



Arriving events in English and Spanish: a contrastive analysis in terms of Frame Semantics

Maria Cristobal

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Abstract

This paper presents a detailed contrastive frame semantic analysis of *arriving events* in English and Spanish, attested through a corpus study. The framework and methodology of our research follows the FrameNet II Research Project housed at ICSI.

First, we present a formal description of the Arriving frame as a *subframe* of the Motion frame: *arriving* encodes a basic subpart of our conceptualization of motion, namely the transition from moving to arriving at a goal.

Second, we carry out a cross-linguistic analysis of this frame, based on a corpus study of English and Spanish arriving predicates. A first assumption would suggest that these two languages share a basic abstract frame description for *arriving* events. While acknowledging this, we yet show that at a lexical level the particular *lexicalization patterns* of each language influence the way speakers bring onto stage the different participants of the scene. We discuss this issue through a study of *implicit frame elements*, *conflation* and *incorporation* patterns, *profiling*, and *deixis*.

Third, we briefly introduce the question of *polysemy* for those predicates that participate in the *arriving* frame. Arguably, the spatial meaning of *arriving* is the core sense from which a set of *sense extensions* derives, pointing to a wide range of independent frames (e.g. Cognition frame, Achievement frame, etc.) This fact can be attested in both languages in a parallel way. The different senses can be described synchronically in terms of frame semantics, while motivation for them is to be found in the cognitive processes of *Metaphor* (across frames), and *Fictive Motion* (within frame).

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1. Introduction: Frame Semantics and motion

This paper is aimed at presenting a semantic analysis of constructions that convey the motion event of *arriving* in English and Spanish. In this section I will provide a brief introduction to the framework of my study –*frame semantics*, as well as to the field of my research: motion.

1.1. Frame Semantics

“Frame semantics is a research program in empirical semantics which emphasizes the continuities between language and experience, and provides a framework for presenting the results of that research. A ‘*frame*’ is any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one concept it is necessary to understand the entire system; introducing any one concept results in all of them becoming available. In frame semantics, a word represents a category of experience; part of the research endeavor is the uncovering of reasons a speech community has for creating the category represented by the word and including that reason in the description of the meaning of the word” (Petrucci 1996: 1)

This definition of Frame Semantics brings into the picture the main theoretical tenets of Cognitive Linguistics: the idea that language is an integral part of cognition which reflects the interaction of cultural, psychological, communicative and functional considerations. Meaning lies behind each one of these concerns, and approaching the *lexical semantics* of a word implies facing this rich amalgam.

“Meaning is equated with conceptualization. Linguistic semantics must therefore attempt the structural analysis and explicit description of abstract entities like thoughts and concepts. The term conceptualization is interpreted quite broadly: it encompasses novel conceptions as well as fixed concepts; sensory, kinesthetic, and emotive experience; recognition of the immediate context (social, physical and linguistic); and so on. Because conceptualization resides in cognitive processing, our ultimate objective must be to characterize the types of cognitive events whose occurrence constitutes a given mental experience. The remoteness of this goal is not a valid argument for denying the conceptual basis of meaning” (Langacker 1991: 2)

Fillmore coins the word *frame* to describe “specific unified frameworks of knowledge, or coherence schematizations of experience” (Fillmore 1985: 223), suggesting the important role of experience in building up and shaping the structure of our knowledge which in turn feeds the meaning of single words. This experiential view pursues a more practical and empirical description of meaning, committed to yielding a realistic account over conceptualization and meaning processing.

“Frame semantics is first of all an approach to the understanding and description of the meanings of lexical items and grammatical constructions. It begins with the uncontroversial assumption that in order to understand the meanings of the words in a language we must first have knowledge of the conceptual structures, or semantic frames, which provide the background and motivation for their existence in the language and for their use in discourse.” (Johnson et al. 2001: 11)

The relation between a frame and a word can be explained along the same lines as Langacker’s distinction between *base* and *profile* (Langacker 1987, v. I). To illustrate his point, this author presents the canonical example of the word *hypotenuse*, whose meaning can only be understood by *activating* the concept of a *right triangle*: right triangle is the base, hypotenuse is the profile. We can then say that understanding the relevant features of a right triangle is understanding the frame against which the word hypotenuse is to be defined.

Arguably, the claim been made here can be extended to the whole vocabulary, suggesting that all words bring along an entire *experiential scene* (frame), and that knowing the meaning of a word requires knowing the structure and semantics of the frame that it is associated with:

“The basic assumption of Frame Semantics [...] is that each word evokes a particular frame and possibly profiles some element or aspect of that frame. An “evoked” frame is the structure of knowledge required for the understanding of a given lexical or phrasal item; a “profiled” entity is the component of a frame that integrates directly into the semantic structure of the surrounding text or sentence” (Fillmore, Wooters & Baker 2000: 2)

In developing a frame-semantic description we must follow certain steps. Briefly, these steps are:

- 1.- Identify the phenomena, experience or scenarios that may be linked to a consistent frame.
- 2.- Elaborate a list of predicates that evoke this frame, and identify the sentences in which they occur.
- 3.- Identify and assign labels to the parts or aspects of these predicates which are associated with specific means of linguistic expression. These are called *frame elements* (FEs) and can be thought of in terms of the semantic roles that arguments can have in a predicate-argument structure. They will correspond to the schematic structure of the frame.

A full account of these predicates must also include information about their specific grammatical properties and the various syntactic contexts in which they may occur. Such grammatical information about the syntactic-semantic valence description of each predicate is not specified in the frame. Nevertheless, it should be deducible from a rich description of each frame element.

1.2. **Motion**

Motion lies at the core of our perceptual organization and conceptualization of reality. We start perceiving things in motion even before we are able to walk or crawl, being this one of the earliest and most basic human experiences. This experience becomes entrenched and helps build up our conceptual structure. Note simply its pervasiveness as the source domain of *metaphor*, whereby very many different domains of our experience are expressed in motion terms (e.g. *Mary fell in love*; *John was pushed for money*; *time flies*; etc.). Motion is apprehended and computed with no extra cognitive cost, and consequently human language will extensively resort to its experiential bases to facilitate more abstract meanings, and provide them with a formal structure.

Our daily experience of motion brings along the following schema: a *thing* moves from one place to another, following a certain trajectory and with a given directionality. This corresponds to an *event* that unfolds within time.

When it comes to provide a more formal account of motion, scholars within the cognitive approach have proposed different versions of it:

Following Langacker (1987, 1991), motion is defined in terms of component states, in which a mover successively occupies location l_1 at moment t_1 , l_2 at t_2 , l_3 at t_3 ... l_n at t_n .

For him, “a motion verb can be regarded as a special sort of perfective process, namely one in which each component state specifies the relation between the mover and its immediate location.” (1991:155). Importantly, in this formula there is no mention of *Source, Path, Goal* or *Direction*, as other experientialist models will propose as main components of motion. Rather, Langacker puts forward the concept of *sequential scanning* to describe a motion event as a temporal relation in which “a series of states are conceived through the successive transformation of one into another, noncumulative in nature” (1987: 493).

In Talmy’s terms (1985, 2000), motion is described according to a *Figure and Ground schema*: “[t]he Figure is a moving or conceptually movable object whose path or site is at issue. The Ground is a reference frame, or a reference object stationary within a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure’s path or site is characterized” (“2000: II, 26). Consequently, this author defines a motion event as a situation “containing movement or maintenance of a stationary location” (1985: 85). Talmy concentrates on the analysis of the basic semantic components of a motion event, and divides them into two types (1985: 61): *internal components* and *external co-event components*. Among the former, he distinguishes the *Figure* –the moving object-; *Ground* –entity or entities that the Figure is moving in relation to-; *Path* –the course followed (and trajectory) of the Figure-; and *Motion* –the actual predication of a motion act. Among the latter, Talmy lists *Manner* –the way in which motion is performed-; and *Cause* –what originates the motion itself. In his picture, Talmy does not include the notions of *Source, Medium* or *Goal* of motion either; he claims that the figural schema suffices to capture a motion event, since the Ground functions as the reference object that runs across these separate labels.

Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) argue that our understanding of motion is based on an abstract *image schema* (i-schema) ¹ which includes SOURCE, PATH, GOAL and DIRECTION as its structural components. This image schema is grounded on our bodily experience of motion: “[e]verytime we move anywhere there is a place we start from, a place we wind up at, a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the starting and ending points, and a direction” (Lakoff 1987: 275). This has been formally represented as a *Source-Path-Goal* i-schema (SPG i-schema) (Johnson 1987). To be

more precise, and following Bergen et al. (2000: 6), this schema *specializes* the *Trajector-Landmark* i-schema (Langacker 1987), which captures an asymmetric spatial relationship between a trajector, whose orientation, location or motion is defined relative to a landmark. Thus, the SPG i-schema structures our understanding of motion in a way such that a trajector moves (relative to some landmark) along a path, from a source to a goal. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) claim that understanding an utterance that conveys an event of motion requires a *mental simulation* that is grounded on these i-schemas. Therefore, these must conform the semantic pole of a *motion construction*².

According to Fillmore, the MOTION frame is a fairly abstract and general frame “involving little more than location changes whose components are a starting point (SOURCE), a trajectory (PATH), and a destination (GOAL)” (Fillmore et al. 2000: 14). As we can see, the schematized, experience-based description of motion made in frame semantics is quite similar to that proposed by the authors above. The semantic schemas of Trajector-Landmark and Source-Path-Goal are translatable into the Fillmorean cases (or “proto-frame elements”) of THEME (the trajector), SOURCE, PATH and GOAL (Fillmore 1977). Here follows a brief description of these FEs as sketched in Johnson et al. (2001), the *target word* –i.e. the motion predicate- appears in bold:

FE: Theme

The theme is the entity that changes location.

*The explosion made [me] **move** in a hurry*

FE: Source

The Source is the location the Theme occupies initially before its change of location.

*The policeman **moved** [away from the door]*

FE: Path

Path refers to (a part of) the ground the Theme travels over or to a landmark the Theme travels by.

*The door opened, and he **moved** [past Dad], into the hall*

FE: Goal

Goal is the location the Theme ends up in.

¹ Image schemas are abstractions over sensorimotor experiences that are retrieved by simulation in the brain (Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

² For more information about *Simulation-Based Language Understanding*, and Lakoff’s *Embodied Construction Grammar*, visit www.icsi.berkeley.edu/~NTL

*The car accelerated and **moved** [into the slow lane], as he passed*

Verbs like *move* or *travel* can be listed as lexical units in this frame. More specific motion predicates –such as *exit*, *cross* or *arrive*- will be treated as *elaborations* on this abstract frame: they inherit all the properties of Motion, and add *profiling* on one of its frame elements³. In the case of *exit*, the frame receives Source-profiling, in the case of *cross* Path-profiling, and in the case of *arrive*, Goal-profiling.

This process of inheritance-plus-elaboration is central in the descriptive apparatus of the FrameNet project, and serves to anchor the semantic commonality held across frames at different levels of specificity. Motion, being such a basic and broad domain of our experience, knows a great deal of elaborations, and these will all be related through this common abstract schematization described in the Motion frame.

³ See the oncoming discussion on *inheritance*, *elaboration* and *profiling* under section 2.3., 2.4., and 2.5.

2. The FrameNet Project

In this section, I would like to introduce the FrameNet project – its theoretical tenets and methodology, which has served as the framework for my research work. I have adopted the FrameNet terminology in the analysis of the *arriving* predicates in English and Spanish, and it is my aim to spell out here the content of those terms that will appear in later sections in this paper.

The Berkeley FrameNet Project (www.icsi.berkeley.edu/~framenet) is aimed at creating an online lexicographic resource for the English language, based on Frame Semantics – a theory developed by Charles Fillmore, the Principal Investigator-, and supported by corpus evidence⁴. Frame Semantics characterizes the semantic and syntactic properties of words by relating them to *semantic frames*:

“A **semantic frame**, henceforth **frame** is a script-like structure of inferences, linked by linguistic convention to the meanings of linguistic units - in our case, lexical items. Each frame identifies a set of **frame elements (FEs)** - participants and props in the frame. A frame semantic description of a lexical item identifies the frames which underlie a given meaning and specifies the ways in which FEs, and constellations of FEs, are realized in structures headed by the word.” (Johnson et al. 2001: 9).

The task is to document the range of semantic and syntactic combinatory possibilities (valences) of each word in each of its senses, through manual annotation of example sentences and automatic annotation of the results.

The annotation of corpus sentences with frame semantic information is thus central to the project work. Each example sentence shows valence properties of one predicating word – typically a verb, adjective or noun. In the context of a given sentence, the word whose semantic and syntactic properties are of interest is called the *target word*, or just the *target*.

The valence descriptions for each word sense provide information about the set of combinations of FEs, *grammatical functions* (GFs) and *phrase types* (PTs), as attested in the corpus.

⁴The FrameNet corpus is the 100-million-word British National Corpus (BNC). The corpus comprises 90% written language and 10% transcribed speech.

Briefly, the FrameNet Project (Fillmore et al. 2000) regards the following constituents as worthy of annotation for its lexicographic relevance:

- For verbs, nouns, adjectives and prepositions: annotate their post-head complements, i.e., constituents of the phrase headed by the target (within the VP, NP, AP or PP) which amplify our understanding of the frame evoked by the head.
- For verbs, annotate constituents external to the VP which instantiate a FE of the verb, either directly (as the verb's subject) or indirectly (by being a direct argument of a predicate which governs the VP through any of various "control" relations).
- For nouns, annotate frame-relevant possessive determiners (*[Roger's] decision to join the party*), relational adjectives (*[environmental] protection*) and modifier nouns in compounds (*[environment] protection*).
- For nouns which occur with *support verbs* (i.e., verbs whose main function is that of providing external representation for an element of the conceptual structure associated with the meaning of the nominal target), annotate the subject of the latter as the External argument of the nominal:

e.g. *He made a **statement** to the press concerning the bribery case,*

where *He* is the FE Speaker in the Communication frame evoked by *statement*, and is consequently tagged as the External argument of the target word ⁵.

2.1. Implicit Frame Elements

The FrameNet project seeks to create an automatic way of grouping lexical units in the same frame according to the constellations of frame elements which conceptually accompany them. With this idea in mind, the need to recognize FEs that were conceptually present but not expressed in the sentence soon arose.

FrameNet posited three kinds of *omissibility conditions* in the corpus sentences (Fillmore et al. 2000), and provided one dummy symbol for each type of zero element (a.k.a. *Null Instantiation*). These three types are:

⁵ The support verb will remain recorded as a relevant lexico-syntactic element in the sentence. Reasons for implementing this policy of annotating beyond the subcategorization frame of a target word are at the heart of the FrameNet goals: to provide a database capable of satisfying the FE requirements of the words analyzed.

Constructional, where the absence of a constituent representing a particular FE is authorized by the grammar of the language: e.g., the missing subject of an imperative sentence (*Say something!*), or the missing agent of a passive sentence (*The document had already been submitted*). The dummy symbol used for this type of *Constructional Null Instantiation* is CNI.

Indefinite, (also called *existential*) where the missing element could be given a generic, existential or indefinite interpretation, such as when the objects of certain common verbs are not mentioned, : *sew, eat, bake*, etc. (*Have you eaten already?*). The dummy symbol used for this type of *Indefinite Null Instantiation* is INI.

Definite, (also called *anaphoric*) in which the missing element has to be understood or “given” in the discourse context. For a sentence like *Did anybody find out?*, both speaker and addressee are in on what it is that somebody might have discovered; *find out* permits an anaphoric zero, whereas a verb like *ascertain*, for instance, does not. The dummy symbol used for this type of *Definite Null Instantiation* is DNI.

2.2. Conflation

FrameNet uses the term Conflation to refer to those cases in which one syntactic constituent lexically provides information about two Frame Elements: (i) Part and Whole

- a. I pinched [Harry] [in the nose]
- b. I pinched [Harry's nose]

(ii) Evaluatee and Reason

- a. I admire [you] [for doing that]
- b. I admire [your action]

In the example in (iib), pertaining to the Evaluation frame, it is important for the semantic description of this sentence to mark the formal presence of two distinct FEs (Evaluatee [your], and Reason [action]), regardless their actual syntactic realization in one single constituent of the sentence (one FE syntactically modifying the other). This example illustrates a case of FE-XP *linking mismatch* that is actually very frequent in the corpus sentences. The FrameNet project is committed to document the range of all frame elements available in the sentence for a single target word, and so these mismatches will be reflected in the annotation. In the present paper, I also document the cases of conflation found in my corpus study.

2.3. Incorporation

FrameNet uses the term *incorporation* to refer to those predicates that incorporate in its lexical entry information about one FE from its FE set. Consider the following sentence:

(iii) He **boxed** the toy for shipment

The verb *box* is included as a lexical unit in the frame of *Placing*, whose FE set is {Agent, Theme, Source, Path, Goal}. Every occurrence of *box* incorporates the FE Goal, which must be so indicated. The dummy symbol for this type of incorporation is INC:

(iv) He **boxed** (INC: GOAL) the toy for shipment

Unlike INI, DNI, and CNI, INC may be used even when the FE is instantiated. For example:

(v) He **boxed** (INC: GOAL) the toy [in a red container GOAL]

2.4. Profiling

The concept of profiling used by FrameNet is borrowed from Langacker's term *profile* (Langacker 1987, v. I).

“Profiling is the representation of the foregrounded part of a frame, the participant, prop, phase or moment which figures centrally in the semantic interpretation of the sentence within which the frame is evoked” (Fillmore et al. 2000:14).

According to the description of lexical meanings applied in the FrameNet project, each word (in a given sense) *evokes* a particular frame, and possibly *profiles* some element or aspect of that frame. For example, the word *widow* evokes a quite complex historical frame (which requires an understanding of marriage, family, death, social status, etc.) and profiles the particular social status of the woman.

2.5. Inheritance

The concept of inheritance lies at the core of FrameNet descriptive apparatus of lexical meanings. The assumption is that our conceptual structure is sorted out by frames, and that predicating words are understood against these frames. Expectedly, such frames do not constitute isolated chunks of knowledge but rather point out to other frames forming

an interconnected network. There are several ways in which two or more frames can be related, as described in the FrameNet Project manual (Johnson et al. 2001): *frame inheritance*, *frame blending* and *frame composition*. I focus here on frame inheritance, since it is the only concept that I introduce in my research to reflect these links among frames⁶.

“Inheritance is a relation between two frames such that one of them has all of the properties of the other, plus something else. Perhaps the simplest kind of inheritance-plus-elaboration can be seen between abstract frames and frames with specific kinds of profiling” (Fillmore et al. 2000: 16).

2.6. Lexical Entry Structure

Each predicate from my corpus study is presented as a lexical entry and analyzed following the lexical entry structure for the English words proposed in the FrameNet database. According to this project, “an individual lexical entry covers a lemma in a particular part of speech, e.g., as verb or as noun. A lexical sub-entry is intended to represent a single lexical unit, i.e., a lemma in a given part of speech in a single sense.” (Fillmore et al. 2000: 13)

A lexical entry comprises the following components (Johnson et al. 2001):

1. Headword: the lexical unit to be defined (technically, a lexical unit is defined as a triple consisting of a lemma, a *part of speech* [POS], and a frame).
2. Frame: identification of the individual background frame, e.g., “Communication/Argument” (Communication domain, Argument frame).
3. A definition, if relevant, of the meaning associated with the lexical unit taken from the Concise Oxford Dictionary (COD), 10th Edition.
4. Table of Valence Patterns: a list of the sets of Frame Elements with their syntactic realization as found in the annotated sentences.
5. Annotated sentences (where each sentence is annotated in respect to a single target word and the semantic roles which neighboring phrases bear in relation to that word)

To sum up, a FrameNet entry provides information, for each sense, about frame membership and the syntactic means by which each Frame Element is realized

⁶For a more detailed explanation on frame composition and frame blending, see Johnson et al.

in the word's surroundings, and documents, as Valence Patterns, the full range of combinatorial possibilities as attested in the Corpus.

3. The Arriving frame: a frame semantic approach

Taking a holistic point of view over human perception and the way we structure our experience and knowledge in a connectionist network of frames, the act of arriving inherently falls into the more abstract frame of Motion. The Motion frame can be regarded as a general domain serving as a useful grouping of more specific frames: those which contain more concrete manifestations of motion that we experience in our everyday life. These frames elaborate on the general frame of Motion by profiling certain parts of it (for instance, *exit* profiles the source, *pass* the path, and *arrive* the goal).

“The frames that inherit the general Motion frame add some elaboration to the simple idea that some entity (Theme) starts out in one place (Source) and ends up in some other place (Goal), having covered some space between the two (Path). Inheriting frames can add Goal-profiling (*arrive, reach*), Source-profiling (*leave, depart*), or Path-profiling (*traverse, cross*), or aspects of the manner of motion (*run, jog*) or assumptions about the shape-properties, etc., of any of the places involved (*insert, extract*).” (Johnson et al. 2001: 76)

According to our representational basis, these frames inherit the semantics of motion, whose schematic frame elements are outlined in figure 1:

FE	Example
Theme	[<i>The crowd</i>] <i>moved</i> <i>out of the building</i>
Source	<i>The crowd</i>] <i>moved</i> [<i>out of the building</i>]
Path	<i>The crowd</i> was <i>moving</i> [<i>along the street</i>]
Goal	<i>The crowd</i> <i>moved</i> [<i>into the park</i>]

Figure 1: Frame Elements of Motion (after Johnson et al. 2001)

The event structure of Motion will be present in these more specific frames too, being some parts of it elaborated upon and profiled by them. Let us display the schematic event structure of motion:

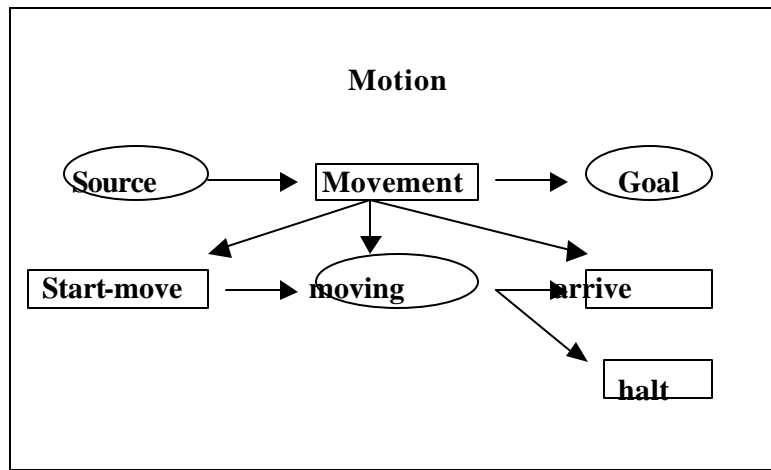


Figure 2: event structure of motion

In figure 2 we see that the scene of arriving falls into the very schematic representation of motion, that is, it constitutes a subpart of it, what we call a *subframe*. Motivation for this may come from our experience of motion as goal-directed: indeed, self motion is mainly triggered by the want to reach a destination, a goal. Yet, there is also motion with no previously set goal (*jogging, strolling, wandering*): these may come to a halt, but do not necessarily reach a goal

The frame of Arriving is then considered a subframe of Motion, since it encodes a basic subpart of our conceptualization of motion: it denotes the transition from moving to arriving at a goal. Due to its status as a subframe, Arriving inherits all the FEs of the Motion frame:

Mapping:

Source	Target
Motion.Theme	Arriving.Theme
Motion.Source	Arriving.Source
Motion.Path	Arriving.Path
Motion.Goal	Arriving.Goal

Figure 3: Mapping from Motion to Arriving (after Johson et al. 2001)

In terms of *profiling*, each subframe within a complex frame profiles a specific part of the whole event structure. Arriving views the scene holistically designating only the final state of the process, and therefore the Goal bears the profile. Source and Path in the

Arriving frame are inherited FEs that make reference to the whole picture of motion. The presence of overt expressions of Source and Path in our language supports the claim that an act of arriving activates the whole event of motion in the background.

The frame of Motion in turn elaborates on a more abstract frame at a higher level in the representation, the Event frame:

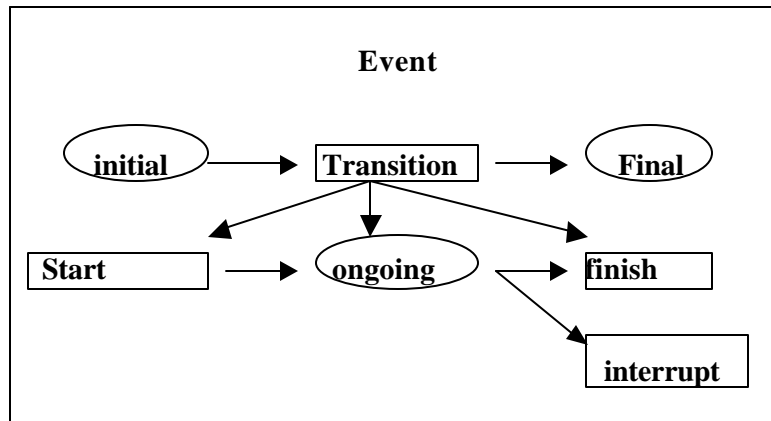


Figure 4: schematic structure of the Event frame

According to the *inherit all* principle – whereby a subframe inherits all the structure that is inherited by the frame it is linked to, the Arriving frame inherits the frame semantics of Event through the step-frame of Motion. Figure 5 overleaf displays the frame inheritance structure, the dotted arrows represent the mappings⁷:

⁷ Building these *inheritance trees* is a bottom-up process, despite the representation top-down appearance.

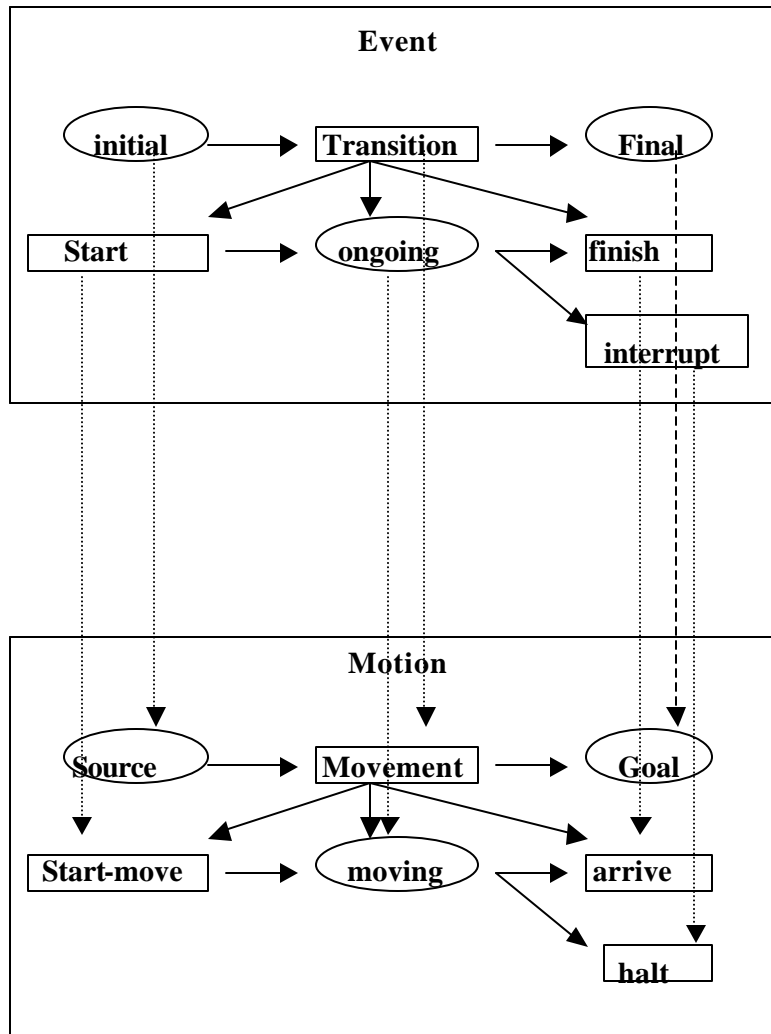


Figure 5: inheritance mappings: Event → Motion → Arriving

The final state in the Event frame is mapped onto the Goal state of the Motion frame, and the Finish transition in the event frame is mapped onto the Arrive transition in the Motion frame.

Importantly, the frame inheritance representation captures the essence of profiling: the Arriving frame, being a subframe, evokes the whole event structure of motion (and evidence for this is found in the numerous instantiations of the Source FE in the corpus), but carries out the end-part of motion, where the Goal is the profile.

Frame Definition:

An object moves in the direction of a Goal and reaches it. The Goal may be expressed or it may be understood from context, but the existence of a Goal is always implied by the predicate itself.

Frame Elements:

- **Theme** : [Her boyfriend] **arrived** early at the party
- **Source** : My brother has just **arrived** [from Cuba]
- **Path** : The plane **arrived** [via Oslo]
- **Goal** : We **arrived** [in London] late at night

In terms of its lexical realization, verbs (and their correspondent event nouns) of inherently directed motion typically participate in the Arriving frame. Their meanings always include the specification of a Goal, even in the absence of an overt directional complement. This implies that the FE Goal will take the form of a constituent, a DNI, or will be incorporated in the predicate, but its presence is required by the frame semantics of *arriving*.

4. English and Spanish predicates in the Arriving frame: a contrastive study

4.1. Introduction

It is my aim to study in detail the frame of Arriving through a close analysis of the predicates –verbs and event nouns- that participate in it. My research will include a list of both English and Spanish words, which will be presented side by side for cross-linguistic purposes. First, I will describe the semantics of each predicate, how they evoke the Arriving frame and how they individually elaborate on it. Second, I will provide a full account of their syntactic realization: valence description and linking patterns that relate the lexical structure of the predicate to its semantic components (frame elements).

I would like to introduce a concept of frame element which goes far beyond the traditional notions of *Linking*, whereby semantic roles are linked to the syntactic complements of the head word, one for each. In tune with the spirit of FrameNet, my study is aimed at yielding the most comprehensive picture possible of the conceptual structure that is encoded in the lexical semantics of a word, and this conflicts with more restricted views over *Argument Structure*. Also, I have resorted to the FrameNet apparatus for the Annotation of these predicates as a most valuable automatic lexical resource to provide *Deep Semantics* for further language technology applications.

The list of English predicates and the English corpus have been originally extracted from the FrameNet-1 database. Two new lexical units have been edited and added to the English wordlist for the contrastive purposes of the present research. These are *come_in.v* and *come_back.v*. Apart from this, I have maintained the list as it appears in the FrameNet-1 database.

The Spanish wordlist has been fully edited and annotated in the Spanish database. This research has also been supported by corpus evidence⁸. It includes a larger number of predicates, aimed at providing a more comprehensive analysis of the arriving frame. In

⁸ Based on the Spanish corpus from the Computational Linguistics Laboratory at Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (UABC) (91 million words). This corpus has been annotated using the FrameNet II in-house software.

this paper, I present a consistent frame semantic analysis for both the English and the Spanish lists of which I am the only person responsible.

The two columns below display the list of lexical units that participate in the frame of Arriving. The part of speech (n for noun and v for verb) will appear following each lexical unit.

THE ARRIVING FRAME:	
<p><i>Definition: An object moves in the direction of a Goal and reaches it. The Goal may be expressed or it may be understood from context, but the existence of a Goal is always implied by the predicate itself.</i></p>	
THE ENGLISH WORDLIST	THE SPANISH WORDLIST
arrive.v	llegar.v llegada.n
come.v	venir.v venida.n
enter.v entrance.n	entrar.v entrada.n
come_in.v	
return.v return.n	regresar.v regreso.n
come_back.v	alunizar.v alunizaje.n
	arribar.v arribada.n
	aterrizar.v aterrizaje.n

Figure 6: list of English predicates and Spanish predicates present in the Arriving frame.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICAL ENTRIES IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

ARRIVE.V:

Lemma: **arrive**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

COD Definition: reach a destination.

The lexical unit *arrive.v* lends its name to the frame subject of my study since its lexical meaning coincides with the core frame semantic structure of Arriving. Therefore, no further elaboration or added knowledge structure is found in the sentences from the corpus. The Frame Elements are mapped straightforwardly from the Motion frame: Theme, Source, Path and Goal. Goal is the FE that bears the profile. The profiled component is required to be instantiated for every expression, and consequently it will always meet a slot in the grammar of Arriving: as an overt constituent, incorporation or DNI.

In the case of *arrive.v*, the Goal takes the form of either a Complement of the verb or a DNI.

Two other more peripheral components that may participate in a Motion event, such as Manner and Means, are annotated on the grounds of their saliency in the event depicted. They are inherited from a separate frame, let us call it for now Event:

FE set: Theme	}	inherited from Motion	+	Manner	}	inherited from Event
Source			Means			
Path						
Goal						

Subframe profile: Goal

5.1.1. Valence patterns of *arrive.v* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

- (1) [...] Please note that **the guests** (THEME) may arrive (TARGET) late to the hotel (GOAL) (BNC:12761464)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {in, at, to, on}-PP:

(2) When we (THEME) arrived (TARGET) **on the island** (GOAL)[...]
(BNC:58117352).

GF: Complement/ PT: Adverb (here, home, there) :

(3) After she (THEME) arrived (TARGET) **home** (GOAL)[...]
(BNC:58117352).

Definite Null Instantiation :

(4) [...]He was carrying a false passport when he (THEME) arrived (TARGET)
(**DNI: GOAL**) from London (SOURCE)[...] (BNC:1591049).

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / from-PP:

(5) [...] Amy (THEME) arrived (TARGET) home (GOAL) **from school**
(SOURCE)[...] (BNC:35522634)

FE PATH:

Complement / {through, via} -PP:

(6) [...] they (THEME) have arrived (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **via Oslo**
(PATH)[...] (BNC:41555224)

FE MANNER:

Complement / Adverb :

(7) [...] until we (THEME) arrived (TARGET) **safely** (MANNER) back in
Liverpool (GOAL)[...] (BNC:96252690)

FE MEANS:

GF: Complement / {in, by} -PP:

(8) [...] 90% of the visitors (THEME) arrive (TARGET) **by car** (/MEANS)[...]
(BNC:23589496)

5.1.2. **Conflated FEs:**

Goal + Theme as in:

(9) One element of Germany's new policy has been winning Polish agreement to take back expelled asylum-seekers; **a quarter of Germany's influx** (THEME + GOAL) arrives (TARGET) via Poland (PATH) (BNC:41073891).

As shown in the example, the single constituent *a quarter of germany's influx* that functions as the Theme-External Argument of arrive also embeds the notion of the Goal of motion: *Germany*. According to a frame semantic approach, this linking mismatch must also be represented in the grammar.

5.2. LLEGAR.V:

Lemma: **llegar**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: (Del lat. *Plicare*, plegar) Alcanzar el fin o término de un desplazamiento.

The semantics of this lexical unit is very close to the meaning of English *arrive.v*. It also inherits its FEs from motion: The me, Source, Path and Goal, being Goal an obligatory constituent due to the profiling imposed from the Arriving subframe. Parallel to *arrive.v*, the Goal of *llegar* will be expressed as a complement to the verb, or it will be conceptually present in the form of a DNI.

Means and Manner are also inherited from the *Event* frame:

FE set:	Theme Source Path Goal	}	inherited from Motion	+ Manner Means	}	inherited from Event
----------------	---------------------------------	---	-----------------------	-------------------	---	----------------------

Subframe profile: Goal

5.2.1. Valence patterns of *llegar.v* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(10) **La esposa de Cordón** (THEME) llegó (TARGET) (DNI:GOAL) acompañada por el abogado de la familia (UABC)

GF: Constructional Null Instantiation:

- (11) A Ceuta (GOAL) han llegado (TARGET) (**CNI:THEME**) volando (MANNER) o de la península (SOURCE) [...] (UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {hasta, a, al} -PP:

- (12) El catalán (THEME) [...] llegó (TARGET) desmotivado **a la línea de meta** (GOAL) [...] (UABC).

GF: Complement/ PT: Adverb (alli, aqui) :

- (13) Pilar Rahola (THEME) [...] parece llegada (TARGET) **allí** (GOAL) como la última de la clase [...] (UABC).

Definite Null Instantiation :

- (14) Cuando tomó la muleta de Víctor Manuel Blazquez, el toro (THEME) llegó (TARGET) (**DNI: GOAL**) parándose, acertando la embestida, sobre todo por el pitón izquierdo (MANNER) [...] (UABC).

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / de -PP:

- (15) [...] Los 400.000 personas que (THEME) llegaron (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **del infierno bosnio** (SOURCE)[...] (UABC)

FE PATH:

Complement / {por, a través} -PP:

- (16) [...] los soldados (THEME) llegaron (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **a través de la selva** (PATH)[...] (UABC)

FE MANNER:

Complement / Gerund:

- (17) [...] A Ceuta (GOAL) han llegado (TARGET) (**CNI:THEME**) volando (MANNER) o de la península (SOURCE)[...] (UABC)

FE MEANS:

GF: Complement / a bordo -PP:

- (18) [...] 1500 soldados de los tres cuerpos del Ejército, que (THEME) llegarán (TARGET) **a bordo de aviones de transporte Transalt** (/MEANS)[...] (UABC)

5.3. LLEGADA.N:

Lemma: **llegada**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: Acción y efecto de llegar a un sitio.

Llegada.n is an event noun that makes reference to the event unfolded in the verb *llegar*, and consequently both lexical units (V and N) will share the same participants and props.

The specification of the frame element set is identical for both predicates, but of course their syntactic realization differ due to the different nature of verbs and nouns. The argument structure of nouns is less overt than that of verbs, and sometimes the External Argument of a Noun must precede a support verb that licenses its occurrence. This difference does not affect the syntactic means for expressing the profiled argument, the Goal, and, as it is the case for the predicates above, this FE meets its linguistic expression in the form of a directional Complement or a DNI.:

FE set: Theme	}	inherited from Motion
Source		
Path		
Goal		

Subframe profile: Goal

5.3.1. Valence patterns of *llegada.n* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

(19) Douglas increpó a los policías que le detuvieron a **su** (THEME) llegada (TARGET) a Los Ángeles (GOAL), según la denuncia (UABC)

GF: Complement/ PT: de-PP:

(20) Lo único que equilibraría el poder entre los dos bandos sería la llegada (TARGET) masiva (DNI:GOAL) **de artillería pesada y tanques** (THEME) (UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {a, hacia}-PP:

- (21) Con la llegada (TARGET) **a los Pirineos** (GOAL), en la primera semana de carrera[...] (UABC)

Definite Null Instantiation :

- (22) El humo tóxico, incoloro e inodoro, provocó irritación en los ojos y el aparato respiratorio de las personas que aguardaban la llegada (TARGET) (**DNI: GOAL**) del tren (THEME)[...] (UABC).

The exclusive occurrence of the FEs Theme and Goal in all the sentences retrieved for this predicate suggests that conceptual structure, surface linguistic expression and discourse frequency are closely interrelated phenomena, and they follow a common pattern of saliency.

5.4. **COME.V:**

Lemma: **come**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

COD Definition: move or travel towards or into a place thought of as near or familiar to the speaker.

The lexical unit *come.v* participates in the frame of Arriving due to its inherent goal-directed nature. Unlike *arrive.v* though, the notion of reaching a destination which is at the core of the frame specification is not strictly lexical: *come* is a directional verb that requires a goal preposition to its right to gain the compositional meaning that vehicles an event of arriving. An expression such as:

- (23) Everything **came at** you like a meteor [...] (BNC:7895430)

is out of frame simply because there is no implication that the theme reached the goal; the PP headed by *at* is a Path-phrase.

A sentence such as:

- (24) Jason **came over to** my apartment [...] (BNC:24879873)

is in frame due to the compositional semantics of the predicate and the Goal phrase headed by *to*.

Likewise, an *arriving* reading of *come* will also depend on aspect, since a progressive form rules out the *telic*⁹ sense of a Goal-phrase, and brings about a conceptualization of the event different from (24) above, which does not belong to the frame of Arriving:

(25) The creature was **coming** closer (BNC:90758702)

Being aware of these constraints on *telicity*, lexical meaning and frame semantics, this corpus study will only concentrate on those instances of *come.v* that evoke the Arriving frame straightforwardly.

Moving on with our analysis, the FE set of Arriving is directly mapped onto the specification of the FEs for *come.v*. The Goal is the FE that receives profile, and will always be present in the conceptual space (the frame) of arriving. If not overtly expressed, it will be in the form of a Definite Null Instantiation (DNI).

This time the lexical unit elaborates the arriving frame adding a relative frame of reference into the scene. The English verb *come* imposes deictic conditions on the Goal, and binds it to the position of either the speaker or the hearer.

Deixis is part of the lexical meaning of the verb, and determines the conceptualization of the event activating a secondary landmark: one of the participants of discourse is necessarily bound to the Goal. I believe this component plays a significant role in the information structure of the event and consequently should be acknowledged and granted FE status at a local level. In my analysis of *come*, I treat it as a FE incorporated into the predicate, since it conflates with the Fact of motion:

FE set:	Theme Source Path Goal	}	inherited from Motion	+	Manner Means	}	inherited from Event
----------------	---------------------------------	---	-----------------------	---	-----------------	---	----------------------

+ Deictic → a local FE.

5.4.1 Valence patterns of *come.v* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(26) She admitted **she** (THEME) had come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC)
 (DNI:GOAL) from London (SOURCE)[...] (BNC:718198)

⁹ I use the term *telichere* to refer to the perfectiveness of the event.

Constructional Null Instantiation

- (27) Ziggy, Ziggy, called Peach, here kitten, come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC)
(CNI:THEME) here (GOAL) to me! (GOAL) (BNC:36956944)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {over to, to, round}-PP:

- (28) Mahmoud (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) **to one of these alleyways** (GOAL) and hesitated (BNC:95355470).

GF: Complement/ PT: Adverb (, over, round, home) :

- (29) The guide (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) **over**(GOAL), shouting at us in his strange dialect (BNC:90705248).

GF: Complement + Complement/ PT: Adverb (here) + to-PP :

- (30) here kitten, (CNI:THEME) come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) **here** (GOAL) **to me!** (GOAL) [...] (BNC:36956944).¹⁰

Definite Null Instantiation :

- (31) I (THEME) may very well not have come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) (**DNI: GOAL**) in any case, madame (BNC:79062713).

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: from-PP :

- (32) [...] We(THEME)´ve come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) straight round here (GOAL) **from the police station** (SOURCE) (BNC:100596556)

FE PATH:

GF: Complement / PT: {round, via, through}-PP:

- (33) [...] The first Rottweiler to be imported from Germany (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) (DNI:GOAL) **via the UK** (PATH)” (BNC:13655706)

FE DEICTIC:

Incorporation :

¹⁰ The double complementation pattern in this expression reflects the binding of the Goal and the Deictic FEs in a gestaltic construal of the landmark.

- (34) His information (THEME) comes (TARGET) (**INC: DEICTIC**) (DNI:GOAL)
via satellite (MEANS) from weather stations around the country (SOURCE)
(BNC:22610962)

Of course, the Deictic and the Goal FEs share a topological space in our mental image: sometimes the Goal of motion is retrievable only through deictic cues, in that case the DNI Goal is filled in by extended inference from the lexical meaning of *come*; some other times the information about the speaker/hearer's location comes on top of the specification of the Goal, which is brought, as usual, either via linguistic or non-linguistic reference.

5.4.2. **Conflated FEs:**

Goal into Path, as in:

- (35) As they (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) **round a bend** (PATH & GOAL), they met a lorry overtaking a tractor (BNC:102671103)

The Goal here is the end-point of the Path due to a compositional analysis where the verb *come* focuses on the final phase of the round-motion. The Path FE introduced by *round* refers to the whole extension of the bend.

Source into Theme, as in:

- (36) [...] **The first Rottweiler to be imported from Germany** (THEME & SOURCE) came (TARGET) (DNI:GOAL) via the UK (PATH) (BNC:13655706)

The Source FE is embedded within the constituent linked to the role Theme FE.

5.5. **VENIR.V:**

Lemma: **venir**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: (Del lat. Venire) Llegar una persona o cosa a donde está el que habla.

The lexical unit *venir.v* patterns with its English counterpart in incorporating deictic reference to the speaker into its lexical meaning. Therefore, a Deictic component will also be present in the FE set.

Crucially, the scope of usage for these two verbs is different: *come* is introduced in discourse for a wider variety of contexts than *venir*, suggesting that English is more prone to marking a relative frame of reference in the fact of motion. Reasons for this may be found in the different lexicalization patterns that these two languages show. We will elaborate on this hypothesis under next section, as we discuss their acceptability conditions.

As it was the case with *come*, *venir* is a verb of inherently directed motion that will participate in the frame of Arriving when telicity is reinforced through compositional meaning. Likewise, I will only present those sentences from the corpus that evoke the Arriving frame.

Venir.v inherits all the The FEs from Arriving. The Goal receives the profile, and is always present in our conceptual space. Its occurrence is bound either to a complement PP in the sentence, or a Definite Null Instantiation (DNI):

FE set: Theme
 Source
 Path
 Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Deictic → a local FE.

Subframe profile : Goal

5.5.1. Valence patterns of *venir.v* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(37) **un americano que** (THEME) vino (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) a España
 (GOAL) y ya no se marchó (UABC)

Constructional Null Instantiation:

(38) Nos conocen, y vienen (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) (**CNI:THEME**) (DNI:
 GOAL) buscando a una chica en concreto” (UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {hasta, a, al}-PP:

(39) A los cotos de caza (GOAL) viene (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) **cada vez menos gente** (THEME) (UABC).

GF: Complement/ PT: Adverb (alli, aqui) :

(40) Bastante nos (THEME) cuesta venir (TARGET)(INC: DEICTIC) **aquí** (GOAL) desde Benavente (SOURCE)” (UABC)

Definite Null Instantiation :

(41) Que llevaba poco tiempo trabajándose la zona y que venía (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) (CNI: THEME) (**DNI: GOAL**) de San Francisco (SOURCE)” (UABC).

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / {de, desde}-PP:

(42) Todos los alimentos (THEME) vienen (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) (DNI: GOAL) **de fuera de Rusia** (SOURCE)[...] (UABC)

FE DEICTIC:

Incorporation :

(43) Vicky Moore (THEME) vino (TARGET) (**INC: DEICTIC**) a España (GOAL) a defender animales y acabó siendo corneada (UABC)

5.6. **VENIDA.N:**

Lemma: **venida**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: f. Acción de venir.

Venida.n is an event noun that makes reference to the event of *venir*. Both lexical units (V and N) share the same FE set, but their complementation patterns will differ as they belong to different parts of speech. This can be seen in the syntactic realization of their respective FEs. The Goal is instantiated as a directional complement, or in the form of a Definite Null Instantiation for both lexunits:

FE set: Theme }
 Source } inherited from Motion
 Path }
 Goal }

+ Deictic → a local FE.

Subframe profile : Goal

5.6.1. Valence patterns of *venida.n* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

(44) En **sus** (THEME) contadas venidas (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) a España (GOAL), por cada minuto de verdadera magia, Dylan ha dado varias sesiones de balido (UABC)

GF: Complement/ PT: de-PP:

(45) Hay quien piensa que después de estas idas y venidas (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) a los juzgados (GOAL) **de los reyes del pelotazo** (THEME)[...] (UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {a, hacia}-PP:

(46) El festival de Otoño se redime de sus muchas faltas sólo por conseguir la tan esperada **venida** (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) **a España** (GOAL) de Mijail Baryshnikov (THEME), que ya se daba por imposible. (UABC).

Definite Null Instantiation :

(47) [...] y ahora se trata de apoyar las negociaciones que lleva a cabo el Ministerio de Cultura para la **venida** (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) (**DNI: GOAL**) de los citados cuadros (THEME) (UABC)

FE DEICTIC:

Incorporation :

(48) El festival de Otoño se redime de sus muchas faltas sólo por conseguir la tan esperada **venida** (TARGET) (**INC: DEICTIC**) a España (GOAL) de Mijail Baryshnikov (THEME), que ya se daba por imposible. (UABC).

5.7. The Deictic component in *come* and *venir*: a contrastive analysis

5.7.1. Incorporation patterns

According to Talmy (2000, II: 53), Path is understood as comprising three distinct structural components for spoken languages: the *Vector*, the *Conformation*, and the *Deictic*.

Undoubtedly, Path is an extremely rich and complex constituent in our perception of arriving events that stands in a topological continuum with the Landmark, whose geometric characteristics may also determine its configuration. Most of the complexity of our percept has to be disregarded when we attempt to express a motion event in linguistic terms, due to the schematic nature of language. Yet, language does provide some means to formally express the dependencies that Path may hold with other constituents –such as the landmark and, in the case of deictic motion, a secondary landmark connected to this relative frame of reference. Talmy’s proposal is precisely aimed at acknowledging these connections. Breaking up the Path constituent into its structural components seems a most reasonable way to approach the issue. Let us outline Talmy’s description of these Components of Path:

The **Vector** comprises the basic types of arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figural schema can execute with respect to a Ground schema: moving *toward*, *away-from*, *along-to*, etc. These vector forms are part of a small set of Motion-aspect formulas that are quite possibly universal. (Talmy 2000: 53)

The **Conformation** component of the Path is a geometric complex that relates the fundamental Ground schema within a Motion-aspect formula to the schema for a full Ground object. Each language lexicalizes its own set of such geometric complexes. In motion constructions in English, for instance, a particular Conformation notion of the landmark is added to the fundamental Ground schema, so that typically a person *steps off the carpet* (a volume), but walks *out of the room* (an enclosure).

The **Deictic** component of Path, for those languages that make use of it in the representation of motion events, generally involves the two member-notions ‘toward the speaker’ (*come* and *venir*) and ‘in a direction other than toward the speaker’ (*go* and *ir*).

English and Spanish both have one deictic verb that refers to motion toward the speaker, but while English speakers use it in extended contexts too, Spanish *venir* seems to be much more restricted in its use. Let us present some data to illustrate this point:

- (49) a) (Eng.) *He came in*
b) (Sp.) *El entró*
- (50) a) (Eng.) *She came up*
b) (Sp.) *Ella subió*

The deictic component present in the English examples in (49a) and (50a) is lost in the Spanish translations in (49b) and (50b). An analysis of their respective FEs would be as follows:

- (51) He (THEME) came (INC: DEICTIC) (DNI: GOAL) in (VECTOR + CONFORMATION)

The example in (51) shows the incorporation of the Deictic component into the predicate of motion. The Goal is bound to the Deictic component and present in the valence patterns as a DNI, and the Vector and Conformation components of the Path are coded in a satellite construction.

- (52) Él (THEME) entró (INC: VECTOR + CONFORMATION) (DNI: GOAL)

Example (52) shows the incorporation of Vector and Conformation into the predicate of motion. There is no specification of the Path in deictic terms.

The hypothesis is that the incorporation of Vector + Conformation in *entrar* precludes incorporating a yet third element, Deictic, probably for a simple matter of lack of space. According to Talmy (p. 56), path verbs in this language are of two kinds: Deictic verbs (*venir, ir*) and Conformation verbs (*entrar, salir*), and the main verb slot will be occupied by one or the other of these path verb types.

Indeed, the two distinctive patterns of incorporation shown above are mutually exclusive. English, thanks to its satellite construction, can convey the three structural

components in a multi-word lexical unit (*come_in.v*)¹¹. Spanish would certainly need more space to yield the same amount of information:

- (53) *El entró donde yo estaba.*
(Eng. transl. 'He entered where I was')

Furthermore, the Conformation of the landmark may be left out of the construction, and the incorporation patterns will remain on the same lines:

- (54) She (THEME) came (INC: DEICTIC) (DNI: GOAL) up (PATH) Incorporation of Deictic into the motion predicate. The Goal is bound to this relative frame of reference. The Path is coded in a satellite construction.

- (55) Ella (THEME) subió (INC: PATH) (DNI: GOAL)
Incorporation of Path into the motion predicate. There is no deictic specification of this FE.

Arguably, the reason why English is more prone to expressing deixis than Spanish may be closely related to the typological characteristics of the languages themselves and with the way in which they code motion events.

Depending on the different lexicalization patterns that languages use in order to package semantic components into linguistic forms, Talmy has typologically divided languages into two main broad groups: *satellite-framed* and *verb-framed* languages (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000). The former usually provide speakers with a set of locative particles called 'satellites' which encode the core schema, i.e. the path (change of location); the latter supply speakers with a set of different verbs for each change of location.

According to this compositional analysis of motion events, English and Spanish belong to different types. English, being a satellite-framed language, will code the path in a satellite (*in, up, down...*) whereas Spanish, being a verb-framed language, will incorporate path in the verbal predicate (*entrar, subir*). Incorporation of the Vector and Conformation components of the Path will preclude expressing the motion event in deictic terms. This constraint does not apply in English, due to its satellite-frame nature that allows for multiword lexical units.

¹¹ I will tackle *come_in* later on in my analysis of lexical units that elaborate on the arriving frame via expressing an entering event.

5.7.2 Usage patterns

Now I would like to present a contrastive analysis of the English and Spanish deictic verbs in terms of their respective acceptability conditions. For this purpose, I will adhere to Fillmore's (1997) definition of deixis, as well as his specification of contexts of usage where these verbs may rank differently in grammaticality judgements:

“Deixis is the name given to those formal properties of utterances which are determined by, and which are interpreted by knowing, certain aspects of the communication act in which the utterances in question can play a role” (Fillmore 1997: 61)

Let us first see those **uses which are licensed in both languages**:

a) Speaker's location at coding time:

English:

(56) a) (*Eng.*) *Please, come in!*

b) (*Sp.*) *Estoy en casa, ven cuando quieras*

(*Eng. transl.* 'I am at home, come whenever you want')

b) Speaker's location at reference time:

(57) a) (*Eng.*) You can come home with me [...] (BNC: 62621691)

b) (*Sp.*) *Puedes venir a casa conmigo*

c) Speaker's home base at reference time:

English:

(58) a) (*Eng.*) She seldom came home after school, but went to friends (BNC: 28312179)

b) (*Sp.*) *Ella casi nunca venia a casa después de la escuela, se iba a casa de sus amigos*

Both in English and Spanish, the speaker may or may not be at home at the protagonist's arrival.

Uses that are only licensed in English :

Making deictic reference to the hearer in the expression of an event of motion seems to be fairly restricted in peninsular Spanish. English *come*, on the other hand, covers these hearer-oriented contexts as much as it does more canonical contexts where the speaker is the reference.

To properly draw the acceptability conditions for motion toward the hearer, we must understand that the speaker is necessarily located somewhere else from the hearer's position and her home base, both at coding and reference time:

a) Hearer's location at coding time:

- (59) a) (Eng.) *I'll come there right away!*
b) (Sp.) *?Vengo para allá!* (vs. *Voy para allá!*)

b) Hearer's location at reference time:

- (60) a) (Eng.) *Shall I come over first thing in the morning and give you a hand?* (BNC: 92280581)
b) (Sp.) *?¿Quieres que venga a tu casa lo primero por la mañana y te eche una mano?* (vs. *¿Quieres que vaya a tu casa lo primero por la mañana y te eche una mano?*)

c) Hearer's home base at reference time:

- (61) a) (Eng.) *I came over to your place last night, but you weren't in*
b) (Sp.) *?Vine a tu casa ayer, pero no estabas* (vs. *Fui a tu casa ayer, pero no estabas*)

It is not at random that English and Spanish pattern together in deictically referring to the speaker as conceptually bound to the Goal of motion, but do not agree on extending this frame of reference to the hearer. In Radden's words:

“The canonical speaker typically takes an egocentric worldview which makes him occupy the deictic center in the speech situation. Not surprisingly, the sense of “motion to the speaker's location” ...is usually the first one to be listed in dictionaries under *to come*. Its sense of “motion to the hearer's location”... is much more restricted across languages” (Radden 1996: 429).

As we can conclude from the data, peninsular Spanish uses *venir* for motion toward the speaker, but this use is precluded for expressing motion toward the hearer.

For a scene such as the one depicted under “hearer’s location at reference time”, English speakers link it to the arriving frame through the use of one of its lexical units (*come*), and therefore the profiling of the event will be on the end-part of motion, the Goal. Meanwhile, for the same situation in Spanish, speakers will choose a path predicate from the list of self-directed motion verbs– most likely *ir* (“go”)- which does not evoke the arriving frame, and this may result in a slightly different frame construal.

5.8. **ENTER.V:**

Lemma: enter

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

Definition: come or go into.

This lexical unit elaborates on the arriving frame in two ways:

a) Incorporating the Vector into the Fact-of-Motion. As we have seen in the previous section, Path can be broken up into three main components: Vector, Conformation and Deictic. Vector can be alternatively expressed in a satellite construction (English *come_in*), or present in the lexical semantics of the verb (Spanish *entrar* and its English cognate *enter*). When this occurs, we say that the Vector has been incorporated into the motion predicate.

b) Adding the requirement that the event include a boundary crossing. I will refer to this conceptual boundary as the incorporation of the Conformation of the Goal into the predicate, since Boundary belongs to the topological structure of the Goal. Indeed, the Goal can only be construed as a bounded region.

Both of these components –Vector and Boundary- are granted FE status at a local level. Incorporating these FEs into a single linguistic form (either the satellite *in*, or the prefix *entr-*) resembles the human *gestaltic* perception of an entering event, where Path and Goal are superimposed in our mental image. Actually, what we construe as Path is restricted to that limited extension of the trajectory where the Theme enters the Goal crossing its boundary.

Goal is the FE that receives the profile, and therefore its instantiation in the conceptualization of an entering event is required. This FE will be present either as an overt constituent –a direct object, or as a DNI.

Vector will always be in the form of an incorporated FE.

Boundary is also incorporated in the main predicate, but it can re-occur overtly too: a PP complement such as [*through the door*] in *she entered through the door* elaborates the boundary crossing incorporated in the Fact-of-Motion. Portals like *doors* are perfect candidates for this elaboration.

FE set: Theme }
 Source } inherited from Motion + Manner } inherited from Event
 Goal } Means }

+ Vector: local FE }
 + Boundary: local FE } the structural subcomponents of Path, at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

5.8.1. Valence patterns of *enter.v* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(62) [...] **Anybody** (THEME) entering (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY)
 the kitchen (GOAL) from the garden door (SOURCE + BOUNDARY) would
 spot her immediately (BNC:65069723)

Constructional Null Instantiation:

(63) the house (GOAL) was entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY)
 (CNI: **THEME**) from the left (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 57639925)

FE GOAL:

GF: Object/ PT: NP:

(64) A dirt track (THEME) entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY)
the orchard (GOAL) from the village road (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 2648246).

Definite Null Instantiation :

(65) [...]A young corporal (THEME) entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (**DNI: GOAL**) from the outer office (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 38332150)

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: from-PP:

(66) [...] A stocky male figure (THEME) entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI:GOAL) **from a room at the rear** (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 63519527)

FE VECTOR:

Incorporation

(67) [...]The thieves (THEME) entered (TARGET) (**INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY**) (DNI: GOAL) by smashing the lock on the door (MEANS)[...] (BNC: 37611892)

FE BOUNDARY:

GF: Complement / PT: {through, by, at} -PP:

(68) [...] She (THEME) had entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) **by the back door** (BOUNDARY)[...] (BNC: 3351675)

Incorporation

(69) I[...]saw Mum and Ms Taylor (THEME) enter (TARGET) (**INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY**) (DNI: GOAL) with another woman (BNC: 304663 29)

FE MANNER:

GF: Complement / PT: with-PP:

(70) Karl Gesner (THEME) entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI:GOAL) **with a flourish** (MANNER), turned, took the tray from Frau Schmidt[...] (BNC: 95747471)

FE MEANS:

GF: Complement / PT:, by-PP:

(71) [...]The thieves (THEME) entered (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) **by smashing the lock on the door** (MEANS)[...] (BNC: 37611892)

5.8.2. Conflated Fes

Vector + Boundary, as they appear conflated with the fact-of-Motion in the main predicate.

Boundary + Goal as in:

(72) She (THEME) would rather be Lily Valance and enter (TARGET) **at the stage door** (BOUNDARY & GOAL)[...] (BNC: 63327185)

(73) [...]He (THEME) entered (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **at the back door of 149 Chatham Street** (BOUNDARY & GOAL)[...] (BNC: 18021566)

Means + Boundary as in:

(74) [...]The thieves (THEME) entered (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **by smashing the lock on the door** (MEANS & BOUNDARY)[...] (BNC: 37611892)

Source + Boundary as in:

(75) Maggie Jordan (THEME) entered (TARGET) Reception (GOAL) **from the back door** (SOURCE & BOUNDARY) [...] (BNC: 48333241)

5.9. ENTRAR.V:

Lemma: **entrar**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: (Del lat. intrare) intr. Ir o pasar de fuera a adentro. U. t. en sent. Fig. y c. prln.

Spanish *entrar* shows the same incorporation patterns and the same usage contexts as its English cognate *enter*. This is no surprise if we bear in mind that both lexemes share a common Romance origin.

FE set: Theme }
Source } inherited from Motion + Manner } inherited from Event
Goal } Means }

+ Vector: local FE }
+ Boundary: local FE } the structural subcomponents of Path, at a local level.

Subframe profile : Goal

5.9.1. **Valence patterns of *entrar.v* attested in the corpus:**

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

- (76) Cuando **Carmen** (THEME) entró (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) en el baño (GOAL) se dio cuenta de que había goteras (UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: en-PP:

- (77) Estaba todavía en el instituto cuando un día, haciendo novillos, le (THEME) dio por entrar (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) **en un drugstore** (GOAL) (UABC).

Definite Null Instantiation :

- (78) Es una regla en la amistad que cuando la desconfianza (THEME) entra (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) **(DNI: GOAL)** por la puerta (BOUNDARY) el amor sale por la ventana (UABC)

FE VECTOR:

Incorporation

- (79) A ellas, se unen un parado que (THEME) pretende entrar (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) ilegalmente en Estados Unidos (GOAL)[...] (UABC)

FE BOUNDARY:

(80) **GF: Complement / PT: por -PP:**

Es una regla en la amistad que cuando la desconfianza (THEME) entra (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) **por la puerta** (BOUNDARY) el amor sale por la ventana (UABC)

Incorporation

- (81) Según sus datos, en la capital de España (GOAL) entran (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) diariamente 1.450.000 vehículos (THEME)[...] (UABC)

FE MEANS:**GF: Complement / PT:, con-PP:**

(82) Correlo relató que Wilfredo Muñoz (THEME) [...] entró (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) en el jardín de la vivienda (GOAL) **con una llave que aún conservaba** (MEANS)[...] (UABC)

It is not completely at random that there has not been found any instantiations of a Manner FE in the corpus search for *entrar*. The incorporation of Boundary and Vector draws our attention to the telicity component of this verb, to the detriment of elaborating the Manner of motion. This well-known characteristic of verb-framed languages such as Spanish is found in the BNC corpus for *enter* too. Indeed, both lexemes are cognates – i.e., they derive from the same Latin word *intrare-*, and if we believe that lexicalization patterns influence the way speakers package information, English and Spanish *enter* and *entrar* should behave similarly in this respect. This seems to be the case according to our corpus search: The FE Manner runs really low in occurrence in both languages, a satellite construction may be used to mark the specific manner of motion, but this is really the exception to the norm.

The FE Means, on the other hand, is conceptually closer to an achievement-like Fact-of-motion such as *enter*, and therefore we find more instantiations of it from both corpora.

5.10. ENTRANCE.N:

Lemma: **entrance**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

Definition: Spatial sense: an act of entering

The noun *entrance*, when participating in the Arriving frame, is an event noun that evokes the same image schematic structure as the event conveyed by the verb *enter*. This means that the specification of the frame elements for both lemmas is made exactly on the same lines, the difference lying, again, in their syntactic realization. Of course, nouns in general are more reluctant to instantiate all the FEs in their valence patterns than verbs, but this fact goes across the board, it is not frame-specific:

FE set: Theme }
 Source } inherited from Motion + Manner } inherited from Event
 Goal } Means }

+ Vector: local FE }
 + Boundary: local FE } the structural subcomponents of Path, at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

5.10.1. Valence patterns of *entrance.n* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: Complement / PT: ofPP:

(83) [...] being only concerned with the entrances (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) of **Dinah** (THEME) (BNC: 29809510)

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

(84) At **Sarah's and David's** (THEME) entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL), the girl stepped back convulsively[...] (BNC:97272839).

GF: EA of a Support Verb → EA of the predicate N/ PT: NP:

(85) When **we** (THEME) made (Support Verb) the entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) at the church hall (GOAL), everybody stared[...] (BNC: 7268245)

GF: Object of a Control V → EA of the predicate N / PT: Accusative NP:

(86) The drunken porter allowing (Governing Verb) **them** (THEME) entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) after the usual altercation (BNC: 75924519)

(87) Frankie tells the audience how the Producers had wanted **him** (THEME) to make (Support Verb) an entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) by sliding down a fireman's pole (MEANS) (BNC: 102613795)¹²

¹² This is an interesting sentence to illustrate that the FEs of a target predicate can be introduced in the subcategorization frame of a control verb, outside the lexical projection of the target predicate itself. FrameNet annotation principles go as far as to recognize FEs of a target word past controlling verbs and adjectives, in order to avoid posing empty categories. The Theme of *entrance* is *him*, which shows up as the object of the verb *want* at one level, and the external argument of the support verb *make* at a different level (this would correspond to the ECM in formalist accounts). Due to the transparent nature of support verbs, *him* can be considered the External Argument, as well as the theme, of the target word.

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {into, to}-PP:

- (88) When Bridget (THEME) made (Support Verb) a dramatic (MANNER) entrance (TARGET) (INC:VECTOR+BOUNDARY) **into the room** (GOAL),[...] (BNC: 90411410)

Definite Null Instantiation :

- (89) Entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (**DNI: GOAL**) from the car park at the rear of the library (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 104319416)

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: from-PP :

- (90) Entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) **from the car park at the rear of the library** (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 104319416)

FE VECTOR:

Incorporation

- (91) Entrance (TARGET) (**INC: VECTOR** + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) from the car park at the rear of the library (SOURCE) (BNC: 104319416)

FE BOUNDARY:

Incorporation

- (92) The pirates and the Famlio were stirring, brandishing or fondlinh weapons, looking enraged by the entrance (TARGET) (**INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY**) (DNI: GOAL) of yet another rival (THEME) (BNC: 66777694)

FE MANNER:

GF: Modifier / PT: AJP:

- (93) When Brigit (THEME) made a **dramatic** (MANNER) entrance (TARGET) (INC:VECTOR + BOUNDARY) into the room (GOAL), [...] (BNC: 90411410)

FE MEANS:

GF: Complement / PT:, by-Ving :

- (94) Frankie tells the audience how the Producers had wanted him (THEME) to make an entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) **by sliding down a fire man's pole** (MEANS) (BNC: 102613795)

5.10.2. Conflated FEs :

Source + Boundary, as in:

- (95) Entrance (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR+BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) **from the car park at the rear of the library** (SOURCE & BOUNDARY)[...] (BNC: 104319416)

5.11. ENTRADA.N:

Lemma: **entrada**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: 2. Acción de entrar en alguna parte.

The lemma *entrada*, when participating in the Arriving frame, refers to the event that unfolds in the verbal predicate *entrar*. As much as the verb, it inherits the FE set from the Arriving frame, and conflates the Vector and Boundary components of the Path with the Fact-of-Motion.

FE set: Theme }
Source } inherited from Motion + Manner } inherited from Event
Goal } Means }

+ Vector: local FE }
+ Boundary: local FE } the structural subcomponents of Path, at a local level.

Subframe profile : Goal

5.11.1. Valence patterns of *entrada.n* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: Complement / PT: de-PP:

- (96) Afirma que las autoridades son conscientes de que hay agentes implicados en la entrada (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) ilegal **de inmigrantes** (THEME) (UABC)

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

- (97) En **sus** (THEME) entradas (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) clandestinas a Francia (GOAL) para efectuar seguimientos de activistas de ETA, los guardias civiles iban habitualmente armados (UABC).

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {en, a}-PP:

- (98) Guardias jurados del estadio disputaron una pelea a golpes con los ultras catalanes y lograron impedir su (THEME) entrada (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR+BOUNDARY) **en el vestuario** (GOAL) [...] (UABC)

Definite Null Instantiation :

- (99) Pº de Recoletos, 2. entrada (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (**DNI: GOAL**) libre. (UABC)

FE VECTOR:

Incorporation

- (100) Mitsubishi es la tercera multinacional que confirma su (THEME) entrada (TARGET) (**INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY**) en Brasil (GOAL) [...] (UABC)

FE BOUNDARY:

Incorporation

- (101) Afirma que las autoridades son conscientes de que hay agentes implicados en la entrada (TARGET) (**INC: VECTOR + BOUNDARY**) (DNI: GOAL) ilegal de inmigrantes (THEME) (UABC)

5.12. **COME_IN.V:**

Lemma: **come_in**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

Definition (*ad hoc*): move into a bounded space, with the speaker's perspective being inside that space.

In my analysis, I treat *come_in* as a multiword lexical unit whose frame semantics behaves just as any single lexical unit. The fact that it is split up into two words is

incidental with regard to its legibility conditions as a target predicate whose lexical meaning projects a specific set of FEs, and therefore I will not make any distinction between them. We have claimed that lexicalization patterns do matter in the way FEs will be packaged, but we have made no claim as for which the unmarked pattern is, and it is not my intention to “discriminate” in either direction.

Come_in belongs to the frame of Arriving and shares the same FE set as its Romance equivalent *enter*, plus the addition of the Deictic, for the reasons discussed under section 5.7.1.

FE set: Theme }
 Source } inherited from Motion + Manner } inherited from Event
 Goal } Means }

+ Vector: local FE . }
 + Boundary: local FE } the structural subcomponents of Path, specified at a
 + Deictic } local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

As we have seen under the discussion on deixis (p.34), verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages adhere to completely different patterns for expressing the Path of motion: *enter* incorporates the Vector and the Boundary with the fact-of-Motion into a single word-form; *come_in* incorporates these local FEs into a satellite form (*in*), which is part of the multiword lexical unit.

5.12.1. Valence patterns of *come_in.v* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(102) **Shirley**(THEME) comes (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) in (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) with coffee and a large photograph album (BNC: 12666654)

GF: Object of a governing verb / PT: NP:

(103) Tell **him** (THEME) to come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) straight in (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) (BNC: 57532760)

FE GOAL:

GF: Object/ PT: -to-PP:

(104) She saw Gwen who (THEME) had come (TARGET) (INC: DEICTIC) in (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) **-to the bar** (GOAL)[...] (BNC: 2977470).

Definite Null Instantiation :

(105) He (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) in (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (**DNI: GOAL**) through the backdoor (BOUNDARY) on Lily's afternoon out (BNC: 30907442)

FE VECTOR:

Satellite

(106) [...] **he** (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) **in** (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) –to the office (GOAL) [...] (BNC: 12666654)

FE BOUNDARY:

GF: Complement / PT: through-PP:

(107) He (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) in (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (**DNI: GOAL**) **through the backdoor** (BOUNDARY) on Lily's afternoon out (BNC: 30907442)

Satellite

(108) The oil appeared spasmodically for the next hour while three other patients (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) **in** (VECTOR + BOUNDARY) (DNI: GOAL) (BNC: 46648651)

5.13. **RETURN.V:**

Lemma: **return**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

COD Definition: Come or go back to a place

This verb elaborates the Arriving frame adding the requirement that the Goal and the Source of motion be bound together. This information about the overall event structure is incorporated in the predicate, bringing into the scene a complex event.

The complexity of the event comes precisely from two conflicting FEs that we may want to tag as Source: one which is incorporated at a local lexical level and binds the Goal, and one that inherits from the frame of Arriving and refers to an intermediate landmark on the way. Of course, the *primary Source* meets no formal realization outside the lexical meaning of the verb itself: *she returned to Oxford from Oxford* would certainly sound odd due to its redundancy. New information, such as the *intermediate Source*, is more relevant in the discourse, and consequently meets its expression in a separate constituent. All instances of *from-PP* from the English corpus are of this kind. For expository convenience, I will maintain in my analysis the Source label inherited from Arriving for tagging this landmark, and leave the *primary source* untagged: this primary source is incorporated in the meaning of the lexical unit, and it never meets formal expression, nor is it conceptually linked to any other FE (as Vector or Boundary are to Goal, for instance).

FE set: Theme
 Source
 Path
 Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Primary Source bound to the Goal, at a local level (no tagging).

Subframe profile: Goal

5.13.1. Valence patterns of *return.v* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(109) [...] **The GIs who** (THEME) returned (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) from Europe
 and the Pacific (SOURCE) (BNC: 54676067)

Definite Null Instantiation: cataphoric reference in discourse

(110) Returning (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) across the square (PATH), **she** (THEME)
 felt she was going home [...] (BNC: 56830497)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: to-PP:

(111) Ruth and David Daniels (THEME) were looking forward to returning (TARGET) **to their house** (GOAL) after a year working abroad (BNC: 103050500).

GF: Complement/ PT: Adverb (home, here, there):

(112) He (THEME) returned (TARGET) **there** (GOAL) in 1945 after serving with the Royal Artillery [...] (BNC:2515830).

Definite Null Instantiation :

(113) [...] He (THEME) returned (TARGET) (**DNI: GOAL**) for work (SOURCE) at the normal hour [...] (BNC: 26344477)

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: from-PP:

(114) [...] He (THEME)... returned (TARGET) there (GOAL) **from England** (SOURCE) [...] (BNC: 67907507)

FE PATH:

(115) **GF: Complement / PT: across-PP:**

Returning (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) (DNI: THEME) **across the square** (PATH), she felt she was going home[...] (BNC: 56830497)

GF: Complement / PT: Adverbial :

(116) Mary (THEME) returned (TARGET) **upstairs** (PATH & GOAL) with her friends to complete dressing (BNC: 30477541)

5.13.2. Conflated FEs:

Path + Goal, as in:

(117) Mary (THEME) returned (TARGET) **upstairs** (PATH & GOAL) with her friends to complete dressing (BNC: 30477541)

5.14. REGRESAR.V:

Lemma: **regresar**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: (De regreso) Volver al lugar de donde se partió.

This lexical unit bears the same constructional specification as *return.v.* The binding of the Source and Goal of motion is equally present in the Spanish speakers' conceptualization of the overall event structure. Likewise, the FE Source inherited from the Arriving frame corresponds to this intermediate landmark that also functions as a departing point (the start transition in the single event of motion). The former Source is incorporated in the lexical meaning of *regresar*, the latter Source is optionally present in an overt constituent.

FE set: Theme
 Source
 Path
 Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Primary Source bound to the Goal, at a local level (no tagging).

Subframe profile: Goal

5.14.1. Valence patterns of *regresar.v* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(118) **El norteamericano Thagard** (THEME) *regresa* (TARGET) a la Tierra (GOAL) tras 111 días en el espacio (UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: a-PP:

(119) [...] los refugiados que (THEME) quieren *regresar* (TARGET) pacíficamente **a su país** (GOAL) (UABC)

Definite Null Instantiation :

(120) Los refugiados inculpados en el genocidio del año pasado (THEME) nunca *regresarán* (TARGET) (**DNI: GOAL**) voluntariamente (UABC)

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: from-PP :

(120) Mientras en España los medios muestran una imagen desastrosa de Venezuela, la familia real (THEME) regresó (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) encantada **del país** (SOURCE) (UABC)

5.15. RETURN.N:

Lemma: **return**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

COD Definition: An act of returning

The noun *return* conveys in its lexical meaning the same event as return.v. Consequently, they share the whole FE specification at a local level:

FE set: Theme }
Source } inherited from Motion + Manner } inherited from Event
Path }
Goal }

+ Primary Source bound to the Goal, at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

5.15.1. Valence patterns of *return.n* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: Complement / PT: ofPP:

(122) (Metaphor)[...] The general election which should have come by 1940 seemed unlikely to lead to the return (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **of a majority Labour government** (THEME) [...] (BNC: 100342317)

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

(123) We look forward to **their** (THEME) return (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) in the autumn[...] (BNC: 108983792)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: {into, to}-PP:

(124) (Metaphor)[...]some patients are eventually rehabilitated for their (THEME) return (TARGET) **into society** (GOAL) (BNC: 103787303).

Definite Null Instantiation :

(125) (Metaphor) Gordon Strachan's (THEME) return (TARGET) (**DNI: GOAL**) after injury [...] (BNC: 96102397)

GF: Modifier/ PT: N:

(126) (Metaphor) Harrier Malcom Price will make (Support Verb) his (THEME) **road racing** (GOAL) return (TARGET) after illness when he will start among the favourites for tomorrow's Chester-le-Street 10K [...] (BNC: 105047412).

Note the productivity and versatility of the English compound nominal construction, that allows for placing the FE Goal to the left of the target noun as its modifier, obtaining the same reading as in *his return to road racing*, which is the required word order in a Romance language such as Spanish.

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: from-PP:

(127) As she waited for Lally's (THEME) return (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **from the bathroom** (SOURCE)[...] (BNC: 73551915)

FE MEANS:

GF: Complement / PT: by-PP:

(128) Ramses II and the Osireion may be seen before the return (TARGET) **by boat** (MEANS) to Luxor (GOAL) (BNC: 48180563)

FE MANNER:

GF: Modifier / PT: AJP:

(129) The house builder, Trencherwood expects to see a **gradual** (MANNER) return (TARGET) to profitability (GOAL) during 1994,[...] (BNC: 105712844)

5.16. **REGRESO.N:**

Lemma: **regreso**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

Definition: (DEL LAT. REGRESSUS) Acción de regresar.

The noun *regreso* conveys in its lexical meaning the same event as *regresar.v.*

Consequently, they share the whole FE specification at a local level:

FE set: Theme }
 Source } inherited from Motion
 Path }
 Goal }

+ Primary Source bound to the Goal, at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

5.16.1. Valence patterns of *regreso.n* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: Complement / PT: de-PP:

(130) El Atlantis se quedó sin poder firmar el regreso (TARGET) **de la Soyuz**
(THEME) a la nave nodriza (GOAL) [...] (UABC)

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

(131) La selección no defraudó en **su** (THEME) regreso (TARGET) a Madrid (GOAL)
(UABC)

FE GOAL:

GF: Complement/ PT: a-PP:

(132) El regreso (TARGET) **a Cabo Cañaveral** (GOAL) esta previsto para el viernes
society (GOAL) (UABC)

Definite Null Instantiation :

(133) Ulrich Jurgens [...] ha sido obligado a dimitir a las pocas horas de su (THEME)
regreso (TARGET) (**DNI: GOAL**) de Tahití (SOURCE) (UABC)

FE SOURCE:

GF: Complement / PT: de-PP:

(134) Ulrich Jurgens [...] ha sido obligado a dimitir a las pocas horas de su (THEME) regreso (TARGET) (DNI: GOAL) **de Tahití** (SOURCE) (UABC)

5.17. COME_BACK.V:

Lemma: **come_back**

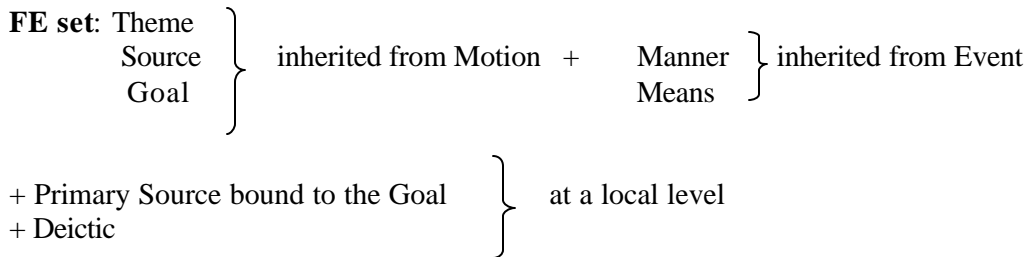
POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

Definition (*ad hoc*): Return to a place, with the speaker's perspective being at that place.

Come_back is a multiword lexical unit that belongs to the frame of Arriving and shares the same FE set as its Romance equivalent *return*, plus the addition of the Deictic, for reasons discussed under section 5.7.1.

The verb *come* brings in the Fact-of-Motion and the Deictic component conflated to it. The particle *back* carries the requirement that the Goal and the Primary Source of motion be bound together, at a local level:



Subframe profile: Goal

5.17.1. Valence patterns of *come_back.v* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(135) **Tranmere** (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) storming (MANNER) back (VECTOR) (DNI: GOAL) (BNC: 102360071)

FE GOAL:

I have not found any overt instantiation of the Goal in the FrameNet-1 database. This fact may be connected with the fact that this FE is retrievable both from the information

provided by the particle *back* –since it binds it to the Source of motion, and the verb *come* –through its Deictic component. This double binding of the Goal to two different FEs that are incorporated in the *lexunit* form reduces the necessity for an overt expression. Yet, a more in-detailed corpus search of this lexunit is needed to draw more firm conclusions on this fact.

Definite Null Instantiation :

(136) I have to go now, but I (THEME) 'll come (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) back (VECTOR) (**DNI: GOAL**) tomorrow (BNC: 32802883)

FE PATH:

GF: Complement / PT: NP:

(137) Perhaps later, if I (THEME) come (TARGET) back (VECTOR) **this way** (PATH) (BNC: 92812769)

FE MANNER:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(138) **Tranmere** (THEME) came (TARGET) (INC:DEICTIC) **storming** (MANNER) back (VECTOR) (DNI: GOAL) (BNC: 102360071)

6. Profile and Incorporation: the Goal in the Arriving frame

In this last section of my analysis, I would like to put forward the idea that the semantic participant of a given event that receives profile at a conceptual level meets equal amount of saliency at a lexico-syntactic level.

The frame of Arriving is very illustrative in this respect. We have introduced the Definite Null Instantiation label to refer to those participants in the event that, regardless of their actual occurrence in the linguistic surface, are always referentially present, and therefore should be part of the constructional specification. This requirement seems to be directly proportional to saliency patterns, so that the DNI label is most likely to be bound to this profiled FE.

This is indeed the case of the Goal in the Arriving frame: all throughout the corpus annotation, the Goal has been granted obligatory membership in the valence patterns; for any single sentence this FE has been annotated as an overt constituent or as a DNI.

There is a third means whereby the Goal can be expressed in the construction as a way to acknowledge its privileged position: incorporation.

Incorporation is a mechanism that affects close arguments of the predicate -i.e., those FEs which are salient in the event. English and Spanish directional and locative phrases are prone to undergo this mechanism. As we will show below, the Goal of motion in the Arriving frame is indeed a target for incorporation.

I would like to illustrate this point presenting three Spanish predicates that, evoking the Arriving frame, incorporate the Goal of motion. These are the verbs *alunizar*, *aterrizar* and *arribar*, and their respective event nouns *alunizaje*, *aterrizaje* and *arribada*.

6.1. ALUNIZAR.V:

Lemma: **alunizar**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: intr. Posarse una nave espacial o un tripulante de ella en la superficie de la luna.

This lexical unit lexicalizes the Goal of motion through incorporation. Moreover, the whole directional phrase that includes the referential expression of this Goal undergoes this process, serving as the base for the derivation of the verb:

(139) *a-lun-izar*

to-moon-verbal suffix

Due to the unique referential content of the Goal phrase, this predicate pre-empts a directional PP as its complement for a sheer matter of redundancy (*?alunizar a la luna*).

The FE that bears profile –the Goal preceded by the Spanish directional preposition *a-* serves as the lexical cue that activates the whole event of Arriving in our mental space.

Yet, according to our findings in the corpus search, a PP complement may follow the verb to express the location where the arrival takes place. I propose to understand this constituent as elaborating the Goal by adding information about the exact location of the arrival, a construal significantly different from the expression of the destination of motion.

FE set: Theme }
 Source } inherited from Motion
 Path }
 Goal }

+ Goal Elaboration (locative), at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

6.1.1. Valence patterns of *alunizar.v* attested in the corpus:

1 sentence annotated from the corpus search:

(140) Ya a comienzos de este siglo, en la película de Meliés, **el cohete** (THEME), lanzado desde la tierra, **alunizaba** (TARGET) (**INC: GOAL**), ya es mala suerte, **justo en el ojo de la rechoncha luna** (GOAL ELABORATION), que se agarraba un mosqueo de cuidado (UABC)

The Theme is expressed as the External Argument. The Goal is incorporated in the predicate. The Goal Elaboration is expressed in a locative phrase. Note that this constituent cannot be headed by a directional preposition, supporting the idea that it cannot introduce the destination by itself (since this is preempted by the lexical content of the verb). It exclusively designates the location of the arrival as a specific subpart of the destination. Of course, this locative phrase comprises the Goal in its intensive meaning, but their differentiation in terms of construal may be significant.

6.2. ALUNIZAJE.N:

Lemma: **alunizaje**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: 2. Acción y efecto de alunizar

This event noun has the same lexical semantics as the verb *alunizar*. It derives from it through nominalization. The FE set is expressed by the same lexical patterns: the Goal is incorporated into the noun, preceded by the directional preposition *a*. Of course, the same restriction against expressing the direction of motion in a separate constituent applies too.

FE set: Theme
 Source
 Path
 Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Goal Elaboration (locative), at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

6.2.1. Valence patterns of *alunizaje.n* attested in the corpus :

2 sentences annotated from the corpus search:

(141) El Centro Washington Irving conmemoró ayer el 25 aniversario del hecho, ofreciendo una videoconferencia, titulada “25 aniversario del **alunizaje** (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) del Apolo XI (THEME)”, en la que participaron Charles M. Duke Jr. (UABC)

The Theme is expressed as the PP complement of the target word, headed by the preposition *de*. The Goal is incorporated into the predicate.

(142) Al comienzo se ve **el lugar** (GOAL ELABORATION) de **alunizaje** (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) de la misión Apolo 11 (THEME) (UABC)

The Theme is expressed as a complement. The Goal is incorporated into the predicate. The Goal Elaboration FE shows up as the noun syntactically governing the target word: it is the head of the NP *el lugar de alunizaje de la misión Apolo 11*, where *alunizaje* is embedded as a complement.

6.3. ATERRIZAR.V:

Lemma: **aterrizar**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: intr. Posarse un avión o un artefacto volador cualquiera, tras una maniobra de descenso, sobre tierra firme o sobre cualquier pista o superficie que sirva a tal fin.

The Goal of motion is equally lexicalized in the predicate. This verb follows the same lexicalization pattern as the previous predicate *alunizar*:

(143) a-terr-izar
to-land-verbal suffix¹³

In this case the semantic content of the Goal FE is not restricted to one single and completely defined entity, as it was the case of the moon. The verb *land* points out to a much more wider range of elaborations in its FE set: both the Theme and the Goal Elaboration can be filled in by very many different referents: birds, planes, balloons, objects, people, etc., can serve as Theme; airports, islands, cities, seas, oceans, countries, etc., can serve as the location where the Goal –the *land*- is enclosed.

Again, incorporation of “a” + Goal precludes a directional PP in the form of a separate constituent. And the expression *?aterrizar a tierra* is equally rejected for its redundancy. The complement of the verb must bear the locative case in order to elaborate the location of the arrival.

FE set: Theme }
Source } inherited from Motion
Path }
Goal }

+ Goal Elaboration (locative), at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

6.3.1. Valence patterns of *aterrizar.v* attested in the corpus:

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(144) [...] **el avión de Iberia que** (THEME) transportaba a Soares Gamboa aterrizaba (TARGET) (INC:GOAL) en Madrid (GOAL ELABORATION) entre excepcionales medidas de seguridad (UABC)

¹³ English shows this incorporation process in its lexicon too. The English counterpart for *aterrizar* is *to land*, whose lexical meaning is spelled out along the same lines. *To beach* is another example of the same phenomenon coming from English. We cannot expect complete overlap crosslinguistically though: there is no such thing as **aplayar* in Spanish, and the verb *to moon* in English definitely does not evoke the frame of arriving.

FE GOAL:

Incorporation :

(145) Miguel (THEME) aterrizaba (TARGET) (**INC:GOAL**) por la mañana en el aeropuerto de Biarritz (GOAL ELABORATION) (UABC)

FE GOAL ELABORATION :

GF: Complement / PT: en-PP:

(146) El Guernica (THEME) aterrizó (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) **en nuestro país** (GOAL ELABORATION) el 10 de septiembre de 1981 [...] (UABC)

6.4. **ATERRIZAJE.N:**

Lemma: **aterrizaje**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: (del fr. atterrissage) m Acción de aterrizar.

This event noun is derived from the verb *aterrizar*. It shares all the semantics and FE set with it.

FE set: Theme
Source
Path
Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Goal Elaboration (locative), at a local level.

Subframe profile : Goal

6.4.1. **Valence patterns of *aterrizaje .n* attested in the corpus :**

FE THEME:

GF: Modifier / PT: Possessive :

(147) [...] (Metaphor) **su** (THEME) aterrizaje (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) en el mundillo del celuloide (GOAL ELABORATION) fue también de película. (UABC)

GF: Complement / PT: de-PP:

(148) Estoy seguro de que el Gobierno gestionó el aterrizaje (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) **de la avioneta** (THEME) en Cali (GOAL ELABORATION) (UABC)

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(149) Una falsa bomba obliga a **un avión de la compañía alemana LTE** (THEME) a realizar (Support Verb) un aterrizaje (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) forzoso en Barajas (GOAL ELABORATION) (UABC)

FE GOAL:

Incorporation :

(150) 40 heridos tras el aterrizaje (TARGET) (**INC:GOAL**) forzoso de un avión venezolano (THEME) en Canarias (GOAL ELABORATION) (UABC)

FE GOAL ELABORATION :

GF: Complement / PT: en-PP:

(151) Unas horas antes del aterrizaje (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) de Chirac (THEME) **en Bonn** [...] (UABC)

6.4.2. The case of Definite Null Instantiation in the Goal Elaboration

(152) El despegue, aplazado hace más de un mes por el ataque de unos pájaros carpinteros, se produjo apenas seis días después del aterrizaje (TARGET) (INC: GOAL) del Atlantis (THEME) ?(**DNI: GOAL ELABORATION**) (UABC)

It is hard to judge from reading this last sentence if the Goal Elaboration is referentially understood in the context or not. One criterion to ascertain this question is to test whether the meaning of the whole sentence collapses when this FE is not made definite. It is my belief that this is not the case.

As we have been suggested all throughout the paper, the definite instantiation of the FE Goal is necessarily required for the processing of the sentence not to collapse, regardless its overt or covert realization. In the case of *aterrizaje*, the Goal is incorporated in the predicate and preempts a further directional expression. On the other hand, the high frequency in our corpus of the Goal Elaboration suggests its profiled nature, but this does not necessarily imply that the hearer must know the location of arrival in order to

successfully process the message. Maybe this information is provided by the non-linguistic context, or maybe not, but we must not assume a DNI in the lack of further evidence. Unfortunately, the corpus search does not provide any evidence as for the extra-linguistic setting in the act of communication.

In any case, we can draw two important conclusions from this discussion:

- 1.- first, that the Goal and the Goal Elaboration are distinct FEs that occupy separate but interrelated spaces in the construal of the event; and
- 2.- second, that the Goal FE which is incorporated in the verb is the one that receives the profile and therefore its occurrence is guaranteed, and that this requirement does not apply to the Goal Elaboration, in tune with its less profiled status in the FE set.

6.5. **ARRIBAR.V:**

Lemma: **arribar**

POS: Verb

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: (Del lat. **arripare*, de *ripa*, orilla) intr. Llegar la nave a un puerto.

Etymologically, this lemma also incorporates the Goal of motion (Lat. *Ripa*, Sp. *orilla* 'shore') into the Fact-of-Motion, in the same fashion as the previous *aterrizar* and *alunizar*. Yet, it shows a complete different behavior in its complementation pattern, probably due to the opaqueness of the derivation¹⁴:

(153) *a-rib-ar*

to-shore-verbal suffix

The morpheme *-rib-* does not necessarily evoke any particular Goal of motion in the mind of the Spanish speaker/hearer. As a consequence of that, the FE that we have called Goal Elaboration may arguably hold responsibility in providing all information about the destination. It is true that the lexical semantics of this word suggests that the Goal be at the shore, and this has been confirmed by many Spanish speakers. Yet, examples from the corpus show that new usage patterns are emerging for this verb:

(154) Durante toda la jornada no cesaron de arribar **al aeropuerto de Cartagena** aviones privados fletados por la organización con los invitados (UABC)

¹⁴ Lat. *ripa* gave rise to Sp. *ribera* 'bank of the river', but the Spanish word for 'shore', *orilla*, does not formally resemble any of the former. This fact may be playing a major role in the

This sentence implies that the Goal which is originally incorporated in the predicate loses all its referential content, which is taken over by the directional PP *al aeropuerto de Cartagena*¹⁵.

This matter has a direct influence onto the semantic annotation of the FE set of the target word *arribar*, leaving the annotator with a dilemma: are we to acknowledge an incorporated Goal FE? Then, is the restricted label “Goal Elaboration” still valid for the directional complement? Or rather, is this directional PP the constituent that actually brings the Goal of motion into the scene, being the incorporation no longer part of the on-line processing of *arribar*? If so, do we need to pose a Goal Elaboration as a separate FE at all?¹⁶

Note that the English cognate of *arribar*, ‘arrive’, has actually lost all selectional restrictions regarding the elaboration of the Goal, and consequently this FE takes the form of an overt complement or a DNI, but no INC label was proposed in its analysis, despite etymology. We have to bear in mind that the aim of Frame Semantics is to analyze the complementation patterns of a predicate, *provided* there is on-line conceptual structure underlying it.

In the annotation of the FE set of *arribar*, I will maintain the INC label for the Goal in order to draw a contrastive picture with the English cognate, where, as opposed to Spanish, no notion of reaching the shore prevails at all:

FE set: Theme
Source
Path
Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Goal Elaboration (locative), at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

synchronic use of *arribar*, where a directional PP can occur as the complement of the verb, e.g. *arribaron a puerto*.

¹⁵ This semantic change requires a much more in-detail study, which is out of the scope of this paper. In any case, what is important to note here is the loss of referential content in the incorporation to impose selectional restrictions on the complement, and how this affects the form and meaning specification of the FE set.

¹⁶ Entry number 2 for the verb *arribar* in the RAE dictionary reads: “*Llegar por tierra a cualquier parte*” (“Arrive by land at any place!”)

6.5.1. Valence patterns of *arribar.v* attested in the corpus :

FE THEME:

GF: External Argument / PT: NP:

(155) Cruzan el estrecho hacinados en **una frágil embarcación que** (THEME) suele arribar (TARGET) (INC:GOAL) en las playas de Cádiz, Málaga o Almería (GOAL ELABORATION) (UABC)

FE GOAL:

Incorporation :

(156) Las redes y los aparejos de este buque (THEME) fueron destruidas minutos después de que arribara (TARGET) (**INC:GOAL**), tras los incidentes [...] (UABC)

FE GOAL ELABORATION :

GF: Complement / PT: {a, en}-PP:

(157) [...] aquellos viajeros (THEME) tardarían un mes en arribar (TARGET) (INC:GOAL) **a Cabo Verde o Las Canarias** (GOAL ELABORATION) (UABC)

6.6. **ARRIBADA.N:**

Lemma: **arribada**

POS: Noun

Frame: Arriving.

RAE Definition: f. Acción de arribar, llegar la nave al puerto de destino

Arribada designates the same event as the verbal predicate *arribar*, so that it shares the whole FE set with it. The noun derives from the verb, and consequently its lexical semantics is similar, except for the fact that it belongs to a different part of speech:

FE set: Theme
Source
Path
Goal } inherited from Motion

+ Goal Elaboration (locative), at a local level.

Subframe profile: Goal

6.6.1. Valence patterns of *arribada.n* attested in the corpus:

We have only retrieved one example sentence from our corpus search:

- (158) Del majestuoso lirismo de las **arribadas** (TARGET) (**INC: GOAL**) **de las naves** (THEME) **al fiordo** (GOAL ELABORATION) se llega al estallido épico del asalto de los hombres del Norte a un castillo inglés (UABC)

The Theme takes the form of a complement of the event noun; the Goal incorporates into the target predicate; and the Goal Elaboration is expressed via a directional PP, suggesting the ongoing weakening of the directional value of the predicate. In the current usage, both the Spanish prepositions *en* (locative ‘in’) and *a* (directional ‘to’) alternate as head of the complement PP for *arribar* and *arribada*¹⁷.

¹⁷ Actually, the Spanish predicates *entrar* (‘enter’) and *entrada* (‘entrance’) show the same dual pattern in the choice of the preposition head of the spatial complement: *entra a clase!* vs. *entra en clase!*, with very little if any difference at all in the construal of the event.

14. Further research: Sense extensions of the *arriving* predicates

As we have already discussed under the introductory section to Frame Semantics and Motion, the domain of motion is a perfect candidate as the source domain of new extended meanings (it is a basic, possibly pre-conceptual, primary experience: pervasive, well-structured and well-understood). Motion metaphors are certainly well-motivated, and they abound in describing in terms of motion very many different events in our experience (*Mary fell in love, I did not arrive at any conclusion, we have to approach the issue*, etc.) Likewise, the frame of *arriving* constitutes a nice source for sense extensions to emerge, and the predicates that participate in it typically show a high degree of polysemy. The assumption is that the extended senses that form this polysemous network all derive from the basic spatial meaning.

In my corpus study of *arriving* predicates, many example sentences have been retrieved that convey non-spatial meanings. I have not included these new senses in my frame semantic analysis on the grounds that they certainly do not belong to the *arriving* frame, but rather point to a different frame.

Likewise, I have come across another kind of phenomenon concerning sense extension: those motion constructions that do belong to the *arriving* frame but do not reflect factive motion, but *fictive motion*¹⁸.

I would like to briefly present some data to illustrate these concerns, as they may lead to new grounds for further research within the framework of frame semantics. The data have been organized along these two major types of sense extensions: within the arriving frame (fictive motion), and pointing to a new frame (metaphor).

7.1. Sense extensions within the arriving frame: Fictive Motion

In the corpus study of *enter*, I have found a reasonable number of sentences depicting fictive motion along a path, pertaining to the type of expressions that Talmy has named *Coextension Paths*:

“A coextension path is a depiction of the form, orientation or location of a spatially extended object in terms of a path over the object’s extent. What is factive here is the

¹⁸ This term, as introduced by Talmy, makes reference to sentences that depict motion with no physical occurrence. The term *fictive* has been adopted for its reference to the imaginal capacity of cognition. (Talmy 2000, v. 1:100)

representation of the object as stationary and the absence of any entity traversing the depicted path. What is fictive is the representation of some entity moving along or over the configuration of the object [...]” (Talmy 2000, v.I: 138)

(159) A **dirt track** (fictive THEME) **entered** (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR+BOUNDARY) the orchard (GOAL) from the village road (SOURCE)[...] (BNC:2648246).

(160) There’s **another minor road** (fictive THEME) **entering** (TARGET) (INC: VECTOR+BOUNDARY) the village (GOAL) from the north-east, under the other track (BNC:46179384).

I would like to put forward that fictive motion belongs to a figurative plain in the use of language that is validated through our *frame understanding*; it is against a whole coherent schematization of our experience that fictive motion can be understood. Consider the sentences below:

- (161) a. *The highway runs through the valley*
b. *?The pencil runs through the valley*

The sentence in (161a) is a felicitous example of fictive motion, whereas (161b) is not, simply because *highways* are salient participants in a motion frame, filling in the Path FE, and *pencils* traditionally are not.

“ [...] understanding a sentence such as 1a) involves constructing a situation model through a mesh of knowledge about what the subject-NP referent highway does, knowledge about what it does not do, and knowledge afforded by argument structure. For instance, highways are associated with travel, so the possibility of travel is introduced into the situation model. This might include knowledge about automobile travel [...]” (Matlock 2001: 8)

7.2. Sense extensions pointing to new frames: Metaphor

A great number of metaphorical sense extensions have been documented in this corpus study too. I will just comment on two examples here that should serve to illustrate the grounds for further research.

(162) When and why did you **arrived at that conclusion**? (BNC:68787095).

According to Metaphor Theory, this sense of *arrive* is based on the metaphor END OF EVENT IS END OF PATH. In metaphorical terms, the *closing event* is the thinking that needs to be taken before arriving at a conclusion. The construal of *conclusion* as a Goal is also supported by two other primary metaphors: IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, and OBJECTS ARE LOCATIONS.

Frame Semantics, on the other hand, allows to concentrate on the synchronic description of this meaning, suggesting that this particular use of the lemma *arrive* is linked to the Cognition frame.

(163) The public as well as the practising artist, whether amateur or professional, seems always intrigued by the ways that another artist has **arrived at being professionally and financially independent** (BNC:28928621)

In Metaphor Theory terms, this sense of *arrive* is based on the metaphor PURPOSEFUL CHANGE IS MOTION TO A DESTINATION, coming from the combination of CHANGE IS MOTION and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. As Radden (1996: 440) phrases it: "ACHIEVING A PURPOSEFUL CHANGE IS REACHING A DESTINATION".

If we approach the sentence from a frame semantic point of view, what we want to reflect (always synchronically) is that this new sense of *come* belongs to the frame of Achievement, and it should also be described in those terms.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper has been to offer a sample of both the English and the Spanish lexicon analyzed with *deep semantics*. With this purpose in mind, we have carried out a frame semantic analysis of English and Spanish predicating words that participate in the frame of Arriving. This project has consisted of:

- Building up a whole frame semantic description of arriving events in English and Spanish. How the conceptualization of an arriving event falls into the more schematic frame of motion, for English and Spanish.

- Identifying the predicates (lexical units) that evoke the frame of arriving, for English and Spanish. Elaborating a list of words for contrastive purposes.

- After the FrameNet lexicographic project, presenting the lexical entry of each lexical unit, plus providing a full description of its conceptualization in terms of frame semantics.

- Drawing a contrastive analysis of English-Spanish pairs of arriving predicates: differences and similarities in their conceptualization that are linked to differences and similarities in the grammar and lexicalization patterns of each language.

- Working on automatized¹⁹ corpora for both the English and the Spanish list of words (the BNC and the UABC respectively). This work has been the basis for the present empirical study. Semantically annotating the retrieved sentences with the FrameNet in-house software. The result of this work is attached in the Appendix.

The collected data also point out to further research within the framework of Frame Semantics: predicates that have the arriving meaning have shown a high degree of polysemy, being this frame the source of extended senses that form complex polysemous networks. In terms of frame semantics, this fact can be interpreted as sense extensions that mainly belong to two kinds: sense extensions within the frame of Arriving –less central- (fictive motion), and sense extensions across frames (metaphor). This hypothesis remains to be probed in the future.

¹⁹ By automatized corpus I mean a lemmatized and POS-tagged corpus.

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***APPENDIX: ANNOTATED
SENTENCES FROM
THE CORPORA***