

In (2), it is the STIMULUS that emits a fictive force that brings about the emotional change in the EXPERIENCER. These examples show that a force-dynamic relationship between an EXPERIENCER and a STIMULUS can proceed both ways ('into' or 'out of' the STIMULUS).

In (3) and (4), the subject referent is a EXPERIENCER that becomes either aware (3) or unaware (4) of a STIMULUS ('the book'). Such a change is conceptualized as fictive motion by the STIMULUS into or out of its spatial location, where it actually resides continuously. In general, a STIMULUS that enters the awareness of the EXPERIENCER fictively moves away from its spatial location (3), while a STIMULUS that exits the EXPERIENCER's awareness fictively moves into its spatial location (4); cf. Huumo (2006).

As my data I use the index of case-government verbs by Jönsson-Korhola and White (2002). I consider only VLCs in which the choice of a directional case is evidently not motivated by actual motion or another kind of actual change. I argue that **directionality government** is motivated by four schematic meanings that sometimes overlap in an individual VLC: i) 'becoming active "from" a location' vs. 'becoming passive "into" a location', ii) unrealized motion out of a location as fictive motion "into" that location, and unrealized motion into a location as fictive motion "out of" that location, iii) expressions of figurative 'giving to' vs. 'receiving from' with an abstract or fictive THEME, and iv) inception of existence in a location as motion "into" that location and cessation of existence in a location as motion "out of" that location. **Case government proper** comprises mostly verbs of cognition and perception with a locative complement that designates a STIMULUS (in a broad sense), in either the illative or the elative case. The choice of the case reflects the conceived directionality of the cognitive-perceptive relationship, which can proceed either from the EXPERIENCER into [a CONTACT with] the STIMULUS (illative) or vice versa (elative). The availability of such generalizations suggests that VLCs are not arbitrary, isolated combinations of verbs and local cases but instantiate more schematic, semantically motivated argument structure constructions in the spirit of Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar.

References:

- Huumo, Tuomas. 2006. 'I woke up from the sofa': Subjective directionality in Finnish expressions of spatio-cognitive transfers. In: Helasvuo, M-L & Campbell, L. (eds.), *Grammar from the human perspective: Case, space and person in Finnish* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 277.), 41–65. John Benjamins.
- Jönsson-Korhola, Hannele & White, Leila. 2002. *Tarkista tästä. Suomen sanojen rektioita suomea vierana kielenä opiskeleville*. Finn Lectura.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a cognitive semantics Vol. I: Concept structuring systems*. MIT Press.