10 Summary: Cross Domain Mappings

10.1 Cross-domain mappings

According to Langacker, "semantic structures…are characterized relative to 'cognitive domains', where a domain can be any sort of conceptualization: a perceptual experience, a concept, a conceptual complex, an elaborate knowledge system, etc." (1991, p. 5). He gives the example of the predication 'knife' which requires at least a spatial domain (for its physical shape), one for the activity of cutting, and one for its membership in the set of silverware, and probably several others. The set of domains required for characterization of a predication he calls a "complex matrix." Within the matrix, a domain may be more or less central, based on the context in which it is used. Moreover, one domain may figure into other domains; in the 'knife' example, the spatial domain (which is probably more basic) a component of the other two.

Similarly, a full description of the use of independents, conjuncts, the preverb *é-*, and obviation require reference to at least two *grammatical* domains.[1] One domain is that of the sentence, and the other is that of discourse, which together constitute the complex matrix. And while we will need to talk about their use *within* different

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[1] I assume that linguistic knowledge constitutes a domain of experience. Within this wider domain, we have metalinguistic sub-domains or frames for sentence construction, the organization of discourse based on context, etc.

grammatical domains—that is, both in sentences and discourse—we will also need to characterize the relationships between their uses *across* these domains.

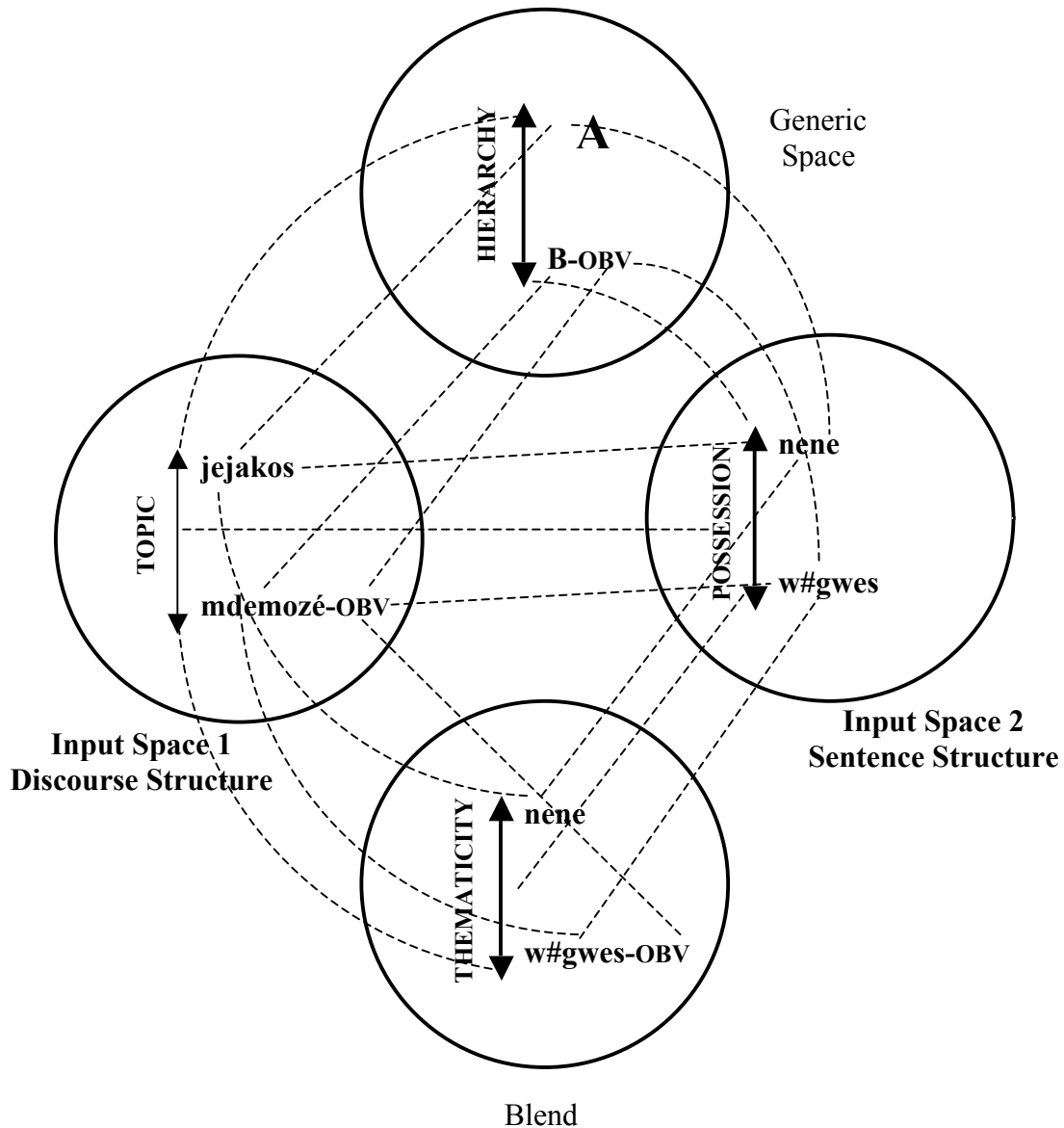## 10.2 Cross Domain Mappings as Grammatical Blends

Recent work in Mental Spaces theory has argued that blends are central to grammar (Fauconier and Turner, 1996; Fauconnier, 1997). Generally, these studies have focused on the idea that constructions are blends that combine an input Space 1 for the basic use of the construction with another Space 2 that provides a context for a plausible extension of the construction. When the blend is 'run', there is a mapping between counterparts in the two input domains, which are then projected into the blend. These common elements are projected into the blend. The form of the construction is also projected from input Space 1 allowing for the labeling of the construction with its new semantic extension.

In this chapter, I will argue that the use of the independent, conjunct, preverb e- and obviation within syntax in everyday discourse, and their discourse uses in narrative are the result of grammatical blends.

10.2.1 Obviation

The diagram in (1) represents the cross-space mapping for obviation, and shows how the marking of obviation in a particular domain might be extended to another domain that is perceived by speakers to be similar in semantic structure.

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(1) OBVIATION BLEND

HIERARCHY
A
B-OBV

Generic
Space

TOPIC
jejakos
mdemozé-OBV

POSSESSION
nene
w#gwes

Input Space 1
Discourse Structure

Input Space 2
Sentence Structure

THEMATICITY
nene
w#gwes-OBV

Blend

The input spaces represent two obviation instance constructions (see Chapter 9).

Input Space 1 contains a representation of Discourse Obviation, where *jejakos* 'Crane'

outranks *mdemozé* 'Old Woman' on the Topic hierarchy (see Chapter 9, examples (39) –

(41)).   Input Space 2 contains a representation of Possessee Obviation where the

possessor *nene* 'man' outranks the possessee *wgwesen* 'his son' (see Chapter 9 examples

(7) – (11)). In Input Space 1, the vertical arrow represents the topic hierarchy. This space has the most topical nominal *jejakos* 'Crane Boy' ranked higher than *mdemozé* 'Old Woman'. In Input Space 2, the vertical arrow represents the possession hierarchy, where the possessor outranks the possessee. This space shows a possessor, *nene* 'man' ranked higher than the possessee, *wgwesen* 'his son'. (see Chapter 9 for a discussion).

In the cross-domain mapping, the topic hierarchy maps onto the possession hierarchy. The highest ranking nominal in Input Space 1 maps onto the possessor in Input Space 2, and the lower ranked nominal in Input Space 1 maps onto the possessee in Input Space 2.

The generic space represents the comparison of the input spaces, and contains a representation of the elements shared by the input spaces. In this case, the generic space contains a hierarchy, non-coreferential third persons "A" and "B" that are ranked relative to the hierarchy, and requires the grammatical marking of the lower ranked nominal. This, in fact, is a good representation of the Obviation Construction.

Once the mapping between the elements of the input spaces is established, the blend can be 'run'. The blend contains the hierarchy of ranked possessor and possess from the Input Space 2, and takes the grammatical marking of the lower ranked nominal from Input Space 1. The result is grammatical marking of obviation in a new syntactic domain.

10.2.2 Main Clause Conjunct Verbs in Narrative

The next case I will consider is the use of main clause conjuncts in narrative discourse. I have argued that the use of the conjunct in the main clauses of narrative

foreground sentences (that is, the NC) represents the embedding, or subordination, of

narrative within a larger non-narrative discourse (see Chapter 6). I argue below that this

is also accomplished with a blend.

The set up of the blend is much the same as for obviation, with both a syntactic

and discourse input space. In the diagram in (2), Input Space 1 (Sentence Structure)

contains a representation of a complex sentence with a subordinate clause, the

subordinate clause containing a conjunct verb, indicated with a "C" (the argument for this

type of representation is given in Chapter 4). Input Space 2 (Discourse Structure)

contains a representation of narrative discourse embedded inside of a larger non-narrative

discourse. The line between the two spaces represents a division of information into the

"Reality" Domain (everyday discourse) and the Narrative Domain (narrative discourse).

(The argument for this representation is given in Chapter 7.)

(2) NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION BLEND

Generic Space

"Reality" Domain

Main Clause

Subordinate Clause

C

Narrative Domain

**Input Space 1
Sentence Structure**

**Input Space 2
Discourse Structure**

C

Blend
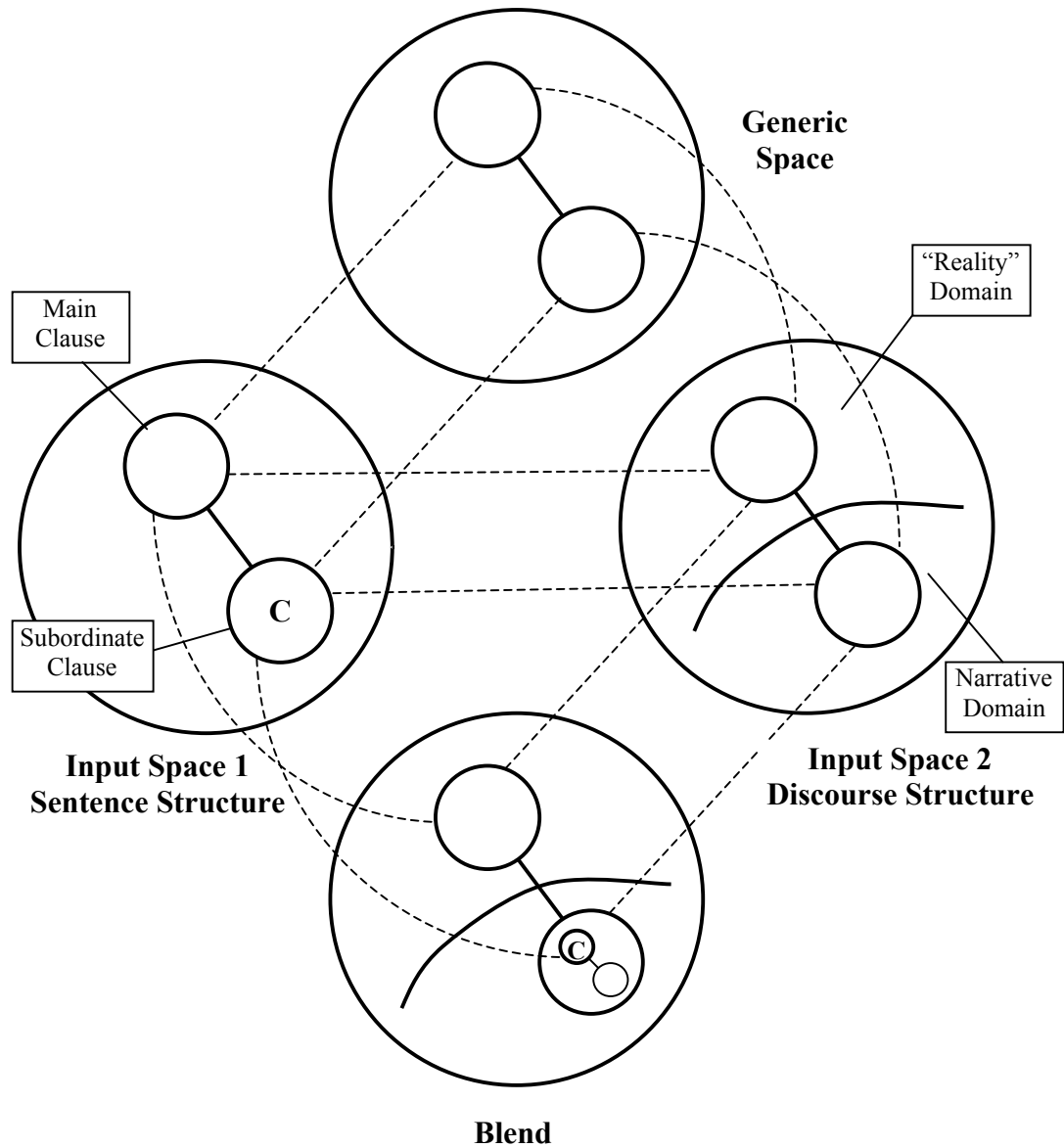
    The cross-space mappings are as follows: The main clause of Sentence Structure maps onto the "Reality" Domain network of Discourse Structure, the subordinate clause of Sentence Structure maps onto the Narrative Domain network of Discourse Structure.
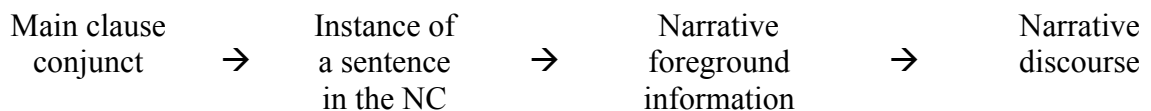
    The Generic Space contains a representation of a complex structure with a parent space and a subordinate space. The parent space maps onto the main clause in Sentence

Structure and the "Reality" Domain network of Discourse Structure, and the subordinate space maps onto the subordinate clause in Sentence Structure and the Narrative Domain network in Discourse Structure.

The blend functions to map the subordinate clause from Sentence Structure onto the Narrative Domain network from Discourse Structure, and crucially provides the label—the conjunct—which is then applied to the Narrative Domain network.

The way the conjunct specifically represents the Narrative Domain network is accomplished through a series of metonymies, as follows:

(3)

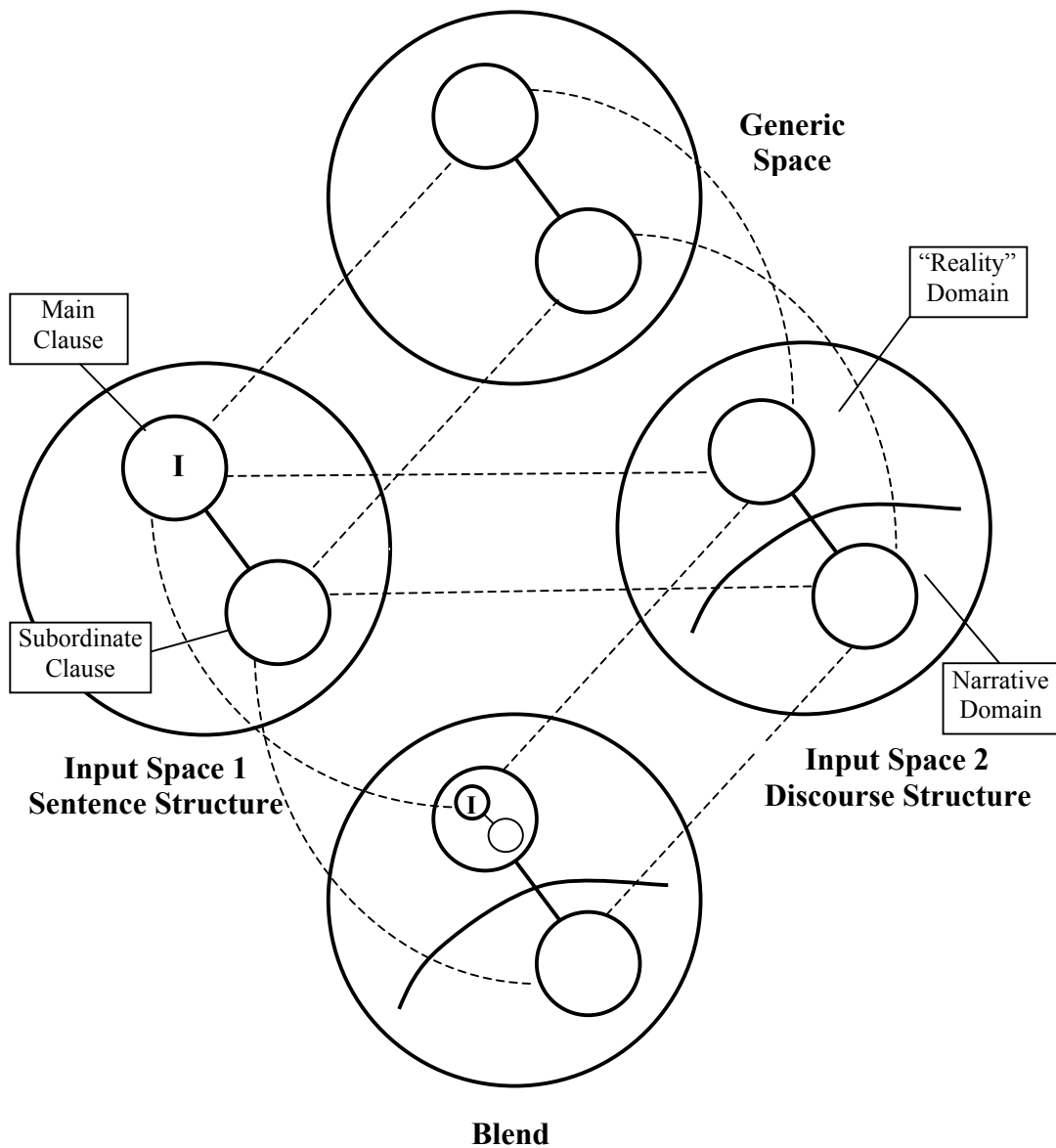| Main clause conjunct | → | Instance of a sentence in the NC | → | Narrative foreground information | → | Narrative discourse |

In each mapping, the smaller grammatical unit stands for the larger unit that includes it: the main clause stands for a sentence as a whole, so a main clause conjunct can stand for a sentence in the NC pattern. The NC pattern represents narrative foreground information, and this in turn represents narrative discourse. (The main clause conjunct alone does not trigger this mapping, since there are other uses of main clause conjuncts, as described in Chapter 4. I presume there are many contextual cues along with the use of main clause conjuncts that indicate a narrative discourse).

10.2.3 Main Clause Independent Verbs in Narrative

The use of main clause independent verbs in narrative (that is the use of the CC) can also be represented as a blend, in much the same way as with the use of main clause conjuncts in narrative, as shown in (4):

(4) CONVERSATIONAL CONSTRUCTION BLEND

Generic Space

"Reality" Domain

Main Clause

I

Subordinate Clause

Narrative Domain

Input Space 1
Sentence Structure

I

Input Space 2
Discourse Structure

Blend

In this case, the critical cross-space mapping is of the main clause independent verb (represented by "I" in the Sentence Structure input space) onto the "Reality" Domain network of Discourse Structure. In the blend, the use of the independent "label" gets extended to the "Reality" Domain.

As with the conjunct, there is a series of metonymies:

(5)

| Main clause independent | → | Instance of a sentence in the CC | → | Everyday discourse |
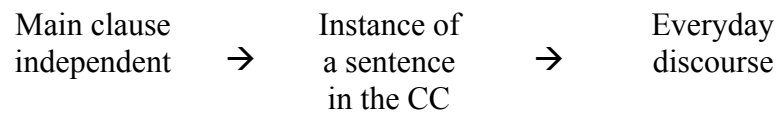
A main clause independent stands for a sentence in the CC pattern, which in turn is representative of everyday discourse.
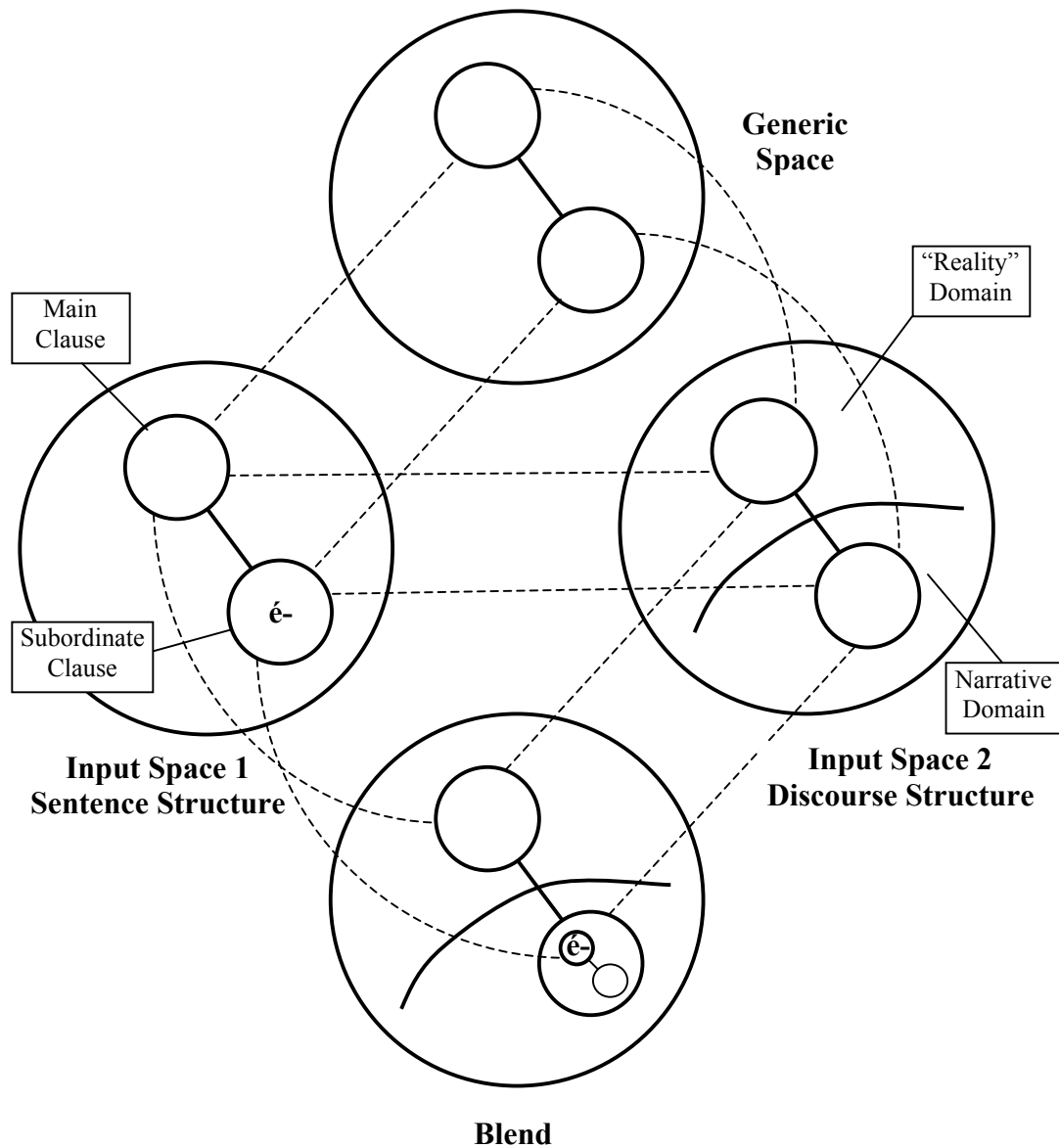
This indexicality of the independent for the "Reality" Domain is not as apparent as the indexicality of the conjunct for the Narrative Domain, largely because this function is 'hidden in plain view'. That is, it takes the contrast of narrative sentences with main clause conjuncts to show this functionality of the conjunct. Everyday discourse does not, in and of itself, show the indexicality of the independent for a non-embedded domain. Clues to this use are, however, provided by the use of main clause independent verbs in narrative (instances of the CC), which I have argued index everyday discourse (and thus the "Reality" Domain) in various ways. The types of information that the CC can represent due to this indexicality include background and focalized information—see Chapter 6 for a discussion).

10.2.4 The *é-* preverb

In Chapter 4, we argued that the function of the *é-* preverb within the sentence is as a kind of factive, indicating strong speaker confidence in the factuality of the proposition expressed in a subordinate clause. In Chapter 6, we argued for its role in narrative discourse as a kind of evidential, marking the strong epistemic stance conventionally taken by a speaker in the telling of a traditional narrative. We are now able to demonstrate that the use of the *é-* preverb on conjunct verbs in the main clauses of narrative foreground sentences is another instance of a blend that takes Sentence Structure and Discourse Structure as input spaces.

Since the *é-* preverb accompanies main conjuncts in narrative foreground sentences, it makes sense to use the basic blend structure given in (2) for the use of main clause conjuncts in narrative. The blend for the *é-* preverb is shown in (6) below:
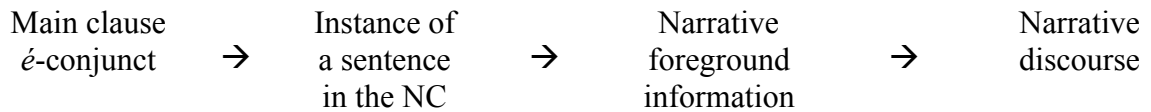
(6) BLEND FOR THE PREVERB É-

Generic Space

"Reality" Domain

Main Clause

Subordinate Clause

é-

Narrative Domain

Input Space 1 Sentence Structure

Input Space 2 Discourse Structure

é-

Blend

The input spaces are again Sentence Structure and Discourse Structure. The subordinate clause space in Sentence Structure maps onto the subordinate Narrative Domain in Discourse Structure. In the blend, the label "*é-*" is applied to the Narrative Domain, to which it contributes its semantics as a marker of factivity. Its association to

main clause conjuncts as representative of the narrative domain is again accomplished

through the series of metonymies as given in (7), repeated and slightly modified below:

(7)

| Main clause *é*-conjunct | → | Instance of a sentence in the NC | → | Narrative foreground information | → | Narrative discourse |

10.2.5 Directionality of mapping

In the discussion above, I have represented particular mapping as being projected

from one domain onto another. While I assume that there is a directionality to the

mapping, I am not here making a claim about the particular directionality of each blend.

The directionality I have posited for the purposes of exposition are merely those that

seem to be plausible directions of grammaticalization in each case. That is, it seems

plausible that the 'basic' uses of independents, conjuncts and the preverb *é*- are what we

find in everyday discourse, and their narrative uses are derived from this. However,

knowing that conjuncts are older verb forms and narrative discourse tends to be

conservative, there are likely good arguments for the opposite directionality.[2] Obviation,

on the other hand, more likely arose as a discourse mechanism, and seems to be

grammaticalized in syntax (in fact, I have argued that Potawatomi shows this in

progress). My point is the mapping could go either way without undermining the

existence of the blend. While I find the question of directionality an interesting one, I

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[2]See Goddard (1967) for a discussion of the development of independent verbs as nominalizations.

am mainly interested in establishing the existance of a mapping between the domains of discourse and syntax.

10.3 Conclusion

The descriptive problem posed at the beginning of this discussion was the behavior of several grammatical elements in Potawatomi whose distributions vary depending on the discourse context. Standard theories of syntax are bound to fail at an explanation, because they cannot "see" the discourse. Without reference to discourse, how can one reconcile the fact that in Potawatomi, both independent and conjunct verbs are used to mark main clauses? Or that the preverb *é-* has a restricted use in conversation to certain types of subordinate clauses, but proliferates to nearly every finite verb in narrative?

I have argued that a cognitive linguistic framework provides the means of describing such constructions whose distribution is dependent on discourse context. Using the theory of Mental Spaces, I have argued that these different distributions represent constructional polysemy, where a single grammatical form is mapped onto multiple functions. Because discourse structures are seen as part of a continuum of form-meaning pairings that include syntactic structures, it makes sense that functions of constructions might be predicated in these different domains.

In this chapter, I have argued for the existence of several mental space blends in Potawatomi that take as their inputs constructions in syntax and constructions in discourse. Existing contexts for the use of a construction are compared to possible new contexts, and this comparison generates cross-space mappings. If there are enough

similarities, and the motivation is strong enough, the new context may be adopted, the blend run, and the marking (form) of the construction can be extended to the new, semantically related function. While I have argued that this blend structure is productive in Potawatomi, it seems likely to be productive in many, if not most languages, given the assumption that in all languages, syntactic structures and discourse structures are the same basic kinds of entities.

The goals of this dissertation were to describe several areas of Potawatomi morphosyntax that have not been given much attention in the literature, and at the same time to argue for a theory of grammar that allows an examination of relationships across traditional domains of grammatical description. I have argued that the use of independents, conjuncts, the preverb *é-* and obviation have functions across grammatical domains, and that a full grammatical description requires not only addressing their use in each domain, but the relationship between their functions across these domains. Since each discourse genre comes with a set of requirements about grammatical form, it makes sense to describe grammatical form with reference to those genres. And, only after we can talk about this relationship can we address the possibility of a systematicity to the various uses of these constructions.

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