

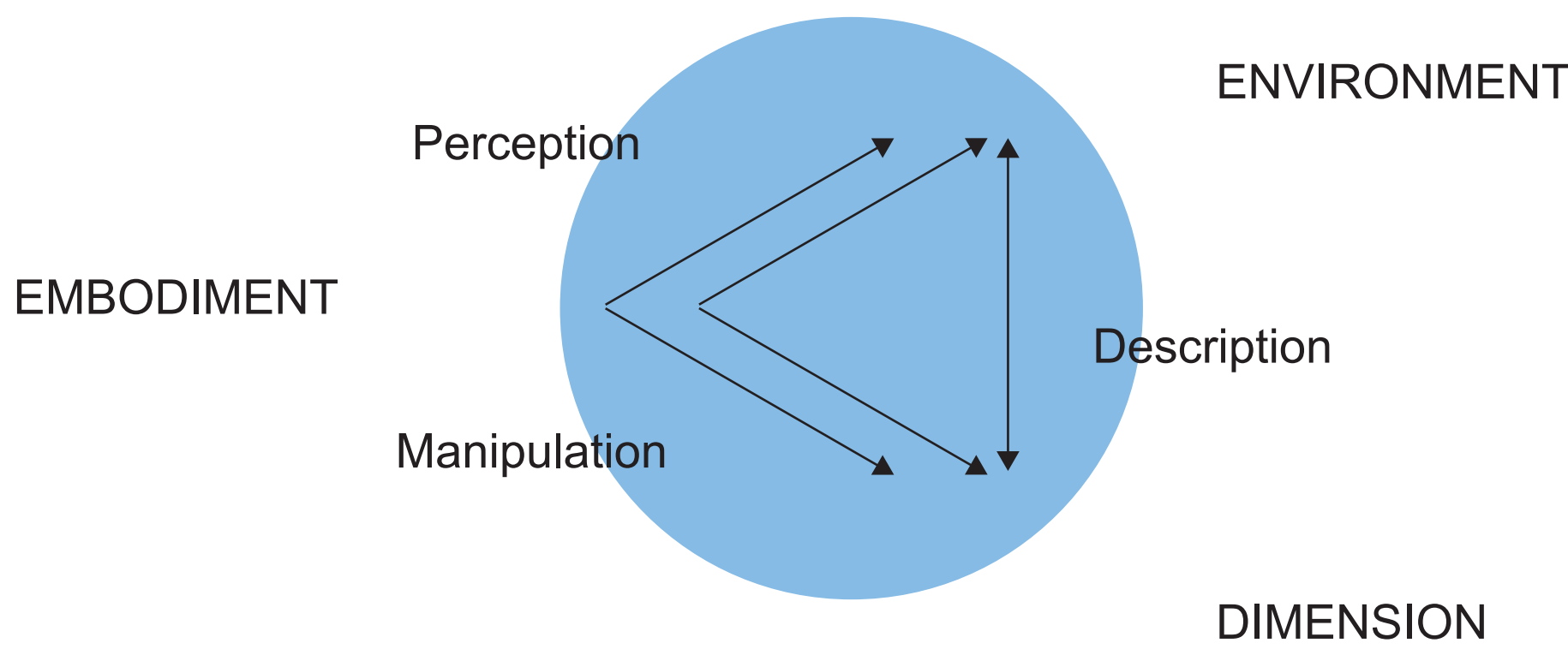
A contrastive analysis of semantic mechanisms between the source domain and the potential target readings

Material

- Corpus: a syntactic-semantic thesaurus with over 25,000 entries for a total of 12,310 verbs (Dubois & Dubois Charlier, 1997).
- Approx. 2000 verbs of this corpus were semantically structured due to their readings (TARGET DOMAINS, e.g. LOCATION, PATH, EXTENSION, SHAPE, EMISSION, etc.) and etymologically traced back to their SOURCE DOMAINS & source concepts.
- As it turned out, all the verbs could be traced back to either one of the following three SOURCE DOMAINS: EMBODIMENT (concepts close to the human body or connected to it), ENVIRONMENT (concepts found in the surroundings of human beings) and DIMENSIONS (information about the object, etc.).
- A frequency analysis further showed that the majority of the analyzed verbs (50% to 90% depending on the class of verbs) could be traced back to EMBODIMENT.

Source domain architecture

Out of the three source domains, EMBODIMENT is the central one, which is linked to the other two source domains via perception and manipulation, while the other two source domains (ENVIRONMENT and DIMENSION) are only linked through the fact that they are used in order to better describe the other entity:



- **EMBODIMENT:** human body (e.g. *écoeurer* ‘make sb feel sick’ < *coeur* ‘heart’), sensorimotor capacities (e.g. *comprendre* ‘to understand’ < Latin *prehendere* ‘take’)
- **ENVIRONMENT:** objects (e.g. *monter* ‘rise’ < Latin *mons* ‘mountain’), instruments (e.g. *accrocher* < *crochet* ‘hook’)
- **DIMENSION:** spatial or temporal information (e.g. *allonger* < long ‘long’)
- **Hybrid Source Domains:** e.g. fr. *arriver* ‘to arrive’ (< lat. *ad ripam* (ENVIRONMENT) *ire* (EMBODIMENT) ‘to get to the shore’)

Due to the complexity of this model, the results will be presented via a case study:

Advantages of fr. *monter* ‘rise’

- a) the equivalents of ‘rise’ in French, Spanish and German display **three different source domains**:
- fr. *monter* (< lat. *mons* ‘mountain’, ENVIRONMENT),
ger. *steigen* (<*steigan, manner of motion: to lift and then to vigorously put down the feet again, EMBODIMENT),
sp. *subir* (< lat. *subire* (< *sub* [DIMENSION] + *ire* [EMBODIMENT] ‘down + go’)
- b) **static** and **dynamic readings** (see examples!)
- c) extensional and intensional use:
- extensional use

→

Partial change of a verb argument along the dimension encoded by the dimensional verb

intensional use

→

The dimension is introduced by a verb argument which undergoes a total change. The dimensional verb only specifies the direction of the value change.
- d) a clearly indicated **dimension**: HEIGHT
- e) it displays a specific kind of **scalarity**, that depends on the scale contributed by the functional noun it combines with. This implies a revision of Rappaport Hovav’s (2008) hypothesis that change of state verbs always lexicalize a complete scale (Fleischhauer & Gamerschlag, 2014)

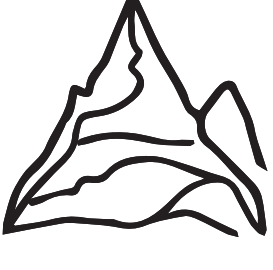
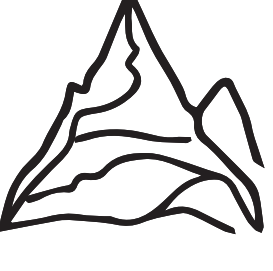
extensional use:
 $\lambda x \lambda e. \text{HEIGHT} \langle \Delta, D, R \rangle (x, \text{BEGIN}(e)) < \text{HEIGHT} \langle \Delta, D, R \rangle (x, \text{END}(e))$

intensional use:
 $\lambda f \langle \Delta, D, R \rangle \lambda e. f(\text{BEGIN}(e)) < f(\text{END}(e))$
e.g. The temperature of the liquid is rising:
 $\lambda e. \text{TEMPERATURE} \langle \Delta, D, R \rangle (ix \text{ LIQUID}(x), \text{BEGIN}(e)) < \text{TEMPERATURE} \langle \Delta, D, R \rangle (ix \text{ LIQUID}(x), \text{END}(e))$

Source concept of fr. *monter* & [parameters]

- a) diachronic perspective:
‘mountain’ → ENVIRONEMENT: [inanimated], [static], [orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape], [telicity], [scalarity], [value]
- b) **synchronic perspective**: TARGET readings
- i. prototypical readings:
PATH: [dynamic], [orientation], [direction], [telicity]
EXTENSION: [static],[orientation], [direction], [telicity], [extensions]
- ii. derived readings:
VALUE: [dynamic], [orientation], [direction], [telicity], [value], [scalarity]
- iii. non-prototypical readings:
MANNER: [orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape]
COMPOSITION: [orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape], [telicity]

Contrastive analysis

verbs	SOURCE DOMAIN (I)	Source concept	shared parameters w/ monter	missing parameters	TARGET DOMAIN	SOURCE DOMAIN (II)
fr. <i>monter</i>	ENVIRONMENT [static]	‘natural object’	[orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape], [telicity], ...	—	PATH, EXTENSION, VALUE, MANNER, COMPOSTION	
ger. <i>steigen</i>	EMBODIMENT [dynamic]	‘manner of motion’	[orientation], [extension], [telicity]	[inanimated], [direction], [shape], [value]	PATH, EXTENSION, VALUE	
sp. <i>subir</i>	ENVIRONMENT & EMBODIMENT [dynamic]	‘direction of motion’	[direction], [orientation]	[shape]. [extension], [telicity]	PATH, EXTENSION, VALUE	
sp. <i>montar</i>	ENVIRONMENT [static]	‘natural object’	[orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape], [telicity], ...	—	MANNER, COMPOSTION	

Examples

- i. **shared parameters**:
- (1) PATH: ‘Pierre climbs to the top of the mountain’.
[dynamic], [orientation], [direction], [telicity]
a. Pierre monte jusqu’au sommet de la montagne.
b. Pedro sube hasta la cima de la montaña.
c. Peter stieg bis zum Gipfel des Berges (hoch) [direction].
- (2) EXTENSION: ‘The path ascends to the top of the mountain’.
[static], [orientation], [direction], [telicity]
a. Cette route monte jusqu’au sommet de la montagne.
b. La carretera sube hasta la cima de la montaña.
c. Die Strasse steigt bis zum Gipfel des Berges (an) [direction].
- (3) VALUE: ‘The temperature climbs up to 35 degrees’.
[dynamic], [orientation], [direction], [telicity], [scalarity]
a. La température monte à 35 degrés.
b. La temperatura sube a 35 grados.
c. Die Temperatur steigt auf 35 Grad (an) [direction].
- ii. **non-shared parameters**:
- (4) MANNER: [orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape]
a. Pierre monte à cheval. Pierre est assis sur le cheval. ‘Peter is sitting [resultative] on a horse = rides’ *Pierre est au cheval. ‘Peter is on a horse’
b. Pierre monte [resultative] / se dresse / s’anime contre ses parents. ‘Peter stands up against his parents = revolts’.
- (5) COMPOSITION: [orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape], [telicity]
a. Le bijoutier monte un diamant sur l’anneau. ‘The jeweler sets the diamond on the ring’
b. L’ouvrier a monté la chaudière. ‘The worker assembled the boiler’

Synchronic restrictions explained via missing parameters in the SOURCE CONCEPT

- (6) Contrastive perspective:
a. ger. Er stieg in die Pfütze. **(lack of [direction])** ‘He stepped in the puddle’.
vs.
fr. ?*Il monte dans la flaque. **([direction] = only upwards)**
- b. fr. Pierre monte les bagages. **[inanimated]** ‘Peter takes the luggage upstairs’.
vs.
ger. *Peter steigt die Koffer nach oben. **([animated] = focus restricted)**
- c. fr. La tour monte à 300 mètres. **[value]** ‘The tower [lit. goes up to] is 300 meters high’.
vs.
ger. *Der Turm steigt auf 300 Meter. **(no [value] indication)**
- d. fr. Ximena monta sur la table. **[telicity]** ‘Ximena climbed onto the table’
vs.
sp. Ximena *subio **(no [telicity])** a la mesa.
Ximena se **[telicity]** subio a la mesa.

Aims: “ID card” of each verb

MONTER: source domain: ENVIRONMENT, source concept: “mountain” (< lat. mons)				
Target readings	INTERPRETATION		static	dynamic
Dimension: HEIGHT	extensional	prototypical	—	PATH: [orientation], [direction] (& [telicity])
		non-prototypical	EXTENSION: [orientation], [direction], [telicity] & [extension]	
			MANNER: [orientation], [direction], [extension] & [shape]	
	intensional	derived	—	COMPOSITION: [orientation], [direction], [extension], [shape] & [telicity]
			—	VALUE: [orientation], [direction], [telicity] & [value]

+ Explaining contrastive differences on the synchronic axis via source domain parameters



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