EXITING EVENTS IN SPANISH: BOUNDARY I-SCHEMA AND MOVE X-SCHEMA[1]

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This paper analyses the structure and conceptualisation of exiting events in Spanish through the discussion of the construction SALIR-DE, and compares it with an analogous scenario encoded in the English construction OUT-OF. An 'exiting event' in Spanish is defined as the translational motion from a region A (the source) through a boundary. Taking the Embodied Construction Grammar (ECG) model as the theoretical framework, our focus is on the kind of mental images Spanish speakers construe it when it comes to understand this construction. Section 1 presents the main theoretical tenets of the Embodied Construction Grammar and a simplified version of their analysis of the English construction OUT-OF. Section 2 yields a description of the construction SALIR-DE and focuses on two schemas: the Boundary I-schema and the Move X-schema. Section 3 discusses the semantics of the landmarks that take part in this construction. Section 4 addresses more marginal cases where landmarks are portals. Finally, section 5 summarises the conclusions.

1. Embodied Construction Grammar and the English construction OUT-OF

The purpose of Embodied Construction Grammar is to put forward the hypothesis that language comprehension and language generation are possible thanks to a set of constructions elaborated by means of gestalt bindings of semantic schemas and simulation-based inference. Language understanding via simulation implies that the linguistic input is converted into a mental simulation based on bodily grounded structures: image schemas (Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1999) and executing schemas (Narayanan 1997). Image schemas (I-schemas) are abstractions over sensorimotor experiences that are retrieved by simulation in the brain. Executing schemas (X-schemas) are "dynamic, fine-grained, distributed action controller[s] that

tightly couple action and reaction in an uncertain and rapidly changing environment" (Narayanan 1997: 25). In other words, structures that carry out dynamic processes.

The Embodied Construction Grammar approach derives the following assumptions from Construction Grammar:

-Constructions are form-meaning pairs (Goldberg 1995, Fillmore 1988, Fillmore and Kay 2000, Kay and Fillmore 1999, Lakoff 1987).

-Constructions vary in the degree of specificity and level of description (morphological, lexical, phrasal, clausal).

ECG elaborates on these crucial notions of Construction Grammar in an attempt to build up a structure-connectionist model that should account for the frame semantics of the constructions in a holistic way. The basic tenets are:

-Constructions activate and bind semantic schemas.

-Constructions may have form and meaning constituents that are subject to selectional constrains. They may effect bindings between the schemas in their semantic pole, and may identify one or more constituents.

-Constructions specify constructional constituents and impose formal and semantic constrains on them: order constrains, designation constrains.

On the basis of these theoretical assumptions, Bergen, Chang and Paskin (to appear) have proposed a "formalism for linguistic analysis which is designed specifically for integration into an embodied model of natural language understanding". The implementation of this model derives from three different sources: (i) the body perceptual and motor systems for the semantic representations, (ii) the realisation of its theoretical constructs in a structured connectionist system, (iii) the computational architecture of the model itself, which allows to verify the analysis empirically.

For these authors, a construction is "a conventional linguistic schema that abstractly describes the integration of a set of constituents into a symbolic unit". These constituents are of three types: (i) formal –unit of form, (ii) semantic –semantic structure instantiated by a frame or image schema, and (iii) constructional. "The integration of these constituents is carried out by an instantiation of a constructional schema called the construct. Additionally, a construction can require several constraints which would be satisfied by these constituents".

According to the system of Bergen *et al.*, each construction receives a specific name, and is composed of four optional constructional specifications: (i) constituents (formal, semantic, and constructional), (ii) semantic constraints, which show the bindings between the semantic structures of the construction, (iii) form constraints, which constrain the ordering of the form ('interval constraints') and ensure the compatibility between forms ('feature-value constraints'), and (iv) constructional constraints, which impose constituent bindings.

In this paper we will use a simplified version of this model for expository purposes. Since the main goal of this study is to analyse the mental images that Spanish speakers construe when it comes to understand the construction SALIR-DE, we decide to focus only on the specifications that refer to the constituents of this construction and its semantic constraints.

In the case of the OUT-OF construction, Bergen *et al* analyse it as a single construction whose semantic pole consists of three different semantic structures or schemas: Trajector and Landmark (Langacker 1987), Container, and Source-Path-Goal (Johnson 1987).

Each of these schemas is a gestalt structure composed of several roles which specify spatial relationships between a set of elements. The representation of these spatial relationships is perceptually grounded. Figures 1, 2, and 3 represent these semantic schemas (all after Bergen *et al.*).

semantic schema *Trajector-Landmark*
    roles:
        trajector
        landmark

semantic schema *Container*
    roles:
        interior
        exterior
        portal
        boundary
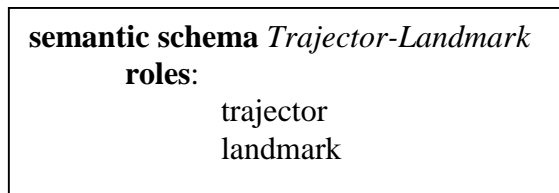
Figure 1: Trajector-Landmark schema   Figure 2: Container schema

semantic schema *Source-Path-Goal*
    inherits from:
        Trajector-Landmark
    roles:
        source
        path
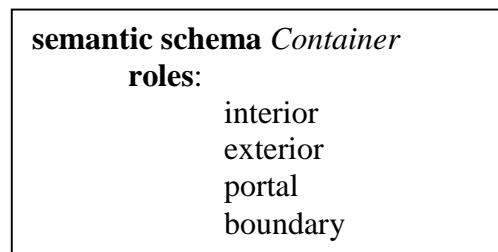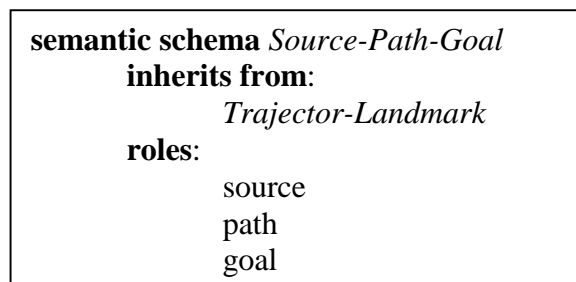   goal

Figure 3: Source-Path-Goal schema

The Trajector-Landmark schema specifies the asymmetrical spatial relation between a trajector and the landmark.

The Container schema structures a bounded region in space, and is composed of the following elements or roles: an interior, an exterior, a portal, and a boundary. Its structure is topological (any of these elements can be distorted, made bigger or smaller but still be the same elements) and gestaltic (the different parts or elements make no sense individually, without the whole).

The Source-Path-Goal (SPG) schema structures a finite path, and has three elements: a source (the starting point), a goal (the intended destination), and a path (the route from the source to the goal). This schema specialises the Landmark-Trajector schema, where the trajector moves with respect to a landmark.

Bergen *et al.* argue that, in the OUT-OF construction, these three structures are bound together in a specific configuration under the following semantic and formal constraints: (i) LM is bound to the instance of the container schema, (ii) the interior of the container is identified with the source of the SPG schema, and (iii) the exterior of the container is identified with the goal of the SPG schema. This construction licenses examples such as *He ran out of the room, He flew out of France* and *She walked out the door[2]*.

The construction OUT-OF is formally represented in Figure 4, and iconically represented in Figure 5. As we pointed out before, Figure 4 is a simplified version of Bergen *et al.*'s formalism. We only focus on the constituents and semantic constraints of this construction. The abbreviations and symbols that we use are: CN 'construction', MNG 'meaning', and $\therefore$ 'binding'.

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[2] For this type of examples, where one of the elements of the container semantic schema, i.e. the portal, stands for the whole schema, Lakoff (seminar discussion, UCB Fall, 2000) suggests the possibility of considering them as metonymic variations of the OUT-OF construction. The metonymy at work would be the PORTAL-FOR-CONTAINER metonymy. This issue is discussed in more detail in Section 4.
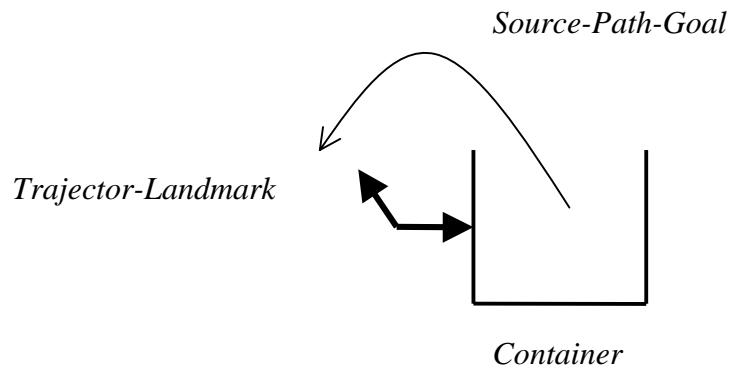
Figure 4: The construction OUT-OF in English

Out-of.CN ∴ MNG: I-schema Out of
                  Form: [oᵂt ∂v]

MNG composite of:

SourcePathGoal I-schema
    roles: source
             path
             goal

TrajectorLandmark I-schema
    roles: trajector
             landmark

Container I-schema
    roles: interior
             exterior
             portal
             boundary

MNG ∴   source.*spg* ∴int.*container*
              goal.*spg* ∴ext.*container*
              landmark.*spg* ∴container

Source-Path-Goal
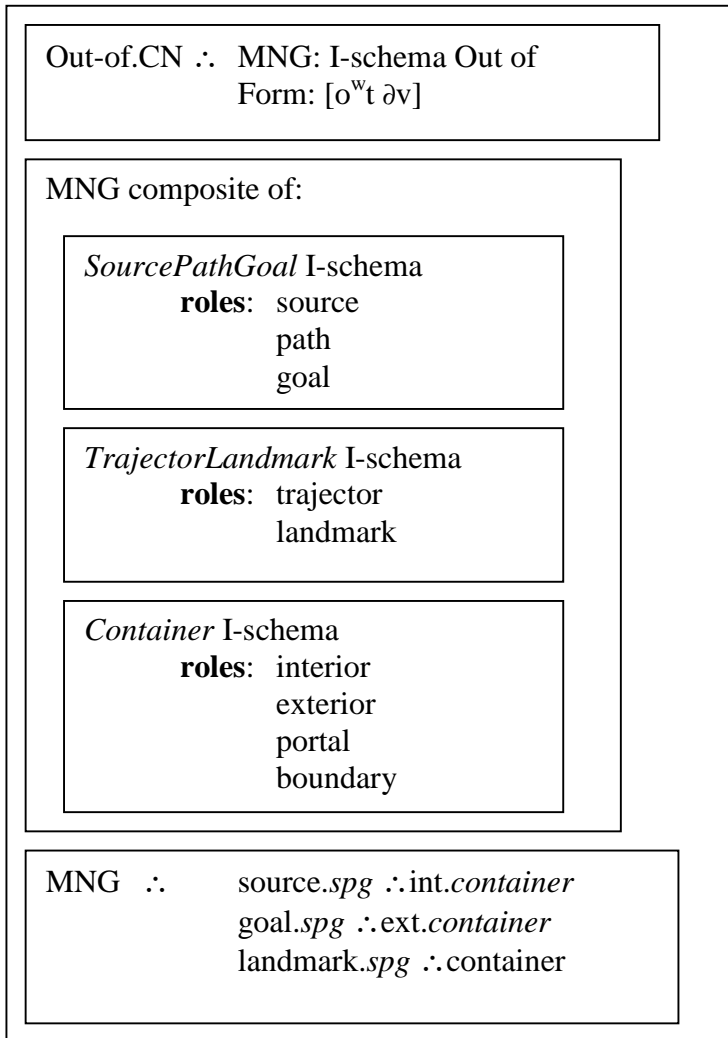
Trajector-Landmark

Container

Figure 5: Iconic representation of OUT-OF in English

2. Exiting Events in Spanish: Boundary I-schema and Move X-schema.

In this section we will discuss the conceptualisation of exiting events in Spanish and compare it with the way English speakers view these events. We will argue that the Spanish construction SALIR-DE is different in respect to the following points:

-Different conceptualisation of the source of the motion. The source is not required to be a container as in English, but a region.

-The necessity of including a Boundary I-schema as a constituent.

-The profiling of a Move X-schema

Let us discuss each of these points in more detail.

2.1. Source of motion: Boundary I-Schema

As we have seen in the previous section, Bergen *et al*'s (to appear) description of the construction OUT-OF drew upon three different semantic schemas: Landmark-Trajector, Source-Path-Goal, and Container schemas. The account of the construction OUT-OF these authors offer shows that English speakers conceptualise the exiting event as necessarily coming out of a container (see Figure 5).

A crucial difference between English and Spanish conceptualisations of exiting events seems to be precisely the need of a container as the source of motion. In English, all exiting events imply the existence of a container (recall the bindings in Figure 4 between the SPG and Container schemas). In Spanish, however, this does not appear to be the case. In this latter language, the conceptualisation of an exiting event allows a broader range of landmark instantiations than in English. This is due to the fact that an exiting event in Spanish just implies the translational motion from one region onto another through a boundary. Whether the Landmark is a container or not is not does not seem to play a decisive role in construing the mental image of exiting events in Spanish. Consequently we argue that this schema does not take part in the configuration of the construction SALIR-DE per se.

Therefore, the only semantic constraint is that the source must be a region with a boundary; further information about the physical characteristics of the source will be contributed by referential and inferential cues. The specific types of landmarks and their different interpretations will be our main concern in the following section.

Let us illustrate this construction and the diversity of landmarks that it can take with some examples[3]:

(1)   El perro *salió de* la caja

         the dog went.out of the box

         'The dog came out of the box'

(2)   María *salió de* la casa

         maria went.out of the house

         'Maria went out of the house'

(3)   *Sal de* la alfombra

         go.out of the rug

         'Step off the rug'

(4)   Los nadadores *salieron de*l borde de la piscina

         the swimmers went.out of.the edge of the pool

         'The swimmers pushed off from the edge of the pool'

(5)   El autobus *sale de* esta parada todos los días

         the bus goes.out of this stop all the days

         'The bus departs from this stop everyday'

(6)   *Salimos de* la palmera a las cinco de la tarde

         go.out of the palmtree to the five of the afternoon

         'We'll depart from the palm tree at five p.m'

All these examples correspond to exiting events in Spanish; that is to say, in all these cases, there is a translational movement from a source onto a different place (which does not need to be specified). All the instantiations of the landmark present in (1) through (6) will be construed as regions with a boundary[4].

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[3] Examples in this paper come from elicited sentences by Peninsular Spanish native speakers. We also use two corpora of written and oral Spanish: (i) CALLHOME Spanish, Linguistics Data Consortium (http://www.ldc.upenn.edu) and Reference Corpus for Present-day Spanish (CREA), Royal Academy of the Spanish Language (hhtp://www.rae.es/NIVEL1/CREA.htm).

[4] Although we will not discuss this issue in further detail in this paper, we would like to point out the possibility that a container might be an instantiation of the more abstract boundary schema. In (1) and (2) the containers *caja* and *casa* fill in the role of region A in the boundary schema.

In the first two sentences, the source of motion from which the exiting event starts is a canonical container, a 'house' in (1), and a 'box' in (2). In (3), the source is not a container, but a two-dimensional object, a rug. Finally, in the last three sentences, the source is a reference point[5], the 'edge of a pool' in (4), a 'bus stop' in (5), and a 'palm tree' in (6).

Despite the different types of sources in these examples –containers, two-dimensional objects, and reference points-, the same construction SALIR-DE is still used in all of them. This is why we argue that the configuration of the source does not interfere, or change the conceptualisation of the exiting event itself. What seems to be crucial for this construction is the crossing of a boundary in the process of the translational motion.

In the construction SALIR-DE, the trajector not only moves along a path towards an unspecified target, but also necessarily crosses a boundary. In the first three examples, the boundary is physically perceivable. It differentiates between the region inside and outside the box, the region inside and outside the house, and the region inside and outside the rug. In the other three, this boundary is mentally construed and corresponds to that imaginary line that divides the surrounding area of these landmarks and the area outside this. In the following section, we will explain in detail what the surrounding areas of these reference points are.

Let us examine a different construction that is closely related in meaning to SALIR-DE but which does not profile a boundary crossing:

(7)   El autobús *se marcha de* esta parada todos los días

        the bus it.refl leaves of this stop all the days

        'The bus departs from this stop everyday'

In both sentences, the trajector –the bus- leaves a source –the bus stop. The crucial difference between these two examples in terms of their conceptualisations, is the presence or lack of a boundary crossing. In (5), the trajector moves out of the area around the bus stop. In (7) the trajector starts its motion from the bus stop but does not cross any boundaries; (7) only indicates the departing point without conceptualising different areas at all, there is no transition

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[5] In Section 4, we will argue that this type of landmarks undergoes the ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy in order to comply with the semantic constraint imposed by the area schema.

between one area onto another. These two sentences could be iconically represented in Figures (6) and (7) respectively.
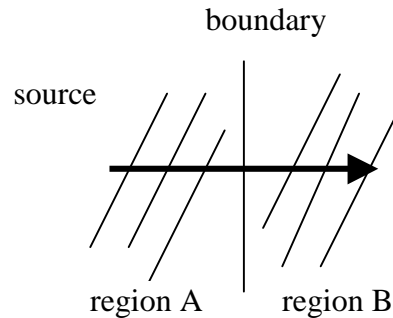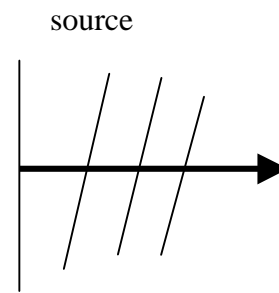

Figure 6: *Salir de* in (5)   Figure 7: *Marcharse de* in (7)

Another piece of evidence that supports the basic distinction between *salir de* as a boundary crossing and *marcharse de* as a non-boundary crossing comes from the use of the preposition *desde* 'from' in similar sentences. *Desde* is another 'source' preposition in Spanish, it differs from *de* in that it profiles not only the source of the motion but also the spatial distance from the source or starting point of motion (Cifuentes 1996, López 1972, Morera 1988). If we use this preposition with the verb *salir* as in (8), and *marcharse* as in (9), the result is that the boundary crossing distinction between these two verbs is lost. Both (8) and (9) denote a translational motion from a source (*esta parada* 'this stop') without implying a boundary crossing.

      (8)   El autobús *sale* <u>desde</u> esta parada todos los días

                the bus goes.out from this stop all the days

                'The bus departs from this stop everyday'

      (9)   El autobús *se marcha* <u>desde</u> esta parada todos los días

                the bus it.refl leaves from this stop all the days

                'The bus departs from this stop everyday'

On the basis of these data, we propose the Boundary I-schema. This schema, represented in Figure 8, specifies a region in space and consists of the following roles or elements: a region A, a boundary[6], and a region B.

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Boundary I-schema
       roles:  region A
               boundary
               region B
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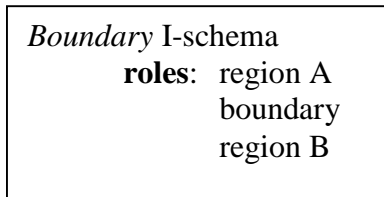
Figure 8: Boundary schema

The incorporation of this schema into the construction SALIR-DE requires the following semantic constraints: region A of the Boundary I-schema is bound to the source of the Source-path-goal I-schema, and region B of the Boundary I-schema is bound to the goal of the Source-path-goal I-schema.

2.2. Profiled Move X-schema

Another major difference between English and Spanish with respect to exiting events is related to the typological characteristics of the languages themselves and with the way in which they code motion events. Motion events are situations "containing movement or the maintenance of a stationary location" (Talmy 1985: 85). They can be analysed in basic components: figure, ground, motion, path, (manner), (cause). Depending on the different lexicalization patterns that languages use in order to package these 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 supplies speakers with a set of different verbs for each change of location.

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[6] It is important to notice that the boundary that we propose here has to be understood as a permeable boundary, that is to say, it can be traversed at any point. This is also another difference between English and Spanish exiting events. In English the construction OUT-OF seems to imply a very specific and unique exit –the 'portal' in the container schema. Compare, for instance, the differences between *out of Africa* and *from Africa* (in the former a specific exit is inferred, in the latter it is not). In Spanish, however, the trajector can cross the boundary at any given point. (We like to thank Michael Ellsworth for this insight).

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 (*out*, *up*, *down*…)[7]; whereas Spanish, being a verb-framed language, will incorporate path in the verbal predicate as it is the case of the verb *salir* in all the examples that we have examined so far.

Due to this typological characteristic of Spanish, the presence or, in Langacker's terms the profiling[8], of a Move X-schema in the construction SALIR-DE becomes a requirement. This does not mean that a Move X-schema is not necessary in the English construction OUT-OF. It is, but only when it is used in conjuction with a motion verb like *go* or *come*. In these cases, the verbs will bring in to the whole construction the Move X-schema as part of their semantic structure[9].

The Move X-schema, as represented in Figure 8, consists of the following main roles: an Initial Stage –the stage prior to the motion-, a Central Process –the process of motion itself-, and a Final Stage –the stage when the motion concludes.
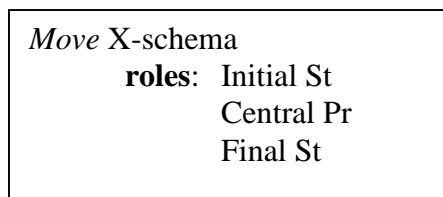
```
Move X-schema
      roles:  Initial St
              Central Pr
              Final St
```
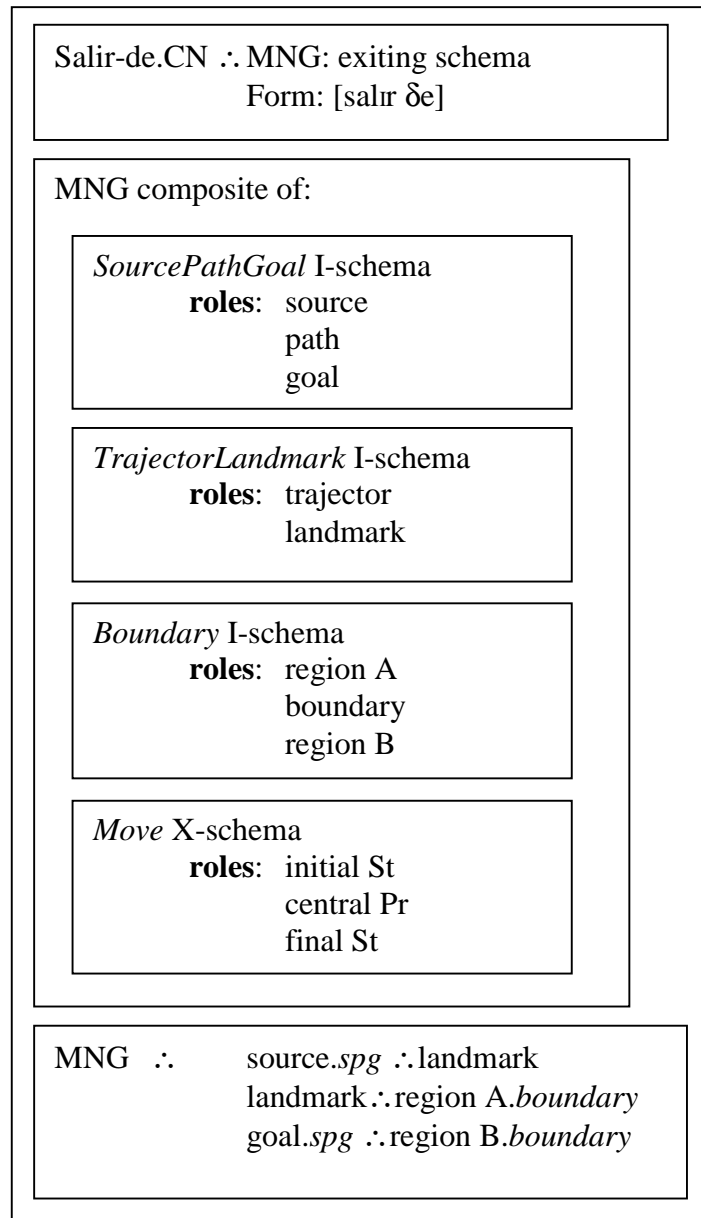
Figure 8: Move X-schema

2.3. Spanish construction SALIR-DE

Once we have explained the main characteristics of the conceptualisation of the construction SALIR-DE, and the role that the Boundary I-schema and the Move X-schema play in such construction, we are now in a position to display the form and meaning constituents of the construction SALIR-DE as shown in Figure 10.

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[7] English verbs like *enter* and *exit* are not taken into account for this typological dichotomy due to their Romance origin.

[8] A 'profile' is understood as "the entity designated by a semantic structure. It […] functions as the focal point within the objective scene, and achieves a special degree of prominence (resulting in one level of figure/ground organisation)" (Langacker 1987: 490).

Figure 10: the Spanish SALIR-DE construction

Salir-de.CN ∴ MNG: exiting schema
Form: [salɪr δe]

MNG composite of:

SourcePathGoal I-schema
  roles: source
          path
          goal

TrajectorLandmark I-schema
  roles: trajector
          landmark

Boundary I-schema
  roles: region A
          boundary
          region B

Move X-schema
  roles: initial St
          central Pr
          final St

MNG ∴   source.*spg* ∴ landmark
        landmark ∴ region A.*boundary*
        goal.*spg* ∴ region B.*boundary*

The construction SALIR-DE is analysed as a single construction. Its semantic pole consists of three Image schemas: Trajector-Landmark, Source-Path-Goal, and Boundary, and one Executing schema: Move. The difference regarding the English constructional specification for an exiting event is twofold: first, the absence of a Container schema to impose its specific

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[9] This is an area that needs further research in English since Bergen *et al* (to appear) do not specifically mention what the role of the Move X-schema is in their account of the OUT-OF construction.

constraints on the LM; second, the presence of the verb´s Move X-schema, and a Boundary schema as constituents in this construction.

These three I-schemas are bound together in a specific configuration under the following semantic and formal constraints: (i) the source of the SPG schema is bound to the landmark; (ii) the landmark is bound to the region A of the Boundary schema, (iii) the goal of the SPG schema is bound to region B of the Boundary schema.

The interaction between these bindings and the Move X-schema is represented graphically in Figure 10. We chose a Langackerian style figure because we think it best displays the relations that exist between the landmark (lm) and the trajector (tr) at the different time intervals of the exiting. The bold arrow depicts the sequential scanning[10] of the relation between the lm and tr. The orientation of the arrow indicates the order of cognitive scanning. The boxes represent the different time intervals of the exiting event. Within each of the boxes, the lm – region A- is printed in heavy lines to show that it is profiled.

Figure 11: Move X-schema in SALIR-DE
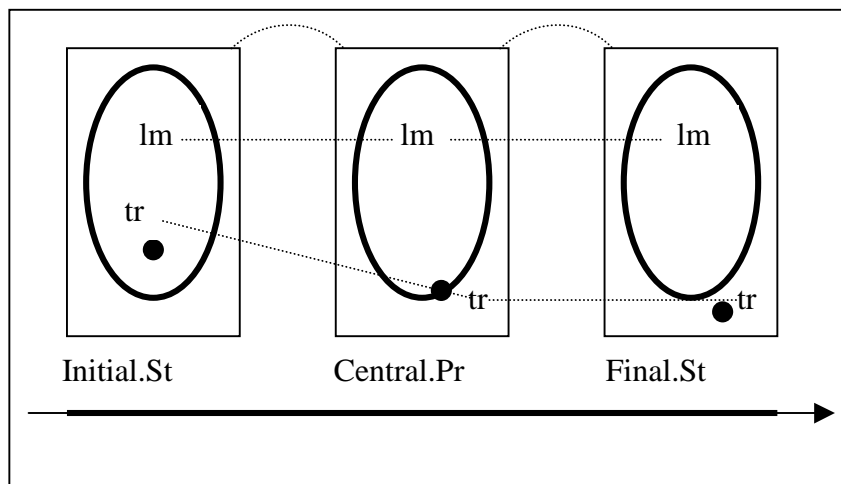
At the initial stage, the trajector is located at the source, which is bound to the region A and the landmark. The central process is the transition from the region A through the boundary.

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[10] 'Sequential scanning' is "the mode of cognitive processing in which a series of states are conceived through the successive transformation of one into another; noncumulative in nature" (Langacker 1987: 493). For this author (1987: 248 *ff*), it is sequential scanning that distinguishes temporal (i.e. verbs) and atemporal relations (i.e. adjectives).

It corresponds to the motion of the trajector along the path. At the final stage, the trajector is situated at the goal, which is bound to the region B.

It is possible to argue that the construction SALIR-DE might be the result of two smaller constructions salir.cn and de.cn (Lakoff p.c.). We, however, do not adopt this position in this paper because we consider that the semantic input of the preposition *de* as a source locative marker[11] does not add any new meaning to the construction itself. The exiting event is already expressed in the verb *salir*. That is, the default interpretation of *salir* already profiles the source of motion without the need of a specific preposition such as *de*. The preposition *de* in this construction is a case marker whose main function is grammatical, and not semantic[12]. This does not seem to hold in cases where, instead of *de*, *salir* occurs with some other preposition such as *a* 'to', and *por* 'through'. In these cases, the role of the preposition is not only grammatical, but also semantic, since the use of these prepositions changes the bindings, and the profiling[13]. We will leave a more detailed discussion of *salir* plus these prepositions for future research.

3. The semantics of the Landmarks in the construction SALIR-DE.

In the previous section we claim that landmarks must be construed as regions with a boundary as a requirement of the Boundary schema, and that further information about the physical characterisation of the source is contributed at a lexical level and at a discourse level. This section describes the different types of landmarks that can occur in this construction.

3.1. The ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy.

As it has been shown in Section 1, previous analyses of the out-of scenario propose that this construction necessarily imposes the semantic schema of a container on its landmark. According to Lakoff (Seminar discussion, UCB Fall, 2000), in certain circumstances one of the components of the container semantic schema –the portal- can stand for the whole schema. This phenomenon is accounted for in terms of a metonymic variation for the construction OUT-OF in English. The metonymy at work would be the PORTAL FOR CONTAINER metonymy. This variant would license (10) and (11):

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[11] Recall the differences between these two source prepositions in Spanish, *de* and *desde* in Section 2.1.
[12] Compare the ungrammaticality of a sentence like **salí casa*, with the felicitous *salí de casa*.
[13] And even the image schemas in the case of *desde* 'from' (see Section 2.1).

(10)   She walked *out* the door

(11)   He jumped *out* the window

whereby the semantics of both portals 'door' and 'window' would receive the image-schema structure of the container to which they are related (canonically the room). This mechanism complies with the semantic constraint that binds the source of the SPG I-schema to a container. In this sense, metonymy should be understood as a requirement for the felicitous understanding of sentences (10) and (11) [14].

In the case of the Spanish construction SALIR-DE, though, our data lead to believe that there is no PORTAL FOR CONTAINER metonymy, simply because there is no semantic constraint that the landmark should be a container. Yet, we believe that Spanish speakers do resort to metonymy but on complete different grounds. Let us see where the differences lie.

We have proposed that the source of an SPG schema in the Spanish construction SALIR-DE is a region from which the motion takes place, crossing its boundary. This is the case in (1), (2), and (3), where the landmarks – *caja*, *casa*, and *alfombra* – already specify what the region A (source of motion) is. The examples (4) and (5), shown again as (12) and (13), need further explanation:

(12)   Los nadadores *salieron de*l borde de la piscina

        the swimmers went.out of.the edge of the pool

        'The swimmers pushed off from the edge of the pool'

(13)   El autobús *sale de* esta parada todos los días

        the bus goes.out of this stop all the days

        'The bus departs from this stop everyday'

In (12), the landmark does not specify the region A by itself. But nevertheless, when participating in this construction, this landmark comes to inherit the properties of the boundary I-

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[14] We are not very sure that *out the door* and *out the window* are instantiations of the construction OUT-OF, since the deletion of *of* seems to be required in order to licence these expressions: such a meaningful difference on the phonological level points to a different construction, probably idiomatic in its nature.

schema. In fact it seems to be the case that our understanding of this sentence resorts to a metonymic relation whereby *borde de la piscina* stands for the area that surrounds it.

The metonymic relation between these two elements is precisely what we call the ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy. This metonymy states that an entity can be used to designate the area around the place where it is located[15].

The surrounding area is in turn construed as a region[16], as part of the requirements of the exiting event structure, contributing a boundary crossing. The resulting conceptualisation in (12) would be something close to exiting the area that surrounds the edge of the pool.

The same operation applies in (13). *La parada* (the bus stop, denoting the physical post on the street) is not an area by itself, but just a post that gives us information about buses. However, in cases when it acts as the landmark-source of the construction SALIR-DE, *la parada* is understood as the area surrounding the physical post by means of the metonymy ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA. This landmark is then construed as a region in our simulation, in tune with the construction requirements proposed for the exiting event structure in Spanish (see Figure 10 above). In (14) we present another utterance, which came from one of our informants from Spain, and nicely illustrates our point:

(14)   *Salimos de* la palmera a la cinco de la tarde

         go.out of the palm.tree to the five of the afternoon

         'We'll depart from the palm tree at five p.m.'

In this example, no one is coming out of the palm tree literally; what a Spanish speaker will understand from this utterance is that the trip will take off from the place around where the palm tree stands. We must infer then that the area around the palm tree is the meeting point.

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[15] This mechanism seems to be highly productive and pervasive in Spanish. Note, for instance, that the use of the preposition *en* for stative events of the type *estoy en la tienda* 'I am in the shop' also extends to expressions such as *estoy en la parada* 'I am at the bus stop' or *estoy en la esquina* 'I am on the corner' by means of this metonymy. In our simulation we are located in a bounded area surrounding the *parada* or the *esquina*, and never inside these landmarks. The fact that the use of the Spanish preposition *en* covers the English *in, on,* and *at* is no doubt closely related to this phenomenon. Spanish *en* does not restrict or classify the landmark according to its specific physical characteristics, and neither does it tell much about the exact location of the trajector in relation to the landmark. The landmark corresponds to an area schema, which can be instantiated in the real world through a container, a surface, or a reference point standing for the area around it.

[16] Subsection 4.2. explains in more detail what the surrounding area for each landmark is.

The metonymy ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA will be drawn upon whenever an entity which is not an area itself comes into play as the landmark in an exiting event, as a requirement of the particular specifications of the construction SALIR-DE in Spanish. This means that expressions in (1), (2), and (3) do not need to be construed on any metonymic grounds, whereas (12), (13), and (14) require this mechanism to be licensed into the construction.

It is important to note though that canonical examples of a container, such as *casa* in (2), do not necessarily participate in this metonymy, but may indeed optionally do so. *Casa* can alternatively be construed in the simulation as an entity that stands for the area that surrounds it. The utterance below illustrates this point:

(15)   *Salgo de* casa al trabajo sobre las cinco

go.out of home to.the work around the five

'I go out to work from my house around five'

On interpreting this utterance, Spanish speakers do not seem to pay much attention to whether the actual source of the path starts inside the house or not. We could then suggest that the house extends its physical boundaries to a limited area that goes around it, and that, other things being equal, the whole scene would be part of the active zone. Again, the point that we want to make clear is that the container schema does not come into play in understanding an exiting event through the Spanish construction SALIR-DE.

So far, we have claimed that SALIR-DE builds into the construction a landmark which is exclusively a region with a boundary, and that more specific characteristics of the source are given by the choice of the landmark. We distinguish between two different kinds of landmarks:

(i) Those that are canonical instances of containers and two-dimensional landmarks as in (1), (2), and (3). These activate a straightforward interpretation where the exiting takes place from the interior of the source.

(ii) Those that are reference points as in (12), (13), and (14). These do not contribute the Boundary schema by themselves, but rather require the activation of a metonymic link to the surrounding area

3.2. What is the 'surrounding area' of an entity?

The 'surrounding area' of an entity is not always the same in all cases. It really depends on the conceptualisation of the entity itself. Therefore, a crucial question that we should ask to validate and fully understand this metonymy is what exactly the 'surrounding area' of an entity is and what determines it.

If we try to depict the 'surrounding area' of three of the entities discussed above, the palm tree, the starting line, and the bus stop we will come up with something similar to the figures below, where the surrounding area corresponds to the dotted area.

As we can see from these pictures, the surrounding area is different in these three cases. In Figure 12, the surrounding area comprises all the space around the palm tree. In Figure 13, the edge of the pool works as the starting line and therefore, the surrounding area corresponds to the space in front of it. In Figure 14, it is the area around the bus stop that extends onto the road. In other words, these pictures show that what we conceptualise as the surrounding area in this metonymy depends on the physical characteristics of the LM and background knowledge.
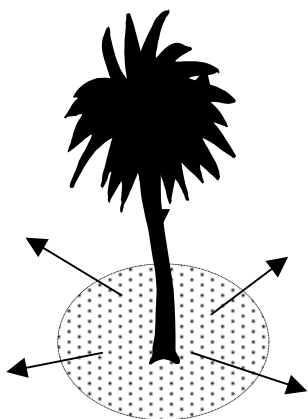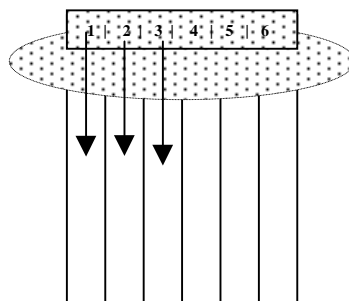
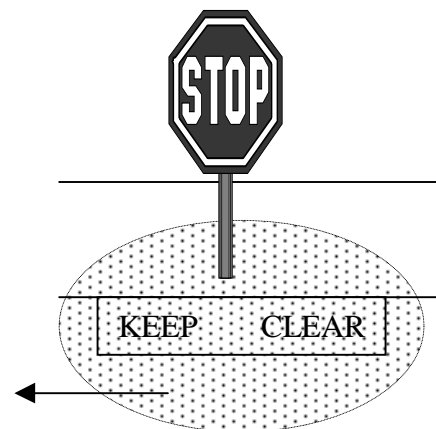Figure 12: palm tree s.a.　　　Figure 13: edge of the pool s.a.　　　Figure 14: bus stop sa

It is important to note that the surrounding area is also determined by the active zone at play in each case. An 'active zone' is defined as "those facets of an entity capable of interacting directly with a given domain or relation" (Langacker 1987: 485).

In example (14), the active zone corresponds to the area around the bottom of the palm tree as depicted in Figure 10, but if the sentence were (16) instead, the active zone would be different, it will refer to the upper part of the palm tree as depicted in Figure 15[17].

(16) El coco cayó de la palmera
 the coconut fell of the palm.tree
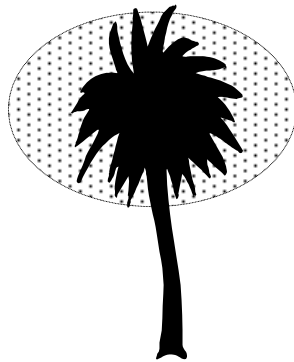 'The coconut fell down from the palm tree'

Figure 15: Surrounding area in palm tree in (15)

4.- When PORTALS come in between: a *third dimension* for exiting events

There is yet a third set of landmarks that participate in this exiting scenario which needs a more in-depth study. Our concern now is with more marginal or colloquial expressions that have been retrieved from some informants. These are the following:

(17) Estaba esperándote cuando le vi *salir de* la puerta
 was waiting:you.dat when he.dat saw go.out of the door
 'I was waiting for you when I saw him coming out the door'

(18) Miré para arriba cuando le vi *salir de* la ventana
 looked for above when he.dat go.out of the window
 'I looked up when I saw him coming out the window'

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[17] See Sweetser (1999) for a discussion of active zones in Adjective-Noun constructions in English.

The landmarks in (17) and (18) are both instantiations of portals. At first sight it may be argued that these utterances resemble the English sentences in (10) and (11), and consequently, they might be conceived of as cases of PORTAL FOR CONTAINER metonymy. Both *puerta* 'door' and *ventana* 'window' would act as portals through which someone / something comes out of a container. We have already provided enough discussion in the previous sections to dispense with the use of the container schema in this construction in Spanish, so that we do not want to base our account on this metonymy.

However, as it will become clear in this section, an account of the conceptualisation of the source in (17) and (18) requires several steps which will involve the metonymy ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA, and Langackerian concepts such as 'perspective'[18] and 'scope of predication'[19].

Let us closely analyse example (17) to illustrate how portals work when they instantiate the landmark of the SALIR-DE construction. When it comes to understanding this utterance, a Spanish speaker may come up with the following visualization of (17), schematised in Figure 16.
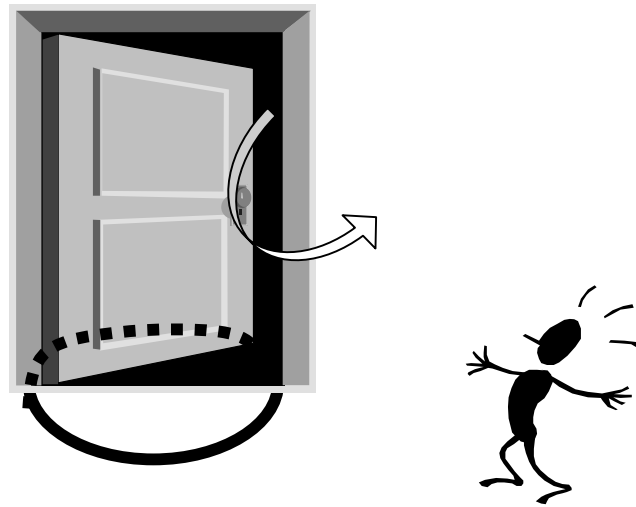

Figure 16: SPG schema for the exiting event in (17)

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[18] "position from which the scene is viewed which leads to a different relative prominence of participants" (Langacker, 1987: 116)
[19] "those aspects of a scene that are specifically included in a particular predication" (Langacker, 1987: 493)

Portals bring a new dimension to the understanding of the exiting event structure which differs from the two types of landmarks discussed above. A door is definitely not a container, so that we would not want to put it among the first type of landmarks. A door does not refer to an area itself either, so that it will most probably draw on metonymic devices to fulfil the constructional constraints on binding. Yet, we detect some differences that make it diverge from the examples in this group.

Portals, as entities, do undergo the ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy -so that the door will stand for the area that surrounds it, as it is depicted in Figure 16- but they will also bring in some restrictions of their own:

- Source, path and goal are all comprised within this limited area surrounding the door. We can allege that there is a non-extended path constraint at work in this example. This constraint limits the scope of predication to a short and rapid movement of the trajector, so that the translational motion starts and ends within the space around the door –behind and in front of it, but not any further. The boundary crossing will be contributed by the door threshold, so that it will meet the semantic constraint of the construction SALIR-DE. Recall that this constraint states that there is only one possible boundary crossing per event. This is consistent with our analysis of Figure 16, where the activation of the threshold in the path precludes crossing any further boundary.

- Perspective also plays a role in licensing this type of utterance. There is a deictic constraint that requires the observer to be positioned in the zone towards which the path of motion is directed. A sentence such as (19) where the observer views the motion from the back –opposite the direction of motion- does not make any sense to Spanish native speakers:

(20)   Estaba con Daniel en la habitación hasta que él *salió *de* la puerta

             was with daniel in the room until that he went.out of the door

    'I was in the room with Daniel until he went out the door'

It is important to notice that alternatively, *puerta* 'door' may always be construed as a reference point for the source of motion giving up its portal nature. This specific construal of *puerta* 'door' will then immediately match with the second type of landmarks. This will pose no

problem in our analysis: it will simply conform to the requirements for this group, in other words, it will undergo the ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy. Take the utterance in (21):

(21)   *Sal de* la puerta y sigue por el pasillo

go.out of the door and follow for the corridor

'Come out of the door and along the corridor'

The landmark *puerta* 'door' is construed here as an entity which stands for the area surrounding it, but not as a threshold itself. This means that both the active zone and scope of predication in (21) are different from those in Figure 16. In this case only the area in front of the door will be part of the active zone of the source, so that the boundary brought in by the threshold will not be present. Expectedly this time, the path will cross the boundary of the surrounding area, enlarging the scope of predication. In Figure 17 we present the iconic representation for (21).

As it was the case with the first type of landmarks (containers and two-dimensional landmarks), portals can be alternatively construed as pertaining to this group, since they can always refer to entities, and we have already proved the productivity of the ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy.

These crucial differences analysed here in terms of how the landmark *puerta* 'door' can be construed in the process of understanding *salir de la puerta* in (17) and (21) are fully dependent on context, both discourse context and reference to world knowledge. As far as we know, there is no *a priori* formal constraint that should account for this ambiguity in Spanish.
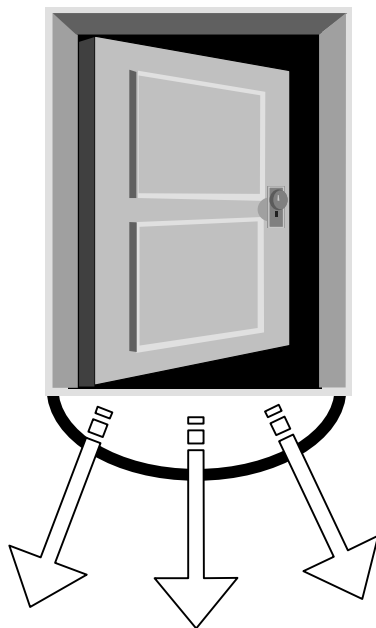
Figure 17: SPG schema for the exiting event in (21)

Note, however, that there is a means whereby Spanish speakers can disambiguate the sense in (21): they can linguistically code whether they refer to the inner space of the landmark or the outer space surrounding it by introducing a lexical cue. Compare the examples below:

(22)　Ella *salió de*l ascensor

　　　she went.out of.the elevator

　　　'She went out of the elevator'

(23)　Ella *salió de* <u>donde</u> el ascensor

　　　she went.out of where the elevator

　　　'She went out of the area surrounding the elevator'

The wording in (23) shows a colloquial periphrasis, probably restricted to spoken language, but quite significant for illustrating our point: the construction SALIR-DE will unrestrictedly license all types of landmark. In cases of ambiguity in the conceptualisation of the source of motion, speakers may introduce the relative pronoun *donde* 'where' as some kind of area-marker.

Thus, we can always rephrase (21) as (24), and avoid such ambiguity.

(24)   *Sal de* <u>donde</u> *la puerta*

go.out of where the door

'Come out of the area surrounding the door'

5-. Conclusions

This paper has analysed the structure and conceptualisation of exiting events in Spanish through the construction SALIR-DE, and has compared it with analogous scenarios in the English construction OUT-OF. An 'exiting event' is defined as the translational motion from a region a through a boundary. The discussion has focus on two main issues: (i) the description of the construction SALIR-DE using the Move X-schema (Narayanan 1997), and introducing the Boundary Schema, and (ii) the analysis of the semantics of the Landmarks that take part in this construction.

We have argued that SALIR-DE is a single construction whose semantic pole consists of three I-schemas: Trajector-Landmark, Source-Path-Goal, and Boundary; and one X-schema: Move. The difference regarding the English constructional specification for an exiting event is twofold: first, the absence of a Container schema to impose its specific constraints on the Landmark; second, the presence of the verb's Move X-schema, and a Boundary schema to bind the SPG schema in this construction.

These three I-schemas are bound together in a specific configuration under the following semantic and formal constraints: (i) the source of the SPG schema is bound to the landmark; (ii) the landmark is bound to the region A of the Boundary schema, (iii) the goal of the SPG schema is bound to region B of the Boundary schema.

The interaction between these bindings and the Move X-schema is as follows: At the initial stage, the trajector is located at the source, which is bound to the region A and the landmark. The central process is the transition from the region A through the boundary. It corresponds to the motion of the trajector along the path. At the final stage, the trajector is situated at the goal, which is bound to the region B.

We have developed the idea that the configuration of the source does not interfere or change the conceptualisation of the exiting event itself. The physical characteristics of the source are contributed at the lexical level (type of landmark) and at the discourse level. The source is always required to be construed as a region with a boundary. Therefore, on the second part of this paper we have described the different types of landmarks that occur in this construction. We have distinguished between three types: (i) those that are canonically containers and two-dimensional objects, (ii) those that are reference points, and (iii) those that are portals.

The last two types of landmarks undergo a metonymic transformation in order to comply with the semantic constraint imposed by the Boundary schema. We have called this the ENTITY FOR SURROUNDING AREA metonymy, which states that an entity can be used to designate the area around the place where it is located. The surrounding area of an entity is not always the same. It is determined by the specific conceptualisation of the entity itself and the active zone at work in each case.

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