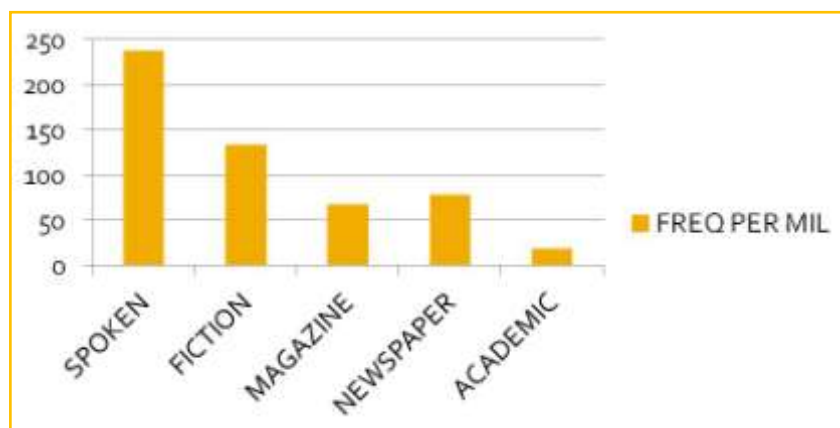
<sup>2</sup> Available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>

**Table 12:** Examples of texts that compose COCA

SPOKEN	(109 million words [109,391,643]) Transcripts of unscripted conversation from more than 150 different TV and radio programs (examples: <i>All Things Considered</i> (NPR), <i>Newshour</i> (PBS), <i>Good Morning America</i> (ABC), <i>Today Show</i> (NBC), <i>60 minutes</i> (CBS), <i>Hannity and Colmes</i> (Fox), <i>Jerry Springer</i> , etc).
FICTION	(105 million words [104,900,827]) Short stories and plays from literary magazines, children's magazines, popular magazines, first chapters of first edition books 1990-present, and movie scripts.
MAGAZINES	(110 million words [110,110,637]) Nearly 100 different magazines, with a good mix (overall, and by year) between specific domains (news, health, home and gardening, women, financial, religion, sports, etc). A few examples are <i>Time</i> , <i>Men's Health</i> , <i>Good Housekeeping</i> , <i>Cosmopolitan</i> , <i>Fortune</i> , <i>Christian Century</i> , <i>Sports Illustrated</i> , etc.
NEWSPAPERS	(106 million words [105,963,844]) Ten newspapers from across the US, including: <i>USA Today</i> , <i>New York Times</i> , <i>Atlanta Journal Constitution</i> , <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i> , etc. In most cases, there is a good mix between different sections of the newspaper, such as local news, opinion, sports, financial, etc.
ACADEMIC	(103 million words [103,421,981]) Nearly 100 different peer-reviewed journals. These were selected to cover the entire range of the Library of Congress classification system (e.g. a certain percentage from B (philosophy, psychology, religion), D (world history), K (education), T (technology), etc.), both overall and by number of words per year.

Source: <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>

At first, I carried out a research on COCA to find out the most frequent multi-word verb with the particle OUT in the following domains: Spoken, Fiction, Magazine, Newspaper and Academic. The result showed that COME OUT was the most frequent multi-word verb on COCA. The total amount of occurrences was 57.939 from which 579 instances were randomly chosen for the study. Figure 6 shows the frequency of COME OUT in relation to the different discursive domains:

**Figure 6:** Frequency of COME OUT per domains

Source: COCA

For the purpose of this analysis, no differentiation was meant to be taken into account regarding the various discursive domains on COCA, although this fact might be relevant for future studies of this multi-word verb.

A following step was to copy and place all the lines of concordances on an Excel spreadsheet so that they could be transferred to the software R<sup>3</sup>, which is a free software that provides several statistical techniques for quantitative research. Through a line of command, the software randomly extracted a sample of 579 concordance lines for the multi-word verb COME OUT. This number of occurrences was considered representative of the uses of COME OUT in this study. However, in further studies it may be desirable the analysis of a larger sample, so as to confront the results presented here. In the next section, I proceed with the description of the empirical data analysis.

### 4.3 Data analysis

Due to the nature of this research, which attempted to describe the semantics of the multi-word COME OUT and to explain how the spatial meaning may give rise to other senses, not necessarily spatial ones, this study carried out an introspective, qualitative analysis.

As this research accounted for both the semantics of the verb COME, as well as the particle OUT, a first step was to identify the etymological roots for the verb. The *Online Etymology Dictionary* provided the following description:

**Table 13:** Description of the etymological roots for the verb COME

Come (v.)
Old English <i>cuman</i> "come, approach, land; come to oneself, recover; arrive; assemble" (class IV strong verb; past tense <i>cuom</i> , <i>com</i> , past participle <i>cumen</i> ), from Proto-Germanic <i>*kwem-</i> (source also of Old Saxon <i>cuman</i> , Old Frisian <i>kuma</i> , Middle Dutch <i>comen</i> , Dutch <i>komen</i> , Old High German <i>queman</i> , German <i>kommen</i> , Old Norse <i>koma</i> , Gothic <i>qiman</i> ), from PIE root <i>*gwa</i> , <i>*gwem-</i> "to go, come" (source also

<sup>3</sup> R is available for downloading at <https://www.r-project.org/>



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of Sanskrit *gamati* "he goes," Avestan *jamaiti* "goes," Tocharian *kakmu* "come," Lithuanian *gemu* "to be born," Greek *bainein* "to go, walk, step," Latin *venire* "to come").

The substitution of Middle English *-o-* for Old English *-u-* before *-m-*, *-n-*, or *-r-* was a scribal habit before minims to avoid misreading the letters in the old style handwriting, which jammed letters. The practice similarly transformed *some*, *monk*, *tongue*, *worm*. Modern past tense form *came* is Middle English, probably from Old Norse *kvam*, replacing Old English *cuom*.

Remarkably productive with prepositions (NTC's "Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs" lists 198 combinations); consider the varied senses in *come to* "regain consciousness," *come over* "possess" (as an emotion), *come at* "attack," *come on* (interj.) "be serious," and *come off* "occur." For sexual senses, see *cum*.

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Source: Online Etymology Dictionary

As shown in table 13, the earliest attested meanings of COME relate to moving from one place to another with emphasis to the final position of the object that moves, such as *come*, *approach*, *land*, *arrive*, etc.

The Middle English Dictionary also provided the earliest uses of COME as *to be coming*, *approach* and *arrive*:

**Table 14:** Forms of COME in old and middle English

Old English	Middle English
<p><b>cuman;</b>            sg. 3 <b>cumeþ, cymeþ;</b>            p. sg. <b>cwōm, cōm;</b>            p. pl. <b>cwōmon, cōmon;</b>            ppl. <b>cumen.</b></p>	<p>p. sg. <b>cam, com &amp;</b>            p. pl. <b>cāmen, kēme(n</b> are            analogical formations, modeled            largely on the type of <b>stal, stēlen.</b></p>

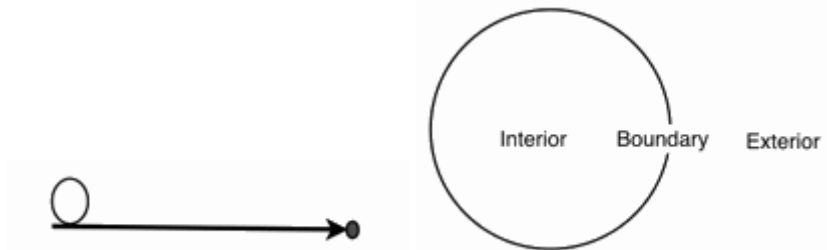
Source: Middle English Dictionary

In order to contrast the definitions provided for the verb COME by the *Online Etymological Dictionary* and the *Middle English Dictionary* with available definitions of this verb in current uses, *Macmillan Online Dictionary* and *WordNet* were used and the following meanings were identified as first entries:

- a. to move or travel to the place where you are (*Macmillan Online Dictionary*)
- b. to move toward, travel toward something or somebody or approach something or somebody (*WordNet*)

From this perspective, it is possible to infer that the earliest meaning of COME has not changed much through time and it is as frequent as to cause it to be the first entry in more modern dictionaries. That might indicate that the provided definitions correspond to the primary sense of the verb COME. Moreover, this motion verb is structured by the PATH schema, while the particle OUT is structured by the CONTAINER schema.

**Figure 7:** Representation of PATH and CONTAINER schema



Source: <http://www.cleanlanguage.co.uk/articles/articles/245/1/Embodied-Schema-The-basis-of-Embodied-Cognition/Page1.html>

As for the etymological roots of the particle OUT, the *Online Etymology Dictionary* provided the following information:

**Table 15:** Description of the etymological roots for the particle OUT

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OUT (adv.)

Old English *ut* "out, without, outside," common Germanic (Old Norse, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, Gothic *ut*, Middle Dutch *uut*, Dutch *uit*, Old High German *uz*, German *aus*), from PIE root *\*ud-* "up, out, up away" (source also of Sanskrit *ut* "up, out," *uttarah* "higher, upper, later, northern;" Avestan *uz-* "up, out," Old Irish *ud-* "out," Latin *usque* "all the way to, without interruption," Greek *hysteros* "the latter," Russian *vy-* "out"). Meaning "into public notice" is from 1540s. As an adjective from c. 1200. Meaning "unconscious" is attested from 1898, originally in boxing. Sense of "not popular or modern" is from 1966. As a preposition from mid-13c.

Sense in baseball (1860) was earlier in cricket (1746). Adverbial phrase *out-and-*

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*out* "thoroughly" is attested from early 14c.; adjective usage is attested from 1813; *out-of-the-way* (adj.) "remote, secluded" is attested from late 15c. *Out-of-towner* "one not from a certain place" is from 1911. Shakespeare's *It out-herods Herod* ("Hamlet") reflects Herod as stock braggart and bully in old religious drama and was widely imitated 19c. *Out to lunch* "insane" is student slang from 1955; *out of this world* "excellent" is from 1938; *out of sight* "excellent, superior" is from 1891.

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*Source: Online Etymology Dictionary*

Given this description of the meaning of the particle OUT, its earliest meaning corresponds to its conceptualization derived from the CONTAINER schema, i.e. being outside, exterior to a container, and from that meaning others have been created through time. In the analysis of the semantics of COME OUT carried out in this study, it is crucial to investigate how the two schemas operate in the diverse configurations profiled by the TR and LM.

Having established the primary meaning of the verb and particle, other steps that followed data analysis were:

- a. All concordance lines were analyzed in order to account for the relationship between TR and LM, as each configuration showed in what way the scenes were construed.
- b. An analysis of the underlying metaphors that could be identified in the uses of COME OUT was carried out, so as to support the proposed new semantic categories.
- c. By making a distinction between what uses of the multi-word verb corresponded to its central sense and what uses did not, a semantic network comprising new senses for COME OUT was suggested.
- d. A final approach to this study was an attempt to explain the motivations for the different senses of COME OUT by analyzing the schematic information obtained by the verb and particle in all different contexts.

Concerning the methodological procedures, the last one adopted here regards the inter-rater reliability, to which I refer in sequence.

#### **4.4 The Inter-Rater Reliability in this study**

In order to help determine the consistence of the analysis carried out in this study, an ‘inter-rater reliability’ procedure was implemented. Another researcher, a member of our research group, already familiar with the theoretical foundation of the study, agreed to check all the concordance lines analyzed. By doing this, it was possible to confirm their membership to the categories that had been assigned to them. The procedure aimed to reach an agreement of 86% (or more) between the two raters. It served the purpose of calibrating the analysis until an optimal point was reached.

The next chapter discusses what the ‘sanctioning’ sense of COME OUT might be, as well as its extended meanings, based on the methodological framework proposed in this chapter. In addition to that, I attempted to account for what the motivation for these extended meanings might be.

## 5 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter attempts to provide an account for the polysemy of the multi-word verb COME OUT, by demonstrating the underlying processes that motivate the meaning extension of this structure. Regarding the polysemy of particles, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 7) argue that “the meanings associated with a spatial particle (...) are related in some fashion” and that

a linguistic form is paired at the conceptual level, not with a single meaning, but rather with a network of distinct but related meanings. Hence, the meanings associated with a particular form constitute a semantic network. (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 7)

Based on that assumption, I started this analysis by investigating the relationship between TR and LM coded by COME OUT. In the process of doing that, different patterns emerged. These patterns were firstly separated into two groups: the instances that could provide information about the two entities, i.e. TR and LM, and the instances in which either the TR or the LM could not be specified. Table 16 shows an example of this first stage.

**Table 16:** Analysis of TR and LM

YEAR	SOURCE	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK
2014	"NBC"	Benghazi	of that crazy (situation)
1992	"ABC_Nightline "	She (Gerry Ferraro)	Not specified
2010	"NBC_Today"	Plushenko	Not specified
2005	"CNN_LiveToday"	He (Father Frank Pavone)	Not specified
1995	"Ind_Geraldo"	I	of the ghetto
1998	"Fox_Sunday"	He	Not specified
2004	"NPR_Science "	a technical team	Not specified
2004	"CBS_Sixty "	Carolyn Donham	of her house
2015	"Fox "	Reports	of the British media
2009	"Fox_Watch"	they (The Obama Administration)	Not specified
2008	"ABC_ThisWeek"	That "yes"	Not specified
1994	"NPR_ATC"	He (Jan)	from amongst us
1994	"CBS_EyeToEye "	A number of families	Not specified
2000	"NPR_Saturday"	That (the expression)	of Warner Bros. Records
2003	"NPR_Science"	the scientific community	Not specified
1995	"ABC_20/20 "	Nobody	out to her place (out of their location)
2015	"CBS"	We	Not specified
1991	"ABC_Nightline "	a lot of refugees	of Basra

1994	"CBS_Morning "	our credit cards	of wallets/pocket/bag (inferred)
1999	"NPR_Weekend "	they (the Republican leaders)	of the White House (inferred)

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016), based on COCA

This table contains information about the time and source of the texts that provided the instances with COME OUT as well as the identification of TR and LM. Once the TR and LM had been identified, either as specified or non-specified entities, the analysis of their relationship in the instances provided by COCA revealed the emergence of different patterns. These patterns were, then, grouped, according to perceived similarity in the configurations of TR and LM relationships. Considering the following examples (3) to (12) from COCA, table 17 shows the discursive domain each instance was drawn from, the TR the LM in each example and which pattern emerged from the relationship between TR and LM. In the specific cases of table 17, the LM is construed as a prototypical three-dimensional container, which has an interior, exterior and a bounded area.

- 3) *When you **came out** of the grocery store, did you see him out on the street?*
- 4) *The FBI, not the Justice Department, the FBI to come investigate this information **coming out** of Ken Starr's office voluntarily.*
- 5) *Jimmy Anderson **came out** of the office.*
- 6) *(...) when this Juker (pointing to Jerry Knight) **comes out** of the bar and asks us what we're doing on his turf.*
- 7) *Erin **comes out** of the store with a bottle of water and uses it to rinse off (...)*
- 8) *Walter, who quietly practiced oboe during reasonable hours, **came out** of his apartment early one morning to drive to a dress rehearsal for Vivaldi.*
- 9) *Peter **came out**, lit up a butt one of the waiters had brought him.*
- 10) *(...) saw Thad's cousin, Dave Coulter, and Dave's son, Burley, **coming out** of one of the stores*

11) *When the Haganah men left, Ibrahim Hasan **came out** of his home weeping.*

12) *After Combs **came out**, the couple got into the rear seat of a 1999 Lincoln Navigator.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

**Table 17:** Pattern emerged from the analysis of TR and LM (Exterior to prototypical container)

DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK	PATTERN
SPOK	You	of the grocery store	Exterior to prototypical container
SPOK	this information	of Ken Starr's Office	Exterior to prototypical container
FIC	Jimmy Anderson	of the Office	Exterior to prototypical container
ACAD	This juke	of the bar	Exterior to prototypical container
FIC	Erin	of the store	Exterior to prototypical container
FIC	Walter	of his apartment	Exterior to prototypical container
FIC	Peter	of a building (inferred)	Exterior to prototypical container
FIC	Dave Coulter, and Burley	of one of the stores	Exterior to prototypical container
FIC	Ibrahim Hasan	of his home	Exterior to prototypical container
MAG	Combs	of Club New York (inferred)	Exterior to prototypical container

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016), based on COCA

The next group of example sentences did not provide the specification of the LM leading to the understanding that the meaning of COME OUT in these instances could be an extension of its spatial sense.

13) *It **comes out** a little better.*

14) *The problem is it didn't **come out** they way they wanted, so they're upset.*

15) *I think he **came out** as a draw.*

16) *It's just not right to incarcerate diseased people who will simply **come out** the other end as substance abusers again and be recycled through the system again.*

- 17) *Not since George C. Scott played George S. Patton have I seen a guy **come out** this way.*
- 18) *Nor could a decent family let children who had **come out** badly continue to live. What future did they have?*
- 19) *I pretended I didn't fly all those miles, and my CF **came out** an impressively low 2.8 tons.*
- 20) *Thus, you will be asked if you've been audited and how it **came out**.*
- 21) *You do it and then you **come out** the other side and it's one of our most compelling gripping powerful episodes.*
- 22) *Gee, and I'm the only one who **came out** the other way.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

**Table 18:** Pattern emerged from the analysis of TR and LM (result of a process)

DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK	PATTERN
SPOK	It (Apatow/the pronunciation)	Not specified	Result of a process
SPOK	It (the result of election)	Not specified	Result of a process
SPOK	He	Not specified	Result of a process
SPOK	deseased people	Not specified	Result of a process
SPOK	a Guy	Not specified	Result of a process
FIC	Children	Not specified	Result of a process
MAG	my CF	Not specified	Result of a process
MAG	It (the audit)	Not specified	Result of a process
SPOK	You	Not specified	Result of a process
SPOK	I	Not specified	Result of a process

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016), based on COCA

As one last example of the kind of pattern grouping done in this study, the following examples show that again in these instances the LM could not be specified pointing to a possible extension of the central sense of COME OUT. The pattern now suggested that the TR once “out” of the container was available for public knowledge.



- 23) *The recent study that was referred to that **came out** recently in the Lancet Oncology (...)*
- 24) *Chief Moose was absolutely upset that the information **came out**.*
- 25) *Now, let's look at some of the polls that have **come out** this week .*
- 26) *When the president, at this news conference, finally **came out** in public and said he was going to keep Janet Reno, the attorney (...)*
- 27) *Was it straight talk when the president **came out** and said Ann Richards was a bigger... got more money from Ken Lay (...)*
- 28) *I don't know how you stay so fresh with all those movies **coming out**.*
- 29) *The very next day they have their celebrity spokesperson investor Ashton Kutcher **come out** and say what's so wrong with what they propose.*
- 30) *I'd rather you **come out** and just say it so we can all deal with it.*
- 31) *In addition to that, the supreme council of the armed forces has **come out** and said they will handpick the 100 members of the constituent assembly.*
- 32) *If there is an organization and folks really **come out** and say, we want to defend traditional marriage, we could see this (...)*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

**Table 19:** Pattern emerged from the analysis of TR and LM (become public)

DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK	PATTERN
SPOK	Study	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	The information	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	Polls	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	The president	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	The president	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	Movies	Not specified	Become public

SPOK	Ashton Kutcher	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	You	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	The supreme council of the armed forces	Not specified	Become public
SPOK	Folks	Not specified	Become public

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016), based on COCA

Given the various configurations for COME OUT in the instances analyzed, and following the proposed procedures in chapter four, in the next section I try to provide the 'sanctioning' meaning of this multi-word verb that probably has its most basic and central meaning.

### 5.1 The sanctioning sense of COME OUT

The verb COME primarily designates a change of location meaning *approach* or *arrival* to a location different from where the movement started. As stated previously, COME prototypically encodes the PATH schema, which is a complex schema as it involves two other elements, namely SOURCE and GOAL.

The particle OUT, on the other hand, establishes various configurations for the scenes involving TR and LM that might have a different focus on the 'non containment' aspect of this particle each time. Many of the examined examples showed that, by being OUT, the TR becomes visible, known, public, sometimes with the focus on its final position or even with the focus on the result of being OUT. However, being non-contained implies being physically visible, i.e. able to be seen or able to see.

Thus, in this study, I identified the following primary meaning for the verb COME and the primary meaning for the particle OUT, described in table 13, which can be expressed, as follows:

**Table 20:** Designation of primary meaning for verb and particle in COME OUT

COME	OUT
PATH schema	CONTAINER schema
Motion → approach, arrival at location	Non-containment → Physical Visibility

Source: the author's own elaboration (2016)

By adding up the meaning of the verb and particle, the sanctioning meaning proposed for COME OUT, then, corresponds to ‘motion towards exterior of container’, from which other meanings are derived. These other meanings were divided into the following proposed categories: *appear* sense, *become public* sense, *result of a process* sense, *focus on final position of TR* sense and *physical and psychological support* sense. Each sense is discussed separately in sections 5.2 and 5.3. Prior to it, I show some examples of instances with COME OUT from COCA that may provide evidence for the case I make that the primary sense of COME OUT may be ‘motion towards exterior of container’.

When something or someone moves from the interior to the exterior area of a container, it becomes visible to the conceptualizer whose perspective or vantage point is external to the spatial scene. In the spatial scenes 33-39 the container is a three-dimensional LM with a specified bounded area. For such examples, it might be argued that the scenes are construed in such a way that the container hides the TR completely, which can only be seen once it crosses the boundaries of the container and moves to its external area:

- 33) *The kids are waiting at the car. Erin **comes out** of the store with a bottle of water and uses it to rinse off (...)*
- 34) *One of the nurses **came out** and said that the situation was -- was very serious, and I think (...)*
- 35) *Israeli military sources say that soldiers shot and killed an armed gunman who **came out** of the Church of the Nativity.*
- 36) *The officers **came out** of the station into the parking lot, where the first device went off.*
- 37) *(...) when I **came out** of the house strapped, I shot people with some caps (...)*
- 38) *"Saddam Hussein, was infamous. For decades, many who were taken here never **came out** (...)*

39) *Jeff comes out of the bank with a manila envelope, glancing up and down the street.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

Because the TR is visible once it leaves the container and comes to the outside area, the correspondence of experiences in which being out is being able to see (or able to be seen by others, depending on the conceptualizer's perspective) is likely to motivate metaphorical expressions with COME OUT.

As stated previously, by assuming that a container constrains the TR's movement, hides it and, as a consequence, is likely to make it invisible and unknown to the conceptualizer, the primary meaning of COME OUT is instantiated by the schemas provided by the verb COME and the particle OUT together. Due to the fact that the motion verb COME requires the construal of a movement in direction to a place and that the particle OUT contributes to the multi-word verb by adding a functional element of non-containment (Tyler and Evans, 2003), the primary meaning is suggested to be 'motion towards exterior of container'. This is assumed to be the sanctioning meaning, from which others will derive. I argue that this more schematic, basic, sanctioning comprises a unified sense for COME OUT, that is, the *appear* sense. In the next section, this sense will be described and exemplified.

## 5.2 The *appear* sense

The different uses of COME OUT seen in table 14 are compatible with the proposed general meaning for this multi-word verb. Consider the following examples from COCA:

**Table 21:** Examples for the *Appear* sense

40)	"death,' yes... (End-news-excerpts) Ms-LEON: (Voiceover)... and what would	<b>come out</b>	out on the TV would be a big syringe and \" Angel of Death,
41)	"We were here. We ruled out this year because of hurricane Irene and everybody	<b>came out</b>	and robbed us all. So, nobody left this year, because we"
42)	"they were both very worried of what was taking place, and Dodge had not	<b>come out</b>	and explained to them at this point,' Boys, our lives are"
43)	"was \" Candid Camera \" and that guy with the gray hair was gonna	<b>come out</b>	He already had the money spent. Nine grand"

44)	"become clearly apparent to me. The words, as e. e. cummings wrote,	<b>come out</b>	like a ribbon and lie flat on the brush. He wasn't writing"
45)	"has four grown children, and she makes sure that the soft side of me	<b>comes out</b>	." # Today, their estate is home to Ginny's twice-weekly Bible"
46)	"concerns about downsizing, Roberts said. # \" \" We can expect them to	<b>come out</b>	later this year on a field-by-field basis, \" he said. \" \"
47)	". We originally were disappointed with the cloudy overcast. However, when the sun	<b>came out</b>	I discovered it was more difficult to photograph in the markets, which are"
48)	"to a tree, very old, very tall. And he calls, 'Come out.	<b>Come out</b>	.' But nothing. So he calls again and again"
49)	"have more details about that on cnn.com. Coming up, my inner weather geek	<b>comes out</b>	.STELTER# I learned a new phrase this week. It's a term"

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

In all these examples the LM or the trajectory are not specified. For the utterances where the TRs are humans (41 - “everybody”; 42 - “Dodge”; 43 - “that guy with the gray hair”; 46 – the managers (recovered from a larger context); 49 - “my inner weather geek”) it is possible to infer what the LM might be. However, regarding a major part of the data analyzed, the specification of the LM, the starting point of the TR or even its position in relation to the LM seem irrelevant as it would also be irrelevant the notion of a LM having a bounded region in these cases.

The TRs in examples 40, 44, 45 and 47 are respectively the image of “a big syringe and Angel of Death”, “the words”, “the soft side of me” and “the sun”. It is very unlikely that a LM could be clearly specified in such excerpts. In 44, “the words” might come out of somebody's head or somebody's mouth; as per example 47, “the sun” already existed and was hidden by the clouds. When compared to example 44, OUT has a different version, since “the words” were created or produced in order to exist in the papers. However, in spite of the different versions of out, in the multi-word verb COME OUT, this particle seems to emphasize the fact the TR comes to light or is exposed somehow, regardless of its trajectory or its position in relation to the LM.

Thus, it is possible to assume that, in general terms, the particle OUT in the case of COME OUT presupposes that the TR appears or is revealed to the world. This *appear* meaning of COME OUT expands to a variety of uses, as it serves numerous instances of the language. All the other senses described here are, then, considered, in this work, to be derived from the *appear* sense of COME OUT. In the next section, I will describe what these other senses are

and attempt to demonstrate why they were considered extensions of the primary meaning of COME OUT.

### 5.3 Extended categories

Taking into account the sanctioning meaning ('motion towards exterior of container') and the conventionalized meaning (the *appear* sense), I propose that the following categories constitute extensions of the primary meaning of COME OUT:

- Become public
- Result of a process
- Focus on final position of TR
- Physical and psychological support

#### 5.3.1 Become Public

The analyzed data demonstrated that the notion of privacy and secrecy as a bounded area is very frequent. Whatever is out of this bounded area becomes public, such as “the truth” 50, “the book” 51, “the story” 52, “a study” 53 and “a movie” 54, which become available to anyone who wishes to access them. On other occasions, it is someone's thoughts that are made known or revealed to others, such as the case in 55, whose TR is the president, but what becomes public is what he announces. This meaning of COME OUT designates that the position of the conceptualizer is exterior to the container – in the present case, privacy or secrecy – and when the TR is out, it becomes known by the conceptualizer.

50) *It's better if all the truth **comes out**.*

51) *We're very delighted that both the book is **coming out** and the audio book is **coming out** (...)*

52) *And especially in the days immediately after the story **came out**.*

53) *The recent study that was referred to that **came out** recently in the Lancet Oncology (...)*

54) *In Envy a new movie with Jack Black and Ben Stiller that **comes out** this month, I play someone very light and dizzy and sweet, (...)*

55) *(...) when the president, at this news conference, finally **came out** in public and said he was going to keep Janet Reno (...)*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

### 5.3.2 Result of a process

This meaning of COME OUT indicates a state expressed by a phrase which follows the multi-word verb. It seems that the meaning of result is not embedded in the multi-word verb per se, but by the occurrence of the COME OUT and a word, phrase or even a clause that designates such result. These occurrences show that the LM can be understood as a process the TR has been through. The LM, then, profiles different phases of the process as the verb COME profiles the changes in the path of the TR. In this case, the process is the bounded area and COME OUT profiles the TR's ending point, once such process is over:

56) *After various stages of filtration, dirty water **comes out** clean.*

57) *But we do this different and you **come out** a hero.*

58) *Nor could a decent family let children who had **come out** badly continue to live.*

59) *In this country, you can start with nothing and **come out** fine.*

60) *I pretended I didn't fly all those miles, and my CF **came out** an impressively low 2.8 tons.*

61) *I think he can adapt to any situation there is and **come out** on top.*

62) *Thus, you will be asked if you've been audited and how it **came out**.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

These examples demonstrate that the focus is on the result of the TR's path, after a process it has gone through is completed. The LM, then, might be represented by the series of events that happen to the TR until it culminates in a specific condition. Again, it might be stated that in cases such as these, in which the LM is a process, the boundaries of the LM seem to have no relevance whatsoever. To illustrate that, take 18 as example: in order for the TR “my CF” (carbon footprint) to be known, some process of adding up had to take place. Such process (LM) has no indication of having boundaries or that any boundaries matter in this case.

### 5.3.3 Focus on final position of the TR

The verb COME, which is as a motion verb, requires the PATH image schema. The emergence of such schema is due to our experience in the world of moving from a source in direction to a goal. However, the complexity of the schema influences on which elements of the path are to be attended, namely, the source, the various points designated by the path and the goal. The following data show that the source might not be of great relevance in such cases. Seen by the perspective of the PATH schema, these instances show that the element source seems not to be relevant, whereas seen by the CONTAINER schema, the LM is likely to have no salience at all. Thus, as the examples show, the focus is on the final position of the TR whereas the LM is not salient or even relevant. These are examples in the spatial domain:

63) *The party or two **EUROPEANS** and fourteen **MAORI MEN** and **WOMEN** **come out** on to the beach.*

64) ***Coming out** West in itself has been a big adjustment for me.*

65) *And when Plushenko **came out** on the -- on the ice and performed, (...)*



66) "-- like Johnny Depp, for instance, is a fantastic guy, and he **comes out** on the -- on the set every day and says good morning to everyone"

67) So as it happened, four sets of EMT's **came out** to the bridge location to check on everybody.

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

Most occurrences for the *focus on final position of TR* sense of COME OUT have a physical entity as LM. Nonetheless, it is possible to find instances in which the physical characteristics of the goal element of the path schema are mapped onto the abstract ones. In the following examples, to get to “the other side of obstacles” is the GOAL of the conceptualizer in 68; as per 69, “here” may not only refer to a physical place such as the Senate, but to a status of being the oldest in that position (‘senior senator’) and, as a consequence, the person who is supposed to have greater prestige.

68) We **came out** on the other side of obstacles in complete control.

69) I'm the senior senator, I **came out** here first.

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

### 5.3.4 Physical or psychological support

In some circumstances, when the TR exposes its thoughts or feelings for public access, it is done in order to state a position for or against something. Such is the case in examples 70-74.

70) I'm glad you **came out** for the team, Vida.

71) Since then as many as 650 women have **come out** in support of the movement (...)

72) (...) if they **come out** against abortion they will be branded as right-wing fanatics.

73) (...) and the former Tory flirted with socialism and in 1936 **came out** for Roosevelt and the New Deal.

74) *In this regard, we identified a sympathetic administrator who **came out** in favor of the program (...)*

*Source: COCA – last access in 2016*

Once more, the sense of support is not embedded in the multi-word verb per se. However, it was necessary to state that the TR is not just out of privacy and made public, but their thoughts, ideas and feelings were exposed somehow in order to show that the TR takes a stand on something.

All the extended senses for COME OUT identified in the present study demanded an account on how these meanings derive from the primary meaning of the multi-word verb to more abstract senses. This account has been suggested so far by accounting for the image schemas of verb and particle, besides the analysis of the relationship between TR and LM, which are the two entities involved in the predication. Thus, I present in the next section a list of the most prevailing metaphors for the CONTAINER schema in the use of COME OUT.

#### **5.4 Motivating metaphors for extended meanings: mapping onto abstract domains**

Relying on the recognized metaphors in the literature, the analysis of the particle OUT carried out in this study demonstrated that the CONTAINER schema is conceptualized in a number of ways, giving rise to various mappings onto abstract domains:

- SUBSTANCES ARE CONTAINERS
- LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS
- STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS
- BODIES ARE CONTAINERS
- TIME IS A CONTAINER

In order to account for some of the specificities of each metaphor, some data is presented and discussed.

#### 5.4.1 Conceptual metaphor SUBSTANCES ARE CONTAINERS

Regarding the relationship between the TR and LM, the configuration of the spatial scenes may vary considerably, as there are many ways in which TR and LM can be specified. As examples 75-78 show, the LM is a mass of water which is conceptualized in a different way each time:

75) *I also know, because I've witnessed it, Bill, that people who **came out** of the water, were dropped onto the interstate.*

76) *Shaking his head clear like a dog **coming out** of the water (...)*

77) *(...) she'd made at the top with the towel, like she'd just **come out** of the shower, like she lived here (...)*

78) *(...) seeing the three of us **coming out** of this storm must surely feel like one last nightmare (...)*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

Because a mass of water is conceptualized as a container with a bounded region, it is possible that something or someone engage in a movement to be out of it. Considering our knowledge of the world, it is possible to infer by these examples that the LM is composed of water, even when this lexical item is not explicit. However, the limits of the bounded region is rather undefined, as for 75 the water may be a large area of water on the surface of Earth, like an ocean or a river; in 76 the amount of water is not even relevant, since what is at stake is our knowledge of the world to understand the proposed comparison between someone shaking his head and a dog shaking its body once it comes out of the water; in 77 and 78 the encyclopaedic meaning of the two terms “shower” and “storm” includes aspects such as the water coming in a vertical position, the fact the area affected by water also varies and that other elements such as wind, thunder and lightning are included in the understanding of storm. Despite these differences in conceptualization, the basic spatial scene of someone or something moving to the exterior part of a container is still contemplated by the linguistic expressions. The next metaphor refers to how containers may be conceptualized as geographical or land areas.

#### 5.4.2 Conceptual metaphor LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS

The empirical data provided examples of this metaphor both in the spatial and the abstract domains. In more concrete domains, whereas houses and other buildings are clearly recognized as containers as we move in and out of them, other elements of our environment are also understood as containers, possibly due to the way we interact with the world and see our own selves contained in it. Our in-out orientation in the world expands the view that “land areas” are also containers (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003 [1980], p. 30), though, sometimes, the boundaries size and limits are not so clear. Consider the examples taken from COCA:

79) *He's always claimed a fireworm **came out** of the rocks and crawled ahead to show him the way.*

80) *Another adult just **came out** of the ground to your right.*

81) *Toner himself heard the tale many times from his father, who in 1934 **came out** from Minnesota to be Uncle Henry's hired man.*

82) *(...) and he said there were a lot of refugees **coming out** of Basra who you could talk to.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

While “Minnesota” and “Basra” are geographical bounded areas having somewhat specified limits, “the rocks” and “the grounds” on the other hand do not have such clear boundaries. According to Mandler & Cánovas (2014), these uses may have been motivated by the fact that when containers are conceptualized, it is not size or boundaries that seem to matter to children, but the movement in and out of containers (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014, p. 6).

In more abstract domains, some uses of the metaphor LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS demonstrate that the TR is not removed from the container, but the LM only serves as point of origin of the TR. This is the case of 83 and 84: the fact that “music” comes out of “Jersey” in

83 only means that this place is the origin of “a lot of that music” and not that physical removal of the LM actually occurred. The same happens in 84, where the TR “state champion” is expected to be in the LM “this region”, but will not necessarily be removed from there.

83) *A lot of the music that **comes out** of Jersey is larger than life.*

84) *I think the state champion is going to **come out** of this region.*

*Source: COCA – last access in 2016*

In this next section, I discuss the metaphor STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS and also present some examples taken from COCA.

### 5.4.3 Conceptual metaphor STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS

A great variety of mental, emotional and social situations are construed as containers with bounded areas of which someone or something can be in out of. As seen by examples 85-94, aspects of concrete source domains instantiated by the CONTAINER schema are mapped onto the abstract target domain, allowing the states and events to be conceptualized as bounded areas in the abstract domain. The mappings from concrete to abstract domains may occur only regarding the LM, such as the case in 85 to 94, or in relation to the TR, as in 91 to 94. The motivation however does not seem to be by simply *perceptual similarity* between the domains, i.e., concrete and abstract, but rather by *experiential correlation*, i.e., what is *exterior* can be seen, which gives rise to what is seen is known.

85) *In those days, the people who **came out** of the - what we call the depression of the' 30s (...)*

86) *You **come out** of a tradition of the Louis Armstrongs and Sarah Vaughans and the Luther Vandrosses.*

87) *Obviously, she's got some belabored breathing right now, and just **coming out** of this -- this coma she was in, medically-induced coma for three weeks (...)*

- 88) *I think that he had to make -- you had to **come out** of that debate (...)*
- 89) *Bond **comes out** of torture into what M says is a changed world.*
- 90) *This time, Tomcic shook his head as if **coming out** of a trance.*
- 91) *The funniest writing **comes out** of our own experiences and frustrations.*
- 92) *(...) the Europeans have amongst themselves solved one of the questions that **comes out** of the crisis which is the following is Europe capable of unity.*
- 93) *We will have no bill if that is the provision that **comes out** of the conference.*
- 94) *(...) basically on the main points that it was a copycat situation, Benghazi, **came out** of what happened in Cairo, which itself probably came out of that crazy.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

#### 5.4.4 Conceptual metaphor BODIES ARE CONTAINERS

Not only humans get in and out of containers, but experiences such as putting food in their mouths allow for them to understand themselves as containers as well. Such conceptualization is demonstrated by the different configurations found in the use of COME OUT. For examples 95-98, the elements serving as TR that move from the inside to the outside of the body are all part of the human constitution (*breath, tooth, blood and fluid*).

- 95) *She loved the way her breath **came out** in a frosty vapor on this brisk December morning.*
- 96) *My tooth had not **come out** yet and I am glad (...)*
- 97) *(...) he had meant blood might also **come out** of Ms. Kelly's nose.*

98) *(she had urinated) But there was simply too much fluid **coming out** of her.*

*Source: COCA – last access in 2016*

In the abstract domain, the BODIES ARE CONTAINERS metaphor also gives rise to linguistic expressions, such as the cases in 99 and 100. It turns out that the brain, while contained by the body, is also ‘construed’ as a container and give rise to more metaphorical senses:

99) *After the words **came out** of my mouth, the courtroom fell into a strained, awkward silence.*

100) *His views on the case only **come out** when he makes a ruling.*

*Source: COCA – last access in 2016*

Besides the configurations presented in 99 and 100, others in the abstract domain have been found in the empirical data analyzed, as demonstrated by examples 101 to 103. The relationship between the TR “steam” and the LM “his nostrils” coded by the spatial preposition OUT in the multi-word verb seems to be motivated by the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT. The experiential correlation that occurs between feeling warmth while experiencing certain emotions are likely to have allowed for the linguistic expressions such as the case in 101. Again, some kind of emotion is involved in the metaphorical mapping in 102, as a “sparkle” refers to a cognitive response to a physical experience. As per 103, although both TR and LM are concrete entities, the context provides a metaphorical understanding of the utterance, since “tubes and wires” are not really coming out of “A.J.”, but rather were connected to him.

101) *I swear I saw steam **coming out** of his nostrils.*

102) *(...) that trickling creep of sparkle that once **came out** of me as something singularly, puzzlingly, crowd-pleasing.*

103) (...) *I walked in that room and I saw all the tubes and wires **coming out** of A.J.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

#### 5.4.5 Conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER

CL assumes that *time* can be conceived in terms of *space* or of *motion* through space (Ferrari, 2011, p. 92). In addition to that, the passing of time can be conceptualized in two ways: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT, in which case we stay still and time moves in direction to us; or TIME IS STATIONARY AND WE MOVE THROUGH IT, in this case time stays still and we move through time towards the future (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003 [1980], p. 43-45). According to Lakoff & Johnson (2003, p. 44), either way, “from our point of view, time goes past us from front to back” and, thus, the metaphors “fit together” and they are “coherent”. In each of the following instances (104 to 107), *time* has a limiting extension designated by the beginning and the ending of the period, which could easily characterize it as a container from which the TR can be in and out of.

104) *It looked like it **came out** of the 1930s (...)*

105) *Because we were coming out, toward the end, we were **coming out** of four months a year.*

106) *The modest playoff has been a focus since the commissioners **came out** of three days of meetings in late April (...)*

107) *Any time her children spend on the computer (...) **comes out** of their allotted screen time.*

Source: COCA – last access in 2016

Finally, it should be accounted here for the contribution of the verb COME in the mappings from source to target domains, as it also contributes with its meaning either in a literal sense in the case of 108:



108) *Edward comes out of the bathroom and moves toward the bed.*

Or it can contribute with a metaphoric meaning, such in 109, since there is no actual motion, but do the construal that secrecy is a bounded landmark and leaving this bounded area is revealing something, the expression “coming out of the closet” became conventionalized with the meaning “letting other people know someone is gay”.

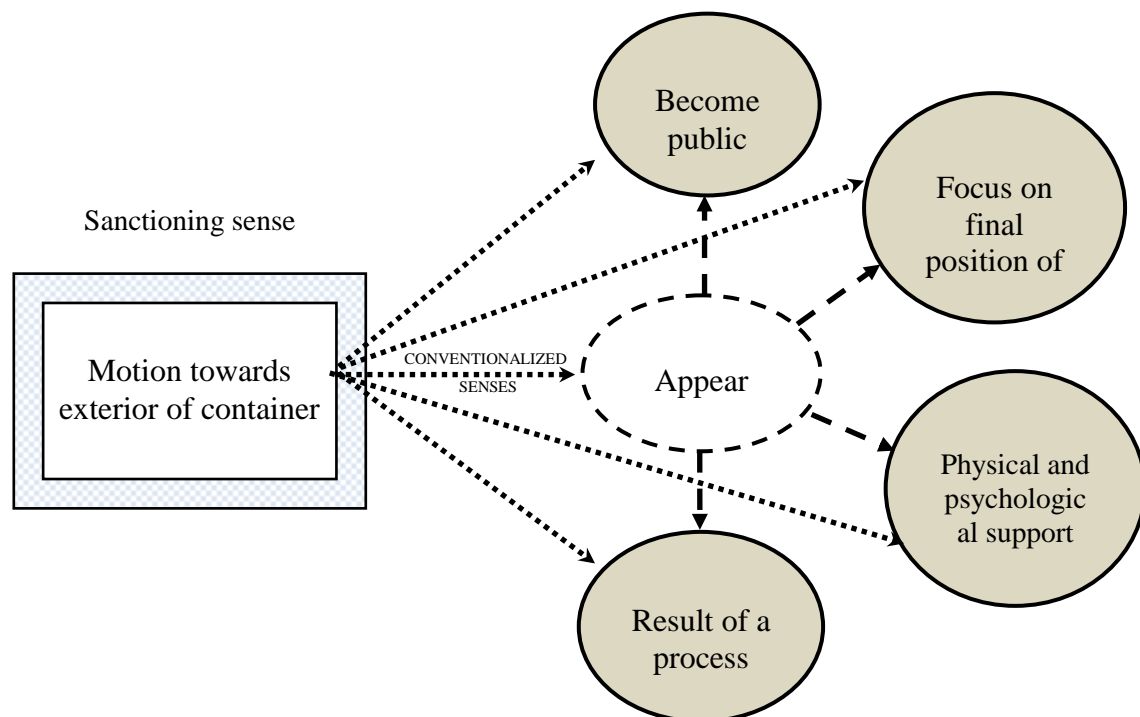
109) *Ellen did this for herself, but I'd like to thank her for coming out.*

Thus, I propose that the verb COME promotes ‘change of state’ via the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Morgan, 1997). In the next section, I propose a semantic network that comprises the different senses of COME OUT proposed and discussed in section 5.9.

### 5.5 Proposed semantic network for the meanings of COME OUT

As to summarize the analysis of the semantics of COME OUT, I propose a diagram that shows the extended meanings from the most spatial one, located in the square on the left.

**Figure 8:** Proposed semantic network for COME OUT



Source: the author's own elaboration (2016)

This diagram is a representation of the proposed polysemic network for COME OUT. Drawing on the criteria established by Tyler and Evans (2003) in their *Principled Polysemy Model*, the sanctioning sense of COME OUT was established as ‘motion towards exterior of container’ positioned inside the square on the left of the diagram. From this more basic and spatial sense all the other senses derived. In a more central position in the network and directly linked to the sanctioning sense is the *appear* sense located inside a stippled ellipsis. The reason why the *appear* sense is directly linked to the sanctioning sense and to all the other senses is due to the fact that this is the dominant conventionalized sense for COME OUT and that, although the *become public* sense, the *result of a process* sense, the *focus on final position of the TR* sense and the *physical and psychological support* sense are extended meanings of the sanctioning sense, they also relate to the *appear* sense somehow. As Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 60) point out, “inferences deriving from experience can, through continued usage, come to be conventionally associated with the lexical form identified with the implicature.” To refer to this process in their work, the authors adopted the term *pragmatic strengthening* and they argue that

this process results in the association of a new meaning component with a particular lexical form through the continued use of the form in particular contexts in which the implicature results. That is, new senses derive from the conventionalization of implicatures through routinization and the entrenchment of usage patterns. (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 60)

With regard to the *appear* sense, it is likely that a TR that moves towards the exterior of a container also comes into view, since one of the functional elements of a container is to hide the TR. As the TR moves to the exterior of a container, it becomes visible, known, public, accessible, and therefore, through *pragmatic strengthening*, gives rise to the other conventionalized meanings. Finally, the reason for the *appear* sense to be inside a stippled ellipsis is explained by the fact that it’s not a rigid, but rather fluid sense and seems to be pervading all other senses.

One last to point worth to be observed here refers to what is called by Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 39-40) as the “polysemy fallacy”, which they define as “to exaggerate the number of distinct senses associated with a particular form vis-à-vis the mental representation of a native speaker”. They also state that

just because a linguist can come up with a highly elaborate, and indeed logically possible, semantic network for a particular lexical form does not entail that this is how language users represent the meanings associated with such forms. One reason why the number of distinct senses has been exaggerated is that too much importance has been ascribed to the lexical representation, and not enough to the context in which specific interpretations arise. Overemphasizing the information supplied by a particular lexical entry fails to recognize that lexical forms are merely prompts (or in Langacker's terms 'access points') for highly elaborate inferencing and meaning-construction processes. (Tyler and Evans, 2003, p. 40)

For that reason, many of the entries provided for COME OUT in dictionaries as different meanings of this multi word verb were not accounted as different senses in this study, instead, many of its meanings were considered to be instances of the same sense. *Wordnet*<sup>4</sup>, for instance, provides the following meanings for COME OUT:

- I. appear or become visible; make a showing
- II. be issued or published
- III. come out of (emerge)
- IV. result or end
- V. come off
- VI. take a place in a competition
- VII. make oneself visible
- VIII. bulge outward
- IX. to state openly and publicly one's homosexuality
- X. be made known; be disclosed or revealed
- XI. break out

*Source: Wordnet*

Based on the senses proposed in the semantic network, the meanings for COME OUT in I, III, V, VIII and XI correspond to the *appear* sense; the meanings in II, IX and X correspond to the *become public* sense; the meaning in VI corresponds to the *focus on the final position* sense; and the meaning in VII corresponds to the *physical and psychological support*.

The final issue to be addressed here refers to the possibility to point out some implications on the teaching of multi-word verbs to non-native speakers. I intend to discuss this question in more detail in the next section.

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<sup>4</sup> Available at <https://wordnet.princeton.edu/>

## 5.6 Possible implications to the teaching of multi-word verbs to non-native speakers of English: a further discussion

As stated in the first chapter of this work, non-native speakers of English may find the acquisition of multi-word verbs quite challenging, as they may not perceive any systematicity underlying these structures. Due to their polysemous nature and their syntactic behavior, multi-word verbs have almost always been taught as structures that are arbitrary and need to be memorized. In this study, I make the case that mechanic approaches to multi-word verbs may hinder acquisition, as they also limit a more significant teaching, which would otherwise be based on polysemy and real use.

One other relevant point to be made regarding the acquisition of multi-word verbs refers to the fact that there are *verb-framed languages* and *satellite-framed languages* (Slobin, 2006). In *verb-framed languages*, the main verb encodes location or movement, as in “exit flying”. In such case, manner can be added by a gerund or another adverbial expression. In the example provided, manner was added by the use of the gerund form of the verb “fly”. As per *satellite-framed languages*, another element that associates with the verb encodes location and movement, such as in “fly out” while manner was encoded by the verb. As a consequence, according to Slobin (2006, p. 17), “it appears that if a language ends up using main verbs to encode path, it will have limited lexical resources for encoding manner.” Moreover, some languages like Spanish “not only express Manner less readily than satellite-framed languages like English, but they also have fewer distinct lexical verbs for expressing distinctions of Manner” (Slobin, 2006, p. 17)

Regardless of these language specificities, some CL studies have attempted to contribute to the teaching of multi-word verbs by offering some motivation for their extended abstract meanings. Rudzka-Ostyn (2003), for instance, drawing on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, categorized the various meanings of the particles “based on a central image-schema involving a specific relationship between TR and LM” (Mahpeykar and Tyler, 2015, p. 4). Another important work aimed at contributing to the acquisition of German particles is the work carried out by Barbosa (2015) on the investigation of the teaching of the particle *über* to non-native speakers of German, based on CL principles, by applying image schematic representations of this particle in the classroom. She concluded her study by stating that

teachers were receptive to the use of image schemas in class and that they were able to combine this new approach with other more traditional methods of teaching.

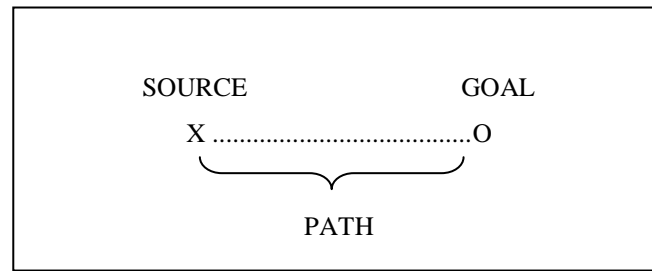
The present work also intends to contribute to the teaching of multi-word verbs, such as COME OUT, which is the focus of this analysis, by proposing an account of the use of image schemas that could represent the spatial scenes of particles, as well as methods of teaching that could recognize the motivation for extended meanings of multi-word verbs grounded on conceptual metaphors. In the case of the particle OUT, some image schematic representations by Lindner (1981) and the one from Tyler and Evans (2003) could readily be used for teaching, although other image schematic representations may be available in the literature. Moreover, the analysis of TR and LM in the instances coded by the particle OUT might facilitate the identification of metaphors that motivate the different meanings of verb and particle. A sample lesson, designed with the purpose of assisting non-native learners, was proposed here and made available in appendix B of this work. This lesson aimed at leading learners to attend to the possible image schemas and conceptual metaphors underlying the expressions with COME OUT.

#### SAMPLE LESSON ADDRESSING COME OUT, BASED ON A FUNCTIONAL-COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE.

NB: It is important or desirable to briefly address the notions of TR and LM as well as conceptual metaphors.

1. Initiate the activity by showing students the two sentences with COME OUT and ask them if they can associate concrete or abstract uses with the multi-word verb.
  - a. Jeff **comes out** of the bank with a manila envelope.
  - b. I think most jobs are going to **come out** of Sears.
  
2. Show students the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema and tell them that it is associated with the verb COME, showing sentences to exemplify it.

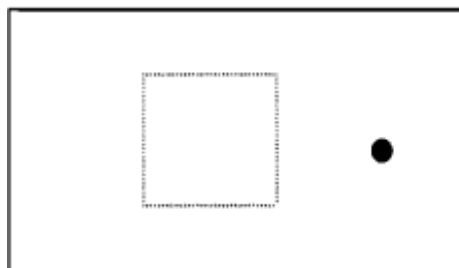
**Figure 9:** Schematic representation of SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema



*Source: the author*

- c. A young woman **comes out** from around the counter.
  - d. The party of two Europeans and fourteen Maori men and women **come out** on to the beach.
3. Ask students if they can identify the components SOURCE and/or GOAL in the other instances with COME OUT:
- e. **Coming out** West in itself has been a big adjustment for me.
  - f. People who **came out** of the water were dropped onto the interstate.
  - g. And then the truth **came out**.
4. Show students the CONTAINER image schema and tell them that it is associated with the particle OUT, showing a sentence to exemplify it.

**Figure 10:** Schematic representation of CONTAINER image schema for OUT



*Source: Tyler and Evans (2003)*

- h. I have just come out of the bathroom
5. Briefly explain the properties of the CONTAINER schema: three-dimensional with exterior, boundary and interior; say that the container corresponds to a LM. Show students

more instances with COME OUT and ask them if they can identify the properties of CONTAINER in all examples.

- i. Seeing the three of us **coming out** of this storm must surely feel like one last nightmare.
  - j. There are other songs that just **come out** of your imagination.
  - k. In this country, you can start with nothing and **come out** fine.
6. Brainstorm the meanings of COME OUT for the examples presented previously. Then compare the meanings produced by the students with the ‘sanctioning’ meaning of this multi-word verb. Also show them the other proposed senses of COME OUT and ask them to match some examples with these proposed senses.
- (1) ‘Appear’ sense
  - (2) ‘Become public’ sense
  - (3) ‘Result of a process’ sense
  - (4) ‘Focus on final position of TR’ sense
  - (5) ‘Physical and psychological support’ sense
- ( \_\_\_ ) Four sets of EMT's **came out** to the bridge location.
- ( \_\_\_ ) After various stages of filtration, dirty water **comes out** clean.
- ( \_\_\_ ) She makes sure that the soft side of me **comes out**.
- ( \_\_\_ ) I'm glad you **came out** for the team.
- ( \_\_\_ ) And then the truth **came out**.
7. Finally, briefly explain to them that conceptual metaphors can motivate abstract uses for COME OUT. Show them some of these metaphors and ask them to match the instances with COME OUT and the metaphors.

( ___ ) We were <b>coming out</b> of four months a year.	1 LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) China, for example, is <b>coming out</b> of a recession in 1990.	2 STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) Shaking his head clear like a dog coming out of the water, Beck tuned out everything.	3 BODIES ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) She loved the way her breath <b>came out</b> in a frosty vapor on this brisk December morning.	4 SUBSTANCES ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) The continued financial fiasco <b>coming out</b> of Washington.	5 TIME IS A CONTAINER

This sample lesson shall be adjusted and adapted by the teacher, according to the level of the students, as well as according to the course aims. More importantly, a functional-cognitive approach to multi-word verbs should represent an alternative to memorization and to mechanic ‘fill-in-the-gaps’ exercises. This approach should not, however, be taken as the ‘last word’ in the teaching of multi-word verbs, since more research in the area should be carried in order to establish its real effectiveness.

Moreover, although this study was substantially carried out to contribute to the area of descriptive linguistics and theory, I believe it might also shed light on the need to devise a theoretical-informed approach to English Teaching, based on functional-cognitive principles. This new centrality, if validated, may be expanded, in the future, from the teaching of multi-word verbs to the teaching of other types of constructions, for example, prepositions, idioms and polysemic vocabulary.



## 6 FINAL REMARKS

The present work attempted to contribute to the studies of multi-word verbs by investigating the semantics of COME OUT in empirical data, from a functional-cognitive perspective.

Influential work done by Cognitive scholars supported the present study. Lindner's (1981) *lexico-semantic analysis of English verb-particle constructions with UP and OUT* was a detailed research, which provided valuable insights regarding the motivation for the various meanings of multi-word verbs with the two particles. Other Cognitive linguists, inspired by Lindner's work, have contributed with a great number of studies involving the semantics of particles and multi-word verbs. One that stands out is *the Semantics of English Prepositions* carried out by Tyler and Evans (2003), where the scholars provided a comprehensive analysis of the English spatial prepositions by proposing a primary meaning for each one of them as well as their functional element. Additionally, the authors suggested a model to identify the central sense of a word, named the *Principled Polysemy Model*.

Relying on the model proposed by Tyler and Evans (2003), I set off to identify the primary sense present in this VERB AND PARTICLE combination. I also attempted to uncover the cognitive processes that motivated the polysemous network underlying it.

By carrying out a qualitative analysis, 597 instances of COME OUT were randomly extracted through the medium of the software R from the Corpus of Contemporary English (COCA). They were analyzed firstly in terms of the relationship between the two entities, namely TR and LM, which participated in the predicate. The patterns that emerged from the different configurations instantiated by the relationship between TR and LM gave rise to semantic categories that possibly derived from the central sense of COME OUT. This central sense was determined as 'motion towards exterior of container', which in turn stemmed from the combination of primary meaning of the verb COME – 'move toward' – and the primary meaning of OUT based on the CONTAINER schema.

Like the Cognitive studies mentioned earlier, the present analysis proposed that linguistic structures, such as multi-word verbs, are motivated by conceptual processes, e.g. image

schemas and conceptual metaphors. Thus, drawing on this principle and aligned with the objectives of the present study, the main questions addressed here were:

- 1) In what ways do the concrete and abstract meanings of OUT in COME OUT correspond to the CONTAINER schema?
- 2) How does the identification of TR and LM in COME OUT help reveal the corresponding major schemas of verb and particle?
- 3) What is the relationship between the schematic structures [primitives] Mandler & Cánovas, (2014) formed in infancy and the metaphorical language found in empirical data for COME OUT?
- 4) Which conceptual metaphors underlie the mappings from the source to the target domains in COME OUT?

Regarding the first question, the CONTAINER schema is paramount in order to explain the semantics of OUT. The aspects of a container as we experience it through ordinary daily activities are surely essential to map the physical aspects onto more abstract construals of a container. However, the data showed that the degrees of prototypicality will vary greatly to the point that sometimes it is difficult to relate to the definition of a container with a bounded region, very well accepted in the CL literature. Nonetheless, despite the different versions of OUT in COME OUT, the particle seems to emphasize the fact that the TR is exposed, known or accessible, which enables for a semantic network that unifies the related meanings of the particle.

As for question two, the identification of TR and LM revealed a great deal of different configurations profiled by the particle OUT in the multi-word verb COME OUT. It is possible to say that all versions of OUT found in the instances of COME OUT correspond to either the subschema OUT-1 (*removal*) in Lindner's (1981) analysis, which was the majority of the data, or to the subschema OUT-2 (*expansion*).

In relation to the third question, the empirical data revealed that boundaries and sources are not always relevant/salient in many instances of this multi-word verb. Taking the category 'Focus on final position of the TR', for instance, neither source nor containment seems to be attended to. What is salient in this category is the final location of the TR and not its initial position or trajectory. To sum up, the analysis on empirical data showed that the specification

of the LM, the starting point of the TR or even its position in relation to the LM seems not salient in many of the examples.

Finally, question four relates to the description of conceptual structures that are capable to provide some explanation regarding the extended uses of the COME OUT. One conceptual structure accounted here as being responsible for the extended meanings of the multi-word verb COME OUT is metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are prevailing structures in the establishment of new meanings of the multi-word verb. They are likely to arise through correlation of experience (Grady, 1997) or perceptual resemblance (Tyler and Evans, 2003). The present study showed that some of the recognized metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003 [1980]) were important to predict how the CONTAINER schema for OUT is construed in different configurations. The identified metaphors considered to be the ones arising from the CONTAINER schema in the instances with OUT were SUBSTANCES ARE CONTAINERS, LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS, STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS, BODIES ARE CONTAINERS and TIME IS A CONTAINER. The verb COME also contributed to instantiate the mapping CHANGE OF LOCATION is CHANGE OF STATE. I do not mean to say that these are the only metaphors to be found in the data, but certainly many others may be proposed, such as ORIGIN IS A CONTAINER, as in the example *Music comes out of Jersey*, which could be derived from the metaphor LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS.

The present study demonstrated that both the verb and particle contribute with their individual meanings to compose the whole meaning of the multi-word verbs. This study also confirmed that the verb encodes the image schema of PATH and the instances of COME OUT found in the empirical data revealed that the SOURCE component, which is part of a more complex schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, is not salient in most cases.

On the same token, the particle OUT was found to participate in the whole meaning of the multi-word verb by providing the possibility for the construal of a CONTAINER in multiple forms. Another relevant aspect concerning the schema of CONTAINER associated with the particle OUT, which also corresponds to the LM, is the fact that it is not attended to in many occurrences, such as in the example *when the compromise comes out in the House and the Senate*. In such case, the container (LM) cannot be specified, unless through some conceptual

process that is able to explain the motivation for the use of COME OUT where either the motion or container is not literal.

Lastly, while this research did not exhaust the investigation of verb and particle in COME OUT, it contributed to the studies on multi-word verbs by demonstrating how the polysemy of these linguistic structures may be motivated by conceptual processes. It also suggested that the schematic representations of such processes can be used in class as an alternative to more traditional methods to the teaching of non-native speakers.

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**APPENDIX A - Instances of COME OUT that instantiated by conceptual metaphors**

LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS:

DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK
SPOK	Piece of journalism	Middle East
SPOK	oral argument	Texas
MAG	music	Jersey
MAG	his father	from Minnesota
SPOK	It (HIV/the disease)	(Haiti)
SPOK	What (Decisions/Conclusions)	of Durban
SPOK	something	of Europe
SPOK	Taliban soldiers	of kunduz
SPOK	anything beautiful	of it (the Balkans)
SPOK	A three man race	of New Hampshire
NEWS	Frank	of Ohio State
MAG	them (people)	of Mississippi
SPOK	a lot of refugees	of Basra
NEWS	the state champion	of this region
NEWS	the continued financial fiasco	of Washington
SPOK	I/He	of Iraq (inferred)

## BODIES ARE CONTAINERS:

DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK
FIC	Nothing (no words)	of his mouth
FIC	her breath	of her mouth (inferred)
NEWS	anything	of his mouth
MAG	the word	(of my mouth) inferred
MAG	the words	of my mouth
ACAD	my tooth	of my mouth (inferred)
SPOK	His views	come out (from the mind?)
SPOK	That baby	Mork's navel
SPOK	That "yes"	the mouth (inferred)
SPOK	her mama bear claws	Fingers (inferred)
NEWS	blood	of Ms. Kelly's nose
MAG	water	of your ears
FIC	steam	of his nostrils
FIC	red veins	of the skin
FIC	fluid	of her
FIC	the baby	of mom
FIC	The word	of Dorene
FIC	no words	of his lips
FIC	that trickling creep of sparkle	of me
NEWS	all the tubes and wires	of A.J.
NEWS	He	of himself

## STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS:

DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK
SPOK	Something	of congressional hearing with oil company
SPOK	Blockbuster announcements	of that meeting
SPOK	the most significant thing	of this straw poll
SPOK	The agreement	of the meeting
SPOK	the people	depression of the '30s
SPOK	a synthesis of those points of view	of meetings, round tables (inferred)
SPOK	You	of a tradition
SPOK	The Lebanese Prime Minister	of that meeting
SPOK	Henry Kissinger	of an effort
SPOK	one of the questions	of the crisis
SPOK	China	of a recession
SPOK	the provision	of the conference
SPOK	the Legacy	of these Games
SPOK	Nothing	of it (of what candidates say)
SPOK	good news	of the Katrina situation
SPOK	Benghazi	of that crazy (situation)
SPOK	you	of that debate
SPOK	Nothing else	of this case
SPOK	they	of your court file
SPOK	Bond	of torture
SPOK	He	of hiding
SPOK	us (we)	of a serious problem/crisis/situation
SPOK	you	of unconsciousness (inferred)
FIC	The funniest writing	of our own experiences and frustrations
FIC	something bad	of what I did to help them
FIC	He (Sam)	of a bad situation (inferred)
FIC	Tomcic	of a trance
FIC	the best thing	of all this (situation)

FIC	every image	of his own spontaneous chemistry
FIC	we	(of humbleness/modesty)
NEWS	We	of stretches
NEWS	we	of the economic funk
NEWS	some good	of this shakeout
NEWS	I	of it (the disease)
NEWS	I	of the marriage
NEWS	Henery	of the college ranks
NEWS	all the questions	of the Deepwater Horizon incident
NEWS	Thorpe	of the game
NEWS	The country	of the 2001 recession
NEWS	other songs	of your imagination
MAG	His paycheck	of a \$1.75 million line of credit
MAG	We	of it (the bad score/bad situation)
MAG	Jean-Marie Eveillard	of retirement
MAG	Cohen's family name	of slavery
MAG	President Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole	of retirement
MAG	Your sanctuary	of who you are
ACAD	a calling	of an inner conversation
ACAD	We	of that (controversies/situation)
ACAD	images	of the massacre
SPOK	Agreement/decision	this meeting
SPOK	She	this coma
SPOK	Stone Phillips	coma
ACAD	anything	it (antiterrorism meeting)
SPOK	records	that (an informant reporting to a law enforcement source)
SPOK	all (background checks)	this (situation/Law)
SPOK	We	Break
SPOK	Creativity	turbulence in personal life
FIC	I	that meditation
SPOK	President Bush	of the Republican Convention

## TIME IS A CONTAINER:

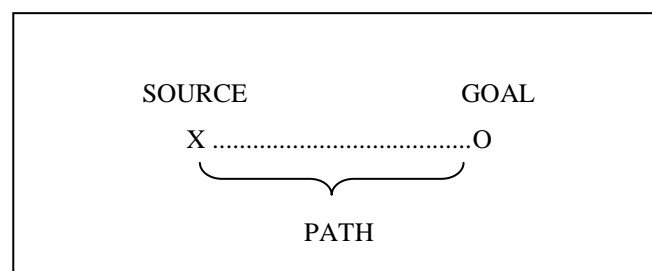
DD	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK
SPOK	it (You Tube message)	of the 1930s
SPOK	We	of four months a year
SPOK	that 20 minutes	of the 2 1/2
NEWS	the commissioners	of three days of meetings
MAG	Any time	of their allotted screen time

**APPENDIX B – Proposed lesson for COME OUT based on a functional-cognitive perspective**

SAMPLE LESSON ADDRESSING *COME OUT*, BASED ON A FUNCTIONAL-COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE.

NB: It is important or desirable to briefly address the notions of TR and LM as well as conceptual metaphors.

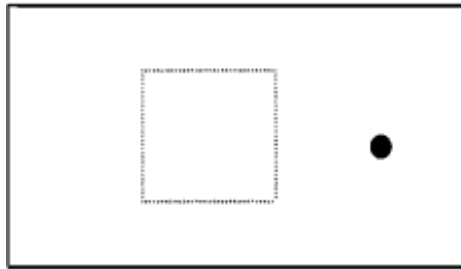
1. Initiate the activity by showing students the two sentences with COME OUT and ask them if they can associate concrete or abstract uses with the multi-word verb.
  - a. Jeff **comes out** of the bank with a manila envelope.
  - b. I think most jobs are going to **come out** of Sears.
  
2. Show students the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema and tell them that it is associated with the verb COME, showing sentences to exemplify it.



Source: the author

- c. A young woman **comes out** from around the counter.
  - d. The party or two Europeans and fourteen Maori men and women **come out** on to the beach.
  
3. Ask students if they can identify the components SOURCE and/or GOAL in the other instances with COME OUT:
  - e. **Coming out** West in itself has been a big adjustment for me.

- f. People who **came out** of the water were dropped onto the interstate.
  - g. And then the truth **came out**.
4. Show students the CONTAINER image schema and tell them that it is associated with the particle OUT, showing a sentence to exemplify it.



Source: Tyler and Evans (2003)

- h. I have just come out of the bathroom
5. Briefly explain the properties of the CONTAINER schema: three-dimensional with exterior, boundary and interior; say that the container corresponds to a LM. Show students more instances with COME OUT and ask them if they can identify the properties of CONTAINER in all examples.
- i. Seeing the three of us **coming out** of this storm must surely feel like one last nightmare.
  - j. There are other songs that just **come out** of your imagination.
  - k. In this country, you can start with nothing and **come out** fine.
6. Brainstorm the meanings of COME OUT for the examples presented previously. Then compare the meanings produced by the students with the ‘sanctioning’ meaning of this multi-word verb. Also show them the other proposed senses of COME OUT and ask them to match some examples with these proposed senses.
- (1) ‘Appear’ sense
  - (2) ‘Become public’ sense
  - (3) ‘Result of a process’ sense

- (4) ‘Focus on final position of TR’ sense  
 (5) ‘Physical and psychological support’ sense

- ( \_\_\_ ) Four sets of EMT's **came out** to the bridge location.  
 ( \_\_\_ ) After various stages of filtration, dirty water **comes out** clean.  
 ( \_\_\_ ) She makes sure that the soft side of me **comes out**.  
 ( \_\_\_ ) I'm glad you **came out** for the team.  
 ( \_\_\_ ) And then the truth **came out**.

7. Finally, briefly explain to them that conceptual metaphors can motivate abstract uses for COME OUT. Show them some of these metaphors and ask them to match the instances with COME OUT and the metaphors.

( ___ ) We were <b>coming out</b> of four months a year.	6 LAND AREAS ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) China, for example, is <b>coming out</b> of a recession in 1990.	7 STATES AND EVENTS ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) Shaking his head clear like a dog coming out of the water, Beck tuned out everything.	8 BODIES ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) She loved the way her breath <b>came out</b> in a frosty vapor on this brisk December morning.	9 SUBSTANCES ARE CONTAINERS
( ___ ) The continued financial fiasco <b>coming out</b> of Washington.	10 TIME IS A CONTAINER



**APPENDIX C – Answers for the sample lesson addressing COME OUT, based on a functional-cognitive perspective.**

- 1) a. Concrete  
b. Abstract.

- 3) e. Goal - West  
f. Source - the water  
g. Neither source or goal is specified.

- 5) i. CONTAINER - Storm  
j. CONTAINER - Imagination  
k. CONTAINER – Not specified

6.  
(4)  
(3)  
(1)  
(5)  
(2)

7.  
(5)  
(2)  
(4)  
(3)  
(1)