

Copyright
by
Annika VanNoy
2017

**The Dissertation Committee for Annika VanNoy certifies that this is the approved
version of the following dissertation:**

**Culture Specific Aspects of Semantic Frames in Multilingual Frame
Descriptions**

Committee:

Hans Boas, Supervisor

Marc Pierce

Per Urlaub

Carl Blyth

**Culture Specific Aspects of Semantic Frames in Multilingual Frame
Descriptions**

by

Annika VanNoy, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2017

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my incredibly supportive husband, Brandon, and my wonderful son, Cassius. I have the deepest appreciation for all the encouragement and support you gave me and the sacrifices you made for me during my graduate career. Thank you for the company and humor during all my late nights of writing. You all have made me feel so very loved and the love I feel in return is truly beyond measure.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the people who guided and supported me in the accomplishment of this dissertation. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, mentor, and role-model Hans Boas for the unquantifiable support over the last few years. Without his captivating boundless energy and encouraging words, this dissertation would not have been possible. During the past five years his door was always open and he never ceased to provide me with extensive feedback, uplifting emails and a cheery smile. I am incredibly thankful for his belief in me and the invaluable professional and personal support.

Many thanks to my committee for the time and effort they devoted: to Marc Pierce for spending countless hours reading and editing drafts, for providing insightful feedback within the shortest time frames, and for always being available to meet and share encouraging words of wisdom; to Per Urlaub for fostering my professional development as a teacher, and guiding me through the challenges of language teaching and curriculum development; to Carl Blyth for his patience and continuous support over the last few years.

I would also like to extend my thanks to the many people outside of academia: to my parents and grandparents who never stopped believing in me, especially my grandfather, Adolf Elpe, who over the course of five years inquired every Sunday about the status of this dissertation. To my friends, who graciously offered their time to babysit

to allow me to write; especially Tara Baxter, who was also heavily involved in the final editing process and sacrificed hours of her time reading this dissertation and providing exceptionally thoughtful feedback. But most importantly my family, especially my husband Brandon VanNoy, who has been an abundant source of encouragement throughout this process, who sacrificed his hobbies and own professional development to support me, who told me on more than one occasion that quitting was not an option. And last but certainly not least, to Cassius VanNoy, the driving force of my motivation, who is too little to remember the many tears he shed because mom had to ‘work’, didn’t join for dinner, or was too busy to play. Every single little tear pushed me to work harder and become more efficient, adding immeasurable value to the completion of this project – Cassius, mom can come play now.

Culture Specific Aspects of Semantic Frames in Multilingual Frame Descriptions

Annika VanNoy, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2017

Supervisor: Hans Boas

This dissertation employs the theory of Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982) to analyze the meanings of culture-specific words. Based on the idea that semantic frames based on English should in principle be usable to catalogue and analyze meanings of similar words across different languages, I discuss the types of underlying frames necessary for an analysis of three culture-specific German words, namely *Kulanz* ('an act of courtesy following a previous commercial transaction'), *Freund/Freundin* ('friend'), and *abstauben* ('scoring a soccer goal'). Using data from electronic corpora I demonstrate that existing frames from the Berkeley FrameNet database for English (Fillmore and Baker 2010) are not sufficient to account for the three highly culture-specific words under investigation. Combining collocational analysis with information extracted from existing monolingual and bilingual dictionaries I propose culture-specific new frames for all three words under investigation. In addition, the data analysis for *Freund* and *abstauben* illustrates the need to augment the frame description to capture meaning components that are not overtly expressed in the corpus data. I propose a frame augmentation by means of Natural Semantic Metalanguage cultural scripts (Wierzbicka 1996), which allows for direct access to the implicit meaning components and aids the initial frame description in capturing the culture-specific concepts of *Freund* and *abstauben*.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	viii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction to the Study	1
1.2 Research Questions	6
1.3 Frame Semantics in second language vocabulary teaching and learning	8
1.4 Organization of this dissertation	9
Chapter 2: Review of Literature	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 The theory of Frame Semantics	13
2.3 The FrameNet project	22
2.4 Multilingual aspects of Frame Semantics	33
2.5 Frame Semantics and culture-specific words	34
2.6 Other semantic theories.....	40
2.6.1 The Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach (NSM).....	41
2.6.2 Componential Analysis	46
2.6.3 Prototype Theory	49
2.6.4 The Frame Semantic Advantage	52
2.7 Summary	54
Chapter 3: Methodology	55
3.1 Introduction.....	55
3.2 Research Objectives.....	55
3.3 Frame development methodology.....	56
3.4 Data collection and analysis for <i>Kulanz</i> , <i>Freund</i> , and <i>abstauben</i>	65
3.5 Collocation analysis	70
3.6 Corpus analysis	74

3.6.1 IDS COSMAS II	76
3.6.2 Kicktionary	79
3.7 Summary	83
Chapter 4: The meaning of <i>Kulanz</i>	84
4.1 Introduction	84
4.2 Traditional dictionaries	84
4.3 Corpus analysis	98
4.3.1 Making the connection: Meaning components and frames	98
4.3.2 Collocation analysis	106
4.4 A frame for <i>Kulanz</i>	118
4.4.1 Frame Relations	121
4.4.2 The <i>Kulanz</i> frame entry	123
4.5 Summary	131
Chapter 5: The meaning of <i>Freund</i>	133
5.1 Introduction	133
5.2 Translation equivalents	134
5.4 The German Frame Based Online Lexicon –G-FOL	140
5.4 Corpus Analysis for <i>Freund</i>	144
5.5 <i>Freund</i> in Traditional dictionaries	149
5.6 The meaning of ‘friend’ in English	158
5.6.1 Dictionary entries for ‘friend’	158
5.6.1.1 Dictionary entries compared – Freund and ‘friend’	163
5.6.1.2 Beyond the dictionary comparisons – collocation analysis for ‘friend’ and Freund	165
5.6.1.2 Frame Net Annotation report for ‘friend’	169
5.7 A frame for <i>Freund</i>	171
5.8 Summary	190
Chapter 6: The meaning of <i>abstauben</i>	193
6.1 Introduction	193

6.2 Polysemy – the multiplicity of word meanings	194
6.2.1 Regular and Irregular Polysemy	200
6.2.2 The treatment of polysemy in different semantic theories.....	201
6.2.2.1 Classical theory of meaning.....	201
6.2.2.2 The Prototypical Approach	202
6.2.2.3 A Frame Semantic Approach to Polysemy	204
6.3 The domain-specific prototype of <i>abstauben</i>	210
6.3.1 The soccer domain-specific sense of <i>abstauben</i> in traditional dictionaries	213
6.3.2 Discussion.....	214
6.4 The Kicktionary	217
6.5 A frame for <i>abstauben</i>	231
6.6 Summary	240
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	243
7.1 Introduction.....	243
7.2 Summary of findings.....	243
7.3 Applicability of Frame Semantic analysis for culture-specific words..	246
7.4 Implications for the theory of Frame Semantics.....	247
7.5 Limitations of this study and recommendations for replication	249
7.6 Other applications of a Frame Semantic based approach to	
culture-specific words – Second language vocabulary acquisition ..	250
7.6.1 The Role of Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom	251
7.6.2 Suggestions for further research on the applicability of Frame Semantics in second language vocabulary acquisition.	253
Appendices.....	257
Appendix A: IDS Cosmas II corpus examples with Commercial_Transaction annotations	257
Appendix B: English Gloss of Corpus Examples	259
Appendix C: Annotated Corpus Examples for Kulananz frame.....	260

Appendix D: English translations of dictionary entries for <i>Freund</i> and <i>Bekannter</i>	263
References	265

List of Tables

Table 2.1:	Annotation layers (Baker & Cronin 2003: 289).	25
Table 2.2:	Weekday names in English, Hebrew, and German (Petrucek & Boas 2003: 3)	35
Table 2.3:	Semantic features of apple, banana, lemon, and strawberry (Adapted from Geeraerts 2010:191).	51
Table 3.1:	Sample dictionary meaning component analysis.	67
Table 3.2:	Duden dictionary meaning component analysis.	68
Table 3.3:	MC and corpus example.	69
Table 3.4:	Sample frequency count table (Manning and Schütze 1999).	72
Table 3.5:	Sample frequency count table with POS Filter.	72
Table 4.1:	Monolingual dictionary entries for <i>Kulanz</i> and <i>kulant</i>	85
Table 4.2:	Circularity in monolingual dictionary entries for <i>Kulanz</i> and <i>kulant</i> . ..	86
Table 4.3:	Coverage of <i>Kulanz/kulant</i> in Wahrig, Duden, and Langenscheidt. ..	89
Table 4.4:	Bilingual dictionary entries for <i>Kulanz</i> and <i>kulant</i>	91
Table 4.5:	Coverage of <i>Kulanz/kulant</i> in OGD, Collins and Leo.org.	92
Table 4.6:	Coverage of the MCs found in mono- and bilingual dictionaries.	92
Table 4.7:	Frame Element relations in the frames evoked by extracted MCs. ..	94
Table 4.8:	MCs with corpus examples.	97
Table 4.9:	IDS COSMAS II collocation analysis for <i>Kulanz</i> and <i>Garantie</i>	101
Table 4.10:	Collocation KWIC analysis for <i>Kulanz</i> (IDS Cosmas II).	107
Table 4.11:	Frames and their FEs in comparison.	118
Table 4.12:	<i>Kulanz</i> , <i>Commercial_transaction</i> and <i>Authority</i> frames and their FEs in comparison.	121

Table 4.13: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations.	124
Table 4.14: Valency Patterns with <i>Kulanz</i>	125
Table 4.15: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations for <i>kulant</i>	126
Table 4.16: Valence Patterns with <i>kulant</i>	127
Table 4.17: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations.	129
Table 4.18: Valence Patterns with <i>Kulanz</i>	129
Table 4.19: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations for <i>kulant</i>	130
Table 4.20: Valency Patterns with <i>kulant</i>	130
Table 5.1: Search terms for IDS COSMAS II corpus analysis.	145
Table 5.2: Search results for romantic and platonic occurrences of the target terms.	147
Table 5.3: Search results for romantic and platonic occurrences of the target terms with indefinite articles.	147
Table 5.4: Total number of occurrences per pronoun.	148
Table 5.5: Monolingual dictionary entries for <i>Freund(in)</i> and <i>Bekannte(r)</i>	151
Table 5.6: Bilingual dictionary entries for <i>Freund(in)</i> and <i>Bekannte(r)</i>	157
Table 5.7: Dictionary entries for ‘friend’.	159
Table 5.8: Comparison of dictionary entries in Merriam-Webster’s, the American Heritage Dictionary of the English language, and OED.	160
Table 5.9: Comparison of first and second dictionary entries in AHDOTEL and OED.	161
Table 5.10: Dictionary entries in Dictionary of American Regional English, the Scottish Concise Dictionary, and the Canadian Oxford Dictionary.	162
Table 5.11: Dictionary entries for <i>Freund</i> and ‘friend’.	164

Table 5.12: Collocates organized by type, for the MC duration and intensity	168
Table 5.13: Collocates for English ‘friend’ and German <i>Freund</i> organized by type, for the MCs duration and intensity	168
Table 6.1: Comparative coverage of the verb ‘crawl’ (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:94).	205
Table 6.2: Monolingual dictionary entries for <i>abstauben</i> and <i>Abstauber</i>	211
Table 6.3: Monolingual dictionary entries for <i>abstauben</i>	212
Table 6.4: Bilingual dictionary entries for <i>abstauben</i> and <i>Abstauber</i>	215
Table 6.5: Meaning components for <i>abstauben</i> in mono- and bilingual dictionaries.	216
Table 6.6: Adjectival emphasis for the MC with ease in the corpus examples for ‘tap-in.n’	229
Table 6.7: FE realizations in the LU entries for <i>abstauben</i> and <i>Abstauber</i>	233
Table 6.8: FE realization in the LU entries for <i>abstauben</i> and <i>Abstauber</i> and their synonyms.	234
Table 6.9: Webster’s dictionary entry for ‘easy’.	238

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: The Restaurant Script (Schank and Abelson 1975: 151f).....	14
Figure 2.2: Frame definition for the <code>Commercial_Transaction</code> frame...26	
Figure 2.3: Lexical entry for the LU <i>buy.v.</i>	28
Figure 2.4: Valence patterns for the FEs in annotated sentences for the LU <i>buy.v</i> (partial excerpt).....	29
Figure 2.5: Annotation report for <i>buy.v.</i>	30
Figure 2.6: FrameGrapher for <code>Commercial_transaction.</code>	32
Figure 2.7: Dictionary entries for <i>Kulanz.</i>	39
Figure 2.8: Semantic primes in NSM.	42
Figure 2.9: Explication for ‘sad’ (Wierzbicka 1996:180).	43
Figure 2.10: Explication for ‘green’ (Wierzbicka 1996:180).....	44
Figure 2.11: Distinctive feature analysis for /p, b, t, d, f, v, s, z/ and ± VOICED and ± CONTINUANT (adapted from Goddard 2011: 52)	47
Figure 2.12: Distinctive feature analysis summary for /p, b, f, v/.	47
Figure 2.13: CA analysis example (adapted from Goddard 2011: 53).....	48
Figure 2.14: Distinctive feature analysis summary for humans and bovines (adapted from Goddard 2011: 53).....	48
Figure 2.15: Prototypicality for ‘fruit’	51
Figure 3.1: KWIC Results for <i>tie</i> (Fillmore et al. 2003).	57
Figure 3.2: COD entry for <i>tie.</i>	61
Figure 3.3: Lexical Entry Report for <i>tie.</i>	64
Figure 3.4: Duden dictionary entry for <i>Kulanz.</i>	67
Figure 3.5: Duden dictionary entry for <i>kulant.</i>	67

Figure 3.6: IDS COSMAS II corpus search window.	77
Figure 3.7: KWIC results for <i>Kulanz</i> with easy accessible source information (on left).....	79
Figure 3.8: Data structure and number of entries for Kicktionary (www.kicktionary.com).	80
Figure 3.9: The Kicktionary data access options.....	81
Figure 3.10: Alphabetical list for all Kicktionary LU entries, including English, French, and German.	81
Figure 3.11: LU <i>abstauben</i> on the Kicktionary.....	82
Figure 4.1: LEO Online Dictionary search results for <i>Kulanz</i>	90
Figure 4.2: Social_Interaction_evaluation frame.....	93
Figure 4.3: Fairness_evaluation frame.....	93
Figure 4.4: Respond_to_proposal frame.....	94
Figure 4.5: <i>Party A</i> -FEs and their respective frames.	96
Figure 4.6: Authority frame and FE description.	103
Figure 4.7: Collocation analysis for <i>angewiesen</i> (IDS COSMAS II).	108
Figure 4.8: Reliance frame.....	109
Figure 4.9: Collocation analysis for <i>hoffen</i> (IDS COSMAS II).	110
Figure 4.10: Frame description for Desirability.....	110
Figure 4.11: Collocation analysis for <i>bangen</i> (IDS COSMAS II).	111
Figure 4.12: Fear frame.....	112
Figure 4.13: Collocation analysis for <i>walten</i> (IDS COSMAS II).	113
Figure 4.14: Dominate_situation frame.....	114
Figure 4.15: IDS Cosmas II collocation analysis for <i>kulant</i>	115
Figure 4.16: Conduct frame.....	116

Figure 4.17: Cause_to_perceive frame	116
Figure 4.18: Kulanz frame and its Frame Elements.....	120
Figure 4.19: Commercial_transaction and Authority frame.....	122
Figure 4.20: Frame relations for Kulanz.	123
Figure 5.1: Translation equivalents and cultural context (Laufer 1990b: 32)...	136
Figure 5.2: Vocabulary appropriateness survey for German native speakers (Atzler 2011:176).....	138
Figure 5.3: Vocabulary appropriateness test for beginning learners of German (Atzler 2011:178).....	139
Figure 5.4: LUs for the Personal_Relationship frame.....	141
Figure 5.5: Frame description and German English differences in G-FOL.	142
Figure 5.6: G-FOL details description for Freund.....	143
Figure 5.7: G-FOL detail description for <i>Bekannt(er)</i>	144
Figure 5.8: IDS COSMAS II search setting <i>Wortabstand /+w1</i>	146
Figure 5.9: Visualization of Langenscheidt dictionary entry.	153
Figure 5.10: Comparison of <i>Freund(in)/Bekannt(e)</i> dictionary entries.	155
Figure 5.11: COCA collocation analysis for ‘friend’	166
Figure 5.12: Collocation results for <i>Freund</i>	166
Figure 5.13: Personal_Relationship frame.....	169
Figure 5.14: FEs in the Personal_relationship frame.....	170
Figure 5.15: Personal_Relationship frame	172
Figure 5.16: Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.	173
Figure 5.17: Core FEs of Platonic_Personal_Relationship.	173
Figure 5.18: NSM cultural script level 1 to augment Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.....	175

Figure 5.19: NSM cultural script level 2 to augment	
Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.....	176
Figure 5.20: NSM cultural script level 3 to augment	
Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.....	177
Figure 5.21: Lexical Entry for <i>Freund.n.</i>	178
Figure 5.22: Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.....	180
Figure 5.23: Core FEs for Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame	
.....	180
Figure 5.24: NSM cultural script Level 1 to augment	
Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.....	182
Figure 5.25: NSM cultural scripts Level 2 to augment	
Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.....	182
Figure 5.26: NSM cultural scripts Level 3 to augment	
Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.....	183
Figure 5.27: Sample process for finding correct translation equivalent for	
<i>Bekannt</i>	185
Figure 5.28: Sample process for finding correct translation equivalent for LU	
<i>Freundin</i>	187
Figure 5.29: Process for finding the correct German translation for LU	
‘friend’	189
Figure 6.1: Dictionary entries for ‘crawl’ (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:93).....	195
Figure 6.2: Syntactic combinatorial properties for ‘crawl’ in four dictionaries	
(Fillmore and Atkins 2000:99).....	206
Figure 6.3: Semantic network for ‘crawl’ (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:103).	208
Figure 6.4: Semantic network for <i>ramper</i> (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:106).	209

Figure 6.5: Kicktionary entry for <i>abstauben</i>	217
Figure 6.6: Kicktionary frame entry for <i>Goal</i>	219
Figure 6.7: Participating frames in the ‘Goal’ scene.....	220
Figure 6.8: Scene and Frame description for <i>Goal</i>	221
Figure 6.9: The ‘Goal’ scene description on the Kicktionary.	232
Figure 6.10: <i>Goal</i> frame.	232
Figure 6.11: FEs for a new frame for the target LUs <i>abstauben</i> and <i>Abstauber</i> .234	
Figure 6.12: NSM script for <i>abstauben</i>	235
Figure 6.13: Kicktionary LU entry for <i>abstauben</i> with cultural script augmentation.	236

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Since its invention by Charles Fillmore in 1976, Frame Semantics has become one of the most important current theories of lexical semantics. One of the main assumptions of Frame Semantics is that semantic frames derived on the basis of English can also be applied to the description and analysis of the lexica of other languages. This proposal rests on the idea that semantic frames are structured knowledge representations that are necessary for capturing the background necessary for understanding the meanings of words (Fillmore 1985, Petruck 1996). For example, the English lexical units (LUs) *buy*, *sell*, *payment*, and *expensive* are said to evoke the so-called `Commercial_transaction` frame, which can be defined as follows:

These are words that describe basic commercial transactions involving a BUYER and a SELLER who exchange MONEY and GOODS. The individual words vary in the frame element realization patterns. For example, the typical patterns for the verbs buy and sell are: BUYER buys GOODS from the SELLER for MONEY. SELLER sells GOODS to the BUYER for MONEY.¹

While the question of whether existing semantic frames can be used for frame descriptions in other languages was already addressed in the 1990s (Heid 1996, Fontenelle 1997) it is only in recent years that researchers have begun to investigate the possible systematicity underlying the application of existing English frames to languages other than English (Boas 2001, 2002, 2005b, Lyngfelt et al. 2012, Ohara 2009, Subirats 2009). For example, the `Commercial_transaction` frame evoked by the English

¹ Unless otherwise noted, frame definitions are taken from FrameNet (Fillmore & Baker 2010) at <http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>. Names of frame elements (FEs) are in small caps. Names of semantic frames are in Courier New font.

lexical units above can also be used to describe the meanings of the corresponding German words *kaufen* ('to buy'), *verkaufen* ('to sell'), *Zahlung* ('payment'), and *teuer* ('expensive'). Boas (2001, 2002) argues that for a broad range of semantic domains, such as *Motion*, *Ingestion*, and *Communication*, semantic frames derived on the basis of English can indeed be adopted for the description of words in other languages.

Boas' (2001) process for creating parallel lexical descriptions for German LUs on the basis of existing English frames in the FrameNet database is as follows: First, one needs to find translation equivalents for the English LUs in the target frame (e.g. *to buy* and *kaufen*). Ideally, the translation equivalents reflect the same or similar concepts expressed by the English LUs. To locate translation equivalents that map both the semantic and syntactic properties of the English LUs, Boas (2002) suggests consulting mono- and bilingual dictionaries in addition to online corpora. The corpus analysis is an important step in the process, as it provides corpus examples that support syntactic patterns found in dictionary queries and allows for the collection of complete sets of syntactic patterns that might have been neglected in traditional dictionary entries. After the semantic annotation of the corpus examples, lexical entries are written parallel in structure to the lexical entries in the German FrameNet. To link these new entries to the existing English FrameNet entries and to overcome the challenge of lexical entries that do not perfectly match the entries of the target language entries, Boas (2002:6) suggests linking and interpreting entries against a common background frame and its Frame Elements (FEs):

The inventory of frame elements will be used to compare how a given combination of semantic and syntactic information encoded by a lexical item in the source language is realized in the target language. This means that for each semantic and syntactic combinatorial property of a given lexical unit in the source language we will ideally have a correspondence link to its counterpart in the target language that makes use of the semantic frame as a structuring device.

According to Boas (2002, 2005a), following these steps also helps address cases that are more challenging due to the lack of one-to-one translation equivalents, such as multiple translation equivalents in one frame and translation equivalents across more than one frame (Boas 2001). Several FrameNet projects for languages other than English have successfully applied this concept: French (Schmidt 2009), German (Burchardt et al. 2009), Hebrew (Petrucci 2009), Japanese (Ohara 2009), Portuguese (Bertoldi 2010), and Swedish (Borin 2010).

While several researchers in this area have pointed out that the creation of lexicon fragments parallel to existing lexical entries in the English FrameNet database is often challenging due to polysemy and missing frame elements (Burchardt 2009; Boas 2002, 2005b), another important aspect has been largely unaddressed: the treatment of culture-specific² words. In Frame Semantics words evoke frames which are designed according to our world knowledge (Fillmore 1985). In other words, to understand the meaning of a word one must take a complex and multifaceted background into account; a background that is linked to the word and the speakers' world knowledge. This approach addresses the effect that cultural and social backgrounds as well as prior experiences have on word meaning and understanding (Ziem 2008); hence I argue that the investigation of culture-

² For a discussion on the classification of culture-specificity of words, see Chapter 7.5.

specific words is necessary to further elaborate on said claims, as prior semantic analyses within Frame Semantics have focused on words without cultural connotations. This dissertation addresses this deficiency by investigating three culture-specific German words, namely *Kulanz* ('an act of courtesy following a previous commercial transaction'), *Freund* ('friend'), and *abstauben* ('to score a goal by means of luck and ease'). These words were chosen because they are particularly interesting to the study.

The German word *Kulanz*, for instance, has no simple translation equivalent in English. Native speaker intuition allows me to access the underlying cultural presumptions of this term; such as its predominant occurrence in the commercial transaction context, and the common expectation from the person seeking *Kulanz* to *not* receive any accommodations or returns from the seller or merchant that create a power division in which the customer is solely dependent upon the seller's goodwill. However, while my native speaker intuition is reliable, it cannot be considered sufficient for the analysis of the target terms, as different speakers have different intuitions, and these may vary based on personal experiences, regional variations, and the differences in individual mental grammar. The main goal of this dissertation is therefore the development of a systematic approach to identifying meaning components of culturally specific words. One of the first steps in this proposal is the investigation of mono- and traditional dictionary entries. Consider, for example, the Duden dictionary and the Oxford German dictionary, which offer the following definitions for *Kulanz* and its corresponding adjective *kulant*:

a) Duden dictionary³

1. Kulant

(bes. Im Geschäftsverkehr) entgegenkommend, gewisse Erleichterung gewährend

2. Kulanz

Kulanz zeigen; eine Reparatur auf Kulanz; jmdm etw aus Kulanz überlassen

b) Oxford German Dictionary

1. Kulant

a. Adj. Obliging, accommodating, fair <terms>

b. Adv. Sich kulant verhalten – be obliging or accommodating

2. Kulanz

Readiness or willingness to oblige

aus -- - out of good will

eine Reparatur auf -- - repair done free of charge out of goodwill

While the monolingual description points towards the use in the commercial transaction context (*bes. Im Geschäftsverkehr*), no evidence of such contextual use can be found in the bilingual dictionary, and neither of the entries references the concept of ‘negative expectations’. To capture the concepts involved in the contextual use of *Kulanz*, I argue in this dissertation that a detailed corpus analysis is necessary to provide for the collection of complete sets of semantic and syntactic patterns that have been neglected in traditional print dictionaries as well as electronic dictionaries. The corpus examples consulted for these analyses are limited to standard German, for the following reasons: (a) as a native speaker of standard German my competencies in other varieties of German, such as Austrian or Swiss are not developed enough, (b) the focus of this

³

Duden dictionary

1. being courteous following a previous commercial transaction

(especially in the commercial transaction context) to accommodate, offering certain relief

2. an act of courtesy following a previous commercial transaction

Show an act of courtesy following a previous commercial transaction, a repair out of goodwill, to accommodate out of goodwill

dissertation is not on dialectology as this would call for the analysis of dialect-specific corpora and shift the focus of this study from standard German to other (or all) German dialects, and (c) standard German is the basis model for German language teaching and the results gathered from this study are transferable and applicable in the foreign language teaching context.

This dissertation exemplifies how highly culture-specific terms can be accounted for by employing a thorough corpus analysis in symbiosis with the principles of Frame Semantics as proposed by Fillmore (1982); a task that has not yet been addressed in the field of lexical semantics. Most of the research in this field has been done on case studies for single verbs or nouns (Fillmore & Atkins 1992, 2000; Fillmore et al. 2003), yet nobody has investigated how culturally specific words can be represented using a frame-semantic approach. This dissertation therefore aims to fill this gap by proposing an innovative approach to systematically account for pertinent meaning components of culture-specific terms based on corpus evidence.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Three main research questions were developed to analyze the treatment of culturally specific words in Frame Semantics. The first research question is as follows:

- (1) Can existing approaches to adopting English frames such as Boas (2001) be used for frame descriptions in other languages, such as for the culture-specific German words *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*?

The second research question investigates the need to modify existing approaches to frame development to account for the complete coverage of pertinent meaning components of culturally specific words

- (2) Do existing approaches to frame development such as Fillmore & Atkins (1992, 2000) have to be expanded to account for culture-specific words (LUs)?

The third and last research question focuses on the three target words of this study, *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. I will show how existing approaches and possible expansions thereof can be used to design frames for these culture-specific words and which frame elements participate in these frames:

- (3) How are frame elements and frames defined and used to describe the culture-specific concepts the German words *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben* evoke?

This analysis investigates an approach to systematically account for meaning components of culturally-specific words on the basis of Frame Semantics, using FrameNet, an online lexicography project, as a platform.

While the focus of this dissertation is on the semantic analysis of culture-specific words, the results also offer future research opportunities in the neighboring field of applied linguistics. The proposed systematicity allows insight into the applicability of frames in the context of foreign language vocabulary acquisition and the treatment of culture in foreign language education, as discussed in the following section.

1.3 FRAME SEMANTICS IN SECOND LANGUAGE VOCABULARY TEACHING AND LEARNING

Frame Semantics may offer a promising approach to vocabulary teaching and learning; Fillmore (1985) and Petruck (1996) were among the first to point out the potential benefits a Frame Semantic approach to vocabulary learning might hold for language learners. Ziem (2011) argues that language pedagogy could benefit considerably from adopting a Frame Semantic approach to vocabulary acquisition. According to Ziem, the frame concept facilitates meaning comprehensions by displaying the relations between word meanings, usage, and the encyclopedic knowledge involved. Furthermore, Ziem argues that frames are beneficial tool for language teaching and they “help learners acquire semantically rich word meanings [...] better infer word meanings from context [...] and illustrate the emergence of sentence and even text meaning” (Ziem 2011: 273).

Boas (2001) adds to this discussion of pedagogical applicability by emphasizing the lexicographical advantages of FrameNet over traditional lexicographic references, such as dictionaries. In an attempt to merge a frame-based approach to vocabulary learning with an online didactic resource, the G-FOL (German Frame-based Online Lexicon) was created at the University of Texas at Austin. Boas, Dux, & Ziem (2016: 322) describe G-FOL’s goal as “to enable language learners to learn the meaning and usage of new words outside of the classroom, using contrastive examples and semantic frames to make vocabulary acquisition more effective.”

The first study to investigate the effectiveness of Frame Semantics in the foreign language classroom was conducted by Atzler (2011), who suggests that exposing

language learners to a Frame Semantic based approach to learning culture-specific terms may increase learners' awareness of the differences and similarities between their native language and the target language. Atzler (2011:163) argues that her findings on the increased language awareness advocate "to include or even combine the teaching of culture and vocabulary, especially with regards to culture-specific words, and words not having a translational equivalent." The call for symbiotic treatment of culture and language has been stressed previously (e.g, by Liu & Zhong 1999, Zhao 2004) and continues to receive attention in the foreign language education context. The results of this dissertation may aid in the discussion of Frame Semantic's applicability in the foreign language classroom. The concluding chapter of this dissertation addresses this opportunity with detailed suggestions for future research.

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THIS DISSERTATION

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 offers a literature review, which describes the main principles of Frame Semantics and the organizational principles of FrameNet, a computational frame-based online lexicography project at the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley, CA. The literature review for Frame Semantics concludes with an overview of FrameNets for other languages and identifies the gaps in the treatment of culture-specific words in multilingual frame descriptions. In addition to a literature review of Frame Semantics and FrameNet, Chapter 2 provides an overview of other semantic theories (Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Componential Analysis, and

Prototype Theory) and outlines their advantages and disadvantages over Frame Semantics.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology for this study. This chapter further illustrates the importance of corpus analysis and concludes with an overview of the corpora used in the data analysis. More specifically, the use of existing print dictionaries and corpora as well as different methodologies such as collocation analysis to arrive at a better characterization of meanings of words is discussed.

Chapter 4, 5, and 6 present analyses of the data for *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*, respectively. Chapter 4 exemplifies how a culture-specific word with no simple and direct English translation equivalent, such as *Kulanz*, can be systematically analyzed by means of corpus and collocation analysis and the chapter concludes with a proposed frame design that captures the meanings components partaking in the German culture-specific *Kulanz*-concept. The data analysis in Chapter 5 follows the same methodology as outlined in Chapter 3; however, the focus of this data analysis is the German noun *Freund*. This analysis is different from *Kulanz* as *Freund* does have an English translation. The chapter also reviews the literature on translation equivalence and highlights the cultural differences between the German *Freund* and its English counterpart ‘friend’. The chapter concludes with a frame design for *Freund* and related German personal relationship terminology. The last data analysis chapter, Chapter 6, investigates the culture-specificity of the German verb *abstauben* as it occurs in the domain-specific soccer context. Due to the verb’s polysemous nature, this chapter begins with a literature review of polysemy in semantic analysis, to highlight the advantages of a

Frame Semantic approach to analyzing polysemous words. The chapter concludes with a domain-specific frame design which augments the current treatment of *abstauben* in the online frame-based soccer dictionary, the Kicktionary.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the study with implications for Frame Semantics and the field of semantic analysis in general, implications for pedagogy and applied linguistics, limitations of the study, and recommendations and directions for future research.

Through the data analysis of three culture-specific German words, this dissertation seeks to show how underlying cultural concepts can be systematically accounted for. By developing this systematic approach, I hope to add to existing research in Frame Semantics focusing on the treatment of culture-specific words. My proposals support the use of additional semantic approaches (such as Natural Semantic Metalanguage) to (a) guarantee the explicit coverage of all meaning components partaking in the description of culture-specific words and (b) provide a tool for language learners to access *and* understand the importance of these components.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates the treatment of culture-specific aspects of semantic frames in multilingual frame descriptions to show the suitability of Frame Semantics to capture culture-specific connotations for three target words: *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. This chapter offers a literature review to help position the core principles underlying the data analysis of this dissertation within the ongoing discussion on Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982) and the computational online lexicography project FrameNet (Fillmore and Baker 2010). In Section 2.2 the main principles of Frame Semantics are described by outlining the historical development and by presenting the major publications in this field. In Section 2.3 the architecture of FrameNet, its organizational principles, and applications are discussed. Section 2.4 illustrates how the FrameNet methodology has been expanded to aid with the construction of FrameNets for other languages. In Section 2.5 I summarize how the existing research in this field has established a basis for the treatment of multilingual frame descriptions and argue that there has not yet been any in-depth investigation into how to address culture-specific words.⁴

⁴ This study is investigating the treatment of culture-specific words within the framework of semantics, specifically Frame Semantics; however a clear distinction between such theory and the study of pragmatics cannot be made as Frame Semantics and pragmatics are closely intertwined.

2.2 THE THEORY OF FRAME SEMANTICS

Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982) is a theory of lexical semantics which builds upon the interconnectedness of linguistic and encyclopedic knowledge. According to this theory, the meaning of a word can only be understood if the speaker is aware of the conceptual properties underlying the meaning. These properties make

...reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning. Speakers can be said to know the meaning of the word only by first understanding the background frames that motivate the concept that the word encodes (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 76).

The term *frame* describes the systematic organization of these properties and their relations; only if the speaker understands the whole organization can they fully understand each conceptual property. The *frame* concept originated in related fields of study, such as cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence (Minsky 1975), and was adopted by several scholars using a variety of terms, such as script (Schank and Abelson 1977), schema (Bartlett 1932), scene (Fillmore 1977), cognitive model (Lakoff 1983), pseudo-text (Wilks 1980), etc. (Fillmore 1985). However, Fillmore's model of Frame Semantics was the most influential adaptation (see Croft & Cruse 2004) in modern-day linguistics, as it was implemented in a research project to produce a lexical database. Petruck (1996) suggests that the most dominant influences on Frame Semantics are the works of Minsky (1975) and Schank and Abelson (1977), which introduced the frame concept as a description of relations to other concepts based on world knowledge or

experience.⁵ In Minsky's work the term *frame* is used to describe a "data-structure representing a stereotyped situation" (1975: 212). Schank and Abelson's *script* is comparable to Minsky's *frame* as it adopts a similar notion in which the understanding of event sequences is addressed: "a script is a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that define a well-known situation. A script is, in effect, a very boring little story" (Schank and Abelson 1975:151). The best-known example as it has been cited in many publications on cognitive linguistics, is the restaurant script:

Unmodified: John went into the restaurant. He ordered a hamburger and a Coke. He asked the waitress for the check and left. Modified: script: restaurant roles: customer, waitress, chef, cashier reason: to get food so as to go up in pleasure and down in hunger

Figure 2.1: The Restaurant Script (Schank and Abelson 1975: 151f).

Fillmore's earlier publications on Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1975, 1977a) distinguish between the terms *frame* and *scene*; while frames represent the linguistic organization or entity, scenes represent the non-linguistic, "cognitive, conceptual, or experiential entity" (Petrucci 1996: 1). This distinction cannot be found in Fillmore's later work, in which he characterizes word meaning "in terms of experience-based schematizations of the speakers' world" (Petrucci 1996: 5). In this characterization, linguistic knowledge is no longer separated from encyclopedic knowledge, and words

⁵ See Ziem (2008) and Busse (2012) for an extensive discussion of the different uses of the concept of 'frame' in various theories.

evoke frames which are designed according to our world knowledge (Fillmore 1985). In other words, to understand the meaning of a word one must take the complex and multifaceted background knowledge into account, which is linked to the word and the speakers' world knowledge. This approach addresses the previous neglect of encyclopedic knowledge by other theories of meaning, such as conceptual semantics (Jackendoff 1992) and idealized cognitive models (Lakoff 1987) and accounts for the effects that cultural and social backgrounds, as well as prior experiences have on word meaning and understanding. To use a simple example often quoted to exemplify the concept of frames as conceptual backgrounds (Fillmore 1985: 232), consider the following:

(2.1) We never open our presents until morning.

Readers familiar with Western customs will assume the sentence is referring to a Christmas scenario, even though the word Christmas is not explicitly mentioned.⁶ The customs and practices of Christmas provide the conceptual background needed to understand this sentence, and the sentence therefore *evokes* the `Christmas` frame.

Fillmore, Johnson, & Petruck (2003: 235) define frames as “schematic representations of the conceptual structures of beliefs, practices, institutions, images, etc. that provide a foundation for meaningful interactions in a given speech community.” This definition shows that it is important to be familiar with the speakers' background in order to understand the concept conveyed in the sentence. Different speech communities have

⁶ The reference to Christmas is triggered by ‘morning’ for speakers with an American or British background, in Germany, for example, gifts are opened on the night of Christmas eve, hence this sentence would not trigger a `Christmas` frame in a German speaking community.

different values and understandings of certain concepts. This is also one of the reasons why certain words cannot be directly translated or understood in a second language context, since the concept expressed in the first language might not exist in the second language. A good example of this phenomenon is the German word *Torschlusspanik* ('fear of ending up single and alone for the remainder of one's life'), which does not have an English equivalent and can only be understood if the underlying concept is available to the listener.

The motivations for Fillmore's early publications on Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982, 1985a) are geared towards text understanding (Gawron 2008). Fillmore (1985a) introduces the term U-Semantics (semantics of understanding). "The goal of U-semantics is to determine what it takes for a hearer to provide an interpretation of a sentence, in other words, to determine what situation a sentence fits" (Petrucci 1996: 3). Consider the following examples:⁷

(2.2) Do not hit the dog.

(2.3) Do not hit any pedestrians.

The first sentence (2.2) evokes a scenario in which a speaker advises to not physically harm a canine whereas the second sentence evokes a scenario in which the speaker addresses someone in a car to not hit pedestrians. The term *pedestrian* describes a person walking in an area where motorized vehicles are present; *hitting any pedestrians* therefore refers to the unwanted collision of a vehicle and a person. The term *pedestrian* or any content word in general "require for their understanding an appeal to the

⁷ This example is a modified version of an example in Fillmore and Baker (2010: 319).

background frames within which the meaning they convey is motivated and interpreted” (Fillmore and Baker 2010: 319). In other words, in Frame Semantics a word is defined in relation to its underpinning background frame, but not necessarily in relation to other words. In this respect Frame Semantics differs vastly from other lexical semantic theories, such as field theories.⁸ Fillmore and Atkins (1992: 76-77) characterize the core ideas of Frame Semantics as follows:

A word’s meaning can be understood only with references to a structured background of experiences, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning. Speakers can be said to know the meaning of the word only by first understanding the background frames that motivate the concept that the word encodes. Within such an approach, words or word senses are not related to each other directly, word to word, but only by way of their links to common background frames and indications of the manner in which their meanings highlight particular elements of such frames.

Frame Semantics stresses that the linguistic knowledge of a word is not enough to understand the entire frame evoked. To summarize the basic principles underlying a frame construction there are three core ideas: (a) a conceptual background, (b) a set of lexical units (LU) that utilize the background and therefore evoke the frame (Croft & Cruse 2004, Gawron 2008), and (c) a frame description that defines the relationship between the participating Frame Elements (FEs). These FEs are assigned situational roles and their precise contextual definitions provide the basis of the frame description. The

⁸ See Fillmore (1985a) for a detailed discussion of the differences between Frame Semantics and field theories.

following definition of the `Commercial_transaction`⁹ frame illustrates these core ideas:

These are words that describe basic commercial transactions involving a BUYER and a SELLER who exchange SELLER and GOODS. The individual words vary in the frame element realization patterns. For example, the typical patterns for the verbs buy and sell are: BUYER buys GOODS from the SELLER for MONEY. SELLER sells GOODS to the BUYER for MONEY.¹⁰

This frame is evoked by verbs such as *buy*, *sell*, *purchase*, and *pay*, among others. These semantically related verbs are lexical units (LUs) and are defined as the pairing of a word with one of its meanings. The FEs in this frame represent occurrences of traditional semantic roles such as AGENT, PATIENT, MEANS, etc. However, FEs differ from these universal semantic roles in that they provide a specific description of the participants in a certain scenario - the target frame. This specificity of FE descriptions is crucial as the frame description is defined by the participating FEs. The FEs in this frame are: BUYER (who wants the goods and offers money to a seller in exchange for them), GOODS (anything which is exchanged for money in a transaction), MONEY (the thing given in exchange for goods in a transaction), and SELLER (who has possession of the goods and exchanges them for money from a buyer). As discussed above, there are many verbal LUs that evoke this particular frame - *buy*, *sell*, *pay*, etc., each of which evokes a different aspect or perspective of the `Commercial_transaction` frame. Compare the following sentences:

⁹ Names of frames are in Courier font. Names of Frame Elements (FEs) are in small caps. “Tgt” stands for *target word*, the word evoking the frame.

¹⁰ https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=frame_report&name=Commerce_scenario

- (2.4) a. [_{BUYER}Jules] *bought*^{Tgt} [_{GOODS}several bottles of wine].
 b. [_{SELLER}The jeweler] *sold*^{Tgt} [_{GOODS}all of his fine jewelry].
 c. [_{BUYER}He] *paid*^{Tgt} [_{MONEY}cash] for [_{GOODS}the car].

In (2.4 a) – (2.4 c), the `Commercial_transaction` frame is evoked by the LUs *buy*, *sell*, and *pay*. In (2.4a) *buy* is the lexical unit (LU) that evokes the `Commercial_transaction` frame. *Jules* is the FE BUYER and *several bottles of wine* the FE GOODS. In (2.4b) *the jeweler* is the SELLER FE and in (2.4c) *cash* is the MONEY FE. Each verb focuses on and backgrounds different FEs: while *buy* focuses on the BUYER and the GOODS, it backgrounds the SELLER and the MONEY. *Sell*, on the other hand, focuses on the SELLER and the GOODS, backgrounding the BUYER and MONEY. Petruck (1996:2) summarizes this as follows: “the meaning of one of these verbs requires knowing what takes place in a commercial transaction and knowing the meaning of one verb means, in some sense, knowing the meaning of all of them”. One could describe the difference in perspective as *subscenes*: (a) `Goods_transfer` and (b) `Money_transfer` (Gawron 2008). In regards to valence patterns, the object being transferred is commonly realized as the direct object; hence the verbs profiling the `Goods_transfer` scenario (*buy*, *sell*) make the GOODS FE the direct object, as opposed to the verbs profiling the `Money_transfer` scenario (*pay*), which realize the MONEY frame element as the direct object of the sentence. The following two sentences illustrate this point:

- (2.5) a. [_{BUYER}Peter] *bought*^{Tgt} [_{GOODS}the dog] from [_{SELLER}the breeder] for [_{MONEY} \$1000].
- b. [_{SELLER}The breeder] *sold*^{Tgt} [_{GOODS}the dog] [_{BUYER}to Peter] for [_{MONEY} \$1000].

The LU *buy* in (2.5a) and the LU *sell* in (2.5b) both evoke the `Commercial_transaction` frame and profile the `Goods_transfer` frame, but are still different in their syntactic realizations – in (2.5a) the BUYER is the subject, whereas in (2.5b) the SELLER is the subject. Frame Semantics accounts for this difference by stressing the different perspectives the verbs have on the `Commercial_transaction` frame; *buy* views the BUYER as the agent of the sentence while *sell* views the seller as the agent. Frame Semantics therefore allows for meaning descriptions of semantically related verbs in relation to the same frame (Boas 2005a).

The role of frames as organizing principles and backgrounds for the lexicon is also evident in other parts of speech. Nouns and adjectives that are semantically related to the verbs described above also evoke the `Commercial_transaction` frame. *Salesman*, *dealer*, *merchant*, and *vendor* all evoke the `Commercial_transaction` frame, as do the adjectives *sold*, *purchased* and *vended*, as in the following examples:

- (2.6) a. *The dealer*^{Tgt} made almost [_{MONEY} \$10,000] in one day.
- b. The *purchased*^{Tgt} [_{GOODS}car] had over 100,000 miles.

In (2.6a) *the dealer* evokes the `Commercial_transaction` frame while concurrently representing the SELLER frame element, while in (2.6b) *purchased* evokes

the same frame and *car* represents the GOODS. In other words, multiple parts of speech, verbs, adjectives, and nouns have the ability to evoke exactly the same semantic frame (Boas 2005a). This is different from other theories of meaning that tend to relate only words of the same part of speech to each other.

As noted above, not every sentence references the entire participating core frame elements. In Frame Semantics conceptually important FEs that are unrealized are referred to as *null instantiations*. Frame Semantics incorporates three different types of *null instantiations*: *constructional*, *definite*, and *indefinite* (Fillmore 1986). *Constructional null instantiations* are due to grammatical constructions that require or permit the omission of the FE, as for example imperatives (*Go home!*) and passive constructions (*I was left behind*), where the agent is omitted (Atkins et. al 2003). Due to the grammatical constructions governing the omission of certain FEs, these *constructional null instantiations* are of little interest for lexicographic purposes (Fillmore et al. 2003). In contrast, *definite null instantiations* (DNI) and *indefinite null instantiations* (INI) are lexically specific. DNIs (or *anaphoric zero*) are invoked when the element omission is permitted due to an agreement that is contextually implied and understood. In examples like *I decline*, it is automatically assumed that the speaker and the listener are aware of the matter being declined. *Indefinite null instantiations* (INI) address “implicit arguments of certain transitive verbs that are characterized as used intransitively” (Fillmore et al. 2003: 246). In sentences such as *I’ve eaten earlier*, Frame Semantics treats the verb *to eat* as a transitive verb “but records the fact that the FOOD argument [...] can be omitted

under INI because the situation implies that what was eaten does not matter” (Fillmore 1986, Fillmore & Baker 2010: 329, Lyngfelt 2012).

2.3 THE FRAMENET PROJECT

Subsequent publications on Frame Semantics focus on the design of a frame-based dictionary, the first and most significant work being Fillmore and Atkins (1992). In their proposed frame based dictionary

...individual word senses, relationships among the senses of polysemous words, and relationships between (senses of) semantically related words will be linked with the cognitive structures (or ‘frames’), knowledge of which is presupposed for the concepts encoded by the word. (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 75)

Fillmore and Atkins (1992) give some initial insights into how a frame-based dictionary could be organized and thereby contributed a significant milestone towards FrameNet, a lexicographic frame based dictionary database. Subsequent publications build upon the idea of generating a multi-window computer based dictionary and demonstrate Frame Semantics’ suitability for the advancement of traditional lexicography (Fillmore and Atkins 1992, 1994; Fillmore 1994; and Atkins 1994, 1995).

I now turn to the organizational principles of the UC Berkeley FrameNet project (<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>), a computational online lexicography project started in the late 1990’s. The initial intention was to provide a corpus-based database implementing a frame-semantic approach (Osswald & Van Valin 2012). According to Fillmore and Baker (2010: 321), “the general purpose of the project are both to provide reliable descriptions of the syntactic and semantic combinatorial properties of each word in the lexicon and to assemble information about alternative ways of expressing concepts

in the same conceptual domain.” The main components used to describe frames in FrameNet are the frame elements (FEs), which participate in the frame, and the English lexical units (LUs), which evoke the frame and annotations which represent syntactic valence patterns. Currently FrameNet contains 1,160 frames, 10,025 FEs in lexical frames, 12,604 LUs, and 193,862 annotated sentences (as of 12/16/2016). The primary corpus used for the annotations is the British National Corpus; however, in recent years FrameNet has also begun using annotations from the American Newswire Corpus (Fillmore, Johnson, et al. 2003). The use of corpus examples comprehensively demonstrates how LUs occur in natural language which benefits the user (Boas 2005a). The text below briefly outlines the process of creating FrameNet entries using the components and corpus examples mentioned above.¹¹

First, a frame is characterized and described by an “initial informal characterization of the kind of entity or situation represented by the frame” (Fillmore, Johnson, et al. 2003),¹² then the participating FEs are named and described, receiving mnemonic labels (Fillmore, Petruck, Ruppenhofer & Wright 2003), followed by a selection of LUs that are semantically related. This process can best be described as “armchair linguistics” (Fillmore et al. 2003): lexicographers consult with dictionaries, thesauri, and appeals to native speaker intuition in order to arrive at a list of LUs that are believed to evoke the target frame. Next, corpus examples are extracted through a KWIC

¹¹ For a detailed description of the individual processes leading to FrameNet entries see Fillmore et.al (2003b).

¹² In most cases a ‘prototypical’ verb is used for the basis of the initial frame design; the difference in prototypicality can be found in frame evoking LUs. Consider the *Self_Motion* frame in which the evoking LUs *run.v*, and *walk.v* are more ‘prototypical’ representatives than *meander.v*, or *stagger.v*.

search from the British National Corpus (and American Newswire Corpus) based on the syntactic and collocational contexts of each of the LUs (Boas 2005a). After selecting representative instances of the LUs, words from all parts of speech that evoke the target frame (Fillmore & Baker 2010), annotators use the FrameNet desktop software to label the constituents manually in the sentential subcorpora with respect to the participating frame elements. Before the annotation process begins, the lexicographer has to familiarize him- or herself with the frame and frame element descriptions (Fillmore et al. 2003). The annotations are then added through the FrameNet Annotator tool. The annotation process is done relative to a single LU and dependents are annotated on three separate layers, indicating various relevant syntactic and semantic properties: the Frame Element identity (FE), Grammatical functions (GF) (external argument, object, and complement), and Phrase Types (PT) (noun phrase, prepositional phrase). Consider the following sentence (Baker & Cronin 2003):

Helmut saw a tall, black figure against the snow.

The frame involved here is the `Perception_Passive` frame evoked by the target LU *see.v* in which *Helmut* is the FE `PERCEIVER_PASSIVE`, *a tall, black figure* is the FE `PHENOMENON` and *against the snow* is the FE `GROUND`. The second annotation layer describes the phrase types (PT), both *Helmut* and *a tall, black figure* are realized as noun phrases (NP) whereas *against the snow* is realized as a prepositional phrase (PP). The third annotation layer specifies the grammatical function (GF) relative to the target (here: *see*) as subject. *Helmut* is labeled as the external argument (EXT), *a tall, black figure* as object (Obj) and *against the snow* as complement (see Table 2.1)

(Text)	Helmut	saw	a tall, black figure	against the snow
FE	PERCEIVER_PASSIVE		PHENOMENON	GROUND
PT	NP		NP	PP
GF	EXT		Obj	COMP

Table 2.1: Annotation layers (Baker & Cronin 2003: 289).

Whereas the FEs have to be marked manually by the lexicographer using the FrameNet annotator tool, the GF and PT are automatically associated with the FE labels and added to the annotation by an automated script that aids in the inventory of syntactic valence patterns (Fillmore et al. 2003). The annotations then undergo another automatic process that results in an inventory of frame descriptions and lexical entries, the core of FrameNet. The “end-product” from the perspective of a human user thus consists of a vast collection of lexical entries for LUs that are connected via frames. Users of the FrameNet database can access the data by searching for particular frames or specific lexical entries (for the frame grapher, see below). The sub-processes outlined above lead to a complete frame description provided by the FrameNet database, though it must be mentioned that the order of sub-processes is not linear and previous steps may be revised at any time (Fillmore, Petruck, et al. 2003).

I now discuss the structure of lexical entries in FrameNet: the frame description, the lexical entry itself, and semantic annotations based on the `Commercial_transaction` frame, as covered in Section 2.2 above. The FrameNet data can be accessed online through the FrameNet webpage or exported in XML format.

Via the FrameNet Data tab, the user can locate frames through the Frame Index which lists all available FrameNet frames. Upon choosing this frame, the user is presented with the frame description and the definitions of the participating core and non-core frame elements (Fig. 2.2).

Home

FrameNet Data

[Cache](#)
[Calendric_unit](#)
[Candidness](#)
[Capability](#)
[Capacity](#)
[Capital_stock](#)
[Cardinal_numbers](#)
[Carry_goods](#)
[Catastrophe](#)
[Categorization](#)
[Causation](#)
[Causation_scenario](#)
[Cause_bodily_experience](#)
[Cause_change](#)
[Cause_change_of_consiste](#)
[Cause_change_of_phase](#)
[Cause_change_of_positior](#)
[Cause_change_of_strengt](#)
[Cause_emotion](#)
[Cause_expansion](#)
[Cause_fluidic_motion](#)
[Cause_harm](#)
[Cause_impact](#)
[Cause_motion](#)
[Cause_proliferation_in_nu](#)
[Cause_temperature_chang](#)
[Cause_to_amalgamate](#)
[Cause_to_be_dry](#)
[Cause_to_be_included](#)
[Cause_to_be_sharp](#)

Commercial_transaction [Lexical Unit Index](#)

Definition:

These are words that describe basic commercial transactions involving a **Buyer** and a **Seller** who exchange **Money** and **Goods**. The individual words vary in the frame element realization patterns. For example, the typical patterns for the verbs buy and sell are: BUYER buys GOODS from the SELLER for MONEY. SELLER sells GOODS to the BUYER for MONEY.

His **\$20** **TRANSACTION** **with Amazon.com** **for a new TV** had been very smooth.

FEs:

Core:

Buyer [Byr] The **Buyer** wants the **Goods** and offers **Money** to a **Seller** in exchange for them.

Goods [Gds] The FE Goods is anything (including labor or time, for example) which is exchanged for Money in a transaction.

Money [Mny] Money is the thing given in exchange for Goods in a transaction.

Seller [Slr] The **Seller** has possession of the **Goods** and exchanges them for **Money** from a **Buyer**.

Non-Core:

Figure 2.2: Frame definition for the Commercial_Transaction frame.

Figure 2.2 is a screenshot of the Commercial_Transaction frame with an alphabetical frame index to the left of the frame definition. The frame definition gives a description based on the FEs participating in the frame. The FEs are listed and

categorized as core and non-core FEs.¹³ Core FEs play an active role in the frame, whereas non-core FEs are of a peripheral nature (e.g. expressions of time, manner, place, means) and may thus be omitted.¹⁴ Only core FEs are used in the valence pattern inventory of the LUs (Atkins & Fillmore 2003). The core FEs used in this frame are: BUYER, GOODS, MONEY, and SELLER. Non-core FEs are MEANS (the means by which a commercial transaction occurs), RATE (price or payment per unit of goods), UNIT (unit of measure of the GOODS according to which the exchange value of the goods/or services is set). Below the definitions of the participating FEs are the frame-frame relations listed, followed by a list of lexical units listed that evoke the `Commercial_transaction` frame. Upon selecting a lexical unit, the viewer is directed to its lexical entry, which is structured as follows: First the frames are listed, evoking the lexical unit, in our case the LU *buy* evokes the `Commercial_transaction` frame. Then a short definition from a monolingual dictionary (COD-needs reference) is provided. However, the most important parts of the lexical entry are the syntactic realizations of the FEs and the valence patterns (Fig. 2.3).

¹³ Core frame elements are not measured in means of prototypicality as their function is to provide pertinent information of all the elements participating in a frame.

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of core and non-core FEs see Atkins et al. (2003)

Lexical Entry

buy.v

Frame: Commerce_buy

Definition:

COD: obtain in exchange for payment

Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations

The Frame Elements for this word sense are (with realizations):

Frame Element	Number Annotated	Realization(s)
Buyer	(98)	CNI.-- (25) DNI.-- (1) NP.Ext (68) PP[by].Dep (4)
Goods	(98)	DNI.-- (13) NP.Ext (13) NP.Obj (63) Sinterrog.Dep (2) AJP.Dep (2) NP.Appositive (1) NP.Dep (5)
Manner	(3)	AVP.Dep (2) PP[in].Dep (1)
Means	(1)	PPing[by].Dep (1)
		PP[with].Dep (0)

Syntactic realization of the frame element GOODS in regards to the LU *buy.v*

Figure 2.3: Lexical entry for the LU *buy.v*.

The table in Figure 2.3 shows each FE with the number of annotated sentences in which it occurs and how it is syntactically realized. For example, the FE BUYER was annotated in 98 sentences; in 25 it was realized as a constructional null instantiation (CNI), in one as a definite null instantiation, in 68 sentences as a noun phrase (NP), and in 4 as a prepositional phrase (PP) introduced by 'by'. The table lists all the FEs on how they are syntactically realized for the target LU (here: *buy.v*). The total number of annotated

sentences as well as the numbers behind each individual FE realization are hyperlinked to the actual annotated sentence. By clicking on any of the hyperlinked numbers, the annotated sentences appear in the lower half of the screen. The user can choose to have the FEs highlighted with colors or turn the colors off; furthermore, the user can select specific sentences by clicking 'X' which clears the selected sentence from the displayed list. Below the table displaying the syntactic realizations is another table that shows in which valence patterns the FEs occur for the target LU (see Fig. 2.4).

Valence Patterns:

These frame elements occur in the following syntactic patterns:

Number Annotated	Patterns				
1 TOTAL	Buyer	Buyer	Goods		
(1)	NP Ext	NP Ext	NP Obj		
1 TOTAL	Buyer	Buyer	Goods	Money	
(1)	NP Ext	NP Ext	DNI --	PP[at] Dep	
33 TOTAL	Buyer	Goods			
(2)	CNI --	NP Ext			

Phrase Type (PT)
Grammatical Function (GF)

Figure 2.4: Valence patterns for the FEs in annotated sentences for the LU *buy.v* (partial excerpt)

The table in Figure 2.4 lists the total number of annotated sentences per valence pattern and their syntactic realization in terms of Phrase Type (PT) and Grammatical Function (GF). For example, the first annotated sentence in Figure 2.4 has the FE BUYER realized as a noun phrase (NP) and the external argument (Ext) while the FE GOODS is realized as a noun phrase and also as the object (Obj). In addition to the lexical entry report, each LU

has an annotation report which lists all the participating FEs, their FE type (core, non-core) followed by every annotated corpus example sentence and the identification number of the annotator (Fig. 2.5).

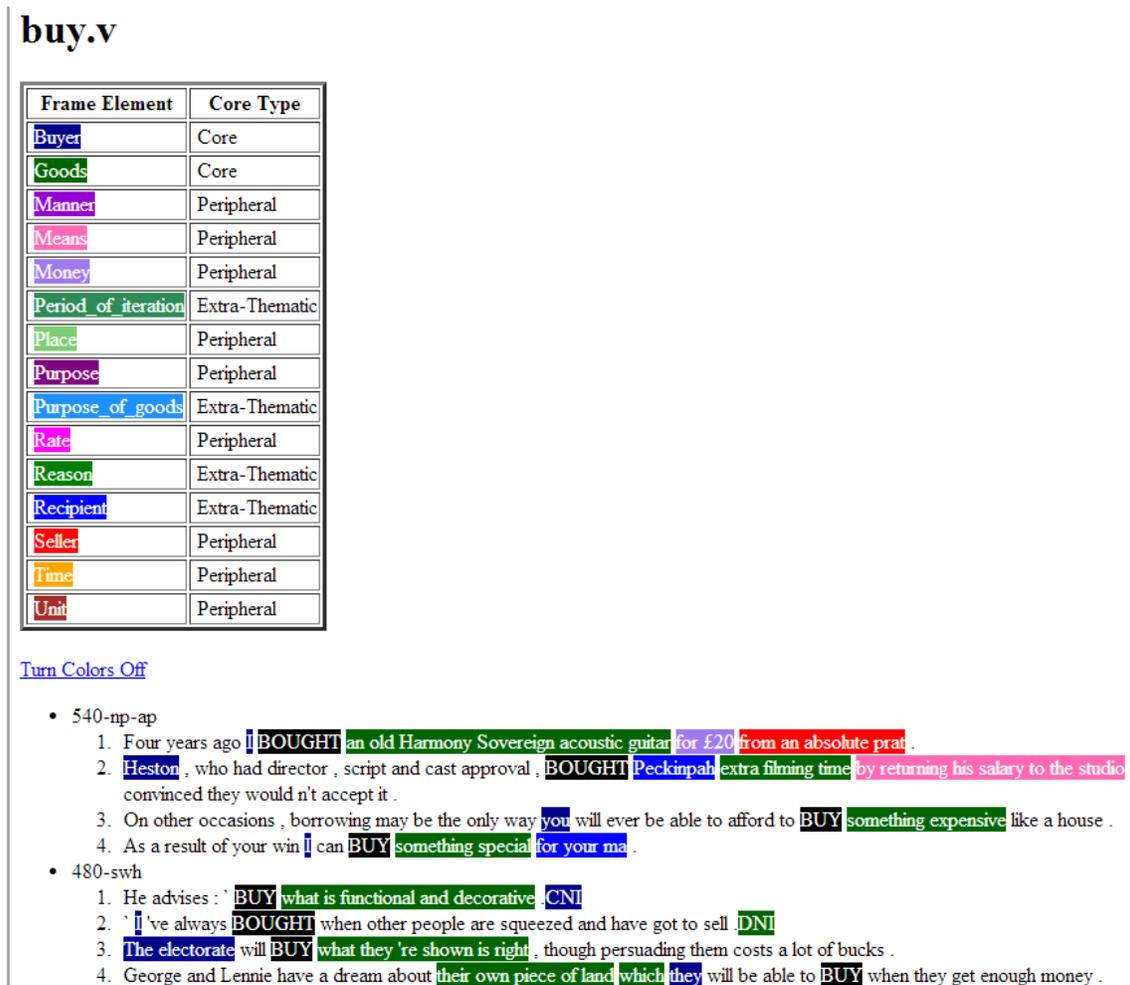


Figure 2.5: Annotation report for *buy.v*.

Beyond the frame description, the frame element definitions, the links to the lexical entry report, and the annotation report, the user can also access the frame relations for the target frame listed. Frame relations are important because frames are not isolated

units (Osswald & Van Valin 2012), but rather participate in a relational network of frames. Frame relations display how related frames are linked semantically. FrameNet displays eight frame relations which are categorized in 3 groups (Fillmore & Baker 2010): generalization relations (such as inheritance, perspective on, and using), event structure relations (such as subframe and precedes), and systematic relations (such as causative of and inchoative of).¹⁵ In the second project phase, also referred to as FrameNet II,¹⁶ the viewing and editing of frame relations has improved over the first version (Baker, Fillmore, & Cronin 2003). At this stage, the FrameGrapher expansion (<https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/FrameGrapher>), a tool which allows for a direct visual representation of frame relations and offers the user the possibility to explore frame relations systematically, was added to the database (Fig. 2.6).

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion of frame relations see Fillmore & Baker 2010, or Ruppenhofer et al. (2010).

¹⁶ The project phases FrameNet I and II are named according to the NSF grants received to fund the project. The main difference is on a computational/ data representation level. See Baker et al. (2003) for details.

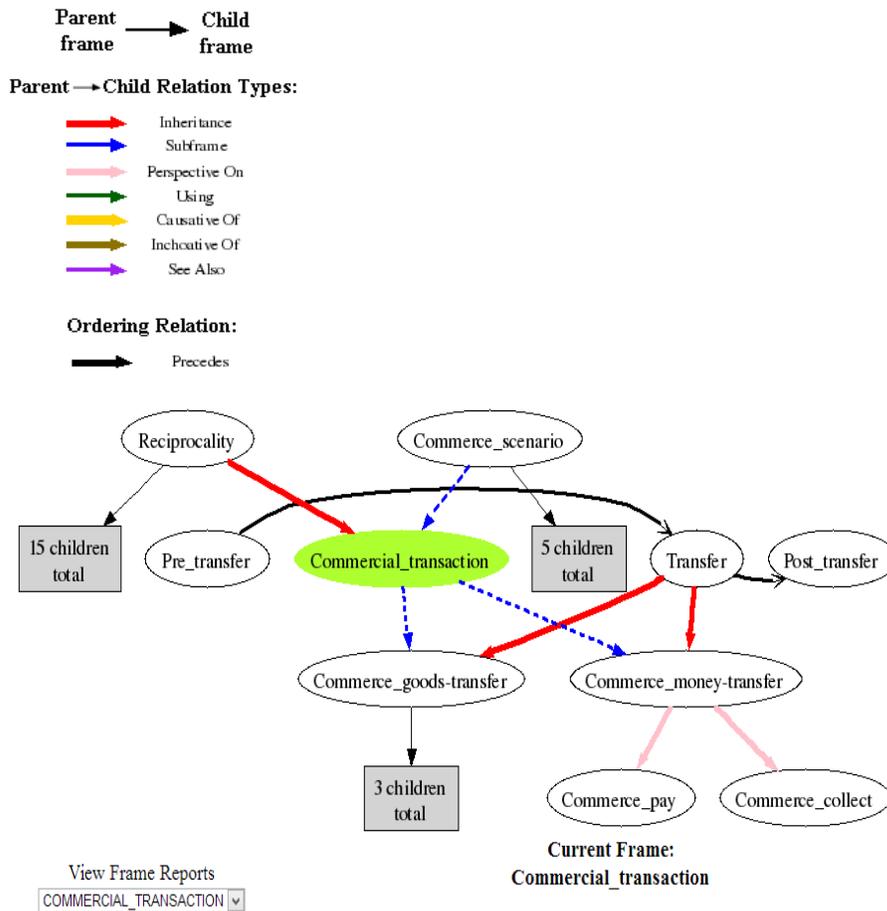


Figure 2.6: FrameGrapher for Commercial_transaction.

Figure 2.6 indicates that the Commercial_transaction frame is a Subframe of Commerce_Scenario¹⁷ and inherits from Reciprocity. The Commercial Transaction frame has two Subframes: Commerce_goods-transfer and Commerce_money-transfer, which is related to two frames with

¹⁷ The frame label ‘scenario’ is used to describe prototypical situations in which more defined and perspectivized frames participate.

different perspectives on the scenario, the `Commerce_pay` and the `Commerce_collect` frame.

2.4 MULTILINGUAL ASPECTS OF FRAME SEMANTICS

The number of FrameNet related projects adopting a frame-semantic approach to lexicography for languages other than English is growing.¹⁸ Currently nine languages are in the process of establishing a FrameNet database. Two collaborative FrameNet projects currently exist for German, the Saarbrücken Lexical Semantics Acquisition (SALSA) project¹⁹ and the German FrameNet at the University of Texas at Austin (Boas 2002; Burchardt et. al 2009),²⁰ both of which aim to establish links between existing FrameNet frames and German frames (Boas 2005b, 2009). SALSA currently contains approximately 20,000 annotations for verbal instances and approximately 17,000 annotations for nominal instances.²¹ Databases for other languages are also being developed and expanded, such as Spanish (Subirats 2009; Subirats & Sato 2004),²² Japanese (Ohara et al. 2004; Saito, Kuboya, Sone, Tagami, & Ohara 2008),²³ Chinese (You, Liu, & Liu 2007), Italian (Lenci, Johnson, & Lapesa 2010), Slovenian (Loenneker-Rodman, Baker, & Hong 2008), Swedish (Johansson & Nugues 2006),²⁴ Hebrew

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of multilingual FrameNets see Boas (2005b).

¹⁹ <http://www.coli.uni-saarland.de/projects/salsa/page.php?id=index>.

²⁰ <http://www.laits.utexas.edu/gframenet/>.

²¹ Data from <http://www.coli.uni-saarland.de/projects/salsa/corpus/>.

²² <http://sfn.uab.es:8080/SFN>.

²³ <http://jfn.st.hc.keio.ac.jp/>.

²⁴ <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/eng/swefn>.

(Petrucci 2005, 2009), and Brazilian Portuguese (Fillmore & Baker 2010).²⁵ In addition to these language-specific databases, there are also domain-specific frame nets which adopt the methodology of the FrameNet project, e.g. Kicktionary (Schmidt 2009).²⁶ Kicktionary is a multilingual (English, French, German) online dictionary for soccer specific language; the original version of Kicktionary was expanded by researchers working on the Brazilian FrameNet and led to the trilingual FrameCup 2014 (COPA 2014) dictionary which was intended to aid during the 2014 World Cup in Brazil (Salomao, Torrent, Campos, Braga, & Vieira 2011). The most recent sport-domain specific FrameNet project is led by Maucha Gamonal who is expanding a frame-based dictionary for the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Other domain-specific FrameNets are BioFrameNet (BioFN) (Dolbey et. al 2006), which links Frame Semantics to biomedical domain-specific ontologies and the Venturi et al (2009) approach to a FrameNet resource for the legal domain. As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the main assumptions of proponents of Frame Semantics is that semantic frames derived on the basis of English can also be applied to the description and analysis of the lexicons of other languages; however, the treatment of culture-specific words has been largely unaddressed.

2.5 FRAME SEMANTICS AND CULTURE-SPECIFIC WORDS

While research on the applicability of English frames in other languages has demonstrated their adoptability, there is still work to be done on the treatment of culture-

²⁵ <http://www.framenetbr.ufjf.br/>.

²⁶ <http://www.kicktionary.de/>.

specific words. The term culture-specific refers to terms or expressions that are deeply embedded in the beliefs, customs, and practices of the target culture.

Expressions such as the pursuit of happiness’, ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’ and ‘la Raza’ connote cultural dimensions that extend well beyond their immediate translation. [...] deep cultural knowledge and linguistic competence are equally necessary if one wishes to understand people and their communities (MLA ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages 2007:2).

Frame Semantics supports the inevitable link between encyclopedic and linguistic knowledge. An often cited example is calendric terms (Fillmore & Atkins 1992). In order to understand the concept of a weekday one needs to be aware and knowledgeable of the calendric cycle. Only if one knows that a weekday is part of a seven-day week, a week is part of a month, and so forth does one understand the underlying concept and the meaning the speaker implies by using this word. Petruck and Boas (2003) present a detailed frame-semantic approach to analyzing generalizations and idiosyncrasies in the explanation of calendric terms in English, Hebrew, and German.

English	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Hebrew	yom rišon	yom šeni	yom šliši	yom rvi'i	yom xamiši	yom šiši	šabat
German	Sonntag	Montag	Dienstag	Mittwoch	Donnerstag	Freitag	Samstag

Table 2.2: Weekday names in English, Hebrew, and German (Petruck & Boas 2003: 3)

Table 2.2 shows that the meaningful transparent unit in English, German, and Hebrew weekday names is the morpheme *day/-tag* (‘day’) / *yom* (‘day’). This morpheme *day* provides information about the frame to which the larger word belongs; however, the

meanings of English weekday names are non-transparent since the first part of the weekday names does not provide any information that helps in locating the particular days in their weekly sequence. Petruck and Boas (2003: 4) point out that “the concept DAY is explicit; its relation to a larger calendric structure is not. The English terms tell us nothing about [the concept] WEEK.” German follows a similar principle with the exception of *Mittwoch* (‘Wednesday’), which is indeed transparent since it is directly linked to the concept of WEEK (*Mitt(e)* means ‘(in the) middle (of)’; and *Woche* means ‘week’).²⁷ Weekday names in Hebrew also evoke the DAY concept but give additional information about the position in the weekly sequence since *yom* - ‘day’ is followed by an ordinal number (for example *yom rvi’i* = day fourth - ‘Wednesday’). *Šabat* (‘Saturday’) does not follow this pattern and its naming is culturally motivated. Petruck and Boas (2003: 6) conclude that

... by employing the frame as an analytic tool, it is possible to include references to culturally significant categories in the lexicon. Moreover, taking the frame as a universal cognitive structuring device provides the apparatus for analyzing semantic fields both within and across languages, thus providing a perspicuous way of characterizing cross-linguistic differences.

Adopting the frame as a cognitive structuring device aids in the understanding of underlying cultural concepts, but talking about culture-specific words involves both unfamiliar conceptual backgrounds and words without translation equivalents. Consider, for example, the German word *Kulanz* (‘an act of courtesy on the part of the seller following a previous commercial transaction’), which has no simple translation

²⁷ With the exception of *Sonnabend*, a less commonly used synonym for *Samstag*. *Sonnabend* is predominantly used in the Northern and Eastern parts of Germany as it was the official term for Saturday during the time of the GDR.

equivalent in English, but is deeply embedded in the German understanding of possible courteous acts relating to commercial transactions in German society. The following corpus examples (IDS Mannheim; <https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2-web/>) exemplify the distribution of *Kulanz*:

(2.7) [_{BUYER}>Der Kunde] ist auf *die Kulanz*^{tgt} des [_{SELLER}>Händlers]
 The customer is on the goodwill of the seller
 angewiesen.
 dependent.
 ‘The customer depends on the goodwill of the seller.’

(2.8) [_{GOODS}>Die Ware] wurde aus *Kulanz*^{tgt} zurückgenommen.
 The goods were out of goodwill returned.
 ‘The goods were returned out of goodwill.’

(2.9) [_{MONEY}>Die Kosten] wurden dem [_{BUYER}>Kunden] aus *Kulanz*^{tgt}
 The cost was the customer out of goodwill
 erstattet.
 refunded.
 ‘In order to accommodate the customer the cost was refunded.’

These examples indicate that the term *Kulanz* evokes a Commercial transaction frame for German speakers, similar to the English frame discussed above; the core FEs, BUYER, GOODS, MONEY, and SELLER are present in a scenario involving the term *Kulanz*. The corpus examples and the FEs show that *Kulanz* in (2.7) – (2.9) all evoke the Commercial_transaction frame; however, additional knowledge is necessary to accurately interpret the meaning of the term *Kulanz* in context. It is, for example, commonly expected to not receive any accommodations or returns from a seller or merchant which creates a power imbalance in which the customer is solely dependent upon the seller’s goodwill. Therefore, the Commercial_transaction frame does

not entirely cover the meaning elements the term *Kulanz* evokes in the German-speaking world. After establishing that one cannot understand the meaning of *Kulanz* without taking the cultural and encyclopedic background knowledge into account the question remains: Where can the cultural and encyclopedic background knowledge necessary for the proper interpretation of *Kulanz* be located?

Looking at monolingual and bilingual dictionaries suggest that the underlying knowledge is quite rich and that using existing semantic frames derived on the basis of English is currently not accurately accounted for by only referring, for example, to the `Commercial_transaction` frame. Consider, for example, the Duden dictionary and the Oxford German dictionary, which offer the following definitions for *Kulanz* and its corresponding adjective *kulant*:

- c) **Duden dictionary**²⁸
3. Kulant
(bes. Im Geschäftsverkehr) entgegenkommend, gewisse Erleichterung gewährend
 4. Kulanz
Kulanz zeigen; eine Reparatur auf Kulanz; jmdm etw aus Kulanz überlassen
- d) **Oxford German Dictionary**
3. Kulant
 - a. Adj. Obliging, accommodating, fair <terms>
 - b. Adv. Sich kulant verhalten – be obliging or accommodating
 4. Kulanz
Readiness or willingness to oblige
aus -- - out of good will
eine Reparatur auf -- - repair done free of charge out of goodwill

Figure 2.7: Dictionary entries for *Kulanz*.

While the monolingual description points towards the use in the commercial transaction context no proof of such contextual use is given in the bilingual dictionary. Therefore, I argue that the knowledge necessary to understand the term *Kulanz* requires (a) knowledge about commercial transactions (encoded in the corresponding frame discussed above), (b) awareness of the cultural concept, and (c) the encyclopedic background knowledge linked to this term. Because dictionary entries are apparently insufficient in relating this knowledge and the existing `Commercial_transaction` frame only covers part of the concepts involved in the contextual use of *Kulanz*, a detailed corpus analysis is necessary to provide for the collection of complete sets of

28

Duden dictionary

1. being courteous following a previous commercial transaction (especially in the commercial transaction context) to accommodate, offering certain relief.
2. an act of courtesy following a previous commercial transaction
Show an act of courtesy following a previous commercial transaction, a repair out of goodwill, to accommodate out of goodwill.

semantic and syntactic patterns that have yet been neglected in traditional dictionary entries and frame-semantic descriptions. This dissertation therefore exemplifies how highly culture-specific terms can be accounted for by employing the principles of Frame Semantics, a task that has not yet been addressed in the field of lexical semantics. Most of the research in this field has been done on case studies for single verbs or nouns (Fillmore & Atkins 1992, 2000; Fillmore et al. 2003), yet no one has investigated how culture-specific words can be represented using a frame-semantic approach. This dissertation aims to fill this gap by proposing an innovative approach to represent culture-specific terms based on corpus evidence.

2.6 OTHER SEMANTIC THEORIES

The following section will provide a brief overview of three other approaches to semantic analysis, namely Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), Componential Analysis (CA), and Prototype Theory. These three theories were chosen as examples and representatives of different trends within semantic analysis. NSM represents a Universalist approach, whereas CA is more abstract and formal, and Prototype theory is motivated by the related field of psychology.²⁹ Below each of these theories are summarized and followed with a discussion of their advantages and shortcomings. This section concludes with a summary outlining why Frame Semantics is the most suitable approach to targeting semantic analysis for the culture-specific target words of this study.

²⁹ For a broader overview of different semantic theories and trends in semantic analysis, see Cruse (1986), Geeraerts (2011), and Goddard (1998, 2000).

2.6.1 The Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach (NSM)

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) or Reductive Paraphrase approach was originated by Anna Wierzbicka (1972) and has since been developed in several publications (Wierzbicka 1985, 1996, 2003; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002). This approach is founded upon the claim that all words can be defined by a set of semantically basic expressions which are present in everyday language use. These expressions are known as *semantic primes*. Semantic primes must be language-universal basic concepts that are shared among all languages. This requirement is also known as Strong Lexicalization Hypothesis which states that “primitive concepts are universally lexicalized” (Goddard 1994:13). In Wierzbicka’s original work (Wierzbicka 1972), the proposed list of semantic primes only contained 14 entries, labeled as *semantic primitives*. In the following years and publications the nomenclature was changed to *semantic primes* and the list was expanded to a total of 63 entries (Fig. 2.8).

PROPOSED AND EXPERIMENTALLY SUPPORTED SEMANTIC PRIMES						
CATEGORY	PRIMES					
Substantives	I	YOU	SOMEONE/ PERSON	PEOPLE		
Relational Substantives	SOMETHING/ THING	BODY	KIND	PART		
Determiners	THIS	THE SAME	OTHER			
Quantifiers	ONE	TWO	SOME	ALL	MANY/MUCH	
Evaluators	GOOD	BAD				
Descriptors	BIG	SMALL				
Mental/Experiential Predicates	THINK	KNOW	WANT	FEEL	SEE	HEAR
Speech	SAY	WORDS	TRUE			
Actions And Events	DO	HAPPEN	MOVE			
Existence And Possession	THERE IS/ EXIST	HAVE				
Life And Death	LIVE	DIE				
Time	WHEN/TIME	NOW	BEFORE	AFTER	A LONG TIME	A SHORT TIME
	FOR SOME TIME	MOMENT				
Space	WHERE/PLACE,	HERE	ABOVE	BELOW	FAR	NEAR
	SIDE	INSIDE	TOUCH (CONTACT)			
Logical Concepts	NOT	MAYBE	CAN	BECAUSE	IF	
Intensifier, <i>Augmentor</i>	VERY	MORE				
Similarity	LIKE/WAY					

Figure 2.8: Semantic primes in NSM.³⁰

Figure 2.8 shows the semantic primes for English, grouped by category (Evaluators, Descriptors, etc.). Each of the primes is believed to be equally accessible and identifiable in other languages and furthermore Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004:155) claim that “they have an inherent universal grammar of combination, valency, and complementation which also manifests itself equally in all languages [...]”. Consider for example the Evaluator prime category in Figure 2.8: according to NSM’s claims, the English primes GOOD and BAD can be translated without meaning loss or differences into any other language. This claim is at the foundation of NSM semantic analysis, as primes are used to paraphrase the meaning of any word or expression by decomposing it into its semantic

³⁰ Table adapted from Goddard 2002; Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2007; and Goddard 2011.

primes. The claim that primes can be transposed across languages even allows for the description of complex cultural concepts without risking the loss of pertinent cultural information. This description process is called “reductive paraphrase” and the resulting definition is called an ‘explication’ and commonly referred to as Cultural Script, a “paraphrase composed in the simplest possible term, thus avoiding circularity and obscurity” (Goddard 2011: 65). The goal of these scripts is to capture a cultural concept in a particular cultural context. The following explication defines the English adjective ‘sad’ (Wierzbicka 1996:180):

X is sad= X feels something sometimes a person thinks something like this: something bad happened if I didn’t know it happened, I would say: I don’t want it to happen I don’t say this now because I know: I can’t do anything because of this, this person feels something bad X feels something like this

Figure 2.9: Explication for ‘sad’ (Wierzbicka 1996:180).

The cultural script for ‘sad’ aims to explicate ‘sad’ in the cultural context of Anglo culture. In other words, the script defines how the feeling of being ‘sad’ is perceived by representatives (X) of Anglo culture. According to NSM’s claim that primes used for explications are free of ethnocentrism, the script would readily allow translation into other languages (using their prime equivalents). The resulting translation then aids in

cross-cultural semantics, as it allows the non-native speaker of English to understand how ‘being sad’ feels in the Anglo culture.

Because explications can be lengthy, NSM scholars have recently proposed the inclusion of *semantic molecules* (marked [M], Goddard 2010, 2011). These semantic units are shared in explications for many expressions and are considered “conceptual building blocks in the meaning structure of other, yet more complex words” (Goddard 2008: 71). For example, an explication for knife, spoon, and fork include ‘eat[M]’ as a semantic molecule, whereas owl, nightingale, and crow include ‘bird[M]’ as a semantic molecule.

As discussed above, explications are formulated with semantic primes. Wierzbicka points out “the words are familiar, the syntax is easy, the ideas expressed in the individual lines are clear, and the overall style is so simple as to seem childish” (Wierzbicka 2010:19). The question thereby arises as to whether the simplicity of the explications is actually reflected in the attempt to understand such a ‘simple’ definition. The following explication omits the target word:

X is _____ = in some places many things grow out of the ground when one sees things like X one can think of this
--

Figure 2.10: Explication for ‘green’ (Wierzbicka 1996:180).

While the explication is indeed written in simple language, the question remains whether the simple language aids in the understanding of the definition. The target word for the

explication in Fig. 2.10 is ‘green’. It is questionable as to whether a reader would arrive at the target word without any contextualization. Geeraerts (2011) points out another problem with the NSM approach in that Wierzbicka’s definition of ‘fruit’ (Wierzbicka 1985:299-300) is not generally applicable to all fruit. The following examples are taken from Wierzbicka’s ‘fruit’ explication³¹:

(2.10) They have skin harder than the parts inside.

(2.11) They are good to eat without being cooked, without having anything done to them, without any other things, and people can eat them for pleasure.

(2.12) They have a lot of juice.

The feature ‘They have skin harder than the parts inside’ is arguably not a characteristic of fruits like strawberries or raspberries, whereas the feature in (2.11) does not necessarily apply to fruits like lemons or limes, and bananas do not “have a lot of juice,” *contra* the feature in (2.12). Geeraerts (2011) emphasizes that eliminating any features from the explication that do not apply to all fruit would result in a much smaller set of features; however, the resulting subset would not be exclusively applicable to fruit, but also to nuts, and some vegetables. In addition to the difficulties NSM faces in regards to explications, one must also challenge the assumption that semantic primitives are language universal. The semantic primitives were assembled mostly by trial and error - their existence and functionality is not based on any empirical data or corpus analysis. Thus, the claim that these primitives are universal across languages and “correspond to

³¹ The examples are only excerpts of the complete explication, which can be found in Wierzbicka (1985:299-300).

word meanings in ordinary language” (Goddard 1998: 134) lacks empirical proof. Furthermore, the claim that exponents of semantic primitives are “intuitively clear” (Wierzbicka 2010:17) to speakers of all languages disregards cultural, contextual, and interpersonal variation.

For this study, cultural variation is the building block of the analysis of the three culture-specific words *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. Because said culture-specificity must first be defined, an approach that relies heavily on empirical corpus data is necessary. The lack of systematic methodology in the NSM approach does not allow for analyses that can be traced back to definite variables and thus is not desirable for this study.

2.6.2 Componential Analysis

Componential analysis (CA) resembles distinctive feature analysis in phonology (Goddard 2011). In this type of phonological analysis, speech sounds are described using a set of binary features, which suffice to distinguish sounds from each other (Nida 1951; Jakobson, Fant, and Halle 1952; Jakobson and Halle 1956; Coseriu 1964).³² Consider the following example (Goddard 2011: 52): the eight English consonants /p, b, t, d, f, v, s, z/ can be contrasted using the distinctive features \pm VOICED and \pm CONTINUANT. The consonants are grouped according to these features: /b, d, v, z/ are [+VOICE], while /p, t, f, s/ are [-VOICE], while /f, v, s, z/ are fricatives, and thus [+CONTINUANT], whereas /p, b,

³² Current approaches to phonology treat certain features as privative, not binary, but this refinement is left aside here. (See e.g. Hall 2011 for details.)

t, d/ are stops, and thus [-CONTINUANT].³³ These comparisons can be visualized in a system in which the horizontal lines compare the feature ± VOICED and the vertical lines designate contrast for ± CONTINUANT:

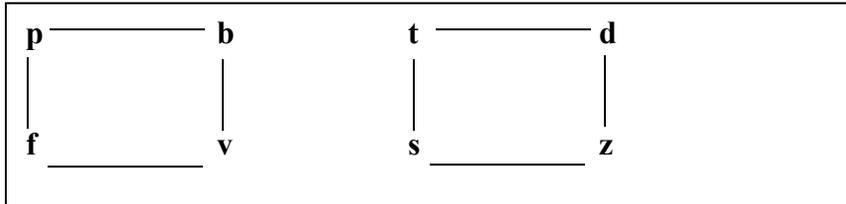


Figure 2.11: Distinctive feature analysis for /p, b, t, d, f, v, s, z/ and ± VOICED and ± CONTINUANT (adapted from Goddard 2011: 52)

A summary of the contrasts using the distinctive features ± VOICED and ± CONTINUANT for the first set would look as follows:

/p/	- VOICED, - CONTINUANT
/b/	+VOICED, - CONTINUANT
/f/	- VOICED, + CONTINUANT
/v/	+VOICED, + CONTINUANT

Figure 2.12: Distinctive feature analysis summary for /p, b, f, v/.

The same approach is used in CA to analyze word meaning; however, meaning components are more complex and difficult to classify than phonological features which makes CA really only applicable to “small and tightly organized semantic fields” (Goddard 2011:53). Following the same schema as above, the following words can be systematized as follows:

³³ In stops, the air flow is cut off completely and then released; in continuants, the air flow is not cut off completely.

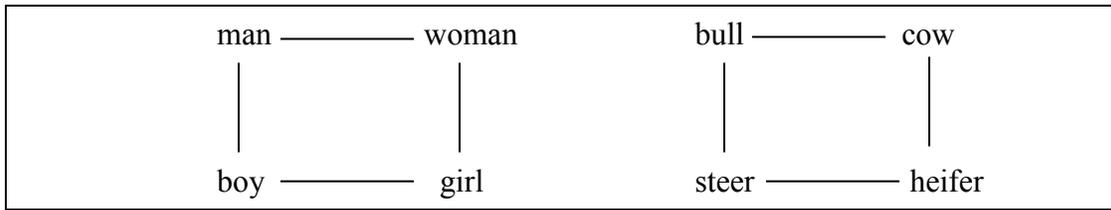


Figure 2.13: CA analysis example (adapted from Goddard 2011: 53).

The pair of binary features for the sets in Fig. 2.12 is \pm MALE and \pm ADULT. The set on the right refers to humans, whereas the set to the left refers to bovines. A distinctive feature analysis summary for these sets looks as follows:

man	+MALE, +ADULT	bull	+MALE, +ADULT
woman	-MALE, +ADULT	cow	-MALE, +ADULT
boy	+MALE, -ADULT	steer	+MALE, -ADULT
girl	-MALE, -ADULT	heifer	-MALE, -ADULT

Figure 2.14: Distinctive feature analysis summary for humans and bovines (adapted from Goddard 2011: 53)

The question then arises as to what is to be counted as a primitive feature? Why for example are the distinctive features in Fig. 2.12 labeled \pm MALE and not \pm FEMALE, and why is it \pm ADULT and not \pm YOUNG? As mentioned above, CA is targeted at small semantic sets, but even within these sets there are issues with the participating distinctive feature. First, there is no standardization of features, the labeling is merely an arbitrary decision and not based on empirical data. Second, CA definitions are often circular. As Goddard (2011: 58) points out, if one were to use CA to define father (+MALE, +PARENT) and mother (-MALE, +PARENT) a definition for ‘parent’ which would include ‘father’ and ‘mother’ would be needed and hence would fall prey to circularity and obscurity. Another

shortcoming of CA is the limitation to small semantic sets, as not all word meanings, such as those of culture rich words, can be assigned to a single small semantic set. Thus supporters of CA stress that the focus of this approach is not to deliver “a complete account of the meaning of words”, but rather “aspects which are in systematic opposition to the other words in the [same] set” (Goddard 2011:53).

For this study, CA is not suitable because the exploration of possible meaning components of the culture-specific target words requires thorough corpus analysis. In addition, the target words of this study cannot be assigned to a small semantic set, as they do not stand in direct opposition to other words.

2.6.3 Prototype Theory

Prototype theory originated in the related study of psycholinguistics (Rosch 1978, 1988; Mervis and Rosch 1981) and split into two tangentially related fields: psycholinguistics and linguistics. The underlying theory of prototypicality proposes that linguistic categories consist of members with varying levels of typicality. The focal points of each linguistic category are prototypical members whose features are believed to be the most salient and representative of the target category. Rosch’s first studies in prototype theory sought acceptability judgments of native speakers (Rosch 1975). The studies’ goal was to prove that linguistic categories, such as ‘bird’, have a common set of ‘core’ representatives and are surrounded by less salient representatives. Among these acceptability judgment tests are simple tasks, such as categorizing several members of one target category in regards to being ‘good examples’. The four major principles of

prototype theory are: (a) degrees of representativity, (b) absences of clear boundaries, (c) ‘fuzzy’ edges, and (d) absence of classical definitions. Consider, for example, the category ‘bird’. Not every member of this group (such a robin, chicken, and stork) is equally representative of the ‘bird’ category. There are varying degrees of representativity. For example, native speakers of English agreed that a ‘robin’ is a more salient representative than a stork or a chicken. The absence of clear boundaries is also important as “each item has at least one, and probably several, elements in common with one or more items, but no, or few, elements are common to all items” (Rosch and Mervis 1975: 574). In the ‘bird’ category, the robin, chicken, and stork all have wings, and the robin and the chicken have short beaks, but the stork has a long beak. The concept of ‘fuzzy edges’ stresses that while the center of the category is clear with prototypical representatives, its borders cannot be delimited: “Empirical findings have established that category boundaries are not necessarily definite” (Mervis and Rosch 1981:109). The fourth and final principle states that a classical definition for categories is absent, as it is impossible to define a single set of features applicable to every representative of the target category. Among the categories targeted in Rosch’s prototypicality studies is ‘fruit’. According to Rosch’s (1981) findings, native speakers find apples, oranges, and bananas to be the most dominant representatives of ‘fruit’, while pineapples, pears, and watermelons are less prototypical. Because a classical definition is missing, “the semantic description of ‘fruit’ demarcates various subsets from within the entire range of application of ‘fruit’. As a whole, the description of ‘fruit’ takes the form of partially (but

multiplicative) overlapping sets” (Geeraerts 2010:190). Table 2.x lists the sets for four representatives, apple, banana, lemon, and strawberry:

	edible seed-bearing part	of wood plant	juicy	sweet	used as dessert
apple	+	+	+	+	+
strawberry	+	-	+	+	+
banana	+	+	-	+	+
lemon	+	+	+	-	+

Table 2.3: Semantic features of apple, banana, lemon, and strawberry (Adapted from Geeraerts 2010:191).

Figure 2.14 shows how these radial sets can be visually realized in the prototypicality for ‘fruit’:

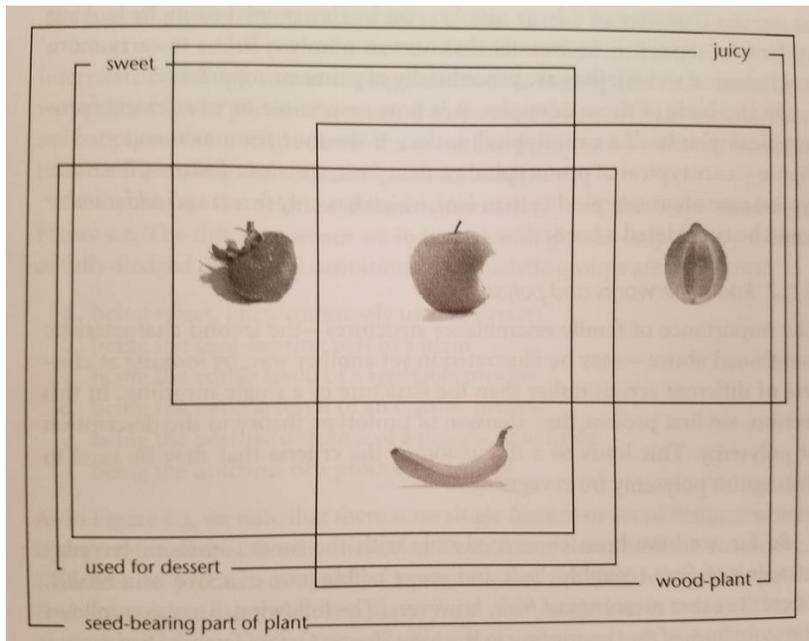


Figure 2.15: Prototypicality for ‘fruit’.

One of the advantages of prototype theory is its interdisciplinary nature, as it was developed and draws from related disciplines in cognitive science, such as psycholinguistics. Furthermore, its dynamic and flexible structure of feature and category analysis also accounts for an inclusion of encyclopedic knowledge. As Geerearts (2006:143) summarizes: “prototype theory defends a non-criterial conception of categorical structure, and an interdisciplinary methodological perspective that takes into account relevant research from other cognitive sciences”. Whereas prototype theory accounts for encyclopedic knowledge, it still is unsuitable for this study and the investigation of the culture-specificity of *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. Most importantly, the same issue arises as with NSM and CA - the lack of empirical methodology to arrive at distinctive features for the target terms. Without a proper corpus analysis these features are subjective and not based on evidence. Second, prototype theory investigates categories with a dominant core and peripheral, or ‘fuzzy’, edges. In the case of *Kulanz* no such category can be designed, as the concept as such is not part of a radial structure involving related concepts with similar features.

2.6.4 The Frame Semantic Advantage

Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Componential Analysis, and Prototype Theory all vary in their approach to semantic analysis. While each theory has its advantages in semantic analysis in general, none is suitable for this study. The goal of this study is to identify a complete account of the meaning of three culture-specific target words. NSM disregards cultural variation and the existence of semantic primes is neither limited to a

certain set nor empirically supported. CA focuses on small semantic sets and “aspects which are in systematic opposition to the other words in the [same] set” not “a complete account of the meaning of words”(Goddard 2011:53). However, without identifying the ‘complete account’ of the target words, this study would neglect semantic features necessary to their underlying cultural concepts. Prototype Theory accounts for the importance of encyclopedic knowledge in semantic analysis. As described above, a prototypicality approach to analyzing culture-specific words is unsuccessful as these words do not typically fall within a radial structure of similar concepts. The main advantage of Frame Semantics over the other theories and approaches outlined herein is its focus on empirical evidence. Frame Semantics is corpus driven and therefore builds on naturally occurring data. Second, linguistic knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge are considered equally important in the Frame Semantic based approach to semantic analysis. Furthermore, the analysis process itself can be empirically validated at any point of the process. Frames and corresponding FEs are extracted by means of extensive corpus analysis and are verified in the annotation process of the frame design. In the case of discrepancies or lack of corpus validation, the FEs and frame definition are revised and the analysis process starts over. Finally, Frame Semantics explicitly link FEs to lexical valence patterns, allowing a syntactic analysis of each of the participating FEs in the frames they evoke (Fillmore 2007, 2008).

For this study corpus data analysis is needed to provide empirically sound claims to the entirety of meaning elements for the target words. Additionally, the encyclopedic knowledge surrounding the culture-specific words is pertinent in the analysis and

description of culture-specific connotations; hence I argue that Frame Semantics provides an approach to semantic analysis that is suitable for the goals of this study.

2.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter I outlined the development of Frame Semantics through a historical overview of the main publications and their contribution to the current state of the field. I also provided an in depth description of the frame based lexicographic database FrameNet. Following the outline of organizational principles of Frame Semantics and FrameNet, I discussed how current research in Frame Semantics has stressed the adoptability of English frames for other languages and how it failed to address culture-specific words such as *Kulanz*. A brief overview of the principles and shortcomings of three other semantic theories, Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Componential Analysis, and Prototype Theory, displays why a Frame Semantic approach was chosen for this project. In the next chapter, I present the research questions this dissertation addresses and describe the methodology underlying the data collection and analysis of this project.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter first introduces the research questions addressed in this study and follows by with a detailed description of the methodology underlying the data collection and analysis used to answer these questions. The chapter draws on existing approaches to frame development (Fillmore et al. 2003; Ruppenhofer et al. 2010) to exemplify the importance of corpus analysis and to outline the parameters on which the data analysis is based. The chapter concludes with an overview of the databases used for the corpus analysis presented in Chapter four, five, and six.

3.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

As discussed in Chapter 1, the research questions of this dissertation are:

- (1) Can existing approaches to adopting English frames be used for frame descriptions in other languages, such as for the culture-specific German words *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*?
- (2) Do existing approaches to frame development have to be expanded to account for culture-specific Lexical Units?
- (3) How are frame elements and frames defined and used to describe the culture-specific concepts the German words *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben* evoke?

3.3 FRAME DEVELOPMENT METHODOLOGY

In order to find a systematic approach to analyze the three German LUs *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben* this chapter takes a closer look at the process underlying the frame development of the `Attaching` frame and its LU *tie* as outlined in Fillmore et al. (2003). The steps outlined in Fillmore et al. (2003) are adopted for the data collection and analysis in this dissertation. The first step in the process of new frame development is the description of the target frame. According to Fillmore et al. (2003:297) there are three steps to follow to gather a comprehensive frame description:

1. Characterizing schematically the kind of entity or situation represented by the frame
2. Choosing mnemonics for labeling the frame entities
3. Constructing a working list of words that appear to belong to the frame

For the `Attaching` frame, Fillmore et al (2003: 301) define the description of by their target as “a smaller object [that] is attached to a larger object that it would not normally be connected to; typically the attachment to the larger object prevents autonomous movement of the smaller object by holding it in place.” This informal description is based on native speaker intuition. First, a lexicographer describes the target situation represented by the frame based on their intuition and discusses their findings with other lexicographers to get beyond individual insights. Next, a group of lexicographers compiles a list of words which belong to the frame by relying on their native speaker intuition and consulting print and electronic dictionaries. For the `Attaching` frame, the lexicographer gets a list of verbs that appear to evoke the frame, e.g. *append*, *attach*,

connect, and join, to name a few. The lexicographer then chooses one target LU and begins exploring its use through corpus analysis. The target LU in Fillmore et al. (2003) is *tie*, and a keyword in context (KWIC) formatted corpus extraction for *tie* aids in the analysis of syntactic and semantic patterns of the verb *tie* in the Attaching frame. For *tie* the corpus analysis provides many examples. However, these examples can be broad, hence the lexicographers first eliminate all examples that do not reference *tie* in the target frame (Attaching), and then analyze all the contextual clues for the uses of *tie* that fit the target frame description. The goal of this exercise is to identify syntactic and semantic patterns of the LU in the target context (see Fig. 3.1).

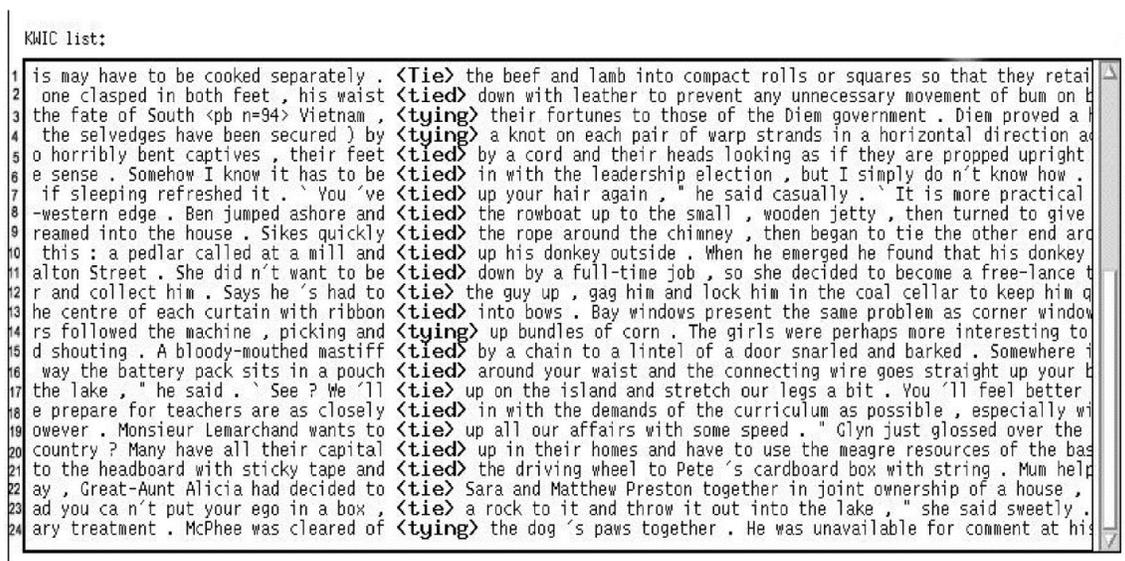


Figure 3.1: KWIC Results for *tie* (Fillmore et al. 2003).

A look at the extracted corpus data shows that some examples represent the basic Attaching scenario, in which “a smaller object is attached to a larger object that it

would not normally be connected to; typically the attachment to the larger object prevents autonomous movement of the smaller object by holding it in place” (Fillmore et al. 2003: 301). Consider sentences (3.1) and (3.2), for instance:

(3.1) a bloody mouthed mastiff **tied** by a chain to a lintel of a door.

(3.2) ... a box, **tie** a rock to it and throw it out in the lake.

The extracted KWIC results also show that many sentences do not exactly fit the basic *Attaching* description and that there are some issues that must be addressed in more detail to arrive at a comprehensive frame description, namely (a) the difference between the symmetric and asymmetric use (one object being larger than the other), (b) the (non-)occurrence of connectors (the instrument used for *tying* two objects together), and (c) the treatment of phrasal verbs (*tie up*, *tie down*, etc.). In the corpus examples for *tie*, the LU is used both symmetrically and asymmetrically, meaning that the objects tied together can be of equal or unequal size. Consider the following examples (Fillmore et al. 2003: 301):

(3.3) two ... captives, their feet **tied** by a cord

(3.4) cleared of **tying** the dog’s paws together

Neither of these sentences show an asymmetric relation, as the feet and paws are of equal size. It must be questioned whether the other LUs evoking the *Attaching* frame allow asymmetrical and symmetrical uses as well, as then the frame could represent both (symmetric and asymmetric) uses. Corpus analysis shows that all verbs

allow the asymmetric use, but a few verbs such as *attach*, *append*, and *secure* do not allow symmetric uses. Consider the following examples (Fillmore et al. 2003: 301):

(3.5) * I attached this letter and the photo (together/to each other)

(3.6) * I appended the letters (together/to each other)

(3.7) * I secured the cables (together/to each other)

Examples (3.5) – (3.7) are ungrammatical, hence these verbs have to be labeled to demonstrate the behavioral differences. This results in the recognition of two separate frames, one for symmetrical and one for asymmetrical uses of *Attaching*.

The corpus analysis also shows that the connector³⁴ is (a) not always mentioned, as in (3.8), or (b) part of the object, as in (3.9):

(3.8) cleared of tying the dog's paws together

(3.9) quickly tied the rope around the chimney

Fillmore et al. (2003) argue that it is understood that parts of certain objects can function as connectors due to their size or shape and thus belong to the *Attaching* frame. Consider example (3.9) in which the rope is used to form a connector to the chimney; the rope's ability to be connected to an object by means of knot creation is implicitly understood.

The treatment of phrasal verbs connects with an important aspect of analyzing corpus examples and LUs that evoke the frame – namely the importance of analyzing and

³⁴ The 'connector' is the object used for tying, it is also realized as a core FE in the *Attaching* frame, see page 7.

separating the different senses of the verb *tie*. While the verb *tie* has many possible senses, only some of them will evoke the `Attaching` frame. Consider the following examples:

- (3.10) He tied the victim up and tortured him.
- (3.11) The kids learned to tie ribbon into bows.
- (3.12) Tie the body bags up firmly to prevent odor.
- (3.13) We have all our savings tied up in the mortgage.

The examples show that not every sense of *tie* evokes the target frame. The phrasal verb *tie up* in examples (3.10) and (3.12) reflects the sense of immobilizing a person or object, whereas the phrasal verb *tie into* in example (3.11) explains the creation of a new shape. Example (3.13) shows yet another sense of *tie* in which restricted access to a particular resource is described. These analyses are crucial to the frame development process as they provide the boundaries in which the frame and its FEs function. These boundaries are fundamental in the frame and FE description process and they allow for the establishment of criteria for which LUs are labeled frame evoking. As discussed in Chapter 2.1, the frame development process is not linear and the frame description can be revised at any point of the process.

After the initial corpus analysis, the lexicographer compares the results with the entries for *tie* in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the English language* (COD) (Pearsall 1999), as well as other dictionaries, because native speaker intuition is reliable but not sufficient (as discussed in Chapter 1).

tie *v.* (**tying**) **1** attach or fasten with string, cord, etc.
 > form into a knot or bow. > (**tie someone up**) restrict someone's movement by binding their arms or legs or binding them to something. > (**tie something up**) bring something to a satisfactory conclusion. **2** restrict; limit.
 > (**tie someone down**) restrict someone to a particular situation or place. > (usu. **be tied up**) informal occupy someone to the exclusion of other activity. > (**tie something up**) invest or reserve capital so that it is not immediately available for use. **3** connect; link. > (**tie in**) be or cause to be in harmony with something. > hold together by a crosspiece or tie. > Music unite (written notes) by a tie. > Music perform (two notes) as one unbroken note. **4** achieve the same score or ranking as another competitor. **5** (**tie into**) N. Amer. informal attack or get to work on vigorously.

Figure 3.2: COD entry for *tie*.

The first sense in the COD entry (‘attach or fasten with string, cord, etc.’) matches the `Attaching` frame scenario and the metaphorical *limit* sense has also appeared here (COD entry 2), however the dictionary entry also lists senses that did not occur in the KWIC results. Some senses such as “(4) achieve the same score or ranking” and “(5) tie into –attack or get to work on vigorously” would have most likely shown up in a more elaborate KWIC search and clearly do not fit the `Attaching` frame. The dictionary also lists senses that are related to the `Attaching` frame and yet call for a different frame. Consider, for example, the “creation use” of *tie* as in “to tie a knot”. While this sense is listed as a subsense of the first COD entry, it qualifies as a participant in a different but related frame, namely `Knot_Creation`. This frame is necessary to account for this specific sense of *tie.v.* While there is some overlap in the senses of *tie* in the corpus examples and the dictionary entry, not all senses found in the corpus analysis are represented by the dictionary. Furthermore, the dictionary lists several subsenses of *tie* without providing any sense-to-sense relations. In Frame Semantics these relationships

can be addressed through frame relations.³⁵

The next step consists of defining frames and their frame elements. The extracted corpus examples provide a comprehensive list of senses in which the target LU can occur. This information can be used to precisely define the target `Attaching` frame. Fillmore et al. (2003) describe the definition of a frame as follows:

A FrameNet frame definition is a schematic presentation of a situation type that underlies the meaning of a word (or the members of sets of words) along with named participant roles or aspects of the situation, which we call frame elements. Of lexicographic interest is the manner in which the frame elements are given linguistic expression in sentences containing the LU. (Fillmore et al. 2003: 305)

FEs are defined specifically for the frame to which they belong. The benefits of the frame-specific definition of FEs are that one can (a) give precise definitions for each FE corresponding to the target frame and (b) are not limited to predetermined sets of generalized semantic roles, such as *agent*, *patient*, etc. (Fillmore et al. 2003). The core FEs for the `Attaching` frame are `AGENT` (the person who brings about the attaching), `ITEM` (the smaller object affixed to the larger object), `GOAL` (the larger object), `CONNECTOR` (object used to join `GOAL` and `ITEM`), and `HANDLE` (part of the `ITEM` that allows the `CONNECTOR` to hold it in place). Other FEs that are represented in the frame but are not substantial to the frame description are grouped as non-core FEs, such as `TIME`, `MANNER`, and `PLACE`.³⁶ The core FEs allow for a complete definition of the frame, resulting in the following frame definition for `Attaching`:

³⁵For a detailed description of Frame Relations see Chapter 4.3

³⁶Non-core frame elements are present in all frames of agentive action; for a more detailed explanation, see Chapter 2.3

The `Attaching` frame covers two situations: a scene in which somebody causes one thing to be physically connected to something else; or a scene in which somebody causes two things to be connected to each other. In the first, the frame includes an `AGENT` who attaches an `ITEM` to a `GOAL` by manipulating a `CONNECTOR`, creating an asymmetric relationship between the `ITEM` and the `GOAL`. In the second, the `AGENT` attaches two `ITEMS` to each other, where each serves as a `GOAL` for the other, creating a symmetric relationship between the two `ITEMS`. In both cases, the `CONNECTOR` remains to bind the two entities (either `ITEM` and `GOAL`, or two `ITEMS`), without creating a new entity.³⁷

While the frame development process outlined above appears to be linear, it is important to know that the process can loop backwards at any point. With each step the lexicographer can (and may have to) go back and change his or her assumptions based on the evidence found in the corpus analysis.³⁸ Once the frame description is finalized, the frame will be entered into the database and then the Frame Editor and Frame Element Editor allow the lexicographer to enter frame descriptions and FE definitions. In addition to the Frame (Element) Editor, the lexicographer can access the Relation Editor, which allows the linkage of the current frame to other related frames (cf. Chapter 4.3). The next step is the addition of the LU *tie* to the `Attaching` frame via the Lexical Unit Editor (LUE). The LUE is linked to the British National Corpus (BNC) which imports corpus data that are subsequently annotated with the FrameNet Annotator. The lexicographer then annotates the sentences relative to one LU (target) for FE identity, Grammatical Function (GF), and Phrase Type (PT). Example (3.14) shows a corpus sentence with its assigned FEs:

³⁷<https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Attaching>

³⁸ See Boas (2005b) for a detailed discussion of the FrameNet workflow.

(3.14) apparently [_{<AGENT>} the healer] would tie ^{Tgt} [_{<ITEM>} a black thread] [_{<GOAL>} around the horse's ankle], and it usually worked.

In this sentence the FE AGENT was assigned to *healer*, the FE ITEM to *black thread*, and the FE GOAL to *around the horse's ankle*. After the annotation process, the valence patterns manifested in the corpus sentences are automatically generated and displayed in the Lexical Entry Report, which also displays the syntactic realizations of the FEs (Fig. 3.3).³⁹

Frame: Attaching

Definition:

COD: attach or fasten with string, cord, etc

Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations

The Frame Elements for this word sense are (with realizations):

Frame Element	Number Annotated	Realization(s)
Agent	(28)	CNI.-- (7) NP.Ext (21)
Connector	(28)	2nd.-- (14) INI.-- (9) PP[by].Dep (1) PP[with].Dep (4)
Goal	(25)	PP[around].Dep (6) PP[to].Dep (12) PP[about].Dep (1) PP[round].Dep (3) PP[on].Dep (1) PP[onto].Dep (1) PP[over].Dep (1)
Item	(25)	NP.Ext (5) NP.Obj (20)
Items	(3)	NP.Ext (1) NP.Obj (2)
Manner	(1)	AVP.Dep (1)
Result	(2)	AVP.Dep (2) PP[with].Dep (1)

Valence Patterns:

These frame elements occur in the following syntactic patterns:

Number Annotated	Patterns				
1 TOTAL	Agent	Agent	Connector	Goal	Item
(1)	NP Ext	NP Ext	2nd --	PP[around] Dep	NP Obj
22 TOTAL	Agent	Connector	Goal	Item	
(1)	CNI --	2nd --	PP[around] Dep	NP Ext	
(1)	CNI --	2nd --	PP[around] Dep	NP Obj	
(2)	CNI --	2nd --	PP[to] Dep	NP Ext	
(1)	CNI --	INI --	PP[to] Dep	NP Ext	
(1)	CNI --	PP[with] Dep	PP[to] Dep	NP Ext	
(1)	NP Ext	2nd --	PP[about] Dep	NP Obj	
(2)	NP Ext	2nd --	PP[around] Dep	NP Obj	
(3)	NP Ext	2nd --	PP[round] Dep	NP Obj	
(2)	NP Ext	2nd --	PP[to] Dep	NP Obj	
(1)	NP Ext	INI --	PP[on] Dep	NP Obj	

Figure 3.3: Lexical Entry Report for *tie*.

³⁹For a more detailed description of the annotation and lexical entry creation see Chapter 2.3

The following section provides an exemplary outline of the corpus analysis and frame development for the terms *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. The approach follows that of Fillmore et al. (2003).

3.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS FOR *KULANZ*, *FREUND*, AND *ABSTAUBEN*

As outlined above, the first step in the data collection process is to give an informal description of the situation represented by the target frame. In the case of the culture-specific terms *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*, the “informal description” equals a definition of the culture-specific use of these terms, and I argue that these terms either do not have a clear and precise translation equivalent in English or have a translation equivalent that does not carry the same cultural connotations. The next step is to explore the use of the target LUs. Using the corpora at the IDS Mannheim⁴⁰ and the Kicktionary⁴¹, I conduct corpus searches to arrive at pertinent collocation and frequency data that identify the relevant meaning components necessary to formulate the culture-specific frames for *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*. The Kicktionary lexicon is targeted at soccer related frames, hence I use only the IDS corpora for the corpus analysis of *Kulanz* and *Freund/Freundin*, while both corpora are used for the analysis of *abstauben*.

Once the initial analysis of the target LUs is completed, I then compare my findings to several monolingual (Duden, Wahrig, Brockhaus) and bilingual (Oxford

⁴⁰ <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/uebersicht.html>

⁴¹ <http://www.kicktionary.com>

German Dictionary, Collins, Leo.org⁴²) dictionary entries for the target words. The dictionary entries are analyzed in terms of their coverage of linguistic and encyclopedic/culture-specific knowledge. The dictionary entries also provide the first basis for a summary of the similarities (and differences) in the coverage of senses of each of the target LUs. In traditional dictionaries, several related senses for each word are commonly found and are set apart by numbers or semicolons. As Goddard (2011:40) points out, semicolons are typically used for similar senses, while numbers indicate distinct senses. In this study the dictionary senses listed in the mono- and bilingual dictionaries are grouped into categories, namely *meaning components* (MCs). In other words, similar and closely related senses are grouped as one MC of the target word. The purpose of this ‘grouping’ of dictionary senses is to facilitate the data analysis summary, by allowing for a more concise overview of pertinent senses for each of the target words. The following section will briefly outline the process described above using *Kulanz* as an example to aid the description of the data collection process of this study.

The first step in this task is the comparison of monolingual dictionaries (Duden, Wahrig, Brockhaus). I extracted the dictionary entry for the target LU and analyzed the meanings of dictionary senses in this description. For *Kulanz* the Duden entry reads as follows:

⁴²<http://www.leo.org>

Kulanz zeigen; eine Reparatur auf Kulanz; jmdm etw aus Kulanz überlassen
--

Figure 3.4: Duden dictionary entry for *Kulanz*.⁴³

In the case of the target LU *Kulanz*, I also extracted the dictionary entry for *kulant*, as the corresponding adjective *kulant* is also used frequently to describe the culture-specific concept intended to be defined here:

entgegenkommend, gewisse Erleichterung gewährend (bes. im Geschäftsverkehr als Geschäftsmann)
--

Figure 3.5: Duden dictionary entry for *kulant*.⁴⁴

The dictionary entries are, as discussed above, analyzed and a table is designed, listing the possible MCs and their realizations in the dictionaries (Table 3.1).

Meaning component (MC)	MC1	MC2	MC 3
Dictionary [name]	Sense 1	Sense 3	Sense 4
	Sense 2		Sense 5

Table 3.1: Sample dictionary meaning component analysis.

⁴³English translation: showing goodwill; a repair out of goodwill; to be obliging out of goodwill.

⁴⁴English translation: obliging, offering certain relief (especially in commercial transaction, as a merchant).

For the sample Duden dictionary entries for *Kulanz* and *kulant*, the dictionary references the commercial transaction context (*bes. im Geschäftsverkehr als Geschäftsmann*) and a notion of kindness (*entgegenkommend*). These two MCs are added to the table for the entire dictionary meaning component analysis.

Meaning component (MC)	Commercial transaction	kindness	MC 3
Dictionary [Duden]	x	x	-

Table 3.2: Duden dictionary meaning component analysis.

After analyzing all the monolingual dictionary entries and entering the MCs accordingly, the resulting table provides an overview of which MCs are used most frequently and which dictionary provides the most senses.

Once all the monolingual MCs have been entered in the table, bilingual dictionaries (Oxford German Dictionary, Collins, Leo.org) are consulted, following the same approach as for monolingual dictionaries. The final step in this MC extraction is the combination of the results gathered from the mono- and the bilingual dictionaries. Combining the tables for the mono- and bilingual dictionary entries yields a comprehensive list of MC coverage for both mono- and bilingual dictionaries. The next step is a brief corpus analysis to see if all extracted MCs can be attested for with German sentences. To summarize the corpus data, a table is created that lists each MC and one corpus example extracted from the IDS COSMAS corpus.

MC	Corpus examples ⁴⁵
kindness	dass die Kontrolleure keinerlei Kulanz mehr kennen
commercial transaction	Franz bekommt aus Kulanz den Wert seines Laptops erstattet

Table 3.3: MC and corpus example.

Upon completion of these first steps of the data analysis, another corpus analysis is conducted for a more thorough search for the target word. The corpus examples are analyzed to find possible MCs that have not been covered in the mono- and bilingual dictionaries. Previous research (e.g. Fillmore et al 2003, Boas 2005b) shows that traditional dictionaries often fail to account for all possible MCs, indicating both that dictionary entries neglect certain MCs, and more importantly that the MCs found in the dictionary entries, in addition to the MCs found in the detailed corpus search, may not suffice to describe the culture-specific concepts embedded in the target LU.

To answer the question of what these relevant meaning aspects are necessary to understand culture-specific the terms *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*, analysis of the data is necessary to arrive at a definition of these culture-specific concepts. To do

⁴⁵English translations of corpus examples

dass die Kontrolleure keinerlei Kulanz mehr kennen
that the ticket inspectors no goodwill more know
‘that the ticket inspectors do not show any courtesy acts’

Franz bekommt aus Kulanz den Wert seines Laptops erstattet
Franz gets out of courtesy the value of his laptop refunded
‘Franz gets the value of his laptop refunded as an act of courtesy’

this, the corpora are consulted through an assessment of collocations occurring with the target LUs. The following section will outline why collocation analysis is important and invaluable for the purpose of this study.

3.5 COLLOCATION ANALYSIS

Corpus analysis in general allows for the extraction authentic text examples with frequency information to complement intuitions about word meanings. According to Stubbs (1995) and other researchers (Biber et al. 1996, Hunston 2002), native speaker intuition is not reliable in the area of collocation;⁴⁶ therefore one has to take a close look at the collocational data extracted in the corpus search. The extracted data provide pertinent information of the characteristic co-occurrence patterns of the target words *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*. Before discussing how I approach the collocation data analysis, I first define what collocations are and why they are important for this study. Manning and Schütze (1999: 147) define collocations as “expressions of two or more words that are in some sense conventionalized as a group.” Consider the following examples:

(3.15) Strong coffee

(3.16) Powerful coffee

While *strong* and *powerful* are very similar in meaning, the expression “powerful coffee” does not appear conventional in English. Without prior exposure to this particular expression, one might not be aware that *strong* is non-substitutable for *powerful* in this

⁴⁶ Other weak areas for native speaker intuition are: frequency, semantic prosody, and phraseology (Hunston 2002).

context. The importance lies on the context - “You shall know a word by the company it keeps” (Firth 1957:113). The analysis of collocations is necessary to reveal the behavioral patterns of lexical items. The collocation of a word “indicates which members of a set of roughly synonymous words co-occur with other words and how they combine syntactically” (Smadja & McKeown 1990:12). Sinclair (1991) supports the importance of collocational analysis by stressing that one has to be aware of how words combine in a language to reflect natural sounding English; thus language does not operate “on the basis of syntactic slots available for filling” (Barnbrook 2007:186). One of the goals of this study is to outline what is required to fully understand the culture-specific target words, i.e. to extract the MCs necessary to *know* a word and its concepts. Nation (2001: 27) summarizes the importance of collocations by concluding that “knowing a word is the knowledge of the collocations of the word.” Hence, collocation analysis has also made a prominent appearance in recent research on second language vocabulary acquisition, utilizing corpus based vocabulary learning activities to foster language acquisition (Sun and Wang 2003, Chambers 2005, Daskalova 2015).

In summary, I argue that collocational analysis is crucial for investigating the “company” the target words of this study keep, which in turn aims at revealing the MCs needed to understand the culture-specific concepts underlying *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*. For this study the collocations were calculated by frequency counts, the simplest approach to calculating collocations⁴⁷. For frequency counts one looks at how

⁴⁷ For a more complete description of collocation analysis and calculation, see Justeson and Katz (1995).

often a set of words (W_1 and W_2) appears in the corpus and list the appearances by frequency, as shown in Table 3.4:

$C(W_1, W_2)$	W_1	W_2
80871	of	the
58841	in	the

Table 3.4: Sample frequency count table (Manning and Schütze 1999).

The table above shows the frequency of occurrence of the words *of/in* (W_1) and *the* (W_2) in the corpus (C), namely 80871 entries for *of+the* and 58841 entries for *in+the*. General frequency analysis can provide many uninteresting pairs of function words (see Table 3.4), which can be eliminated by using a Part of Speech (POS) filter to only examine word sequences which fit a particular POS pattern (A(adjective) N(noun) P(preposition)). This allows for the removal of less important sequences such as P (prepositions), and D (determiners), e.g. *of the, in the*), see Table 3.5:

$C(W_1, W_2)$	W_1	W_2	POS Filter: AN
11487	New	York	A N
7261	United	States	A N

Table 3.5: Sample frequency count table with POS Filter.

Another aspect of general frequency analysis is determining the strength of the collocation. In other words, the likelihood of two words appearing together as an “accidental pairing” needs to be examined. For this study POS filtering or accidental pairings are not important as only one target word is being investigated. Words that

directly follow or precede the target word are not the focus of this study. It focuses instead on which collocations are most frequent in the context in which the target word is used. The IDS COSMAS II collocation analysis tool automatically organizes the data by frequency, allowing the user to decide how many words following and preceding the target word to incorporate in the collocation calculation (see Chapter 3.5.1 for details).

The collocation calculation and analysis allow expanding on the meaning components extracted from the dictionary entries to ensure all meaning aspects of the target word are accounted for. Once the corpus data is analyzed, it is possible to examine whether existing English frames allow for the description of meaning components. My claim is that there are certain existing frames that describe *particular* meaning components necessary to understand the concept, but that these do not suffice as they only capture parts of the culture-specific LU. The frames that can be adopted from English are nevertheless crucial to the frame design as they provide insight into frame relations. Therefore, the first step is to use the existing English frames (cf. Chapter 2.3 on reusing such frames) and to annotate the corpus examples with the FEs pertaining to the frame at hand. Once how these frames cover a particular meaning component is outlined the missing meaning elements must be specified. These missing elements are then taken as the foundation for the frame design for the culture-specific LUs *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*.

3.6 CORPUS ANALYSIS

As mentioned above, corpus examples play a key role in the description of semantic frames. Fillmore and Atkins' (1992, 1994) exemplary work on the frame semantic description of *risk* clearly outlines how traditional dictionaries only provide a limited number of meanings for each word entry (see Chapter 2.3). Therefore it is crucial to look at data from a source that covers a broader spectrum of meanings and reflects all the contexts a word can occur in the target language. The criteria for selecting corpus examples are directly adopted from Fillmore et al. (2003:325), namely (a) frame-relevance, (b) simplicity of structures, (c) typical collocations, (d) repetition avoidance, and (e) world German, i.e. sentences that are perceived as normally occurring in the 'everyday' language of a German speaker. For this study I am using my own native speaker intuition (cf. Chapter 1). The following section aims to take a closer look at each of these criteria to better understand why they are important:

- a) Frame relevance: the sentence chosen to give a clear example of the target LU "should show the word as clearly interpreted in its frame" (Fillmore et al. 2003:325). Consider the *Attaching* frame: when selecting sentences to exemplify the use of *ribbon* (CONNECTOR), one would choose a corpus example referencing 'tying something with ribbon' over an example referencing buying ribbon at a store.
- b) Simplicity of structures: when choosing a sentence it is preferable to use shorter sentences and sentences that clearly exemplify the syntactic valence patterns of the LU. The goal is to find sentences which locate complements of the target LU

representative of its semantic and syntactic properties. Sentences that fail to do so due to length or unique composition distract from the goal of illustrating the basic syntactic patterns that govern the LU.

- c) Typical collocations: corpus examples should represent “canonical uses of each target word” (Fillmore et al. 2003:326). Again consider the *Attaching* frame: when referencing collocations for *tie.v*, the selection of common CONNECTORS (string, rope, ribbon) is preferable over uncommon CONNECTORS such as spaghetti or grass.
- d) Repetition avoidance: as the goal is to provide sentences exemplifying all the possible syntactic valence patterns of the LU, it would not be of value to have multiple sentences with the same valence pattern. Example (3.17) and (3.18) are simple examples of how repetition does not provide us any additional information on the valence patterns of *tie* as they have exactly the same pattern:

(3.17) He tied the ribbon.

(3.18) Misty is tying the rope.

- e) World German: I avoid using sentence examples that are specifically Austrian or Swiss-German. Due to the corpora used for this study, I did not come across any examples that appeared to be specifically Austrian or Swiss-German, as per my native speaker intuition (cf. Chapter 1 for justification of using native speaker intuition).

This section and section 3.5 have shown (a) why collocation analysis is important to find all the possible MCs associated with the target words and (b) how to approach corpus

data to extract sentences that are most helpful in the extraction of these MCs. The following section describes the corpora and databases used in this dissertation, namely the IDS COSMAS II and the Kicktionary.

3.6.1 IDS COSMAS II

The COSMAS II⁴⁸ corpus search application is housed at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache (Institute for the German Language; IDS)* in Mannheim, Germany. COSMAS II (Corpus Search Management and Analysis System) is the successor of COSMAS I which was in place from 1991 to 2003. The current version of the system allows users to simultaneously search through 114 corpus databases comprising over nine billion word entries. Most of the corpus texts are drawn from the DeReKo (Deutscher Referenz Korpus; German Reference Corpus) which in itself consists of over 5 billion entries from newspapers, magazines, and literature published in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland from 1772 to present. Upon login, the interface allows for the selection of various archives. For this study I chose to look at the largest available archive, *W-öffentlich* (W-public), and selected all entries including newly added data. The tab *Suchanfrage* ('search') is for the entry of the target word. The results of the corpus search can be accessed by selecting the *Ergebnisse* ('results'), *Kookurenzanalyse (Kook.)* ('collocation analysis'), *KWIC* ('key word in context'), or *Volltext* ('full text') tabs. The *Ergebnisse* tab shows the results listed by source, whereas the *Kookurenzanalyse* tab allows for the display of collocational data.

⁴⁸<http://www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/uebersicht.html>

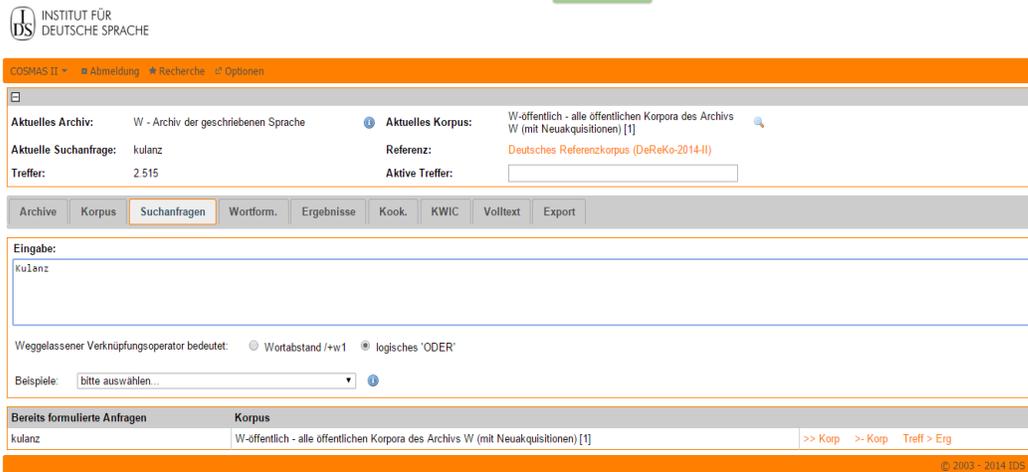


Figure 3.6: IDS COSMAS II corpus search window.

For this study I utilized mainly the *Kookurenzanalyse* as well as the *KWIC* tabs to collect and analyze data. Specifically, I used the *KWIC* results for collecting data to support the senses and MCs found in the dictionary entries and to find meaning components that are missing in these entries. The *KWIC* results allow for a quick scan of the use of the target word in a number of sentences. If any further explanation is needed the full text search complements the *KWIC* results and is easily accessible in the *Volltext* tab. For this study and for the purpose of finding corpus examples that support the senses and MCs found in the dictionary entries, I extracted 150 *KWIC* results per search, exported them to an Excel document, and labeled the sentences according to the MC they pertained to. Through this I was not only able to locate and chose sentence examples based on the criteria outlined above, but I was also able to find sentences that did not pertain to an existing MC and hinted at additional MCs for the target word. While the *KWIC* analysis was used mainly to find supporting sentence examples, the

Kookurenzanalyse played a major role for a more in depth evaluation of the target word, particularly to answer the question if there are any relevant MCs missing that are necessary for a full understanding of the culture-specific terms *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*.⁴⁹ For this analysis I chose the IDS Cosmas II standard collocation frequency analysis (see Chapter 3.4 for details on frequency analysis). The results are listed based on relative frequency for the word pair and allowed me to see which collocations are most commonly found and used with each of the target words. The most common collocations were used to further investigate whether the dictionaries had already captured all MCs or whether there a MC was missing that needed to be added to guarantee a complete and accurate frame design for the target words. For all search results the corpus sentences are clearly labeled, which allows for easy access to the underlying text source (see Fig. 3.7).

⁴⁹ See Chapter 3.5 on the importance of collocational analysis.



COSMAS II - Abmeldung - Recherche - Optionen Hilfe

Aktuelles Archiv: W - Archiv der geschriebenen Sprache
 Aktuelles Korpus: W-öffentlich - alle öffentlichen Korpora des Archivs W (mit Neuaquisitionen) [1]

Aktuelle Suchanfrage: kulanz
Referenz: Deutsches Referenzkorpus (DeReKo-2014-I)

Treffer: 2.515
Aktive Treffer:

Archive Korpus Such. Wortform. Ergebnisse Kook. **KWIC** Volltext Export

Sortierung: KWIC (unsortiert) zu Treffer: 0

1	A97/AUG.17356	... zu leisten: «Schadenfälle dürfen nicht mit dem Finger auf dem Kleingedruckten, sondern mit der grösstmöglichen Kulanz abgewickelt werden.»
2	A97/NOV.37068	Dies gehöre zur normalen Kulanz der Reiseveranstalter, ob sie juristisch dazu verpflichtet wären oder nicht.
3	A98/APR.24047	An noch etwas erinnert sich Freiburghaus gerne: die Kulanz der St.Galler Polizei.
4	A98/APR.24053	Noch etwas ist mir in Erinnerung geblieben: Die Kulanz der Polizei.
5	A98/JUN.40506	Auf das gute Gesamtergebnis ausgewirkt hätte sich die Termintreue, die Kulanz in der Abwicklung von Garantearbeiten und vieles andere mehr, erläuterte Aldo Mariotta.
6	A98/DEZ.78794	OK-Präsident Peter Hängseler erinnerte an die Anfänge dieser Organisation und daran, dass Kulanz , Partnerschaft und Zukunftsglaube die wichtigsten Garantien für prosperierende Klein- und Mittel-Unterne...
7	A99/MAR.15072	Viele Hotels und Pensionen verzichten «aus Kulanz » auf Stornogebühren und übertragen Anzahlungen auf die nächste Saison.
8	A99/MAR.18442	Holt er entsprechende Branchenkenntnisse ein?» Nicht nur Rottmann weiss, dass die Banken ihre Kulanz von einst abgelegt haben.
9	A99/JUN.42427	...er Oberrieter Gemeindammann Walter Hess, und der Eichberger Gemeinderatschreiber Gregor Kaiser betont die Kulanz seiner Gemeinde: «Auch solche Stimmzettel, die bei der brieflichen Stimmabgabe in keinem neutralen C...
10	A99/JUN.43421	Sie betonen die Kulanz Ihrer Gesellschaft.
11	A99/JUN.45425	...gationen schnitt die St.Gallische gut ab: «Ob bei der Prämienhöhe, den gewährten Prämienrabatten oder der Kulanz bei den Schadenerledigungen - In allen Disziplinen kann unsere Versicherung gegen die Konkurrenten be...

Figure 3.7: KWIC results for *Kulanz* with easy accessible source information (on left).

3.6.2 Kicktionary

The Kicktionary (www.kicktionary.com) is a multilingual (English, German, French) electronic dictionary for language use in the context of soccer. It lists approximately 2,000 terms which are structured according to a frame semantic description. The LUs are grouped in approximately 100 frames which are grouped into one of 16 scenes.⁵⁰ Scenes describe a typical soccer event, such as scoring a goal or kicking the ball. LUs are also categorized by **synsets**, which www.kicktionary.com/background.html defines as: “groups of words with identical or largely similar meanings”. Synsets, in turn, are the building blocks of a number of **concept hierarchies**, each of which organizes a set of

⁵⁰ While the term ‘scene’ is not used in the current research terminology of Frame Semantics (cf. Chapter 2.2), Schmidt (2009) re-introduces the ‘scene’ label to differentiate between prototypical soccer scenarios (‘scenes’) and the different perspectives within these scenarios (‘frames’).

synsets into a tree via lexical relations such as hypernymy/hyponymy (*X is-a-kind-of Y*), holonymy/metonymy (*X is-a-part-of Y*) and troponymy (*to X is to Y in some way*). Figure 3.8 visualizes the data structure for LUs, frames, synsets, and concept hierarchies on Kicktionary:

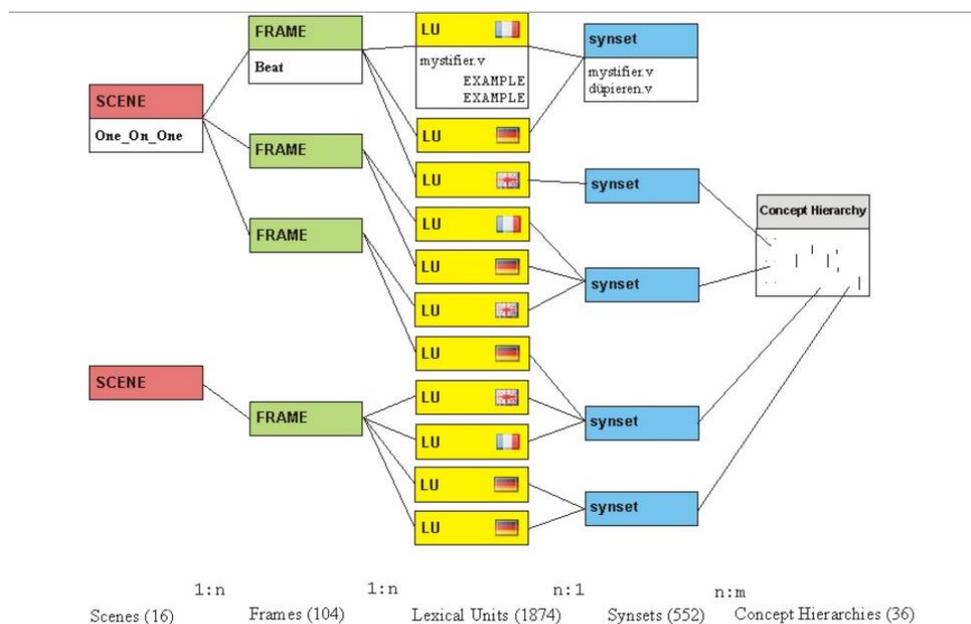


Figure 3.8: Data structure and number of entries for Kicktionary (www.kicktionary.com).

Every LU is annotated with at least one example sentence from authentic written or spoken language used in the context of soccer. The corpus examples are taken from UEFA publications (<http://www.uefa.com>) which provide parallel texts for English, German, and French. For German, Kicktionary also draws from the online soccer news website *kicker.de* as well as transcribed German radio newscasts. The data on the Kicktionary can be accessed a few different ways, e.g. the user can choose to be directly

linked to the LUs, scenes, concept hierarchies, or spoken examples and written parallel texts. The dictionary organization is shown in Fig. 3.9:

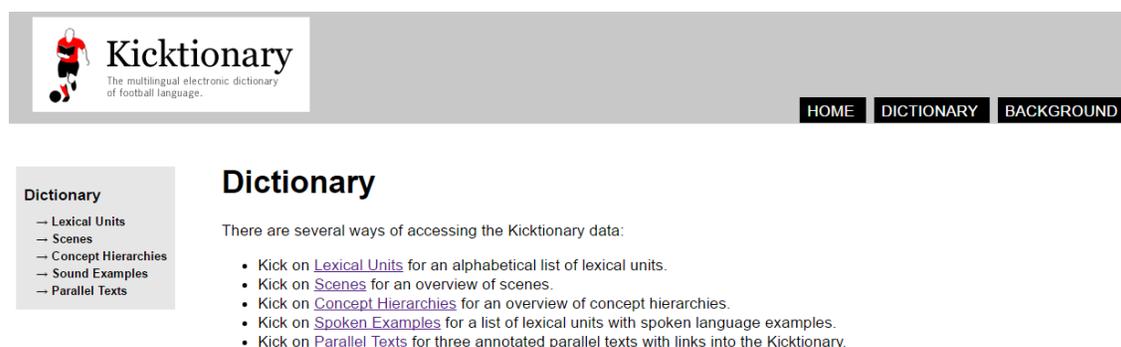


Figure 3.9: The Kicktionary data access options.

For this study the focus is on the LU *abstauben*; hence the data will be accessed through the LU link. Upon selecting the LU option, the user receives an alphabetical list of all LUs entered into the Kicktionary (Fig. 3.10):

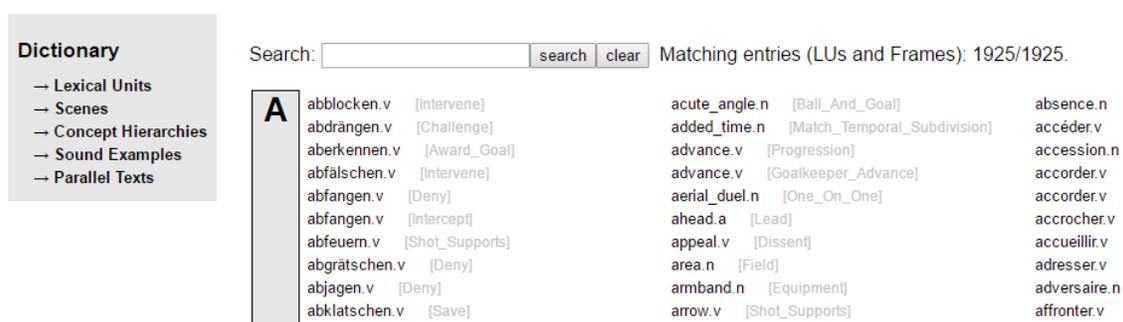


Figure 3.10: Alphabetical list for all Kicktionary LU entries, including English, French, and German.

The LUs are labeled with the frames they participate in (given here in light gray) and the user can choose to access either the LU or the frame by clicking on the preferred choice. Upon selecting the LU the user is directed to a page which shows the origin of the LU, the frame and scene assignment, the annotated corpus examples, semantic relations to other LUs, and the FEs of the frame evoked by the LU (see Fig. 3.11):

abstauben (Verb)  Scene **Goal** Frame **Goal**

Beispiele

1. [Nach einem schweren Fehler des belgischen Twarts Daniël Zitka,]^{PREPARING_EVENT} **staubte** [Ivan Klasnic]^{SCORER} [an der Strafraumgrenze]^{SOURCE} [zum 1:1-Ausgleich]^{RESU} **ab** . [1077189 / p3]
2. Howard ließ Juninho harten, aber unplatzierten Freistoß aus den Händen gleiten und [Cris]^{SCORER} **staubte** [aus wenigen Metern]^{SOURCE} **ab** . [1077152 / p5]
3. In der 58. Minute fiel dann der mittlerweile überfällige Ausgleich, als [Mantziος]^{SCORER} [nach einem Schuss von Fanourios Goundoulakis]^{PREPARING_EVENT} **abstaubte** . [79]
4. Der [Torjäger]^{SCORER} **hatte keine Mühe** , [aus fünf Metern]^{SOURCE} **abzustauben** (18.) . [K_03d0 / p4]
5. Nach einer Ecke verlängerte der 34-Jährige auf den aufgerückten [Mathijsen]^{SCORER} , der bedrängt von Klitzpera [zum 2:1]^{RESULTING_SCORE} **abstaubte** (80.) . [K_6006 / p4]
6. [Er]^{SCORER} **musste** nur noch **abstauben** , und brachte seine Mannschaft erneut in Führung (61.) . [K_c0d5 / p9]
7. [Der nach überstandener Meningitis wiedergenesene Sand]^{SCORER} ist zur Stelle und **staubt** locker [zum 1:0]^{RESULTING_SCORE} **ab** . [K_058d / p4]
8. und dann Demichelis mit der Kopfballvorbereitung für [Ballack]^{SCORER} der dann **abstaubte** [aus fünf Metern]^{SOURCE} 

Semantische Relationen

Synonyms **abstauben**
tap_in

Frame-Elemente

PREPARING_EVENT [Action] RESULTING_SCORE [Score] SCORER [Player] SOURCE [On_The_Field_Location]

LU	PREPARING EVENT	RESULTING SCORE	SCORER	SOURCE
staubte ab	Nach einem schweren Fehle...	zum 1:1-Ausgleich	Ivan Klasnic	an der Strafraumgrenze
staubte ab			Cris	aus wenigen Metern
abstaubte	nach einem Schuss von Fan...		Mantziος	
hatte keine Mühe abzustauben			Torjäger	aus fünf Metern
abstaubte		zum 2:1	Mathijsen	
musste abstauben			Er	
staubt ab		zum 1:0	Der nach überstandener Me...	

Figure 3.11: LU *abstauben* on the Kicktionary.

For *abstauben* the Kicktionary entry shows that this LU evokes the **Goal** frame and participates in the **goal** scene. The participating FEs of the **Goal** frame are: **PREPARING_EVENT**, **RESULTING_SCORE**, **SCORER**, and **SOURCE**. In this study the focus is on the LU *abstauben* and its cultural connotations, hence the annotated corpus examples are of most importance and are investigated in detail.

3.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter I first introduced the research questions addressed in this study followed by a detailed description of the methodology underlying the data collection and analysis. The chapter outlined the existing approaches to frame development (Fillmore et al. 2003; Ruppenhofer et al. 2010) which I used as a guiding tool to design this study. The chapter exemplifies the evidence-based data collection for this study through dictionary and corpus analysis. Since the focus of this study is the investigation of the culture-specific connotations of the target words, I also argued that a collocation analysis is necessary to fully understand the meaning aspects that each of the target words carry. A brief literature review on collocation analysis provided support for this claim and outlined how the corpora were used to gather pertinent collocation information for the three target words. The chapter concluded with a detailed overview of the databases I used for my corpus analysis: IDS COSMAS II and Kicktionary. The following three chapters present the data analysis of this dissertation and examine the culture-specific term *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin*, and *abstauben*.

Chapter 4: The meaning of *Kulanz*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter proposes a frame-semantic analysis for the word *Kulanz*, based on the methodology described in Chapter three. First, I investigate how the word *Kulanz* is treated in mono- and bilingual dictionaries to demonstrate that traditional dictionaries are inadequate in their description of culture-specific words. Next, I use corpus analysis to overcome these inadequacies and to identify more meaning components pertinent to the understanding of the German *Kulanz* phenomenon than were previously found in the dictionary search. These meaning components make up the building blocks of the frame design for *Kulanz*. In addition, I show which elements of existing FrameNet frames can be adopted for the description of *Kulanz* and describe how existing FEs of FrameNet frames should be expanded and modified to include additional culturally relevant senses. This chapter concludes with my proposal for a *Kulanz* frame that includes all meaning components extracted in the corpus analysis.

4.2 TRADITIONAL DICTIONARIES

Following the methodology outlined in the previous chapter, the first step of the data analysis is to examine monolingual dictionaries entries for the word *Kulanz* and the corresponding adjective *kulant*. To accomplish this, I utilized three major German monolingual dictionaries, namely Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch (Wahrig et al. 1996), Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch Deutsch (Drosdowski et al. 2011), and

Langenscheidt (Götz et al. 1997).⁵¹ Table 4.1 lists the dictionary entries for the target words *Kulanz* and *kulant*. Whereas Wahrig and Duden both have entries for the noun *Kulanz* and the adjective *kulant*, Langenscheidt only provides an entry for the adjective, presumably because the Langenscheidt dictionary is a smaller publication than Wahrig and Duden.

Dictionary	<i>Kulanz</i>	<i>kulant</i>
Wahrig	Kulantes Wesen oder Verhalten GGS Inkulanz	Entgegenkommend, großzügig (im Geschäftsverkehr) GGS inkulant
Duden	Kulanz zeigen; eine Reparatur auf Kulanz; jmdm etw aus Kulanz überlassen	entgegenkommend, gewisse Erleichterung gewährend (bes. Im Geschäftsverkehr als Geschäftsmann)
Langenscheidt	N/A	Großzügig und entgegenkommend <ein Kaufmann>: der Händler war kulant und hat die Reperatur selbst ausgeführt Akzeptabel <Preise> II hierzu Kulanz <i>die, nur Sg</i>

Table 4.1: Monolingual dictionary entries for *Kulanz* and *kulant*.⁵²

⁵¹ See Chapter 1 for details of the dictionary selection process

⁵²English translation of dictionary entries.

Dictionary	<i>Kulanz</i>	<i>kulant</i>
Wahrig	act of courtesy; accommodating behavior GGS not showing goodwill	obliging, accommodating (in commercial transaction) GGS ('opposite') not being accommodating
Duden	showing goodwill; a repair out of goodwill; to be obliging out of goodwill	obliging, offering certain relief (especially in commercial transaction, merchant)

The entries for the noun *Kulanz* in these dictionaries are relatively short and lack depth of description. Without consulting the entries for the corresponding adjective *kulant*, someone unfamiliar with the term would not learn that *Kulanz* is mainly used in a commercial transaction context. Additionally, these definitions show signs of *Circularity* or *Circular Definition* (Goddard 2011), in which the word itself is used to define the target word. Several of the *Kulanz* entries listed above also use circular definitions, which are underlined in Table 4.2:

Dictionary	<i>Kulanz</i>	<i>kulant</i>
Wahrig	<u>Kulantes Wesen oder Verhalten</u> GGS <u>Inkulanz</u>	Entgegenkommend, großzügig (im Geschäftsverkehr) GGS <u>inkulant</u>
Duden	<u>Kulanz zeigen; eine Reparatur auf Kulanz; jmdm etw aus Kulanz überlassen</u>	entgegenkommend, gewisse Erleichterung gewährend (bes. Im Geschäftsverkehr als Geschäftsmann)
Langenscheidt	N/A	Großzügig und entgegenkommend <ein Kaufmann>: der Händler war kulant und hat die Reperatur selbst ausgeführt Akzeptabel <Preise> II <u>hierzu Kulanz die, nur Sg</u>

Table 4.2: Circularity in monolingual dictionary entries for *Kulanz* and *kulant*.

Langenscheidt		obliging and accommodating<a seller>: the merchant was accommodating and did the repair himself acceptable<prices> II see showing goodwill, only Sg
----------------------	--	--

The circular definitions for *Kulanz* are thus “descriptively inadequate” (Goddard 2011: 38). In fact, all of the entries for *Kulanz* are circular and none guide the reader towards the entry for *kulant* to supplement the circularity. While the entries for *kulant* are not exclusively circular, they all reference the commercial transaction context, thus raising the question of whether *kulant* is solely used in this context. In the corpus analysis section of this chapter (4.3) it will be shown that this is not the case, and while *Kulanz* and *kulant* are predominantly used in this context, they do appear in other contexts as well, indicating the definition lacks complete descriptive adequacy.⁵³ Another pitfall for dictionary entries are open-ended (non-predictive) definitions, “definitions which rely on vague terms such as ‘etc.’ and ‘esp.’ (i.e. especially)” (Goddard 2011:39). The Duden entry shows an example for an open-ended definition: “besonders im Geschäftsverkehr” (‘especially in commercial transactions’).⁵⁴ While it can be agreed that the entries are descriptively inadequate, the senses the dictionaries list in the three entries discussed above (Table 4.2) must be examined more closely to clarify which senses are overtly mentioned and which senses are neglected in each of the publications.

As seen in these entries, all three dictionaries reference a usage related to the commercial transaction context. Wahrig and Duden both specifically mention the word’s occurrence in the *Geschäftsverkehr* (‘commercial transaction’) context, while Langenscheidt hints at such a context by including *Kaufmann* (‘merchant’) in their

⁵³ Goddard (2011: 37) describes this type of definition as “too narrow – that is, the uses it predicts are legitimate but too limited.”

⁵⁴ It could be argued that these non-predictive definitions are used due to limitations of space and size in printed lexicographical works; however, the problem remains that these definitions do not aid in the proper description of the target terms.

description of the adjective *kulant*. Interestingly, Langenscheidt is the only dictionary to reference a secondary meaning for the adjective *kulant*: *akzeptabel*⁵⁵<*Preise*> (‘acceptable <prices>’) which is also the dictionary’s only reference to the term *Kulanz*. *Preise* also hints at the usage in the commercial transaction context. Besides the commercial transaction context, all three dictionaries define *Kulanz/ kulant* as an action that is linked to the behavior or attitude of a specific person. The behavior/attitude of the person linked to *Kulanz* is described as *entgegenkommend* (‘obliging/accommodating’) and *großzügig* (‘generous’) in Wahrig and Langenscheidt, and *entgegenkommend* (‘obliging/accommodating’) and *Erleichterung gewährend* (‘granting relief’) in the Duden dictionary. While Wahrig and Langenscheidt do not give any reference as to who that person is, Duden adds to their definition: *bes. im Geschäftsverkehr als Geschäftsmann* (‘especially in the context of commercial transaction as the businessman’).

As outlined in the previous chapter, the next step in the dictionary analysis is to group the senses listed in the entries as meaning components (MC). Based on the senses extracted above I argue that three MCs can be accounted for by grouping the extracted senses with regard to their general meaning. The senses linked to the behavior or attitude of a person are grouped as the first MC: **by person: kindness**. The second MC is the **commercial transaction** context, which is explicitly mentioned in Wahrig and Duden and hinted at in Langenscheidt. The third and last MC extracted from these three

⁵⁵ *akzeptabel* evokes yet another frame that includes a scale: *Stimulus_Focus* see https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Stimulus_focus

monolingual dictionaries is **acceptable**, which is only found in Langenscheidt. Table 4.3 summarizes the coverage of *Kulanz/kulant* in Wahrig, Duden, and Langenscheidt.

Dictionary \ Meaning component (MC)	by person: kindness	commercial transaction	acceptable
Wahrig	x	x	-
Duden	x	x	-
Langenscheidt	x	(x)	x

Table 4.3: Coverage of *Kulanz/kulant* in Wahrig, Duden, and Langenscheidt.

Next, consider the coverage of *Kulanz/kulant* in three bilingual dictionaries, namely the Oxford German Dictionary, Collins, and the LEO online dictionary. For this study and the extraction of dictionary senses I only looked at the basic entry (see Figure 4.1), however it is important to note that out of the 13 online discussion threads available for *Kulanz* on www.leo.org, 12 address uncertainty of translators aiming to (a) use *Kulanz* correctly in the German language or (b) find an accurate English translation. The entry provided by the online dictionary therefore does not provide an adequate description of *Kulanz*, as users of this website still find themselves uncertain about the meaning and translation of the word.

Change dictionary: [en-de](#) | [en-es](#) | [en-fr](#) | [en-it](#) | [en-pt](#) | [en-ru](#) | [en-zh](#) | [en-ko](#) | [en-ja](#) | [en-hi](#) | [en-uk](#) | [en-in](#) | [en-au](#) | [en-nz](#) | [en-ca](#) | [en-us](#)

Sort search results
Search tips

797.740 entries, 2.630.848 queries today

Search in a text

Nouns :: Verbs :: Similar :: Suchumfeld :: Discussions

Nouns

<input type="checkbox"/> fairness	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.
<input type="checkbox"/> obligingness	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.
<input type="checkbox"/> accommodation	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.
<input type="checkbox"/> goodwill also: good will	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.
<input type="checkbox"/> amiability	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.
<input type="checkbox"/> kindness	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.
<input type="checkbox"/> fair dealing [econ.]	<input type="checkbox"/> die Kulanz kein Pl.

Verbs

sth. will be carried out at the firm's expense | willed, willed / firmed, firmed | etw. geht auf **Kulanz**

Other actions

[Start discussion for search word](#) [Manage vocabulary](#)

[View search history](#)

Orthographically similar words

kulant

Aus dem Umfeld der Suche

Entgegenkommen, Gefälligkeit, Freundlichkeit, Liebenswürdigkeit

Forum discussions containing the search term

Figure 4.1: LEO Online Dictionary search results for *Kulanz*.

Additionally, none of the entries are particularly long or detailed (see table 4.4). These entries are also different from their monolingual counterparts in that they do not explicitly relate *Kulanz* to a commercial transaction context; the only entry that hints at this context is “fair dealing [econ.]” in the LEO Online Dictionary.

Dictionary	<i>Kulanz</i>	<i>kulant</i>
Oxford German Dictionary	Readiness or willingness to oblige aus -- - out of good will eine Reparatur auf -- - repair done free of charge out of goodwill	Adj. Obliging, accommodating, fair <terms> Adv. Sich kulant verhalten – be obliging or accommodating
Collins	aus or auf – as a courtesy	Obliging, accommodating, fair
Leo.org	Accommodation, amiability, goodwill, kindness, obligingness Fair dealing [econ.]	Accommodating, obliging, fair

Table 4.4: Bilingual dictionary entries for *Kulanz* and *kulant*.

In the monolingual dictionaries, several entries listed senses relating to an action governed by the behavior or attitude of the person choosing to be *kulant* (or not). The same applies to the bilingual dictionaries – all three dictionaries list obliging, accommodating, and goodwill, which are almost identical to the German entries *entgegenkommend* (‘obliging/accommodating’), *großzügig* (‘generous’), and *Erleichterung gewährend* (‘granting relief’); hence they are grouped under the MC **by person: kindness**. The **commercial transaction** MC is not present in the Oxford German Dictionary and Collins, but is hinted at in the LEO online dictionary with the entry “Fair dealing [econ.]”. None of the bilingual dictionaries reference a sense pertaining to the **acceptable** MC; however, the bilingual dictionaries all list a sense that has not yet been encountered: the sense “fair”. This sense is present in all three bilingual entries and will thus be labeled as the MC **fairness**. Table 4.5 summarizes all MCs extracted from the bilingual dictionaries.

Meaning component Dictionary	by person: kindness	commercial transaction	acceptable	fairness
Oxford German Dictionary	x	-	-	x
Collins	x	-	-	x
Leo.org	x	(x)	-	x

Table 4.5: Coverage of *Kulanz/kulant* in OGD, Collins and Leo.org.

Now that all MCs listed in the traditional dictionaries have been identified, the results from the mono- and bilingual dictionaries are combined to get a complete overview of the MCs and their occurrences (see Table 4.6).

Meaning Component Dictionary	by person: kindness	commercial transaction	acceptable	fairness
Wahrig	x	x	-	-
Duden	x	x	-	-
Langenscheidt	x	(x)	x	-
Oxford German Dictionary	x	-	-	x
Collins	x	-	-	x
Leo.org	x	(x)	-	x

Table 4.6: Coverage of the MCs found in mono- and bilingual dictionaries.

Table 4.6 shows that there is only one MC that is present in all dictionaries, namely **by person: kindness**. The **commercial transaction** MC is mentioned (or at least hinted at) in all the monolingual German dictionaries, but in only one of the bilingual dictionaries. It is also interesting to see that the MC **fairness** is only referenced in the bilingual dictionaries. The concept of fairness and its importance for the analysis will be discussed in the next section.

Defining MCs allows for the grouping of the entries into broader categories, but the questions remain as to what these categories explicitly stand for and how they aid in the understanding of the underlying cultural concepts. To answer these questions, the MCs need to be investigated further. The next section of this chapter turns to FrameNet to investigate which frames the MCs evoke and how these frames are linked to *Kulanz*.

The MC **kindness** is represented in all dictionary entries and evokes the `Social_Interaction_evaluation`⁵⁶ frame which is defined in Figure 4.2:

In this frame an EVALUEE is judged by a (usually implicit) JUDGE to be of a certain character based on her or his BEHAVIOR towards other human beings; a specific AFFECTED_PARTY may be overtly mentioned along with the DEGREE to which the EVALUEE behaves appropriately towards others. The BEHAVIOR alone may be mentioned with the understanding that these behaviors characterize a property of the unmentioned EVALUEE. The EVALUEE's BEHAVIOR may be in the context of a TOPIC.

Figure 4.2: `Social_Interaction_evaluation` frame.

Among the other LUs that evoke this frame are *amiable* and *courteous*, which are also found in the dictionary entries above. More interesting is the frame relation (cf. Chapter 2.3) to the `Fairness_evaluation`⁵⁷ frame which ‘uses’ the `Social_Interaction_evaluation` frame:

In this frame an ACTION is evaluated with respect to how fairly, justly or equitably the ACTION affects the AFFECTED_PARTY. An ACTOR may also be identified, who performs the ACTION and may be characterized as fair, unfair, etc. based on how these actions affect the AFFECTED_PARTY. GROUNDS may also be identified.

Figure 4.3: `Fairness_evaluation` frame.

⁵⁶ https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Social_interaction_evaluation

⁵⁷ https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Fairness_evaluation

Before taking a closer look at these two frames, the frame evoked by the last MC:

acceptable must be mentioned - the `Respond_to_proposal` frame:⁵⁸

A SPEAKER addresses a PROPOSAL made by an INTERLOCUTOR, either agreeing to it or rejecting it. Agreeing entails a social responsibility on THE SPEAKER to bring about some state of affairs encoded in the PROPOSAL.

Figure 4.4: `Respond_to_proposal` frame.

Based on these analyses, it can be confirmed that the concept of *Kulanz* is commonly found in the context of a commercial transaction, and that generally *Kulanz* describes a process that happens between two parties,⁵⁹ however what rules and expectations govern this process are yet unclear. To gain an understanding of this process, the frames evoked by the MCs are linked in the context of *Kulanz* – so far it has only been established that two parties interact in said context. Table 4.7 shows how these two parties are realized in the frames evoked by the relevant MCs:

Commercial_transaction	Social_Interaction_Evaluation	Fairness_Evaluation	Respond_to_Proposal
BUYER	AFFECTED PARTY	AFFECTED PARTY	INTERLOCUTOR
SELLER	EVALUEE	ACTOR	SPEAKER

Table 4.7: Frame Element relations in the frames evoked by extracted MCs.

⁵⁸ https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=frameIndex.xml?frame=Respond_to_proposal

⁵⁹ `Commercial_Transaction`: These are words that describe basic commercial transactions involving a BUYER and a SELLER who exchange MONEY and GOODS. The individual words vary in the frame element realization patterns. For example, the typical patterns for the verbs buy and sell are: BUYER buys GOODS from the SELLER for MONEY. SELLER sells GOODS to the BUYER for MONEY. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=frameIndex.xml?frame=commercial_transaction

The frame and FE relations above are important, as each of the frames evoked by the MCs plays a role in the understanding of *Kulanz*. In other words, one can only understand the concept of *Kulanz* if the concepts of the MCs themselves are understood. For example, one of the parties involved in the *Kulanz* concept ('Party A') can be the BUYER, but also the AFFECTED PARTY of the Social_Interaction_Evaluation and the Fairness_Evaluation frames as well as the INTERLOCUTOR in the Respond_to_Proposal frame. Figure 4.5 shows which FEs define the role of 'Party A' and how this role is defined in the respective frames:

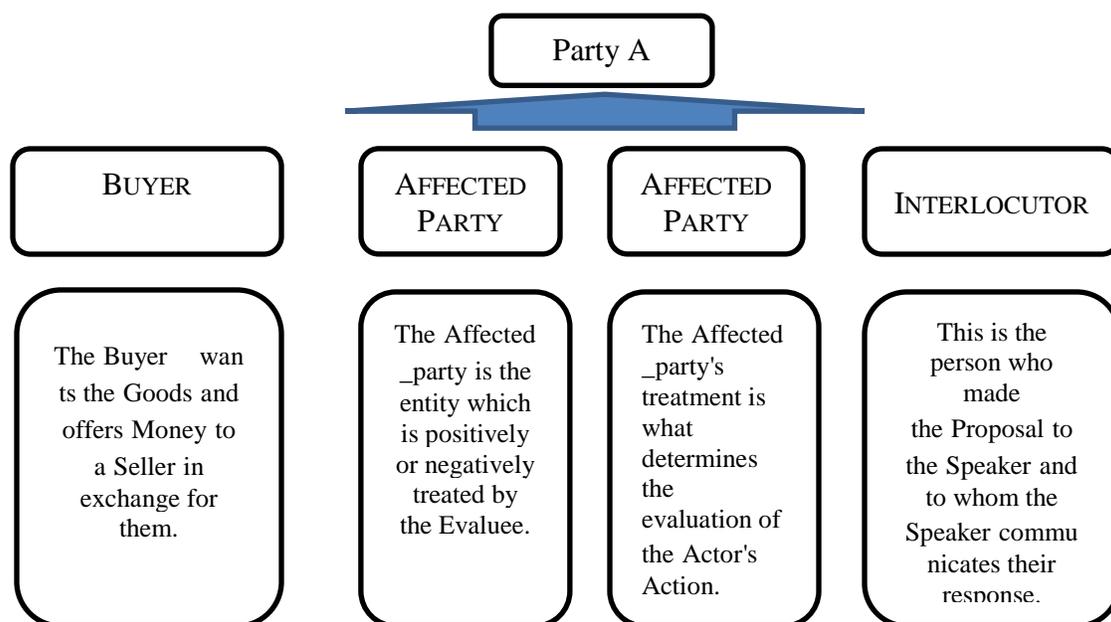


Figure 4.5: *Party A* -FEs and their respective frames.

Not only do the MCs extracted from the dictionary entries evoke still other frames, but these frames also carry their own specific cultural connotations, e.g. the *Fairness_Evaluation* frame in which “an ACTION is evaluated with respect to how fairly, justly, or equitably the ACTION affects the AFFECTED_PARTY”. How can *fairness* be measured? Is *fairness* a concept that is the same among all cultures? Blake et al. (2015) shows that the concept of fairness differs among cultures (i.e. what is ‘fair’ in one culture is not necessarily ‘fair’ in another) and that these differences are already observable in young children. Therefore the German conception of “fairness” must be presumed to be different than the American concept. This is important for the present analysis, as *Kulanz* is also a culturally specific term and this specificity is not solely due

to the lack of an English translation equivalent. The culture-specificity is rooted more deeply, namely in concepts that are the building blocks of *Kulanz*, such as ‘fairness’. The goal of this study is to construct a frame that accounts for these underlying cultural concepts. Before going into more detail about the distribution of the MCs and the implications for the use of traditional dictionaries, it has to be shown that all of the senses can be accounted for with corpus evidence. Table 4.8 therefore provides one corpus example for each of the MC in table 4.6. Table 4.8 shows that all MCs are supported by corpus evidence by assigning each MC to an abridged example, drawn from the IDS Cosmas II corpus.

Meaning component	Corpus examples
by person: kindness	<i>dass die Kontrolleure keinerlei Kulanz mehr kennen</i>
commercial transaction acceptable	<i>Franz bekommt aus Kulanz den Wert seines Laptops erstattet auch die sehr kulanten Preise viel zu hoch finden</i>
fairness	<i>für kulante 350 Euro Aufpreis gibt es dann</i>

Table 4.8: MCs with corpus examples.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ English translations for corpus examples
dass die Kontrolleure keinerlei Kulanz mehr kennen
that the ticket inspectors no goodwill more know
‘that the ticket inspectors do not know [?] any good will I’d use ‘recognize’ or ‘show’

Franz bekommt aus Kulanz den Wert seines Laptops erstattet
Franz gets out of courtesy the value of his laptop refunded
‘Franz gets the value of his laptop refunded as an act of courtesy’

auch die sehr kulanten Preise viel zu hoch finden
also the very fair prices much too high find
‘also find the very fair prices much too high’

für kulante 350 Euro Aufpreis gibt es dann
for fair 350 Euro additional charge gives it then
‘for a fair surcharge of 350 Euro one can get’

The corpus examples examined in Chapter 1 have already given some insight into the evocation of the `Commercial_transaction` frame. Whereas this frame is evoked by *Kulanz*, it is surprising that only two of the dictionary entries (Wahrig and Duden) mention the contextual co-occurrence of *Kulanz* and the `Commercial_transaction` frame. Even more remarkable is that none of the dictionaries (mono- or bilingual) cover *all* the senses extracted above, i.e. all the dictionaries under investigation are inconsistent in covering different word senses and only describe certain meaning components while neglecting others. Furthermore, the senses that are covered may have important cultural connotations themselves (such as the concept of ‘fairness’) which are crucial to understand the target word, but are neither included nor explained in the dictionary entries. The four MCs extracted in this dictionary analysis are **kindness**, **commercial transaction**, **fairness**, and **acceptable**. The next section of this chapter investigates by means of corpus analysis whether these MCs represent a complete account of all MCs participating in the *Kulanz* concept.

4.3 CORPUS ANALYSIS

4.3.1 Making the connection: Meaning components and frames

The goal of this study is to define and describe the culture-specific terms *Kulanz*, *Freund/Freundin* and *abstauben* with frames. Hence either the extracted MCs need to be linked to existing English frames or new frames need to be designed for MCs that cannot be linked to existing frames. It has already been established that *Kulanz* is often used in a commercial transaction context. To support the claim that *Kulanz* indeed evokes the

Commercial_transaction frame I extracted 150 corpus examples from a KWIC search on IDS COSMAS II and annotated 20 sentences with FEs from the English Commercial_transaction frame (cf. Chapter 3.3 for a detailed description of corpus search parameters), four of which are displayed below (the complete list of annotated sentences can be found in see Appendix A1):

- (4.1) [_{BUYER}Kunde] ist auf die *Kulanz^{Tgt}* des [_{SELLER}Händlers] angewiesen
 client is on the goodwill of the sellers
 dependent
 ‘the client is dependent on the goodwill of the seller’
- (4.2) viele [_{SELLER}Unternehmen] lassen *Kulanz^{Tgt}* walten. [_{BUYER}INI]
 [_{GOODS}DNI]
 many companies let goodwill rule
 ‘many companies offer customer accommodating measures’
- (4.3) hier wurde [_{GOODS}vieles] auf Garantie oder *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
 here was much out of warranty or goodwill
 gemacht. [_{BUYER}CNI] [_{SELLER}CNI]
 done
 ‘a lot was done due to warranty or goodwill’
- (4.4) der [_{SELLER}Händler] [_{GOODS}seine Ware] aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
 the seller his goods out of goodwill
 zurücknimmt [_{BUYER}INI]
 returns
 ‘The seller returns his goods in order to accommodate’

Whereas the FEs BUYER, GOODS, and SELLER can be easily located in the corpus examples, another concept is present in these examples which is not a participating FE in the Commercial_transaction frame, namely the notion of *Garantie* (‘warranty’), as seen in the corpus example below.

- (4.3) hier wurde vieles auf Garantie oder *Kulanz*^{Tgt}
 here was much out of warranty or goodwill
 gemacht
 done
 ‘a lot was done due to warranty or out of goodwill’

The FE GOODS is clearly defined in the context of *Kulanz* - it is always referring to GOODS that have been acquired, but which are subject to return according to the BUYER. To gain a better understanding of how *Kulanz* and *Garantie* interact with each other, I used the collocation analysis option on IDS COSMAS II (cf. Chapter 3.4 for a detailed description of collocation analysis for this project) to extract corpus examples that include both of these terms (Table 4.9). In the corpus examples, *Garantie* occurs mainly with *oder* (‘or’) *Kulanz* which shows that the two terms are not synonyms, but rather different and perhaps related concepts that can be found in the same `Commercial_transaction` scenario relating to the exchange of GOODS. A closer look at the corpus examples in Table 4.9 shows that the *Garantie oder Kulanz* construction occurs in sentences (1) – (3). The corpus examples (4) and (5) do not display this construction, although the adverbial use of *sondern* (‘rather than’) and *im Gegensatz zu* (‘contrary to’) convey the same idea of *Kulanz* and *Garantie* being different concepts. In other words, *sondern* and *im Gegensatz zu* would not be used if the two terms were considered synonyms.

1	verfällt der Anspruch auf Garantie oder Kulanz von Seiten des Werkes. M00/JUL.42124
2	hier wurde vieles auf Garantie oder Kulanz gemacht. HMP11/DEZ.00124
3	zwei, drei Jahren der Garantie oder Kulanz des Herstellers sichern wollen. RHZ06/AUG.27146
4	aber wäre es keine Garantie, sondern Kulanz. WDD11/G00.75206
5	Im Gegensatz zur Kulanz ist die Garantie eine vertragliche. U94/SEP.00602

Table 4.9: IDS COSMAS II collocation analysis for *Kulanz* and *Garantie*⁶¹

While *Garantie* is a legally binding contract under which the SELLER is required to exchange or refund the GOODS under certain conditions, *Kulanz* has no such legal connotations. If one was to look for a frame to fit *Garantie* one would turn to an English frame for ‘warranty’, however no such frame exists in the current FrameNet database (presumably because FrameNet is far from completion). For this study, it can be concluded that *Kulanz* and *Garantie* are different concepts often found together in corpus examples to emphasize the dissimilarity between these concepts, hence adverbs such as ‘rather than’ and ‘contrary to’ are commonly found to express this difference.

61

1	losing the right to warranty or accomodation from the manufacturer.
2	here lots was done out of warranty or goodwill.
3	securing two or three years of warranty or other accomodations from the manufacturer.
4	it would not fall under warranty but other means of accommodation.
5	In opposition to goodwill, warranty is contractually binding.

The MCs **by person: kindness** and **fairness** are both represented strongly in the traditional dictionaries, which might suggest that these MCs are also displayed in the commercial transaction process. Since both MCs are descriptors of personal attributes, it can be concluded that they refer to the persons partaking in the `Commercial_transaction` frame, namely the BUYER and the SELLER. Consider again the corpus examples to see how these attributes are represented.

- (4.5) Der [_{BUYER}Kunde] ist auf die *Kulanz*^{Tgt} des [_{SELLER}Händlers]
 The client is on the goodwill of the seller
 angewiesen
 dependent
 ‘the client is dependent on the goodwill of the seller’
- (4.6) ... viele [_{SELLER}Unternehmen] lassen *Kulanz*^{Tgt} walten.
 [_{BUYER}INI]
 ...many companies let goodwill rule
 ‘many companies offer customer accommodating measures’
- (4.7) Der [_{SELLER}Händler] [_{GOODS}seine Ware] aus *Kulanz*^{Tgt}
 The seller his goods out of goodwill
 zurücknimmt [_{BUYER}INI]
 returns
 ‘The seller accepts the return of his goods in order to accommodate’

In all three sentences the SELLER is the deciding factor on whether *Kulanz* is given. Furthermore, the SELLER does so to accommodate the BUYER (as in example 4.7) who has no “right” or legal foundation to call for *Kulanz* and is therefore dependent upon the SELLERS’ discretion (4.5). Given this frame of reference, the connection between the two parties involved in the commercial transaction is an uneven distribution of power between the BUYER and the SELLER. To account for this power division a frame that

supports this concept is needed, specifically the *Authority* frame, which takes the following form:⁶²

<p><i>Authority</i></p> <p>An AGENT has the means to affect a THEME along the lines of a certain DOMAIN. There is an imbalance of influence or power within a certain DOMAIN that favors the AGENT over the THEME.</p> <p>Core FEs:</p> <p>AGENT – The person or organization with more influence or power</p> <p>THEME - The person or organization with less influence or power</p> <p>DOMAIN - A description of the area in which an AGENT can affect a THEME</p>	
---	--

Figure 4.6: *Authority* frame and FE description.

To show how this frame can be adopted to account for the division of power in the *Kulanz* context, consider the IDS Cosmas II corpus examples, annotated with the *Authority* FEs:

- (4.8) Der [_{THEME}>Kunde] ist auf die *Kulanz*^{Tgt} des [_{AGENT}>Händlers]
The client is on the goodwill of the seller
angewiesen.[_{DOMAIN}>INI]
dependent.
‘the client is dependent on the goodwill of the seller’
- (4.9) Viele [_{AGENT}>Unternehmen] lassen *Kulanz*^{Tgt} walten.
[_{DOMAIN}>INI] [_{THEME}>INI]
Many companies let goodwill rule.
‘many companies offer customer accommodating measures’

⁶²<https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=luIndex>.

- (4.10) ... der [_{<AGENT>}Händler] [_{<DOMAIN>}seine Ware] aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
 ... the seller his goods out of goodwill
 zurücknimmt. [_{<THEME>}DNI]
 returns.
 ‘The seller returns his goods in order to accommodate’
- (4.11) Die [_{<THEME>}Käufer] sind in Sachen [_{<DOMAIN>}Umtausch] auf die *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
 The buyers are in things exchange on the goodwill of
 der [_{<AGENT>}Geschäfte] angewiesen.
 the stores dependent upon.
 ‘In terms of exchange the buyers rely on the goodwill of the stores.’

The annotated corpus examples show that the *Authority* frame is evoked in all examples. However, *Kulanz* is not exclusively found in the context of commercial transactions. Consider the following examples extracted from a corpus search for *Kulanz* on IDS Cosmas II:

- (4.12) Die *Kulanz^{Tgt}* der [_{<AGENT>}Polizei]. [_{<THEME>}INI] [_{<DOMAIN>}INI]
 The goodwill of police
 ‘The act of goodwill by the police’
- (4.13) [_{<THEME>}Man] muss auf *Kulanz^{Tgt}* des [_{<AGENT>}Zöllners]
 One must of goodwill of the customs officer
 hoffen [_{<DOMAIN>}DNI]
 hope
 ‘One has to hope that the customs officer shows signs of goodwill’
- (4.14) Der [_{<AGENT>}Fahrausweisprüfer] ließ *Kulanz^{Tgt}* walten
 [_{<THEME>}DNI] [_{<DOMAIN>}DNI]
 The ticket controller let goodwill rule
 ‘The ticket controller acted out of goodwill’

The corpus examples above show that *Kulanz* is also used in scenarios that do not evoke the *Commercial_transaction* frame, but do imply a division of power between two participating parties. Hence, they still evoke and can be annotated with the *Authority* frame as they portray the same power division discussed previously. In

the examples above this power dynamic is clearly defined since the person *in power* has a professional background that is accepted by society as having authority (e.g. law enforcement, ticket inspector).

The corpus analysis has shown that important conceptual structures which underlie the meaning of *Kulanz* are neglected in traditional dictionaries. The data analysis shows that *Kulanz* evokes two existing frames: the `Commercial_transaction` frame and the `Authority` frame. The question arises whether these two frames suffice to account for the full concept that characterizes *Kulanz*.

I argue that it is a cultural standard in the German speaking world *not* to expect any accommodation or goodwill when returning previously purchased goods or hoping for a refund. This argument is based on my own native speaker intuition, which is reliable, but not sufficient (as discussed in Chapter 1). One goal of this study is therefore to add validity to these intuitions by providing empirical data which supports this claim. In attempt to analyze the ‘expectations’ involved in the *Kulanz* concept, the relationship between the two participating parties is investigated. It has already been established that there is a power division between the participating parties; the next section will target the claim of a distinct set of expectations in *Kulanz* scenarios.

It is important to understand the expectations of both parties involved in the power division of *Kulanz* – the expectation of the person seeking *Kulanz* is usually negative, suspecting the seller of being unwilling to cooperate or accommodate any claims for refunds and/or returns. It is also important to be aware of these preexisting expectations, as they feed directly into the power division mentioned above. While the

power division between the two parties could be interpreted as solely representing the professional position they hold, (SELLER - ability to process refund/return; BUYER - dependent on SELLER to process claim to receive refund/return) this would ignore the fact that the parties involved in a *Kulanz* concept have preexisting expectations of the outcome. To summarize these findings, I argue that we can use the existing English frames `Commercial_transaction` and `Authority` to describe the culturally specific term *Kulanz*, however they do not fully account for all the meaning components embedded in the term as it is used in the German speaking world. The next section elaborates on this claim by utilizing collocation analysis to a) support the “expectation” claim and b) locate any other possible MCs that have not yet been discovered.

4.3.2 Collocation analysis

As previously mentioned (cf. Chapter 4.3.1), native speaker intuition is reliable but not sufficient in validating the existence of a certain type *expectation* in *Kulanz* scenarios. Therefore, this section aims at providing evidence supporting this claim. As discussed in Chapter 3.4, collocational analysis is important to be able to arrive at a deeper understanding of the target word. The collocation analysis tool in IDS Cosmas II allows for frequency extraction. Table 4.10 is a collection of sentences listing the 10 most statistically relevant occurrences of collocations for *Kulanz*. This data was extracted from the IDS COSMAS II corpus; 1539 corpus examples were analyzed, 310 of which occurred with a representative frequency of at least five occurrences:

	Collocation	Occurrences (283 total)	Corpus examples ⁶³
1	<i>Angewiesen auf</i> (‘dependent on’)	95	<i>Kunde ist auf die Kulanz des Händlers angewiesen</i> (NUN09/DEZ.02078)
2	<i>Hoffen auf</i> (‘to hope for’)	58	<i>auf die Kulanz der Hersteller hoffen</i> (M09/MAI.34222)
3	<i>walten</i> (‘to rule’)	33	<i>viele Unternehmen lassen Kulanz walten</i> (M04/DEZ.94736)
4	<i>Händler</i> (‘seller’)	31	<i>der Händler die Ware aus Kulanz zurücknimmt</i> (BRZ12/NOV.09899)
5	<i>reine</i> (‘pure’)	22	<i>Die Rücknahme von fehlerfreier Ware ist reine Kulanz</i> (M04/DEZ.93315)
6	<i>Umtausch</i> (‘return’)	21	<i>den freiwilligen Umtausch aus Kulanz</i> (M96/601.04180)
7	<i>Garantie</i> (‘warranty’)	13	<i>hier wurde vieles auf Garantie oder Kulanz gemacht</i> (HMP11/DEZ.00124)
8	<i>Ware</i> (‘goods’)	10	<i>der Händler seine Ware aus Kulanz zurücknimmt</i> (R99/JAN.06209)
9	<i>Kundenfreundlichkeit</i> (‘customer service’)	5	<i>die Bahn wirbt mit Kundenfreundlichkeit un Kulanz</i> (RHZ04/MAI.13170)
10	<i>Umtauschsrecht</i> (‘exchange policy’)	5	<i>Räumt der Inhaber seinen Kunden auf Kulanz ein Umtauschrecht ein</i> (NUN02/MAI.02569)

Table 4.10: Collocation KWIC analysis for *Kulanz* (IDS Cosmas II).

Table 4.10 supports some of the findings of the previous corpus analyses, namely that *Kulanz* occurs mainly in the `Commercial_transaction` context, and the collocations, *Händler* (‘seller’), *Umtausch* (‘return’), *Garantie* (‘warranty’), *Ware* (‘goods’), *Kundenfreundlichkeit* (‘customer service’), and *Umtauschsrecht* (‘exchange policy’) are all directly linked to said frame. However, the three most frequent collocations: *angewiesen sein auf* (‘dependent on’), *hoffen auf* (‘to hope for’), and *walten* (‘to rule’) do not explicitly evoke the `Commercial_transaction` frame, and are

⁶³For English glosses of corpus examples see Appendix A1.

further analyzed for evidence to support the claim that *Kulanz* is linked to preexisting expectations.

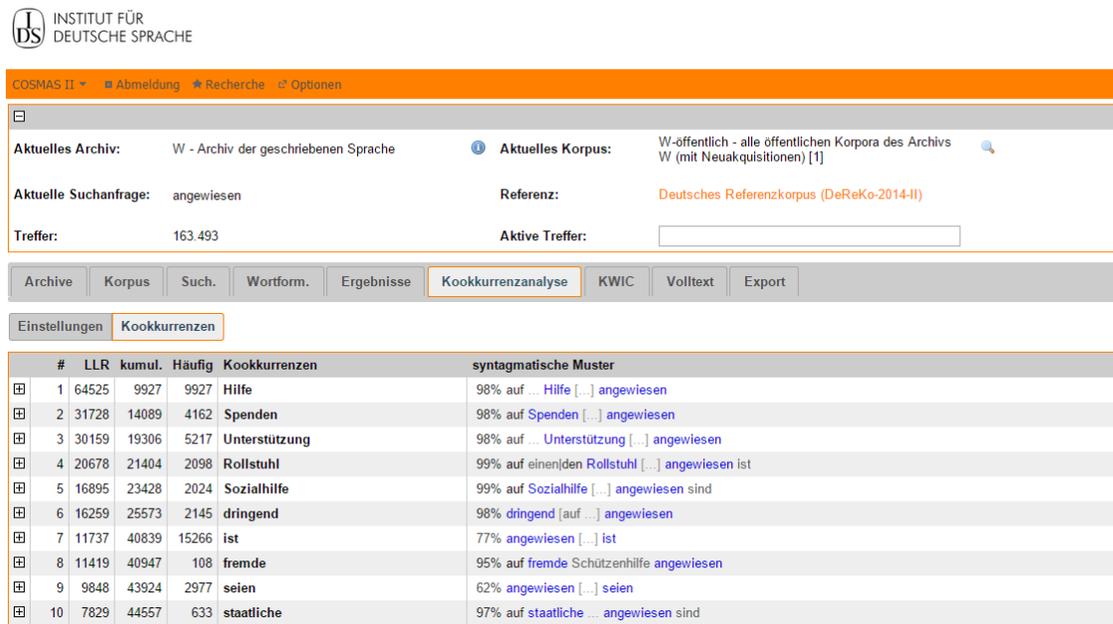


Figure 4.7: Collocation analysis for *angewiesen* (IDS COSMAS II).

Figure 4.7 shows that the five most common collocations for *angewiesen* are: *Hilfe* (‘help’), *Spenden* (‘donations’), *Unterstützung* (‘support’), *Rollstuhl* (‘wheelchair’), and *Sozialhilfe* (‘federal social aid’). In all the examples one party is dependent (physically or financially) on a different party (for example: federal government) or item (such as wheelchair). The same is true for the Commercial_transaction context in which the BUYER is dependent upon the SELLER’S decision whether *Kulanz* will be granted or not. Furthermore, the element of uncertainty is present in most of the examples - when someone is depending upon *Hilfe*, *Spenden*, and even *Sozialhilfe* they have little influence on whether these requests will be successful. Chapter 4.2 discussed how

important it is to understand that the MCs found in the dictionary entries also evoke frames that indirectly influence the cultural *Kulanz* concept as a whole and the same requirement applies to collocations. To get a better understanding of the concepts underlying the most common collocations for *Kulanz*, the frames these evoke need to be analyzed. For example, *angewiesen sein auf* evokes the *Reliance* frame:⁶⁴

A PROTAGONIST needs a MEANS ACTION performed for their BENEFIT. The relevant MEANS ACTION is often evoked only by reference to an INTERMEDIARY who performs it. Also, if the PROTAGONIST performs the MEANS ACTION themselves, the INSTRUMENT that they use may be referred to in place of the MEANS NOTE that when one of the three interrelated FEs MEANS, INSTRUMENT and INTERMEDIARY is realized overtly, the other two are blocked from overt realization as clause-level arguments of the target.

When the PROTAGONIST is a sentient being, it is implied that they put their trust in the INTERMEDIARY to help in the achievement of the BENEFIT. The extent to which the PROTAGONIST is dependent on an INTERMEDIARY or INSTRUMENT can be indicated in a DEGREE phrase.

A set of CIRCUMSTANCES in which the PROTAGONIST'S need for the BENEFIT arises, may also be specified.

Figure 4.8: *Reliance* frame.

As mentioned above, a person who is *angewiesen auf* help is dependent upon the person granting the help or relief sought. The *Reliance* frame supports this thought, as it defines that the person seeking help (BENEFIT) – the PROTAGONIST – puts their trust in the other party involved. The corpus examples extracted above fit well into the *Reliance* frame, as they show both that one person is dependent on another party for relief and that the person dependent on the relief has little influence on the outcome but has to remain hopeful. That is, the requesting party *hopes* to be heard – which leads

⁶⁴ <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=luIndex>

directly to the second most frequent collocate of *Kulanz*: *hoffen* ('to hope'). Consider the results for the IDS COSMAS II collocation analysis for *hoffen*:

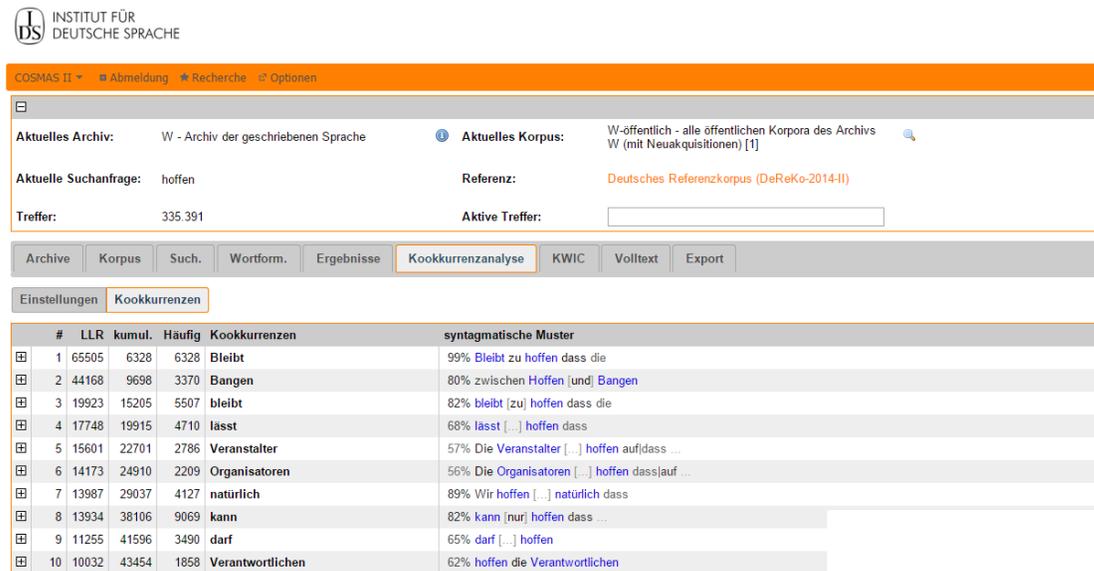


Figure 4.9: Collocation analysis for *hoffen* (IDS COSMAS II).

The results of the collocation analysis for *hoffen* are not as easily categorized as the results for *angewiesen sein auf*, but still provide some insight in the use of *hoffen*.

Hoffen auf evokes the *Desirability* frame:⁶⁵

An EXPERIENCER desires that an EVENT occur. (Note that commonly a resultant state of the EVENT will stand in for the EVENT.) In some cases, the EXPERIENCER is an active participant in the EVENT, and in such cases the EVENT itself is often not mentioned, but rather some FOCAL_PARTICIPANT which is subordinately involved in the EVENT.

Figure 4.10: Frame description for *Desirability*.

⁶⁵ <https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Desiring>

The corpus results show that there is a sense of negativity linked to the term *hoffen auf*: the collocations *bleibt zu hoffen* (‘remain hopeful’) and *bangen* (‘to worry’) both imply that the person has no option other than to be hopeful for a positive outcome. Once again, the concept of *uncertainty* is present but so is the implication of dependency upon someone/ something that controls the outcome of what is hoped for. To further analyze this negative meaning aspect in *hoffen*, the collocations of *bangen* are extracted. The collocation *bangen* is negative, with little hope for a positive outcome, and this negativity is similar to the negative expectations in the *Kulanz* scenario. A quick look at the collocation analysis supports the negativity surrounding the term *bangen*:

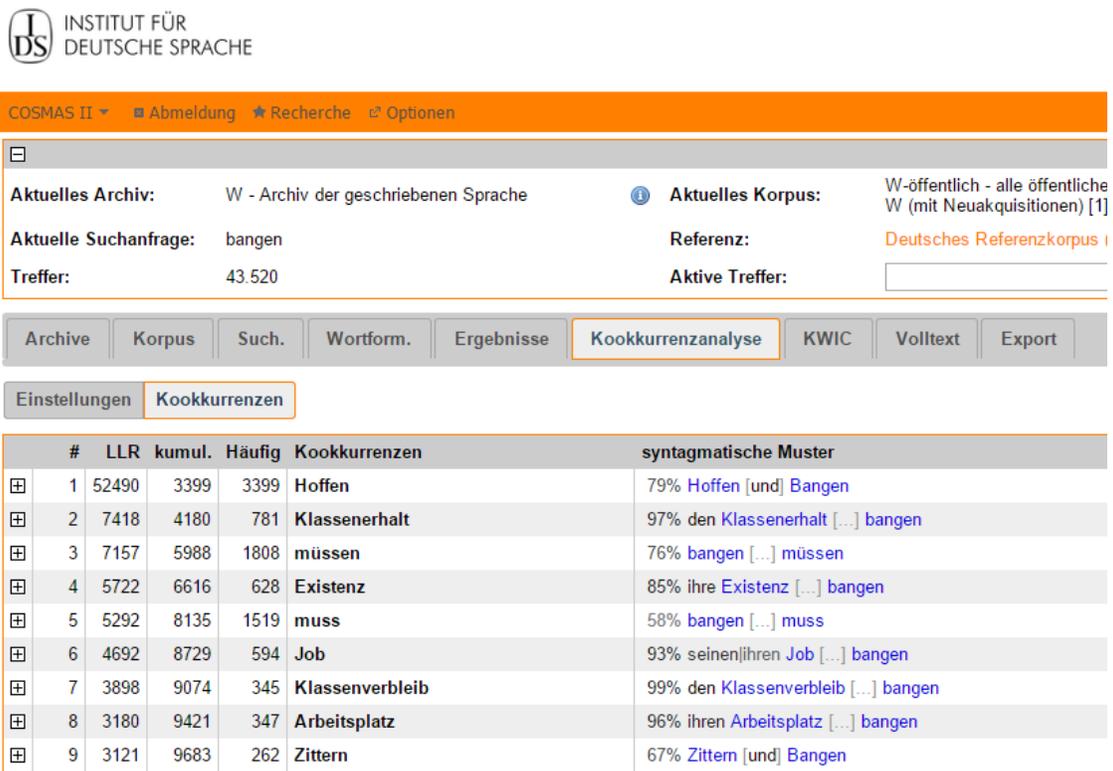


Figure 4.11: Collocation analysis for *bangen* (IDS COSMAS II).

Figure 4.11 shows not only that *hoffen auf* is the most frequent collocation but also shows that *bangen* is used relating to the most important aspects of life or life itself: *Job/ Arbeitsplatz* ('job/career'), *Klassenerhalt/-verbleib* ('belonging to a certain class'), and *Existenz* ('existence'). *Zittern* ('shake/tremble') also supports the claim that *bangen* is used in a negative context in that a person trembles due to being terror regarding the uncertainty of the consequences. Again, consider the frame that *bangen* evokes, namely the `Fear` frame:⁶⁶

An EXPERIENCER, EXPRESSOR, or STATE can be described as characterized as having an emotion of fear concerning a particular TOPIC or as evoked by a STIMULUS.
--

Figure 4.12: `Fear` frame.

The name of the frame itself displays the negativity linked to its description. 'Fear' is normally not used in a positive context, as it describes a negative emotion. While *bangen* is not a collocation for *Kulanz* it is one of the most frequent collocations for *hoffen*, which is the second most frequent collocation for *Kulanz*. The collocation analysis for *bangen* provides more insight to the meaning of *hoffen* – the negativity surrounding the verb *bangen* in conjunction with the concept of uncertainty supports the claim that *hoffen* must also imply a feeling of uncertainty.

The last collocation considered here is *walten* ('rule'). Figure 4.13 shows the result for the collocation analysis:

⁶⁶ <https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Fear>

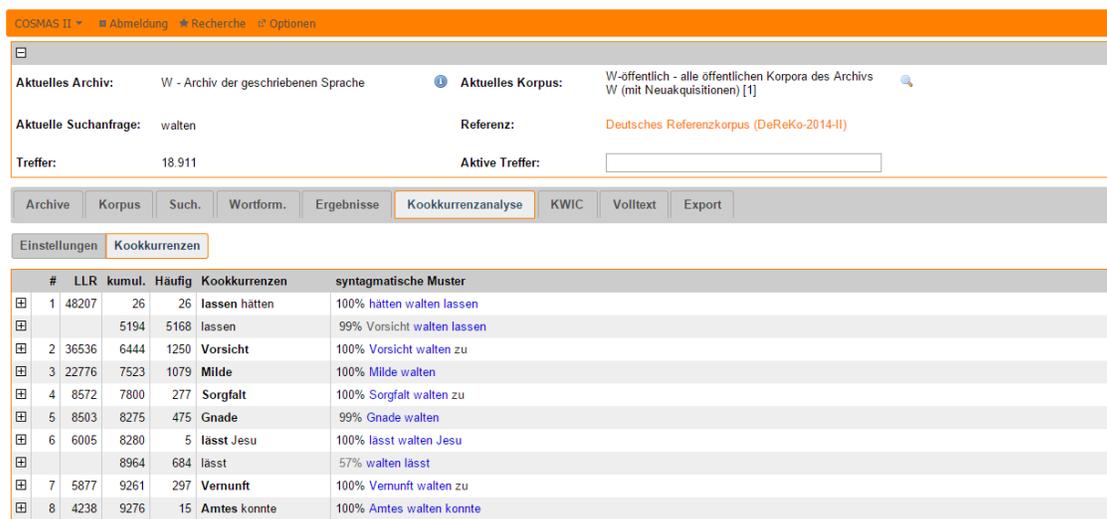


Figure 4.13: Collocation analysis for *walten* (IDS COSMAS II).

The most frequent collocation for *walten* is the *walten + lassen* ('to let rule') construction. The second most frequent collocations are *Vorsicht* ('caution'), *Milde* ('leniency'), *Sorgfalt* ('diligence'), and *Gnade* ('mercy'). *Milde* and *Gnade* represent situations in which one person has influence over the way of life or life itself of another person. Again, the power struggle between two involved parties is present in addition to the uncertainty of the outcome. I argue that it can be inferred that the party in consideration for an act of mercy or leniency is not expecting the outcome to be positive, but rather is expecting it to be negative. If someone finds themselves in a situation in which they are hoping for 'mercy' or 'leniency', that person has potentially previously participated in an act which led to the current situation. Because said act is most likely negative, such as a crime, the person seeking 'mercy' is likely to know what they did had

a negative effect and might lead to further consequences or that no mercy may be granted. While none of these collocations have entries in FrameNet, the *Authority* (see 4.3.1) and *Dominate_situation* frames summarize the power division between the two involved parties:⁶⁷

An AGENT acts so as to be the strongest force, or most important causal factor in some SITUATION, to the exclusion of other competing actors.

Figure 4.14: *Dominate_situation* frame.

In summary, the following frames are evoked by the most common collocations for *Kulanz*: *Commercial_Transaction*, *Reliance*, *Desirability*, *Fear*, *Authority*, and *Dominate_situation*. Before concluding the collocation analysis and proceeding to implications for frame design, the adjective *kulant* and its most common collocations are extracted to ensure no MCs are left undetected. Figure 4.15 lists the ten most common collocations for *kulant*:

⁶⁷ https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Dominate_situation

COSMAS II Abmeldung Recherche Optionen

Aktuelles Archiv: W - Archiv der geschriebenen Sprache
 Aktuelles Korpus: W-öffentlich - alle öffentlichen Korpora des Archivs W (mit Neuakquisitionen) [1]

Aktuelle Suchanfrage: kulant
Referenz: Deutsches Referenzkorpus (DeReKo-2014-II)

Treffer: 2.397
Aktive Treffer:

Archive Korpus Such. Wortform. Ergebnisse **Kookkurrenzanalyse** KWIC Volltext Export

Einstellungen **Kookkurrenzen**

#	LLR	kumul.	Häufig	Kookkurrenzen	syntagmatische Muster
1	1509	206	206	zeigen	74% sich kulant [...] zeigen
2	1382	500	294	sehr	98% sehr [...] kulant
3	632	616	116	zeigt	60% zeigt sich kulant
4	546	680	64	gezeigt	100% sich kulant gezeigt und
5	415	722	42	verhalten	100% sich kulant [...] verhalten
6	409	789	67	zeigte	76% zeigte sich kulant und
7	256	819	30	Händler	96% Händler [sind ...] kulant
8	240	852	33	Kunden	54% gegenüber ... Kunden [gegenüber] kulant
9	213	882	30	äußerst	100% äußerst kulant und
10	212	992	110	sind	70% sind [...] kulant und

Figure 4.15: IDS Cosmas II collocation analysis for *kulant*.

The verb *zeigen* (‘to show’) is listed four times: in its infinitive form (*zeigen*), third person singular present tense (*zeigt*), past participle (*gezeigt*), and first or third person simple past (*zeigte*). This is followed by *sehr* (‘very’), *verhalten* (‘behave’), *Händler* (‘seller’), *Kunden* (‘client(s)’), *äußerst* (‘extremely’), and *sind* (‘to be’, 3d person plural). The occurrences of *zeigen* can be grouped together, as can the two adverbs *sehr* and *äußerst*, as they bear little meaning other than modifying the degree of the adjective *kulant*.

As with *Kulanz*, representatives of the `Commercial_transaction` frame are found in the collocation analysis, namely *Händler* and *Kunde*. The next collocation is the verb *verhalten*, which evokes the `Conduct` frame:⁶⁸

⁶⁸ <https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Conduct>

An AGENT acts in a certain MANNER either generally or under some particular CIRCUMSTANCES. The conduct may also be directed specifically towards an AFFECTED_PARTY.

Figure 4.16: Conduct frame.

This frame does not provide any new pertinent information, but it does indirectly describe a *Kulanz* scenario: one party (AGENT) acts in a (non-) *kulant* way (MANNER) towards the other party (AFFECTED_PARTY) who is seeking *Kulanz*. The most common collocation for *kulant* is *zeigen*, which evokes the `Cause_to_perceive` frame:⁶⁹

An AGENT, ACTOR, ENTITY, or MEDIUM causes a PHENOMENON to be perceived by a PERCEIVER. With an ACTOR, ENTITY, or MEDIUM, the PERCEIVER is usually unspecified

Figure 4.17: `Cause_to_perceive` frame.

Similar to the Conduct frame, evoked by *verhalten*, the `Cause_to_perceive` frame does not necessarily provide any new components to understand the *Kulanz* concept, yet it does describe the latter: The party's response to an inquiry is either perceived as *kulant* or not *kulant* by the party asking for *Kulanz*. To summarize, it can be said that the collocation analysis for *kulant* has not provided any additional concepts or meaning components necessary to understand the underlying cultural concepts of *Kulanz*. However, the frames evoked by these collocations (a)

⁶⁹ https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Cause_to_perceive

support the claim that *kulant* is used in the `Commercial_Transaction` context as the collocations *Händler* ('seller'), and *Kunden* ('client(s)') show and (b) reflect the *Kulanz* concept in general, as the `Conduct` frame and the `Cause_to_perceive` frame reference (in general terms) the interactions between the participating parties.

The findings of the collocation analysis for *Kulanz* show that not only are the three most common collocations and the frames they evoke strongly tied together, but they also give the following insight into the usage and the cultural implications of said term: in most instances the collocations evoke a sentiment of uncertainty (`Reliance`, `Desirability`), mostly due to an unequal distribution of power between two parties (`Authority`, `Dominate_situation`). Furthermore, this uncertainty is governed by a negative sentiment towards the outcome of the situation for the party with less power (`Fear`). These findings support the claim that the person who is hoping to receive *Kulanz* has negative expectations as far as the outcome of the *Kulanz* request is concerned and is dependent upon the decision of the other, more powerful party involved. Since no English frame exists to express the negative expectation directly tied to the power division in the context of *Kulanz*, a new frame needs to be designed that accounts for this crucial meaning element necessary to fully understand the term *Kulanz* as it is used in the German speaking world. The next section will use the findings of the analyses above to create a frame for *Kulanz*.

4.4 A FRAME FOR KULANZ

After establishing that *Kulanz* evokes the `Commercial_transaction` as well as the `Authority` frames, the FEs of these two frames can be compared:

Frame	<code>Authority</code>	<code>Commercial_transaction</code>
FE	AGENT	SELLER
	THEME	BUYER
	DOMAIN	GOODS

Table 4.11: Frames and their FEs in comparison.

Table 4.11 shows that direct links between the FEs of the `Commercial_transaction` and the `Authority` frames exist. This is important for the design of a new frame for *Kulanz*, as both sets of FEs have to be incorporated into the new frame. The goal here is to create new FEs that incorporate the existing FEs of the `Commercial_transaction` and the `Authority` frames. Since *Kulanz* is not exclusively used in a commercial context, I decided to copy the FEs AGENT and THEME from the `Authority` frame rather than SELLER and BUYER from the `Commercial_transaction` frame. This decision is based on the appropriateness of FE assignment, as the use of FEs of the `Commercial_transaction` frame (SELLER, BUYER, etc.) is only applicable in commercial contexts and would be confusing when referencing parties in an unrelated context (cf. Chapter 4.3.1). The corpus examples have shown that *Kulanz* is always connected to an object or service which one party has

acquired, therefore I decided to keep the FE GOODS as it is more specific than the broad term ‘domain’. However, in this new frame GOODS is not labeled as a core FE, as there are instances in which GOODS do not play an essential role in the understanding of the *Kulanz* scenario. Consider the following example:

(4.12) Die *Kulanz*^{Tgt} der [_{<AGENT>}Polizei]
 [_{<THEME>}INI] [_{<GOODS>}INI]
 The goodwill of police
 ‘The act of goodwill by the police’

In example 4.12 the FE GOODS is not present, as it references a scenario in which a person is interacting with authorities, as opposed to a commercial context. In addition to the FEs AGENT, THEME, and GOODS, the collocation analysis showed that the frame needs to convey the ‘negative expectation’ meaning component, which is part of the frame and FE description. Because the negative expectation is linked to a possible outcome of the *Kulanz* scenario, the ‘outcome’ needs to be defined as well. In this frame this ‘outcome’ is labeled as the FE ACCOMMODATION. I propose the following frame description and FEs for *Kulanz* and *kulant*:

Kulanz	
<p>This frame describes situations in which a THEME is interacting with an AGENT in order to receive an ACCOMMODATION. The ACCOMMODATION is solely dependent upon the AGENT's goodwill. ACCOMMODATION is usually in form of return or refund for GOODS the THEME has previously acquired from the AGENT. The THEME_{has} negative expectations towards the ACCOMMODATION.</p>	
Core FEs	
AGENT	The person or organization with more influence or power over the ACCOMMODATION
THEME	The person or organization with less influence or power (often seeking ACCOMMODATION) and negative expectations towards possibility of ACCOMMODATION
ACCOMMODATION	granted by AGENT usually in form of return or refund or ignoring some regulation
None Core FEs	
GOODS	The FE GOODS is anything (including labor or time, for example) which the THEME has previously acquired from the AGENT
MEANS	The means by which a refund occurs
PLACE	Where the interaction occurs

Figure 4.18: Kulanz frame and its Frame Elements.

Next, the FEs among the three frames Kulanz, Commercial_transaction, and Authority are compared to show their relationships:

Frame	Kulanz	Authority	Commercial_transaction
FE	AGENT	AGENT	SELLER
	THEME	THEME	BUYER
	ACCOMMODATION		
	GOODS	DOMAIN	GOODS

Table 4.12: Kulanz, Commercial_transaction and Authority frames and their FEs in comparison.

The table shows that the FEs of Kulanz, Commercial_transaction and Authority are connected to each other. In Frame Semantics, these “links” between individual frames are referred to as *Frame Relations*. The classification of frame-to-frame relations can aid in the comprehensibility of frames. The next section will outline how frame-to-frame relations are classified and which relations are found among the Kulanz, Commercial_transaction, and Authority frames.

4.4.1 Frame Relations

Ruppenhofer et al. (2010) point out that the meaning of a complex frame can be explained by linking it to an existing, less complex frame, hence, frame-to-frame relations can aid in the comprehensibility of frames.⁷⁰ Frame-to-frame relations allow FrameNet to make frame-wise distinctions that capture systematic semantic relationships across lexical units (Petrucci et al. 2004). To complete the design of the new Kulanz

⁷⁰ See Chapter 2.3 for detailed discussion of Frame Relations.

frame, it needs to be investigated whether we can assign frame-to-frame relations that aid in the understanding of the culture-specific term *Kulanz*. It has already been established that *Kulanz* evokes the `Commercial_transaction` frame and the `Authority` frame:

<p><code>Authority</code></p> <p>An AGENT has the means to affect a THEME along the lines of a certain DOMAIN. There is an imbalance of influence or power within a certain DOMAIN that favors the AGENT over the THEME.</p> <p><code>Commercial_transaction</code></p> <p>These are words that describe basic commercial transactions involving a BUYER and a SELLER who exchange MONEY and GOODS. The individual words vary in the frame element realization patterns. For example, the typical patterns for the verbs buy and sell are: BUYER buys GOODS from the SELLER for MONEY. SELLER sells GOODS to the BUYER for MONEY.</p>

Figure 4.19: `Commercial_transaction` and `Authority` frame.

The existing `Commercial_transaction` and `Authority` frames can be linked to the new *Kulanz* frame. Based on the corpus data and the frame relations outlined by Ruppenhofer et al. (2010) (cf. Chapter 2.3), I argue that the `Commercial_transaction` frame precedes the *Kulanz* frame. The *Precede* frame-to-frame relation specifies the sequence of events and clarifies that a previous commercial transaction has taken place before we get to the *Kulanz* concept. The *Kulanz* frame *uses* the `Authority` frame. The *Using* relation defines that part of the

scene evoked by the *Kulanz* frame refers to the *Authority* frame, namely the power division between the *AGENT* (the person or organization with more influence or power) and the *THEME* (the person or organization with less influence or power).

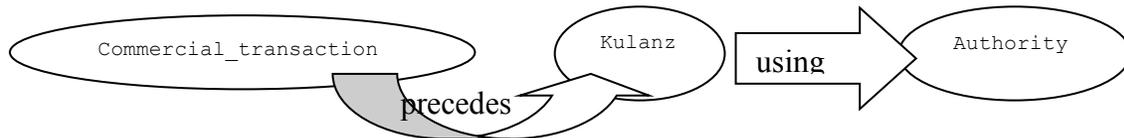


Figure 4.20: Frame relations for *Kulanz*.

4.4.2 The *Kulanz* frame entry

As discussed in Chapter 2.2, every frame entry in FrameNet provides the user with information about syntactic realizations and valence patterns. To complete the *Kulanz* frame, corpus examples for *Kulanz* and *kulant* need to be annotated. To this end, I extracted 15 corpus examples from the IDS Cosmas II database and annotated them with the core FEs for *Kulanz* to demonstrate how the new *Kulanz* frame can help analyze sentences including *Kulanz* and *kulant*. The following three examples (4.15) - (4.17) are representative of the annotation process:⁷¹

- (4.15) [_{<AGENT>}Anbieter], der im Zweifelsfall auch *Kulanz*^{Tgt} zeigt, wiegt
 merchant, who in doubt also goodwill shows, offers
 [_{<ACCOMMODATION>}Discounttarife] auf. [_{<THEME>}DNI]
 discounted fares
 ‘merchant who shows goodwill in doubtful cases offers discounted fares’

⁷¹ For a full list of all 15 annotated corpus examples please see Appendix A1.

- (4.16) [_{<AGENT>}Viele Arbeitgeber] zahlen aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}* nicht nur die
many employers pay out of courtesy not only the
[_{<ACCOMMODATION>}Stornierungskosten]. [_{<THEME>}DNI]
cancellation fee
‘many employers pay not only the cancellation fee to accommodate’
- (4.17) Hans-Joachim Westphal: „Aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}* hat [_{<AGENT>}VW]
Hans-Joachim Westphal: out of goodwill has VW
[_{<ACCOMMODATION>}das Auto jedoch zurückgenommen] [_{<THEME>}DNI]
the car yet taken back
‘Nevertheless VW took back the car as a courtesy’

Based on these annotated corpus examples the lexical entry with the syntactic realizations of the participating FEs and the valence patterns can be completed.

Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations

The Frame Elements for this word sense are (with realizations):

Frame Element	Number annotated	Realization
AGENT	15	NP 12 PP[von] 3
THEME	5	NP 5 INI 4 DNI 6
ACCOMMODATION	10	NP 10 INI 3 DNI 1

Table 4.13: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations.

Table 4.13 shows the FE AGENT was annotated in 15 corpus examples. In these annotated sentences, AGENT was realized as a noun phrase (NP) in 12 instances and introduced by the preposition von (‘by’) in three instances and therefore labeled as prepositional phrase (PP). Both FEs, THEME and ACCOMMODATION were always

syntactically realized as NPs. Table 4.14 provides an overview of the valence patterns for these FEs.

Valency Patterns:

These frame elements occur in the following syntactic patterns:

Number annotated	Patterns		
3	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION NP
3	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION INI
6	AGENT NP	THEME DNI	ACCOMODATION NP
1	AGENT NP	THEME PP	ACCOMODATION NP
2	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION NP
1	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION PP
1	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION DNI

Table 4.14: Valency Patterns with *Kulanz*.

Now that the syntactic realizations and valence patterns for *Kulanz* are defined, the same annotation process and analysis for is done for *kulant*. 15 sentences were extracted from the IDS Cosmas II database and annotated for *kulant*, the following three sentences are representative of the annotation process:⁷²

⁷² See Appendix A1 for the complete list of annotated sentences

- (4.18) Zeigte sich der [_{<AGENT>}Internetanbieter] *kulant*^{Tgt} und schrieb
 Show himself the internet provider accommodating and write
 [_{<THEME>}ihm] fast [_{<ACCOMMODATION>}500 Euro [...] gut.
 him almost 500 Euros [...] good.
 ‘the internet provider was accommodating and credited him almost 500 E
 uros.
- (4.19) Viele [_{<AGENT>}Vermieter] sind *kulant*^{Tgt} und tolerieren auch
 Many landlords are accommodating and tolerate too
 mal eine [_{<ACCOMMODATION>}Katzenleiter]. [_{<THEME>}DNI]
 times a cat ladder.
 ‘Many landlords are accommodating and do some times tolerate cat
 ladders.’
- (4.20) Die [_{<AGENT>}Stadt] zeigte sich *kulant*^{Tgt} gegenüber den
 The city showed herself accommodating towards the
 [_{<THEME>}Nachbarn]. [_{<ACCOMMODATION>}INI]
 neighbors.
 The city was accommodating towards the neighbors.

Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realization

The Frame Elements for this word sense are (with realizations):

Frame Element	Number annotated	Realization
AGENT	15	NP 14 INI 1
THEME	8	NP 4 PP [gegenüber] 2 INI 2
ACCOMMODATION	7	NP 7 INI 5 DNI 3

Table 4.15: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations for *kulant*.

Table 4.15 shows that the FE AGENT was annotated in 15 corpus examples, and always realized as a noun phrase (NP). The FE THEME was present in eight corpus examples, six of which it was realized as an NP and two instances as a prepositional

phrase (PP) - introduced by the preposition *gegenüber* ('towards') . The FE ACCOMMODATION was in all examples syntactically realized as NPs. Table 4.16 provides an overview of the valence patterns for these FEs.

Valence Patterns:

These frame elements occur in the following syntactic patterns:

Number annotated	Patterns		
3	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION INI
3	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION NP
6	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION NP
2	AGENT NP	THEME PP	ACCOMODATION INI
2	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION DNI
1	AGENT INI	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION DNI

Table 4.16: Valence Patterns with *kulant*.

Since all steps to design a complete lexical entry have now been completed, consider the final `Kulananz` frame and the entries for the evoking LUs *Kulananz* and *kulant*:

`Kulananz`

This frame describes situations in which a THEME is interacting with an AGENT in order to receive an ACCOMMODATION. The ACCOMMODATION is solely dependent upon the AGENT's goodwill. ACCOMMODATION is usually in the form of return or refund for GOODS the THEME has previously acquired from the AGENT. The THEME does have negative expectations towards the ACCOMMODATION.

Core FEs

AGENT	The person or organization with more influence or power over the ACCOMMODATION
THEME	The person or organization with less influence or power (often seeking ACCOMMODATION) and negative expectations towards possibility of ACCOMMODATION
ACCOMMODATION	granted by AGENT usually in form of return or refund

None Core FEs

GOODS	The FE GOODS is anything (including labor or time, for example) which the THEME has previously acquired from the AGENT
MEANS	The means by which a refund occurs
PLACE	Where the interaction occurs

Frame Relations

Inherits from:

Is Inherited by:

Perspective on:

Is Perspectivized in:

Uses: Authority

Is Used by:

Subframe of:

Has Subframe(s):

Precedes:

Is Preceded by: Commercial_transaction

Is Inchoative of:

Is Causative of:

Lexical Entry

Kulanz.n

Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realization

The Frame Elements for this word sense are (with realizations):

Frame Element	Number annotated	Realization
AGENT	15	NP 12 PP[by] 3
THEME	5	NP 5
ACCOMODATION	10	NP 10

Table 4.17: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations.

Valence Patterns:

These frame elements occur in the following syntactic patterns:

Number annotated	Patterns		
3	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION NP
3	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION INI
6	AGENT NP	THEME DNI	ACCOMODATION NP
1	AGENT NP	THEME PP	ACCOMODATION NP
2	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION NP
1	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION PP
1	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION DNI

Table 4.18: Valence Patterns with *Kulanz*.

This is followed by the lexical entry for *kulant*, as this LU evokes the *Kulanz* frame and the entry will identify how *kulant* is used in sentences.

Lexical Entry

kulant.a

Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realization

The Frame Elements for this word sense are (with realizations):

Frame Element	Number annotated	Realization
AGENT	15	NP 15
THEME	8	NP 6 PP [gegenüber] 2
ACCOMMODATION	7	NP 7

Table 4.19: Frame Elements and Their Syntactic Realizations for *kulant*.

Valency Patterns:

These frame elements occur in the following syntactic patterns:

Number annotated	Patterns		
3	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION INI
3	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION NP
6	AGENT NP	THEME INI	ACCOMODATION NP
2	AGENT NP	THEME PP	ACCOMODATION INI
2	AGENT NP	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION DNI
1	AGENT INI	THEME NP	ACCOMODATION DNI

Table 4.20: Valency Patterns with *kulant*.

4.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined the data collection and frame creation process for one culture-specific term: *Kulanz*, as well as its adjectival counterpart *kulant*. A dictionary analysis of three monolingual and three bilingual dictionaries was conducted to extract meaning components found in their entries, namely **commercial transaction**, **by person:kindness**, **acceptable**, and **fairness**. Whereas all of these MCs could be accounted for by corpus examples, the corpus data analysis showed that traditional lexica fail to provide all meaning components necessary to fully understand the underlying concepts of *Kulanz*. A corpus analysis for *Kulanz* revealed that (a) said term is mostly used in the commercial transaction context and (b) is linked to a power division between the participating parties. Hence it was concluded that *Kulanz* evokes the `Commercial_transaction` and the `Authority` frame. Another important element of *Kulanz* is any expectation held by the participating parties. Through a corpus analysis targeting collocations for *Kulanz*, I was able to support this claim with empirical data. The collocation analysis showed that the `Reliance`, `Desirability`, and `Fear` frame are closely related to the cultural connotations of *Kulanz*.

The findings from the corpus analyses allowed for a frame design for *Kulanz* by adopting existing frames (`Commercial_transaction` and `Authority`) and adding the ‘negative expectations’ claim in the frame and FE description. The *Kulanz* frame was further analyzed by (a) showing frame relations to existing frames and (b) annotating corpus data with the new FEs. The latter also allowed for the completion of

the lexical entry, which provides syntactic realizations and valence patterns for *Kulanz* and its adjectival counterpart *kulant*.

The analysis has confirmed that the methodology of this study (as outlined in Chapter 3) is effective for identifying and analyzing meaning components for culturally specific concepts. The focus on empirical data has proven that these components can be extracted from corpus examples and applied to subsequent frame design. Furthermore, this analysis has proven that existing frames from English (here: `Commercial_transaction`) can be adopted and modified to aid in the frame design for culturally specific words. The target term of this analysis, *Kulanz*, is representative of a subset of culture-specific words, as it does not have an English translation. The following chapter investigates whether the same methodological approach is successful in analyzing culture-specific words with an existing English translation, namely the German noun *Freund* ('friend').

Chapter 5: The meaning of *Freund*

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to design a frame which captures the cultural connotations of the German noun *Freund (-in)* ('friend' male, female). Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 3, this chapter identifies these cultural connotations by means of dictionary and corpus analysis. This approach differs from the previous chapter and the frame design for *Kulanz* as an English frame because personal relationship scenarios already exist, which was not the case for *Kulanz*. However, I argue that due to the commonly polysemous nature of German personal relationship terminology this frame cannot easily be used without modifications. Consider the following – *Freund* (masculine) and *Freundin* (feminine) can represent both a person one knows platonically and a person one is romantically involved with. In English there are two different terms to separate these two relationships: 'friend' (platonic) and 'boy- or girlfriend' (romantic).⁷³ The German language learner might therefore ask: *How can I tell whether someone is referring to a platonic or romantic partner when using the term "Freund"?* But is this the only important difference between *Freund* and 'friend'? Does this mean the platonic *Freund* is a translation equivalent to the English term 'friend'? Wierzbicka (1997: 32-33) suggests that it may not be, as even though the concept of personal relationships occurs in every culture, certain aspects, such as the term 'friend', differ across cultures:

⁷³ In American English, 'girlfriend' can also be used platonically when female friends are referring to other female friends.

The concept of ‘friend’, and the relationship linked with it, are important to Anglo culture, but it is an illusion to think that they must have their counterparts in all other cultures and that they are somehow part of human nature. [...] Taxonomies of human relations are just as culture-specific, and language specific, [...], and the concept encoded in the present-day English word friend has no privileged status in them.⁷⁴

If *Freund* and ‘friend’ indeed reveal conceptual differences between languages, the question remains: what are those differences and how can they be extracted to aid in language learners’ understanding of these concepts? In order to arrive at a frame that functions as a translation and understanding aid for non-native speakers of German, this chapter first investigates which meaning components are present in mono- and bilingual dictionary entries, and then contrasts them with the English entries for ‘friend’. This contrastive analysis highlights the challenges an English speaker is confronted with when encountering the concept of *Freund*. In order to capture any concepts neglected in the German dictionary entries and to provide empirical support for the occurrence of meaning components, a corpus analysis is conducted. By combining these findings I am able to propose a new frame design for *Freund*. The next section provides a brief research review of the concept of *Freund* and its English counterpart ‘friend’ as potential *translation equivalents*.

5.2 TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS

A true translation equivalent pair contains two words that share the same meaning in the cultural context in which they are embedded. The cultural context is the key

⁷⁴ Wierzbicka (1997:45) also points out that “in the current usage friends [in American English] tend to be seen as a multiplicity of people related in an analogous way to a central figure.”

element one has to examine before assuming translational equivalency, as Laufer (1990b: 577) points out:

Languages do share lexical common ground (just as they share phonological and syntactic features). Without such common ground, resulting from universality of human experience, the teaching and learning of foreign language would be impossible. [But] different language-speaking communities classify some areas of experience in different ways and words play a significant part in this classification.

Hence, there are three possibilities when trying to map a term to a second language (see Figure 5.1). (1) The concepts are the same in both languages and a translational equivalent exists, (2) the concepts are slightly different and the language learner has to alter their views, or (3) no concept exists in L1 that is equal or similar to the L2, and the language learner must create a new concept to accommodate the newly acquired meaning.

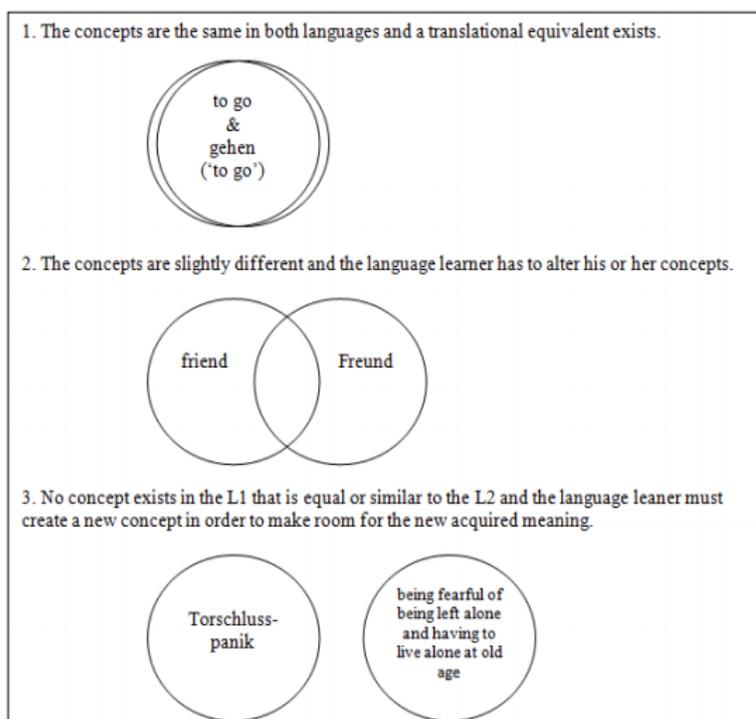


Figure 5.1: Translation equivalents and cultural context (Laufer 1990b: 32)

As previously mentioned, it is crucial to examine each word in its cultural context to avoid assigning misrepresentative and ethnocentric characteristics to the word (Goddard 2006). This often proves difficult as traditional vocabulary sources such as dictionaries generally fail to portray the full cultural context of the target word. Sharifian (2007:33) points out that:

Language students struggle with this aspect of learning a new language, because many learners bring the conceptual system that they have developed while learning their L1 [native language] into the learning of an L2 [foreign language], assuming that a single unit of conceptualization in their repertoire has an equivalent in the conceptual system associated with the L2.

Indeed, mapping (target) words to an existing conceptual system in the native language appears less thought or work intensive than creating a new conceptual system that accounts for the cultural context of the target word; hence language learners often assume translational equivalence (Jiang 2002, Atzler 2011). Understanding and creating a new conceptual system based on cultural context is certainly not an easy task and requires not only the language learners' desire to do so, but also the general awareness that such cultural differences exist. Swan (1997: 179) therefore stresses that “[i]nformed teaching can help students to formulate realistic hypotheses about the nature and limits of cross-linguistic correspondences, and to become more attentive to important categories in the second language which have no mother tongue counterpart.”

As previously discussed (Chapter 1.3), Frame Semantics offers a way to incorporate these conceptual differences. In a Frame Semantic approach, translation equivalence can be addressed by means of comparative analysis. Each lexical unit of a language is linked to a lexical entry in which the evoked frame is listed in addition to annotated corpus samples that exemplify semantic and syntactic combinatorial properties. The user can compare the lexical entries for the LUs under investigation and decide if true translational equivalence exists.

Atzler (2011) investigated the effects of a Frame Semantics-oriented vocabulary teaching approach to the culturally appropriate use of vocabulary. This study used LUs of the `personal_relationship` frame, including *Freund(in)* and *Bekannte(r)*. A group of native speakers of German were asked to rate the cultural appropriateness of the LUs through an online survey (see Fig. 5.2) and used those results as a reference to

measure cultural appropriateness. Participants were presented with a sentence such as “*Ich habe Thomas vor zwei Jahren kennengelernt und wir spielen zweimal im Monat Tennis. Er ist ein *Freund* von mir.*” (‘I met Thomas two years ago and we play tennis twice a month. He is a *friend* of mine’) and the participant had to rate on a 5 point scale whether the use of the term in asterisks (here: *Freund*) is culturally appropriate.

7. Bitte geben Sie bei den folgenden Sätzen an, ob die Wörter die zwischen den *Sternchen* geschrieben sind semantisch und/oder kulturell angemessen verwendet wurden.

Die Skala geht von 1-5.

1 = absolut nicht richtig/angemessen verwendet (Ich würde das Wort nie so verwenden.)

...

5 = absolut richtig/ angemessen verwendet (Ich würde das Wort auf jeden Fall so verwenden.)

	1 - absolut nicht richtig/angemessen verwendet	2 - nicht richtig verwendet	3 - etwas fehlerhaft verwendet	4 - richtig verwendet	5 - absolut richtig verwendet
1. Thomas habe ich vor zwei Jahren kennengelernt und wir spielen zweimal im Monat Tennis. Er ist ein *Bekannter* von mir.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Thomas habe ich vor zwei Jahren kennengelernt und wir spielen zweimal im Monat Tennis. Er ist ein *Freund* von mir.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Anna und Silvia gehen in die gleiche Klasse und kennen sich seit 7 Jahren. Sie machen fast jeden Tag etwas gemeinsam nach der Schule. Sie sind *Freundinnen*.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Anna und Silvia gehen in die gleiche Klasse und kennen sich seit 7 Jahren. Sie machen fast jeden Tag etwas gemeinsam nach der Schule. Sie sind *Schulfreundinnen*.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Wenn Sie Kommentare haben bitte hier angeben:

Figure 5.2: Vocabulary appropriateness survey for German native speakers (Atzler 2011:176)

The study compared a group of students in a traditional vocabulary learning setting (T group) to a group of students who used a Frame Semantic approach to vocabulary acquisition (FS group). The students in the FS group were introduced to the

theory of Frame Semantics and the structure of the `personal_relationship` frame before taking the vocabulary appropriateness test (VAT) similar to the survey the native speakers completed (Fig. 5.3).

A. Please read the following sentences and indicate if the underlined words in each sentence are semantically and/or socially appropriate in the specific contexts by circling one of the numbers:

1 = Appropriate and you would use the word

2 = Somewhat appropriate and you probably would use the word

3 = Somewhat inaccurate

4 = Somewhat inappropriate and you probably would not use the word

5 = Inappropriate and you would not use the word

6 = I do not know what the word/sentence means.

1. Thomas habe ich vor zwei Jahren kennengelernt und wir spielen zweimal im Monat Tennis. Er ist ein Bekannter von mir.

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. Thomas habe ich vor zwei Jahren kennengelernt und wir spielen zweimal im Monat Tennis. Er ist ein Freund von mir.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. Anna und Silvia gehen in die gleiche Klasse und kennen sich seit 7 Jahren. Sie machen fast jeden Tag etwas gemeinsam nach der Schule. Sie sind Freundinnen.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Figure 5.3: Vocabulary appropriateness test for beginning learners of German (Atzler 2011:178)

The results showed that the FS group scored closer to the Native Speaker results on the VAT test than the T group, suggesting that “Frame Semantics benefited the participants’ understanding of culturally loaded words” (Atzler 2011:151). A similar study (Zhao

2004) that investigated the importance of raising the language learners' awareness of cultural differences also found that learners who were made aware of cultural differences showed a higher competence in judging culturally appropriate word usage. Scherfer (1993) and Schmitt (2000) found that culturally specific words require a more detailed approach to vocabulary teaching and learning. To address these requirements while building upon the evidence that a Frame Semantic approach can be beneficial in culture-specific vocabulary instruction (Atzler 2011), a group of Frame Semantic enthusiasts designed a frame based online lexicon aimed at language learners, the German Frame based Online Lexicon (G-FOL).

5.4 THE GERMAN FRAME BASED ONLINE LEXICON –G-FOL

G-FOL is based on the German FrameNet project (GFN; <http://www.laits.utexas.edu/gframenet/>), which is also housed at the University of Texas at Austin. The GFN is “a database of lexical entries that contain information about the semantic frame to which a lexical unit (a word in one of its senses) belongs, in combination with semantic and syntactic valence descriptions, and a collection of annotated corpus attestations” (<http://www.laits.utexas.edu/gframenet/>). The GFN collaborates with the English-based FrameNet as well as the SALSA project at the University of the Saarland, Germany. The goal of GFN is a contrastive FrameNet lexicon with its English counterpart. G-FOL uses Frame Semantics as a new approach to vocabulary teaching and learning in the foreign language classroom. This frame based dictionary allows the learner to access syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of

the target word, and provides useful information about cultural connotations and frequency, along with annotated corpus examples. G-FOL currently holds seven frames, namely the `Personal_Relationship`, `Grooming`, `Eating_and_Drinking`, `Education`, `Experiencing_Emotions`, `Sleep`, `Causation`, and `Buying_and_Selling` frames. Upon selecting a frame, the user is presented with the frame definition, the important differences between English and German, and FE descriptions. Below the FEs the user finds the LUs categorized by word type, followed by their English translation. G-FOL allows the user to access additional information, such as ‘details’, ‘examples’, ‘grammar notes’, ‘sentence templates’, and ‘alternate forms’ (see Fig. 5.4).

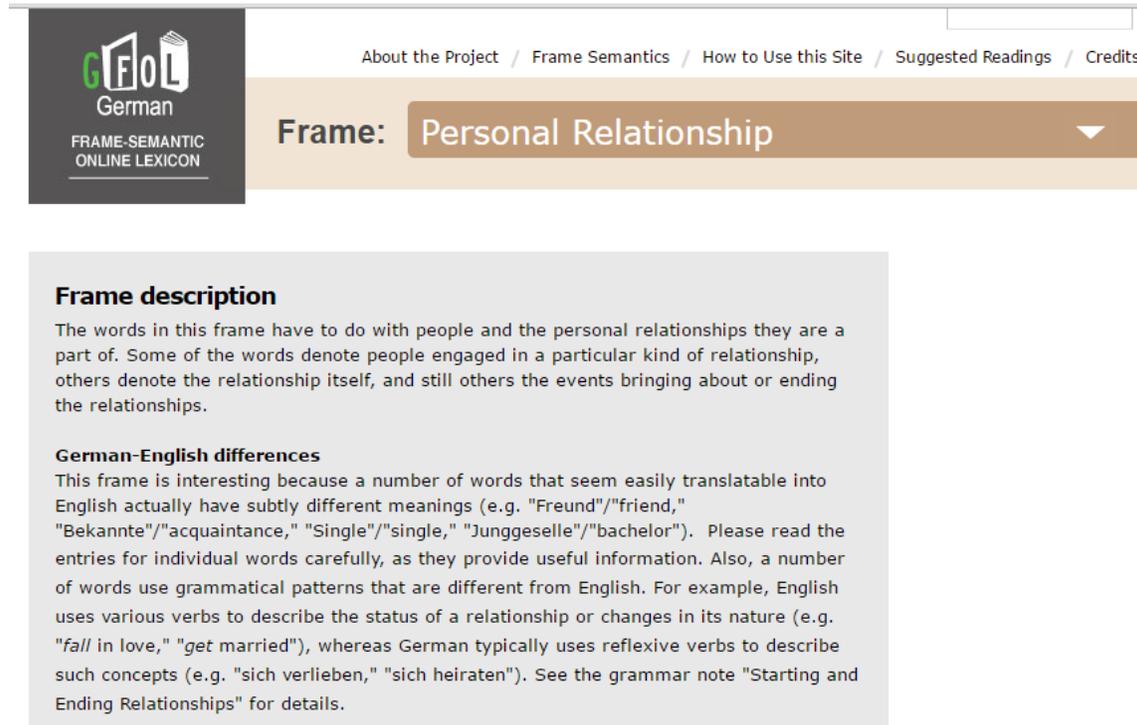
			Details	Examples	Grammar Notes	Sentence Templates	Alternate Forms	See All Information	Compare
der Freund	noun	boyfriend	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
der/die Geliebte	noun	lover	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
die Fernbeziehung	noun	long-distance relationship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
die Freundin	noun	girlfriend	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
flirten	verb	to flirt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
mit jdm. zusammen sein	construction	date	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
Schluss machen (mit)	construction	break up with	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
sich (akk.) trennen (von)	verb	break up with	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
sich (akk.) verlieben (in)	verb	love (fall in love)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					
verliebt sein (in)	construction	love (be in love)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					

Figure 5.4: LUs for the `Personal_Relationship` frame.⁷⁵

The ‘bubbles’ permit the user to pull up as much or as little information as is desired and to compare LUs. G-FOL uses the frame descriptions from the English FrameNet at UC Berkeley, but follows these descriptions with short paragraphs

⁷⁵ <http://coerll.utexas.edu/frames/frames/personal-relationship>

highlighting the points of interest in regard to the German usage of the frame and its participants. For example, the `Personal_Relationship` description, taken from FrameNet, is followed by a paragraph on “German-English Differences” (Fig. 5.5):



The screenshot shows the G-FOL website interface. On the left is the logo for 'G-FOL German FRAME-SEMANTIC ONLINE LEXICON'. The top navigation bar includes links for 'About the Project', 'Frame Semantics', 'How to Use this Site', 'Suggested Readings', and 'Credits'. A dropdown menu is open, showing 'Frame: Personal Relationship'. Below this, the 'Frame description' section states: 'The words in this frame have to do with people and the personal relationships they are a part of. Some of the words denote people engaged in a particular kind of relationship, others denote the relationship itself, and still others the events bringing about or ending the relationships.' The 'German-English differences' section notes: 'This frame is interesting because a number of words that seem easily translatable into English actually have subtly different meanings (e.g. "Freund"/"friend," "Bekannte"/"acquaintance," "Single"/"single," "Junggeselle"/"bachelor"). Please read the entries for individual words carefully, as they provide useful information. Also, a number of words use grammatical patterns that are different from English. For example, English uses various verbs to describe the status of a relationship or changes in its nature (e.g. "fall in love," "get married"), whereas German typically uses reflexive verbs to describe such concepts (e.g. "sich verlieben," "sich heiraten"). See the grammar note "Starting and Ending Relationships" for details.'

Figure 5.5: Frame description and German English differences in G-FOL.⁷⁶

G-FOL points out that *Freund* and *Bekannter* are seemingly “easily translatable” but do have “subtly different meanings.” Figure 5.6 shows how these differences are defined in G-FOL.

⁷⁶ <http://coerll.utexas.edu/frames/frames/personal-relationship>

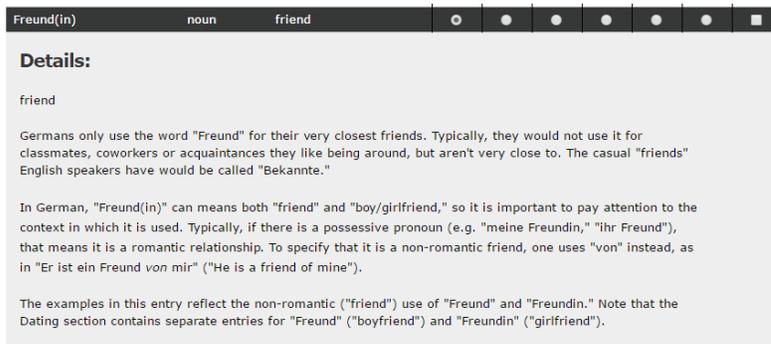


Figure 5.6: G-FOL details description for Freund.

According to the “details” section on G-FOL, *Freund* is only used for the “closest friends”, whereas “casual ‘friends’” in the English language context are equivalent to the term *Bekannte(r)* or ‘acquaintance’. Furthermore, the description points out that the term *Freund(in)* can also be used in the romantic context, where it usually occurs with a possessive pronoun as opposed to Freund+von+noun/pronoun. G-FOL links *Freund* to a certain level of intensity of the relationship (“closest friends”), and also claims a syntactic difference when *Freund* is used in the romantic context (*Freund* + possessive pronoun). To contrast the entry for Freund, consider the G-FOL entry for *Bekannter* (Figure 5.7).

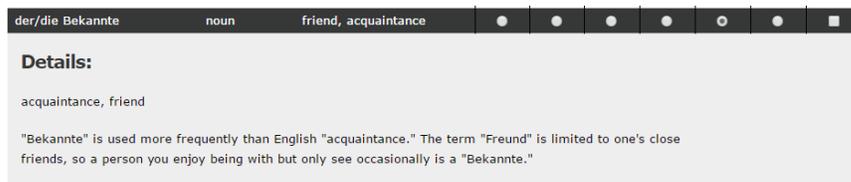


Figure 5.7: G-FOL detail description for *Bekannt(er)*.

The description notes that *Bekannt(er)* is used more frequently in German than its English counterpart ‘acquaintance’, which G-FOL explains by reiterating that *Freund* is only used for close friends and that many instances of the English use of ‘friend’ are actually *Bekannt(e)* in German. Before analyzing if and how the ‘intensity’ of a relationship can be measured to aid in the description of the target term, the next section will first look at corpus data to test G-FOL’s claim that *Freund* most commonly occurs with a possessive pronoun when used in a romantic context.

5.4 CORPUS ANALYSIS FOR *FREUND*

G-FOL claims that the occurrence of *Freund* with a possessive pronoun is indicative of a romantic relationship. To test this claim, corpus data was extracted from IDS COSMAS II by searching for *Freund*+possessive pronoun and *Freund*+indefinite article. Comparing the occurrence of *Freund* in the romantic versus platonic context, this study focuses on singular representations of the pronouns since it is less likely that more than one person is referring to the same person as a significant other, as in example (5.1):

- (5.1) Unser Freund ist sehr intelligent.
Our male friend is intelligent *or*
Our boyfriend is intelligent.

The second translation of (5.1) implies that several people are romantically involved with the same boyfriend. While this scenario is possible, it is a less typical representation of a traditional romantic relationship, which more commonly involves two people. Hence, the corpus search focuses on singular representations of personal pronouns. Table 5.1 shows the target terms for the corpus search:

Case	Freund (masc.)	
Nominative	mein Freund dein Freund sein Freund ihr Freund	ein Freund
Accusative	meinen Freund deinen Freund seinen Freund ihren Freund	einen Freund
Dative	meinem Freund deinem Freund seinem Freund ihrem Freund	einem Freund
Genitive	meines Freundes deines Freundes seines Freundes ihres Freundes	eines Freundes

Table 5.1: Search terms for IDS COSMAS II corpus analysis.

The settings for this particular corpus search account for occurrences of a depictive phrase separating the pronoun or article from the target noun *Freund(in)*, e.g.:

- (5.2) Mein [_{<DEPICTIVE>} gutaussehender] Freund
My good-looking boyfriend

In the IDS COSMAS II corpus search criteria, this setting is labeled *Wortabstand /+w1* ‘word distance’ and can easily be added to the corpus search settings (see Fig. 5.8).



Figure 5.8: IDS COSMAS II search setting *Wortabstand /+w1*.

Since the goal is to investigate G-FOL’s claim that *Freund* occurs predominantly with a personal pronoun when used in a romantic context, I extracted the IDS COSMAS II data in full text view rather than the KWIC format. The full text view allows the user to read the whole paragraph from which the target word was extracted. Only by looking at the whole context of the target word is it possible to identify the occurrence as romantic or platonic in nature. For each instance, I analyzed the first 100 results and classified them as romantic (ROM), platonic (PLAT), or undefined (UND) when a clear classification was not possible due to a lack of contextual cues in the paragraph extracted in the corpus results. Table 5.3 summarizes the counts for each search and the corresponding classifications:

Case	Target term	Search results	Classification
Nominative	mein Freund dein Freund sein Freund ihr Freund	17980 2378 18995 12314	PLAT (54) ROM (25) UND (29) PLAT (88) ROM (0) UND (12) PLAT (96) ROM (2) UND (2) PLAT (17) ROM (57) UND (26)
Accusative	meinen Freund deinen Freund seinen Freund ihren Freund	2593 188 13026 6710	PLAT (42) ROM (37) UND (21) PLAT (65) ROM (27) UND (8) PLAT (91) ROM (4) UND (5) PLAT (19) ROM (71) UND (10)
Dative	meinem Freund deinem Freund seinem Freund ihrem Freund	3923 202 19204 12355	PLAT (35) ROM (44) UND (21) PLAT (51) ROM (34) UND (15) PLAT (91) ROM (2) UND (7) PLAT (6) ROM (79) UND (15)
Genitive	meines Freundes deines Freundes seines Freundes ihres Freundes	1429 555 8779 3166	PLAT (49) ROM (24) UND (27) PLAT (84) ROM (12) UND (4) PLAT (89) ROM (2) UND (9) PLAT (11) ROM (70) UND (19)

Table 5.2: Search results for romantic and platonic occurrences of the target terms.

Target term	Search results	Classification
ein Freund einen Freund einem Freund eines Freundes	32911 14042 16108 6162	PLAT (95) ROM (0) UND (05) PLAT (85) ROM (13) UND (3) PLAT (98) ROM (0) UND (2) PLAT (93) ROM (0) UND (7)

Table 5.3: Search results for romantic and platonic occurrences of the target terms with indefinite articles.

The table gives some insight into the occurrence of the target terms in the romantic and platonic contexts. While the corpus extractions included the whole paragraph in which the word occurred, a significant number of extractions are still classified as UND. This shows that a clear distinction between the platonic use and the romantic use is elusive,

and one paragraph might not always enable the reader to distinguish between the two. This difficulty in distinguishing between the two uses is even greater for a non-native speaker of German. To summarize the results from table 5.3, I looked at the occurrences per pronoun and added those numbers to determine a percentage of romantic, platonic, and undefined examples. Table 5.4 summarizes the results:

Pronoun	PLAT		ROM		UND	
	total	%	total	%	total	%
mein/meinen/ meinem/meines	180 total	45%	130 total	32.5%	90 total	22.5%
dein/ deinen / deinem/ deines	288 total	72%	73 total	18.25%	39 total	9.75%
sein/ seinen/ seinem/ seines	367 total	91.75%	10 total	2.5%	23 total	5.75%
ihr/ ihren/ ihrem/ ihres	53 total	13.25%	277 total	69%	70 total	17.5%

Table 5.4: Total number of occurrences per pronoun.

The following important observations can be made based on these data: First, the romantic context is predominantly present with two partners of the opposite sex, i.e. *ihr Freund, ihren Freund, ihrem Freund, ihres Freundes* ('her friend/her boyfriend'), the percentage of ROM occurrences is 69% versus 13.25% for PLAT and 17.5% UND. Comparatively, the romantic context is least present in the description of two partners of the same sex (*sein Freund* 'his friend/boyfriend'), with ROM only accounting for 2.5% and PLAT 91.75%. Second, the occurrences for *mein* ('my') and *dein* ('your') show that for both pronouns the PLAT context is more often present than the ROM context. For *mein*, the data shows 45% PLAT over 32.5% ROM, and shows 72.5% PLAT over 18.25% ROM for *dein*. These results demonstrate that a clear syntactic pattern regarding

the occurrence of *Freund* in romantic versus platonic contexts is not present, and that G-FOL's claim that *Freund*+possessive pronoun is indicative of a romantic relationship cannot be validated. The data with the indefinite article *ein* ('a') (see table 5.3) shows that the majority of occurrences of *Freund*+indefinite article accounts for platonic relationships. To summarize: (a) the data show that possessive pronoun+*Freund* accounts mainly for a romantic relationship *if* the two partners are of opposite sex. With two partners of the same sex, the possessive pronoun+*Freund* is most commonly found in the platonic context; (b) possessive pronoun+*Freund* without gender assignments of the participants in the relationship occurs more often in the platonic context; and (c) *Freund*+indefinite article occurs almost exclusively in the platonic context. Though this corpus analysis has invalidated G-FOL's claim about syntactic patterns, G-FOL does present a secondary claim: the importance of intensity when comparing German and English personal relationship terminology. To address this claim and the underlying problem of meaning difference between German and English *Freund* and 'friend', the next section looks at the representation of *Freund* in mono- and bilingual dictionary entries, followed by a contrastive analysis to 'friend'.

5.5 FREUND IN TRADITIONAL DICTIONARIES

Adhering to the methodology outlined in Chapter 3, monolingual dictionary entries for *Freund(in)* and *Bekannt(e)* are analyzed, followed by an analysis of the same terms in bilingual dictionary entries. The goal of this exercise is to first extract meaning components (MCs) that are representative for the cultural connotations the target words

carry and hence must be included in a frame design and description of the target words, and second to investigate G-FOL's claim that relationship 'intensity' plays a crucial role when comparing German and English personal relationship terminology. To do this, I looked at three major German monolingual dictionaries, namely Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch (Wahrig et al. 1996), Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch Deutsch (Drosdowski et al. 2011), and Langenscheidt (Götz et al. 1997). Table 5.5 lists the dictionary entries for the target words.

Dictionary	<i>Freund(in)</i>	<i>Bekannte(r)</i>
Wahrig	1 <i>in herzlicher, kameradschaftl. Zuneigung Verbundener; (guter, freundschaftl. verbundener) Kamerad, Genosse, Partner (Geschäfts~, Schul~, Sport~, Studien~); [umg.] Liebhaber</i>	Jmd., den man kennt ; der ~ meiner Schwester [umg.] <i>der Freund meiner S.</i> ; ich habe eine(n) ~(n) getroffen; ein alter, flüchtiger, guter ~r; ein ~r von mir
Duden	Freund 1. <i>männliche Person, die einer anderen in Freundschaft verbunden ist, ihr nahesteht:</i> Ein guter F. von mir; mein F. Klaus; mein bester F.; 2 <i>männliche Person, mit der eine Frau od. ein Mann befreundet ist [u. mit der sie od. er zusammenlebt]</i> sein neuer F. ist zu ihm gezogen; sie hat einen festen F.	Bekannte Die Bekannte/eine Bekannte; der/einer Bekannten, die Bekannten/zwei Bekannte: a) <i>weibliche Person, mit der man bekannt ist:</i> sie war eine gute B. von mir; b) [mit Possessivpronomen] (ugs. verhüllt) <i>Freundin eines Mannes:</i> ich war mit meiner Bekannten vereist

Table 5.5

Duden	Freundin 1. weibliche Person, die einer anderen in Freundschaft verbunden ist, ihr nahesteht 2 weibliche Person, mit der ein Mann od. eine Frau befreundet ist [u. mit der er od. sie zusammenlebt]	Bekannter Der Bekannte/ein Bekannter; des/eines Bekannten, die Bekannten/zwei Bekannte: a) männliche Person, mit der man bekannt ist: wir sind alte Bekannte; er ist ein alter B. von mir; b) [mit Possessivpronomen] (ugs. verhüllt) <i>Freund einer Frau</i> : ich war mit meinem Bekannten vereist
Langenscheidt	Freund 1 ein F. (von j-m) j-d, den man sehr gut kennt u. zu dem man über e-e relative lange Zeit e-e enge Beziehung hat [ein guter, treuer, wahrer F.; j-n zum Freund gewinnen; viele Freunde haben / besitzen] 2 j-s F. ein Junge od. Mann, der mit einem Mädchen od. e-r Frau befreundet ist (u. mit ihr zusammenlebt) [der, mein, dein, ihr F.; ein fester langjähriger F.]: <i>Sie fährt mit ihrem F. in Urlaub</i>	<i>Der/die; -n, -n; 1</i> j-d, den man (oft durch seinen Beruf) kennt u. gelegentlich trifft, mit dem man jedoch nicht unbedingt ein freundschaftliches Verhältnis hat – <i>Fremde(r) : im Biergarten zufällig zwei alte Bekannte treffen 2</i> ein guter Bekannter / e-e gute Bekannte e-e Person, die man zwar gut kennt u. öfter trifft, die aber (noch) kein richtiger Freund / keine richtige Freundin ist 3 <i>euph</i> ~Geliebter, Geliebte: <i>Er fuhr mit seiner Bekannten in Urlaub</i>

Table 5.5: Monolingual dictionary entries for *Freund(in)* and *Bekannte(r)*.⁷⁷

Wahrig is the only dictionary that lacks separate entries for *Freund* and its feminine counterpart *Freundin*. The entry does show some circularity, as it uses *freundschaftlich* to describe the type of relationship one engages in with a *Freund*. The

⁷⁷English translations of dictionary entries can be found in Appendix whatever

entry also implies that *Freund* is synonymous to *Kamerad* ('comrade'), *Genosse* ('comrade'), and *Partner* ('partner'), and notes that a secondary, colloquial use for *Freund* is *Geliebte(r)* ('lover'). The Duden entry is more circular as it uses *Freundschaft* ('friendship') and *befreundet sein* ('to be friends') in its definitions.⁷⁸ The secondary meaning in Duden is most likely referring to the 'boyfriend/girlfriend' meaning of *Freund(in,)* but the definition is questionable as "und mit der er oder sie zusammen wohnt" ('and with whom he or she lives with') implies that one has to live with the person for them to be considered a *Freund(in)* in the 'boyfriend/girlfriend' context. The definition in Langenscheidt is less circular (though circularity does appear in the second entry) and mentions the existence of a certain type of relationship over a certain length of time. The second entry in Langenscheidt is similar to the second entry in Duden, however it is more heteronormative, as it defines a boy-/ girlfriend as someone in a relationship with someone of the opposite gender. While both Duden and Langenscheidt have separate entries for *Freund* and *Freundin*, the entries are identical with switched gender roles. The entry for *Bekannte(r)* in Wahrig is short and also interesting as it lists "*der Freund meiner Schwester*" ('the friend of my sister') as a sample sentence, potentially implying that *Freund* and *Bekannter* are interchangeable.

Someone tasked with investigating the differences between *Freund* and *Bekannter* will presumably not find the Wahrig dictionary entries helpful. The Duden entry is circular as it defines *Bekannter* as someone one is *bekannt* ('acquainted') with, and the entries for *Bekannter* and *Bekannte* are identical with switched gender roles. The second

⁷⁸ See Chapter 4.2 on circular definitions.

entry is confusing as it defines *Bekannte(r)* as a “*Freund(in) einer/-s Frau/Mannes*” (‘friend of a woman/man’) in a colloquial ‘secretive’ use (“*verhüllt*”). This raises a number of questions, such as why is the context ‘secretive’, why does it discuss a friend specifically of the other gender, and is *Bekannte(r)* in this context really the same as *Freund(in)*? Langenscheidt’s entry is the only entry to separate clearly *Bekannte(r)* and *Freund(in)*: 1) “*j-d, den man (oft durch seinen Beruf) kennt u. gelegentlich trifft, mit dem man jedoch nicht unbedingt ein freundschaftliches Verhältnis hat*“ – (‘someone you know (often through your job) and meet occasionally but with whom you do not yet have a friendship-relationship’) 2) “*ein guter Bekannter / e-e gute Bekannte e-e Person, die man zwar gut kennt u. öfter trifft, die aber (noch) kein richtiger Freund / keine richtige Freundin ist*“ – (‘a good acquaintance, a person you know well and meet more often, but who is not a true friend (yet); and 3) *Geliebte(r)* – (‘lover’). To investigate the G-FOL claim that ‘intensity’ is a crucial MC when comparing German and English personal relationship terminology, the entries are visualized in regards to the progression of the *Bekannte(r)/Freund(in)* relationship. The visualization of the Langenscheidt entry could look like Figure 5.9:

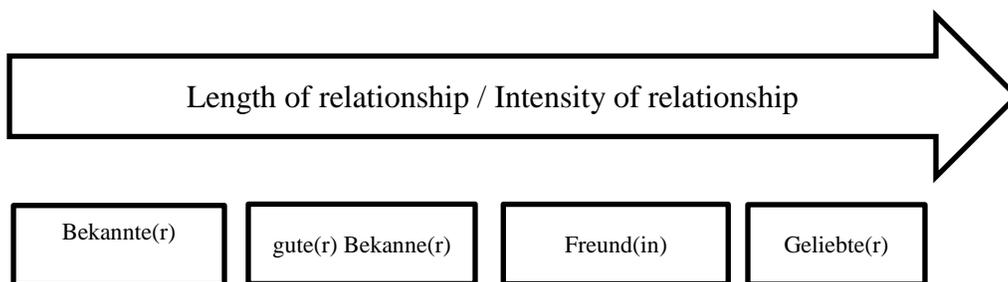


Figure 5.9: Visualization of Langenscheidt dictionary entry.

According to Langenscheidt, how one associates with a person and how intimate the relationship is defines how the person partaking in the relationship is categorized. To put this progression in perspective including the other dictionary entries, I categorized each entry based on the presence of ‘length of relationship’ and ‘intensity of relationship markers’. Figure 5.10 gives a map of the all entries based on the graph in Figure 5.9, and adds the defining arguments found in the entries themselves.

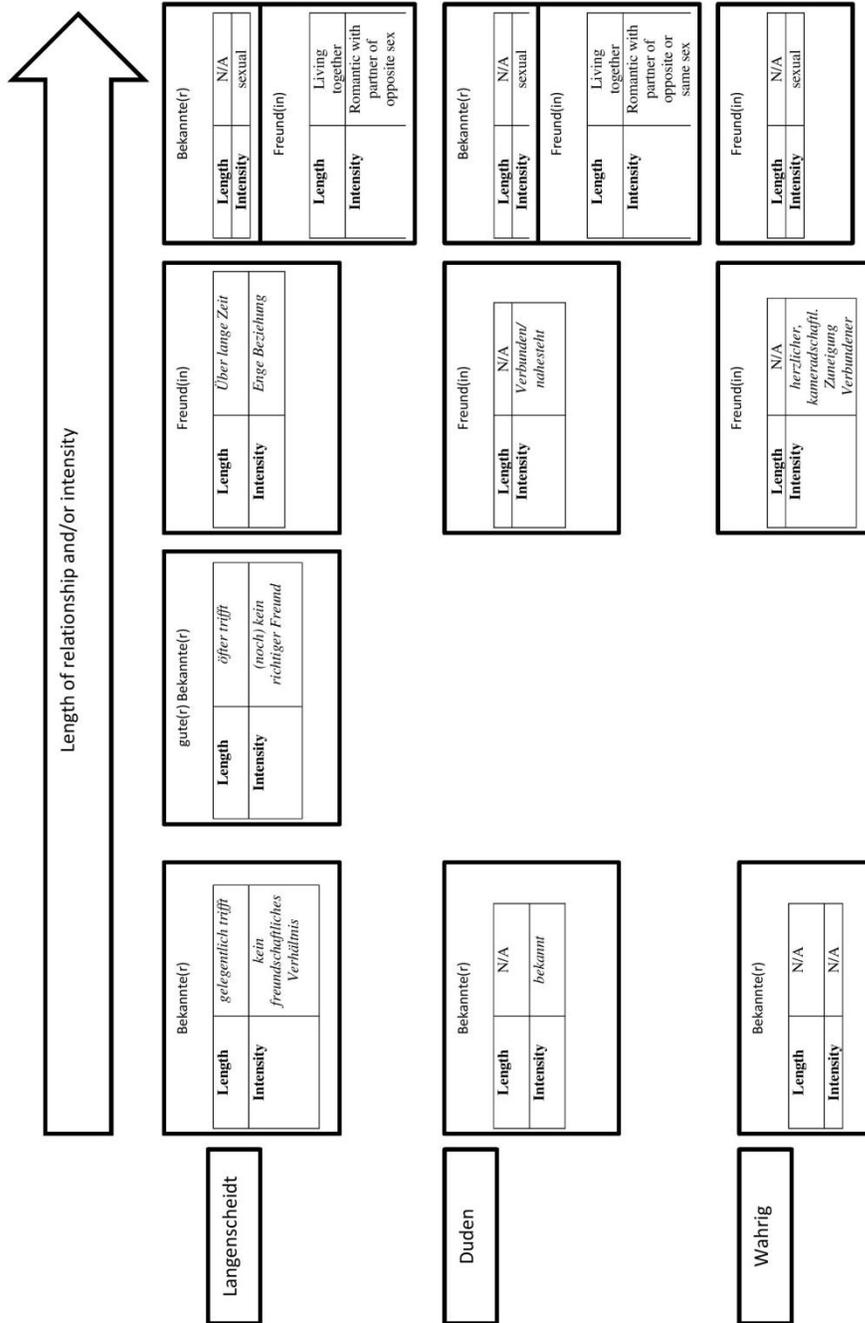


Figure 5.10: Comparison of *Freund(in)/Bekannt(e)r* dictionary entries.

Most entries reference at least one of the quantifiers of length or intensity of the relationship except the Wahrig entry for *Bekannt(er)*, which lists neither of the quantifiers. As discussed above, Langenscheidt is the most detailed entry, as the terms *Bekannt(e)* and *Freund(in)* are clearly organized by length *and* intensity of the relationship. The entries in Duden do not reference the length of the relationship (with the exception of the ‘romantic’ usage of *Freund(in)*), but they do reference the intensity, whereas *Bekannt(e)* is defined as *bekannt* (‘acquainted’), *Freund(in)* is defined as *verbunden* (‘connected’) and *nahesteht* (‘being close’). Both Duden and Langenscheidt define *Bekannt(e)* and *Freund(in)* as terms to describe sexual/romantic relationships: *Geliebte/r* (‘lover’). In summary, the dictionary entries examined here are not sufficient to clearly understand the meaning of *Freund(in)* and how it differs from the term *Bekannt(e)* as (a) they contain too many circular definitions, (b) they cross reference the terms *Freund(in)* and *Bekannt(e)*, which might mislead the learner into believing they are interchangeable, and (c) the definitions for the ‘boy-/girlfriend’ meaning of *Freund(in)* are vague and not clearly defined. However, the entries support G-FOL’s claim that the ‘intensity’ of a relationship is a deciding factor when distinguishing between German personal relationship terminology, as they all reference the length and/or intensity of the relationship in question. In other words, two MCs have been positively identified: **length of relationship** and **intensity of relationship**.

Consider now the entries for the bilingual dictionaries, two of which are printed volumes (Oxford German Dictionary and Collins) and the third of which is digital (LEO online dictionary <http://dict.leo.org>)

Dictionary	<i>Freund(in)</i>	<i>Bekannte(r)</i>
Oxford German Dictionary	<p>Freund M –s, -e a) (=Kamerad) friend b) (=Liebhaber) boyfriend (<i>esp. älter</i>) gentleman friend c) (fig) (=Anhänger) lover</p> <p>Freundin F, -nen a) friend b) (=Liebhaber) girlfriend (<i>esp. älter</i>) lady friend c) (fig) (=Anhängerin, Förderin)</p>	<p><i>Decl as adj.</i> friend; (=entfernter Bekannter) acquaintance</p>
Collins	<p>Freund <i>Der; ~es, ~e</i> A) friend B) (Verehrer, Geliebter) boyfriend (<i>alter</i>) gentleman friend C) (Anhänger, Liebhaber) lover</p> <p>Freundin <i>Die; ~, ~nen</i> A) friend B) (Geliebte) girlfriend; (<i>alter</i>) ladyfriend</p>	<p><i>Der/die adj. Dekl. A)</i> acquaintance B) (<i>verhüll.:</i> <i>Freund/Freundin</i>) boyfriend/girl[friend]</p>
Leo.org	Friend, boyfriend, pal	Friend, acquaintance

Table 5.6: Bilingual dictionary entries for *Freund(in)* and *Bekannte(r)*.

The entries in the bilingual dictionaries are all both short and similar. Circular definitions are present in all three dictionaries. In the Oxford German, *Freund* is the first entry for both of the words ‘friend’ and ‘acquaintance’, ignoring the difference between these two terms completely. Collins is similar, but does list ‘acquaintance’ as the first entry for *Bekannter* in addition to the secondary entry ‘boyfriend/girlfriend’. The entry in Leo.org is similar to the Oxford German dictionary, as it also lists *Freund* as the first entry for both ‘friend’ and ‘acquaintance’. Collins is the only bilingual dictionary that

references the use of *Bekannt* in a romantic context. The bilingual dictionary entries have not provided any additional MCs, and the entries suffer from a lack of explanation, leaving any non-native speaker trying unsuccessfully to understand the appropriate use of terms *Freund* and *Bekannt*.

The monolingual dictionaries did stress the MCs: **length of relationship** and **intensity of relationship**, but circularity restricts the learners' ability to gain a proper understanding of the cultural connotations and context underlying *Freund* and *Bekannt*. Furthermore, the learner might fall into the "translation-equivalent" trap, assuming that *Freund* and 'friend' are identical. To understand where the challenges lie for native English speakers in their quest to use German relationship terminology properly, the next section looks at English dictionary entries for 'friend' and provides a contrastive analysis for the latter and the German counterpart *Freund*.

5.6 THE MEANING OF 'FRIEND' IN ENGLISH

The previous analyses are targeted at the meaning of *Freund* in German in an attempt to define the meaning components the term carries. To contrast these components to the English 'friend', this section looks at monolingual English dictionary entries and contrasts these with the German entries analyzed in 5.5.

5.6.1 Dictionary entries for 'friend'

For this analysis, the following dictionaries were consulted: Merriam-Webster's New World College Dictionary (MWD), The American Heritage Dictionary of the English language (AHDOTEL), The Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the Oxford

Dictionary of English (ODE), and the New Oxford American English Dictionary (NOAED). These first three dictionaries are the most renowned English dictionaries. The Oxford Dictionary of English is from the same publisher as the OED, but focuses more on contemporary English, as does its American English counterpart, the New Oxford American English Dictionary. These five dictionaries were chosen because they give a fair representation of the current dictionary publications available to the public. Table 5.7 summarizes the results:

Dictionary	‘friend’
Merriam-Webster	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A person whom one knows well and is fond of, intimate associate, close acquaintance 2. A person on the same side in a struggle, one who is not an enemy or foe
The American Heritage Dictionary of the English language	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A person whom one knows, likes, and trusts. 2. A person whom one knows; an acquaintance. 3. A person with whom one is allied in a struggle or cause; a comrade. 4. One who supports, sympathizes with, or patronizes a group, cause, or movement.
OED	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy. Not ordinarily used of lovers or relatives. 2. Applied loosely, e.g. to a mere acquaintance, or to a stranger 3. † A kinsman or near relation 4. † A lover or paramour of either sex
Oxford Dictionary of English	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A person with whom one has a bond of mutual affection, typically exclusive of sexual or family relation 2. A person who supports a cause or organization 3. A contact on a social networking website
New Oxford American English Dictionary	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A person whom one knows and with whom one has a bond of mutual affection, typically exclusive of sexual or family relation. 2. A person who supports a cause or organization

Table 5.7: Dictionary entries for ‘friend’.

The first definition in Webster’s, the OED, and the American Heritage Dictionary of the English language are similar, as they call for a certain level of intimacy. Table 5.8 highlights descriptors of intimacy:

Dictionary	‘friend’
Merriam-Webster	1. A person whom one <u>knows well</u> and <u>is fond of</u> , <u>intimate</u> associate, <u>close</u> acquaintance
The American Heritage Dictionary of the English language	1. A person whom one knows, <u>likes</u> , and <u>trusts</u> .
OED	1. One joined to another in mutual <u>benevolence and intimacy</u> . Not ordinarily used of lovers or relatives.

Table 5.8: Comparison of dictionary entries in Merriam-Webster’s, the American Heritage Dictionary of the English language, and OED.

The MWD and OED give a more explicit definition of the level of intimacy. The MWD defines the relationship with a ‘friend’ as someone one ‘knows well’, “is fond of”, “intimate”, and “close”. The OED also refers to ‘intimacy’ and ‘benevolence’. The definition in the AHDOTEL does not explicitly reference intimacy, but does add the notion of ‘trust’ which conveys the idea that one must feel reasonably close to the person in question. The OED (and its related publications) point out that this relationship is usually exclusive of a family or sexual relation. However, the OED also references two obsolete (†) senses of ‘friend’ (a) “A kinsman or relative” and (b) “A lover or paramour of either sex”, which means that the term ‘friend’ was used in a family or sexual context at some point in the English language. The MWD and the AHDOTEL also reference the context of struggle and a ‘friend’ being someone who is fighting for the same cause. A

similar concept is also presented in the ODE and the NOAED, with ‘friend’ defined as “A person who supports a cause or organization”. The term ‘friend’ is commonly found in this context when talking about supporters, for example:

(5.3) National friends of the library week.

(5.4) Friends of the Fund for Healthy Maine.

Because this context is not directly related to interpersonal relationships, it is not discussed further in this study.

As mentioned above, all three of the most prominent English dictionaries reference the intimacy context in their first entry for ‘friend’, however both the OED and the AHDOTEL follow this first entry with a secondary entry that is almost in direct opposition to the first entry. Table 5.9 shows the first and second entries for these dictionaries in contrast:

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English language	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A person whom one knows, likes, and trusts. 2. A person whom one knows; an acquaintance.
OED	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy. Not ordinarily used of lovers or relatives. 2. Applied loosely, e.g. to a mere acquaintance, or to a stranger

Table 5.9: Comparison of first and second dictionary entries in AHDOTEL and OED.

In both dictionaries, the second entries reference ‘acquaintance’. The OED even references ‘stranger’, which is a more remote relationship than ‘acquaintance’. Hence, according to the latter two dictionaries, ‘friend’ can be someone who ranges from close to not close at all.

The more contemporary publications of the Oxford Dictionary family, the ODE and the NOADE, have almost identical entries. The only difference is the ODE's reference to the usage of 'friend' in the social media context, for example:

(5.5) Add me as a friend on Facebook.

(5.6) I have 500 friends on Instagram.

While this context is currently common, it does not directly pertain to interpersonal relationships and will not be discussed in further detail. The dictionaries analyzed above all reference the usage of 'friend' in standard British or American English. The following table (5.10) shows dictionary entries from other Englishes, namely the Dictionary of American Regional English, the Scottish Concise Dictionary, and the Canadian Oxford Dictionary:

Dictionary of American Regional English	1. A common law marriage partner
Scottish Concise Dictionary	1. friend 2. relative, kinsman
Canadian Oxford Dictionary	1. A person with whom one enjoys mutual affection and regard (usu. exclusive of sexual or family bonds) 2. A sympathizer 3. A person who is an ally 4a. <i>Euphemism</i> : romantic or sexual partner, a lover 4b. An acquaintance, associate, or person known casually

Table 5.10: Dictionary entries in Dictionary of American Regional English, the Scottish Concise Dictionary, and the Canadian Oxford Dictionary.

The three dictionary entries above show some regional differences in the usage of 'friend'. The DOARE defines friend as a "common law marriage partner", or a person with whom one is in an intimate relationship, similar to marriage. This is interesting as

the dictionaries analyzed previously above do not reference this context and the OED even labeled this context ‘obsolete’. Unfortunately, the DOARE does not offer any additional information as to where this variation of ‘friend’ is used, but it does show that there is yet another sense present that has not been mentioned. The SCD entry is short and also references a sense that was labeled ‘obsolete’ in the OED, namely the family context of “relative, kinsman”. The COD lists almost all the senses previously encountered, and the definition of ‘friend’ ranges from a casual acquaintance to a “person with whom one enjoys mutual affection and regard” to sexual partner.

In summary, it can be said that there is no clear consensus as to how the term ‘friend’ can be defined. Besides regional differences (Scottish and Canadian), there are significant differences among the dictionary entries for British and American English. The entries define ‘friend’ on a wide continuum, ranging from (a) someone one is unfamiliar with (OED) to (b) someone one knows loosely (OED, AHDOTEL) to (c) someone one shares mutual affection and intimacy (OED, AHDOTEL, MW) to (d) a sexual partner in a common law marriage (DOARE). For non-native speakers of English this poses problems as the concept of ‘friend’ is not clearly defined.

5.6.1.1 Dictionary entries compared – Freund and ‘friend’

As previously discussed, both German and English dictionary entries have their difficulties. The German entries suffer from circularity while the English entries offer a wide spectrum of possible senses with no consensus among the publications. However,

contrasting the German and English entries provides insight into the cultural differences (see Table 5.11):

Dictionary	<i>Freund(in)</i>	Dictionary	'friend'
Wahrig	1 in <i>herzlicher, kameradschaftl. Zuneigung Verbundener; (guter, freundschaftl. verbundener) Kamerad, Genosse, Partner (Geschäfts~, Schul~, Sport~, Studien~); [umg.] Liebhaber</i>	Merriam-Webster	1. A person whom one knows well and is fond of, intimate associate, close acquaintance 2. A person on the same side in a struggle, one who is not an enemy or foe
Duden	Freund 1. männliche Person, die einer anderen in Freundschaft verbunden ist, ihr nahesteht: Ein guter F. von mir; mein F. Klaus; mein bester F.; 2 männliche Person, mit der eine Frau od. ein Mann befreundet ist [u. mit der sie od. er zusammenlebt] sein neuer F. ist zu ihm gezogen; sie hat einen festen F.	The American Heritage Dictionary of the English language	1. A person whom one knows, likes, and trusts. 2. A person whom one knows; an acquaintance. 3. A person with whom one is allied in a struggle or cause; a comrade. 4. One who supports, sympathizes with, or patronizes a group, cause, or movement.
Langenscheidt	Freund 1 ein F. (von j-m) j-d, den man sehr gut kennt u. zu dem man über e-e relative lange Zeit e-e enge Beziehung hat [ein guter, treuer, wahrer F.; j-n zum Freund gewinnen; viele Freunde haben / besitzen] 2 j-s F. ein Junge od. Mann, der mit einem Mädchen od. e-r Frau befreundet ist (u. mit ihr zusammenlebt) [der, mein, dein, ihr F.; ein fester langjähriger F.]: <i>Sie fährt mit ihrem F. in Urlaub</i>	OED	1. One joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy. Not ordinarily used of lovers or relatives. 2. Applied loosely, e.g. to a mere acquaintance, or to a stranger 3. † A kinsman or near relation 4. † A lover or paramour of either sex

Table 5.11: Dictionary entries for *Freund* and 'friend'.

The German entries reference two possible contexts for *Freund*, due to the fact that *Freund* can mean either 'friend' or 'boyfriend'. Apart from these two references, no additional meaning contexts are present. However, in the English entries, the context ranges from stranger to romantic partner and everything in between. It stands out that

both the OED and the AHDOTEL specifically mention the use of ‘friend’ for a person someone is merely acquainted with. This context is not present in the German definitions, as it would not be used for *Freund* but instead for *Bekannter*. While the English entries do reference intimacy, the notation of such and the length of the relationship is much more prominent in the German entries.⁷⁹ To summarize, the important differences between *Freund* and ‘friend’ as it can be attested for in the entries above are: (a) *Freund* cannot be used to describe acquaintances whereas ‘friend’ can and (b) the length and intensity of a friendship is a dominant defining concept of *Freund*.

5.6.1.2 Beyond the dictionary comparisons – collocation analysis for ‘friend’ and Freund

The corpus analysis for *Freund* helped to develop a better understanding of the participating MCs. Hence, the same approach is adopted for the English ‘friend’. While the dictionary comparison already demonstrated some of the differences between the German concept of *Freund* and the English ‘friend’, the corpus analysis is used to find empirical data to support the differences found above. First, a collocation analysis is performed to compare collocates. Table 5.13 shows the ten most frequent collocates for ‘friend’, extracted from the Corpus for Contemporary American English (COCA; <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>).

⁷⁹ For a detailed discussion of the occurrence of length of relationship and intensity see 5.3.

SEE CONTEXT: CLICK ON WORD OR SELECT WORDS + [CONTEXT] [HELP...]

	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	FREQ
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	MY	12968
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	BEST	7385
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	OLD	3020
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	GOOD	2680
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	MINE	2379
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	CLOSE	2179
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	LONGTIME	994
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	DEAR	754
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	CHILDHOOD	489
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	CLOSEST	394

Figure 5.11: COCA collocation analysis for ‘friend’.

To contrast the collocates for ‘friend’ with the collocates for *Freund*, the ten most common collocates were extracted from IDS COSMAS II (see figure 5.12):

COSMAS II + Abmeldung Recherche Optionen

Aktuelles Archiv: W - Archiv der geschriebenen Sprache | Aktuelles Korpus: W-öffentlich - alle öffentlichen Korpora des Archivs W (mit Neuaquisitionen) [1]

Aktuelle Suchanfrage: Freund | Referenz: Deutsches Referenzkorpus (DeReKo-2015-II)

Treffer: 399.178 | Aktive Treffer:

Archive | Korpus | Such. | Wortform. | Ergebnisse | **Kookkurrenzanalyse** | KWIC | Volltext | Export

Einstellungen | **Kookkurrenzen**

#	kumul.	Häufig	Kookkurrenzen	syntagmatische Muster
1	8221	8221	Feind	92% Freund [und] Feind
2	14989	6768	besten	99% sein besten [...] Freund
3	22191	7202	guter	88% ein guter [...] Freund von ...
4	26143	3952	enger	99% ein enger [...] Freund von ...
5	28328	2185	Severin	99% Severin [...] Freund
6	34228	5900	besten	97% seinen seinem besten [...] Freund
7	37686	3458	alter	97% ein alter [...] Freund
8	39796	2110	langjähriger	95% ein langjähriger [...] Freund und ...
9	42829	3033	Helfer	97% als Freund [und] Helfer
10	45027	2198	langjährigen	95% seinem langjährigen [...] Freund

Figure 5.12: Collocation results for *Freund*.

The results can be organized into two main groups: **duration** and **intensity** of relationship. In the duration category we find: *alt* ‘old’, and *langjährig*; and the intensity category includes *besten* ‘best’, *gut* ‘good’, and *eng* ‘close’. In addition to duration and intensity we also have *Feind* ‘enemy’, *Helfer* ‘helper’, and *Severin*. *Severin Freund* is a popular and successful German ski jumper and *Severin* presumably occurs because IDS Cosmas draws the majority of its examples from newspaper publications. The *Helfer* collocation can be explained if one knows that the German Police is referenced to “*dein Freund und Helfer*” ‘your friend and helper’ and almost all occurrences of *Helfer* are linked to the police context. Similar to the idiom “*Freund und Helfer*” is the idiom *Freund und Feind* ‘friend and foe’, which has gained popularity since the publication of Friedrich Schiller’s 1789 poem *Freund und Feind*. The next section will take a closer look at the collocations in the duration and intensity category: Chapter 5.2 showed that dictionaries link the terms *Freund*, and *Bekannter* to exactly such: duration and intensity. The collocations for *Freund* that describe intensity are *gut*, *eng*, and *besten*, and all indicate a great level of intensity, describing a friend as ‘good’, ‘close’, or ‘best’. A similar level of intensity is seen in the collocations linked to duration, *alt*, and *langjährig*, which indicate that a friendship in the German speaking world has developed over a long period of time. Comparing these German collocates to the English collocates for ‘friend’, the English collocates can also be divided in two groups, MC **duration** and MC **intensity** (see table 5.12).

Duration	Intensity
old	best
longtime	good
childhood	close
	dear

Table 5.12: Collocates organized by type, for the MC **duration** and **intensity**.

The three collocates for the MC **duration** ('old', 'longtime', 'childhood') describe a friendship that has been established for a longer period of time. The collocates for the MC **intensity** are all positive attributes: 'best', 'good', 'close', and 'dear'. In summary, it can be said that the collocates for English 'friend' are similar to the collocates for German *Freund* (see table 5.13).

Duration		Intensity	
English	German	English	German
old	<i>alt</i>	best	<i>bester</i>
longtime	<i>langjährig</i>	good	<i>gut</i>
childhood		close	<i>eng</i>
		dear	

Table 5.13: Collocates for English 'friend' and German *Freund* organized by type, for the MCs **duration** and **intensity**

The collocates are almost identical in both languages, and do not support the meaning differences extracted in the dictionary analysis above. To further analyze the occurrence of ‘friend’ in the English language, the next section looks at the Frame Net annotation report for the LU ‘friend’. Frame Net provides annotated corpus examples in the annotation reports for each LU, which are used for this analysis.

5.6.1.2 Frame Net Annotation report for ‘friend’

As discussed earlier, the LU ‘friend’ evokes the `personal_relationship` frame, which is identical to the `personal_relationship` frame in G-FOL. The frame description is as follows:

The words in this frame have to do with people and the personal RELATIONSHIP they are or can be a part of. Some of the words denote people engaged in a particular kind of RELATIONSHIP, others denote the RELATIONSHIP, yet others the events bringing about or ending the RELATIONSHIPS. Many of the words presuppose an understanding of states and events that must have occurred before another event takes place or before a person can be classified in a certain way.

Figure 5.13: `Personal_Relationship` frame.

The following FEs are participating in the `Personal_relationship` frame:

Frame Element	Core Type
Degree	Peripheral
Depictive	Extra-Thematic
Duration	Peripheral
Manner	Peripheral
Means	Peripheral
Partners	Core
Partner_1	Core
Partner_2	Core
Relationship	Peripheral
Source_of_relationship	Peripheral

Figure 5.14: FEs in the `Personal_relationship` frame.⁸⁰

While `DURATION` is not a core FE in this frame, it is listed as a peripheral, non-core FE. There are 47 annotated corpus sentences in the annotation report for ‘friend’, none of which list `DURATION` as a participating FE. The only FEs realized in the annotations are `PARTNER_1`, `PARTNER_2`, and `PARTNERS`. One of the principles of Frame Net is to find corpus examples which are representative of the use of the target word, meaning that one could conclude that `DURATION` is not considered an important concept in the description of the target term. The 47 corpus sentences are grouped by type, some syntactically motivated (such as possessive structures) and others collocationally motivated. For the collocation types, FN lists ‘old’ and ‘good’ as representatives for collocates of ‘friend’. In total, these two groups account for nine of the 47 corpus examples. In summary, it can be

⁸⁰ https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=frameIndex=personal_relationship

said that the `personal_relationship` frame is not easily used to account for the differences in German and English personal relationship terminology. The next section will analyze the existing `personal_relationship` frame and propose a new approach to frame design to incorporate the MCs **intensity** and **duration**.

5.7 A FRAME FOR *FREUND*

The previous analysis revealed several problems surrounding the target term *Freund*: (a) *Freund* can easily be mistaken for a true translation equivalent to English ‘friend’; (b) *Freund* has two possible translations (*friend* and *boyfriend*); (c) The German term *Bekannter* is often used in lieu of *Freund* when translating ‘friend’; (d) Syntactic patterns are not sufficient to classify the relationship as romantic or platonic; and (e) Duration and intensity of the relationship are important markers for the classification of *Freund* versus *Bekannter*, yet there are no clear values to be assigned. The goal of this section is to address these problems by designing a new frame for personal relationship terminology in German. The new frame(s) will incorporate the underlying cultural connotations of the target LU and hence will function as a learning aid for non-native speakers of German. The existing English `Personal_Relationship` frame has been introduced in section 5.6.1.2 as it is used in FrameNet and G-FOL:

The words in this frame have to do with people and the personal RELATIONSHIP they are or can be a part of. Some of the words denote people engaged in a particular kind of RELATIONSHIP, others denote the RELATIONSHIP, yet others the events bringing about or ending the RELATIONSHIPS. Many of the words presuppose an understanding of states and events that must have occurred before another event takes place or before a person can be classified in a certain way.

Figure 5.15: Personal_Relationship frame.

The problem with this frame description is that the wording “many of the words presuppose an understanding of states and events that must have occurred before another event takes place or before a person can be classified in a certain way” is vague and does not help distinguish the differences between *Freund* and *Bekannter*. Because the frame is complex and gives a broad definition of any possible personal relationship, it cannot easily be used to account for German personal relationship terminology. I argue that we need a more specific frame directly linked to the `Personal_Relationship` frame, namely a **subframe**.⁸¹ A subframe represents a “subevent of a complex event represented by the parent, e.g. the `Criminal_process` frame has subframes of `Arrest`, `Arraignment`, `Trial`, and `Sentencing`”.⁸² In this case, I propose two subframes of the `Personal_Relationship` frame, namely the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame, and the `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame. The latter is representative of romantic, non-marital relationships, while the first represents platonic relationships. This

⁸¹ For a detailed discussion of frame relations see Petruck (2005) and Ruppenhofer (2010).

⁸² <http://www.nltk.org/howto/framenet.html>

distinction is important, as personal relationship terminology in German often occurs in both contexts, such as *Freund* ('male friend' or 'boyfriend') as well as *Bekannte* ('female acquaintance' or 'female lover'). The two subframes immediately direct the language learners' attention to the fact that the target LU can evoke more than one frame and additional caution is granted to decide which subframe is evoked.

The frame description for the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame is as follows:

<p>Platonic_Personal_Relationship</p> <p>The words in this frame have to do with people and the personal RELATIONSHIP they are or can be a part of. Some of the words denote people engaged in a platonic RELATIONSHIP, others denote the PARTNERS. The platonic relationship and its participants must be seen on a continuum (see LU entry appendix for core FEs)</p>
--

Figure 5.16: `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame.

The frame description stresses that the PARTNERS involved in this relationship are platonic, the most common frame evoking LUs are *Freund* and *Bekannt*. Fig. 5.17 shows the core FEs of this `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame:

<p>PARTNER_1 : That partner in the RELATIONSHIP who is realized as the subject of verbs in active form sentences, or of adjectives in predicative uses.</p> <p>PARTNER_2: That partner in the RELATIONSHIP who is not expressed as the external argument.</p> <p>PARTNERS: The joint construal of both Partners in the RELATIONSHIP.</p>

Figure 5.17: Core FEs of `Platonic_Personal_Relationship`.

The goal of this frame design was to include the underlying cultural connotations of *Freund* and other German personal relationship terminology. The new FEs need to capture the two important cultural connotations of the frame evoking LUs, namely **duration** and **intensity**. These pose two issues in their applicability: (a) they are often omitted in the immediate context of the LU and (b) they imply a measurement scale which cannot be defined in the frame description itself, as each LU is linked to different points on said scale. Consider, for example, the LUs *Freund* and *Bekannter*, whereas it might be a cultural understanding that a *Freund* is someone with whom one has a more intense (**intensity**) and well established (**duration**) relationship than with a *Bekannter*, it is impossible to assign a set value to either of these elements, rendering the frame description insufficient.

In an effort to address this problem, I propose to expand the new frame descriptions with NSM cultural scripts.⁸³ Because cultural scripts are verbalized with simple grammar and language universal primes, these scripts can be utilized to describe culture-specific phenomena and ideas (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004). These scripts can augment the newly designed frame entries to grant a language learner access to the cultural connotations associated with the core FEs and frame evoking LUs.

For the *Platonic_Personal_Relationship* frame, the scale of **duration** and **intensity** is directly associated with the correct labeling of the culture-specific LUs (*Freund* vs. *Bekannter*). Because both terms refer to an element of measurement, the cultural scripts need to caption the scaling of thereof. In other words, the scripts need to

⁸³ See Chapter 2.5.3 for a detailed discussion of Natural Semantic Meta Language and cultural scripts.

exemplify certain levels on these scales to illustrate where specific LUs, such as *Freund* and *Bekannter*, fall. This approach allows the language learner to arrive at an appropriate translation for the target LU.

I propose three cultural scripts to augment the Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame. These scripts are representative of three distinct levels of **duration** and **intensity**. The scripts are linked to the lexical entries of the participating LUs, such a *Freund*, and *Bekannter*. The first script, or level one, is descriptive of a platonic relationship with someone one is not close to. An exemplary LU for this level is *Bekannter*.

<p>Level 1 X is someone like this X is someone I know X is someone I have met before When I think of X I think I know this person, but I do not know much about this person and I do not feel close to this person. Many people think like this I have many of X because there are many people I have met and know.</p>
--

Figure 5.18: NSM cultural script level 1 to augment Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.

The script captures the **intensity** and **duration** by relating both to personal statements: ‘When I think of X I think’ and the text draws from personal experience and aids to understand how the LU is used in German. In this case, the **intensity and duration** are described as ‘I do not feel close to this person’ and ‘X is someone I have met before’.

The second level adds the more specific **duration** marker ‘X is someone I have known for some time’ and also shows increased **intensity** over level 1: ‘I have a few of X because I don’t feel this way about many people’. This level is evoked by the LU *Freund* (see Fig. 5.19):

<p>Level 2</p> <p>X is someone like this</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">X is someone I like a lotX is someone I know wellX is someone I know for some time <p>When I think of X I think</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">I like this person, and I know this person for some time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel close to this person <p>Many people think like this</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">I have a few of X because I do not feel this way for many people
--

Figure 5.19: NSM cultural script level 2 to augment Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.

The last script, level three, is representative of a special bond of friendship one shares only with his/her ‘best’ friend. The duration and intensity markers are explicit and set a significantly higher value than level 1 or level 2: ‘I like this person more than other people, I have known this person for a long time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other persons, and this person will likely be part of my whole life’, see Figure 5.20:

<p>Level 3</p> <p>X is someone like this</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> X is someone I like more than most people X is someone I know well X is someone I know for a long time X is not family X is not an intimate partner <p>When I think of X I think</p> <p>I like this person more than other people, and I know this person for a long time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other people. This person will likely be part of my whole life.</p> <p>Many people think like this</p> <p>I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people</p>

Figure 5.20: NSM cultural script level 3 to augment Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame.

As previously mentioned, these scripts need to be directly linked to the participating FEs and evoking LUs. The frame description alerts the reader that the lexical entries of the LUs need to be consulted. A possible entry for the LU *Freund* could look as follows:

Lexical Entry

Freund.n

Frame: **Platonic_Personal_Relationship**

Linked Cultural Scripts:

Platonic_Personal_Relationship Level 2

Level 2

X is someone like this

 X is someone I like a lot

 X is someone I know well

 X is someone I know for some time

When I think of X I think

 I like this person, and I know this person for some time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel close to this person

Many people think like this

 I have a few of X because I do not feel this way for many people

Platonic_Personal_Relationship Level 3

Level 3

X is someone like this

 X is someone I like more than most people

 X is someone I know well

 X is someone I know for a long time

 X is not family

 X is not an intimate partner

When I think of X I think

 I like this person more than other people, and I know this person for a long time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other people. This person will likely be part of my whole life.

Many people think like this

 I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people

Figure 5.21: Lexical Entry for *Freund.n*.

Figure 5.21 shows the first part of the lexical entry for *Freund*. The entry lists which frame the LU evokes (here: *Platonic_Personal_Relationship*), followed by the scripts linked to the LU. To complete the entry, the cultural scripts would be followed by tables illustrating the syntactical realizations as well as valence patterns.

To illustrate how these lexical entries with cultural scripts function as a learning aid for non-native speakers, consider the following example:

- (5.7) Petra geht oft mit ihren *Freunden* Pizza essen.
 Petra goes often with her friends Pizza eat.
 ‘Petra and her friends often go out to eat Pizza.’

In an attempt to understand the type of relationship Petra has with the *Freunden*, the language learner would first be prompted that the *Platonic_Personal_Relationship* frame is evoked and applied in combination with its corresponding cultural scripts, level 2, or possibly level 3. Upon consulting the scripts, the learner quickly finds that level 2 is most appropriate for this context, as level 3 references a person with whom one has a special bond, which is not applicable in this context.

- (5.8) [_{<PARTNER_1>}Petra] geht oft mit ihren [_{<PARTNER_2>} *Freunden*^{Tgt}] Pizza essen.

Level 2

X is someone like this

X is someone I like a lot

X is someone I know well

X is someone I know for some time

When I think of X I think

I like this person, and I know this person for some time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel close to this person

Many people think like this

I have a few of X because I do not feel this way for many people

The script allows the language learner to get a clear idea of the relationship that PARTNER_1 and PARTNER_2 share in the example. Because simple language is used in the script itself, it is easy for the language learner to relate to the concept described.

The second subframe, the `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame is, as expected, similar to its parent frame `Personal_Relationship`. It does, however, stress the type or **intensity** of the relationship in which the PARTNERS are involved.

<p>Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship</p> <p>The words in this frame have to do with people and the personal RELATIONSHIP they are or can be a part of. Some of the words denote people engaged in a romantic, yet non marital RELATIONSHIP, others denote the PARTNERS, yet others the events bringing about or ending the RELATIONSHIPS. Many of the words presuppose an understanding of states and events that must have occurred before another event takes place or before a person can be classified in a certain way. (see LU entry appendix for core FEs)</p>
--

Figure 5.22: `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame.

The participating frame elements in this frame are:

<p>PARTNER_1: That partner in the RELATIONSHIP who is realized as the subject of verbs in active form sentences, or of adjectives in predicative uses.</p> <p>PARTNER_2: That partner in the RELATIONSHIP who is not expressed as the external argument.</p> <p>PARTNERS: The joint construal of both Partners in the RELATIONSHIP.</p>

Figure 5.23: Core FEs for `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame.

The LUs evoking this frame include, but are not limited to: *Freund* (boyfriend), *Freundin* (girlfriend), *Bekannte/r* (lover), *Geliebte/r* (lover), *Verlobte/r* (fiancee). The

frame description references the LU entry appendix as the level of exclusivity between PARTNERS is crucial in the differences among the participating LUs. Similar to level of duration and intensity in the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame, this frame needs to be augmented with cultural scripts to allow the inclusion of intensity and level of exclusivity. Consider example (5.9) in which the husband has a secret affair with another woman. Without the adjective *heimliche* ‘secret’, this relationship could easily be understood to be platonic, as it merely references two people who have known each other for several years:

(5.9) Eine heimliche Bekannte hatte der Ehemann schon seit ein paar Jahren.
‘The husband has had a secret lover for several years.’

(5.10) Eine Bekannte hatte der Ehemann schon seit ein paar Jahren.
‘The husband has had an acquaintance for several years’

The omission of *heimliche* changes the perception of this relationship to one where the *Bekante* could possibly be a female friend without any romantic involvement. However, similar to the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame, this frame description does not address how the level of exclusivity can be measured. Following the same approach as above, I suggest the augmentation of the frame description with NSM cultural scripts. The cultural scripts capture the level of exclusivity between partners and link said level to the appropriate LU. Level 1 of the `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame cultural scripts describes a partner with whom one is sexually involved, however the level of exclusivity is low, as there could be more than one person with whom one is equally involved (see Fig. 5.24):

X = Level 1
X is someone like this
 X is someone I know
 X is someone I am intimate with
When I think of X I think
 I like this person, I like being intimate with this person. I do not have a
 commitment to this person.
Many people think like this
 I have one or a few of X because I like being intimate with these person(s).

Figure 5.24: NSM cultural script Level 1 to augment
Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.

The second level describes a relationship with significantly more exclusivity, as
the partners are typically not seeing other people:

X = Level 2
X is someone like this
 X is someone I like
 X is someone I know well
 X is someone I am intimate with
 X is someone I like spending time with
When I think of X I think
 I like this person, and I like spending time with person. This person feels the
 same about me, because of this, I feel close to this person.
Many people think like this
 I have one of X because I do not feel this way for many people

Figure 5.25: NSM cultural scripts Level 2 to augment
Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.

The third and last level describes a relationship in which the partners plan on spending the rest of their lives together, something one typically finds in a relationship with engaged partners:

X = Level 3
 X is someone like this
 X is someone I like more than other people
 X is someone I know well
 X is someone I feel close to
 X is someone I am intimate with
 X is someone I spend most of my time with
 When I think of X I think
 I like this person more than other people, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other people. I am committed to this person. I intend to spend the rest of my life with this person.
 Many people think like this
 I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people.

Figure 5.26: NSM cultural scripts Level 3 to augment
 Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame.

The cultural scripts in addition to the subframes allow for a direct comparison of polysemous personal relationship terminology, such as *Freund*. A language learner presented with the challenge of finding an appropriate translation can use the frames and the scripts to make a decision as to which translation is most correct. Consider the following example:

- (5.11) Neben anderen Gästen sind auch [_{<PARTNER_1>}*Bekannte*^{Tgt}] eingeladen.
 Next other guest are also acquaintances invited.
 Besides other guest, acquaintances are also invited.

Upon consultation of a frame based dictionary, the language learner would know that *Bekannte* evokes two frames: the `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame and the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame. The context allows the learner to rule out the first and guides the learner to the NSM scripts linked to the latter. The language learner can use these scripts as a translation aid to find the most appropriate translation by ruling out levels that do not work in the target context. In the example above, level 2 and 3 can be ruled out as they describe aspects of a relationship that do not apply to the target context (e.g. ‘I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people’). Figure 5.27 illustrates this process:⁸⁴

⁸⁴ All non-applicable cultural script statements have been crossed out for illustration purposes

Neben anderen Gästen sind auch [_{PARTNER_1}Bekannte^{Tgt}] eingeladen.

Bekannte evokes Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame *or*

evokes Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame

Here: Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame

Level 1

X is someone like this

X is someone I know

X is someone I have met before

When I think of X I think

I know this person, but I do not know much about this person and I do not feel close to this person.

Many people think like this

I have many of X because there are many people I have met and know.

✓ Evoking LU: Bekannter

Level 2

X is someone like this

~~X is someone I like a lot~~

~~X is someone I know well~~

X is someone I know for some time

When I think of X I think

I like this person, and I know this person for some time, this person feels the same about me because of this, ~~I feel close to this person~~

Many people think like this

~~I have a few of X because I do not feel this way for many people~~

Level 3

X is someone like this

~~X is someone I like more than most people~~

~~X is someone I know well~~

~~X is someone I know for a long time~~

X is not family

When I think of X I think

~~I like this person more than other people, and I know this person for a long time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other people. This person will likely be part of my whole life.~~

Many people think like this

~~I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people~~

Figure 5.27: Sample process for finding correct translation equivalent for *Bekannter*.

Figure 5.27 shows a sample process for accessing the cultural connotations of the target LU *Bekannte*. This LU evokes two frames, the `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame and the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame. The `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame can be ruled out as the evoked frame, as the context is clearly referencing a platonic relationship. Upon selecting the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame, three NSM scripts that augment this frame are directly linked, namely Levels 1, 2, and 3. To find the appropriate level, the scripts have to be analyzed to rule out definitions that do not fit the context. In this example, Level 2 can be ruled out as the following descriptions are not applicable: (a) *X is someone I like a lot / know well* (b) *I feel close to this person*, and (c) *I have a few of X because I don't feel this way for many people*. This approach is repeated for Level 3 which also references descriptions that are not applicable, such as (a) *I like this person more than other people*, (b) *I have known this person for a long time*, (c) *this person feels the same about me because of this*, and (d) *I feel closer to this person than to most other people*. By ruling out Levels 2 and 3 of the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame, the only script left is Level 1. Upon verifying the appropriateness of Level 1, the correct cultural connotations of the target LU are presented, as the script highlights the aspect of intensity and duration of relationship. To compare and contrast this process to another LU, consider the same frame and script selection process for the LU *Freund*, as outlined in Figure 5.28:

Die drei Mädchen waren schon seit der Grundschule [_{<PARTNER_1>}*Freundinnen*^{Tgt}].
'The three girls had been friends since elementary school'

Freundin evokes Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship frame *or*
evokes Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame

Here: Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame

Level 1

X is someone like this

X is someone I know

~~X is someone I have met before~~

When I think of X I think

~~I know this person, but I do not know much about this person and I do not feel close to this person.~~

Many people think like this

~~I have many of X because there are many people I have met and know.~~

Level 2

X is someone like this

X is someone I like a lot

X is someone I know well

X is someone I know for some time

When I think of X I think

I like this person, and I know this person for some time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel close to this person

Many people think like this

I have a few of X because I do not feel this way for many people

Level 3

X is someone like this

X is someone I like more than most people

X is someone I know well

X is someone I know for a long time

X is not family

When I think of X I think

~~I like this person more than other people, and I know this person for a long time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other people. This person will likely be part of my whole life.~~

Many people think like this

~~I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people~~

Figure 5.28: Sample process for finding correct translation equivalent for LU *Freundin*..

Following the process described above for the LU *Bekannt*, Figure 5.28 illustrates the selection process for the LU *Freundin*. Again, the first step is selecting between the two frames the LU evokes. Given the context of three girls being friends since elementary school, the `Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship` frame can be rejected. Next, the NSM scripts linked to this frame should be evaluated. In this example, Level 1 is not applicable, as the following definitions can be ruled out: (a) *I know this person, but I do not know much about this person and I do not feel close to this person* and (b) *I have many of X because there are many people I have met and know*. Level 3 is also not applicable, as the relationship the girls share cannot be described as *I have one of X because I don't feel this way for other people*. Level 2 is therefore the only script that appropriately reflects the cultural connotations of the LU *Freundin* in this context.

The processes outlined above exemplify how the NSM scripts reference the implicit cultural connotations of the target LUs. This process can also be reversed to show how a frame description with NSM script augmentation can help a non-native speaker of German choose the correct translation. Consider the following example:

(5.12) A friend of mine works in marketing.

If an English speaker aimed to find the correct German translation for this sentence, they could utilize these cultural scripts. In this case, the evoked frame is the `Platonic_Personal_Relationship` frame, and the levels are linked to the frame and hence allow verification of which German translation is most appropriate for the target context. Figure 5.29 outlines this process:

A friend of mine works in marketing.

evokes Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame

Levels linked: Level 1, 2, and 3

Level 1

X is someone like this

X is someone I know

X is someone I have met before

When I think of X I think

I know this person, but I do not know much about this person and I do not feel close to this person.

Many people think like this

I have many of X because there are many people I have met and know.

Level 2

X is someone like this

~~X is someone I like a lot~~

X is someone I know well

X is someone I know for some time

When I think of X I think

~~I like this person, and I know this person for some time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel close to this person~~

Many people think like this

~~I have a few of X because I do not feel this way for many people~~

Level 3

X is someone like this

X is someone I like more than most people

X is someone I know well

X is someone I know for a long time

X is not family

When I think of X I think

~~I like this person more than other people, and I know this person for a long time, this person feels the same about me because of this, I feel closer to this person than to most other people. This person will likely be part of my whole life.~~

Many people think like this

~~I have one of X because I do not feel this way for other people~~

Figure 5.29: Process for finding the correct German translation for LU 'friend'.

Upon consulting the scripts, the learner can decide which translation is most suitable for the target context. Level 1 is linked to the LU *Bekannter*, whereas Level 2 is linked to the LU *Freund*. Assuming the context references a less close relationship with that friend who works in marketing, one can rule out Level 2 as the defining property is (a) *X is someone I like a lot* and because (b) *I have a few of X because I don't feel this way for many people* references a relationship between two individuals with a higher degree of 'closeness' than presumably present in the target context. In this case, the most appropriate translation for 'friend' would be *Bekannte*:

- (5.13) A friend of mine works in marketing.
'Ein Bekannter von mir arbeitet in der Werbung.'

The above process shows that the augmentation with cultural scripts can be a useful tool for language learners and translators when presented with the challenge of translating a culturally 'loaded' word such as *Freund* – especially if these augmentations are readily accessible in form of an online dictionary such as G-FOL.

5.8 SUMMARY

The goal of this dissertation is to investigate how Frame Semantics can aid in the description of culturally specific terms. This chapter therefore looked at the target term *Freund* and the German personal relationship terminology. Because *Freund* and other relationship terminology, such as *Bekannter*, may easily be mistaken for true translation equivalents to their English counterparts 'friend' and 'acquaintance', it is necessary to highlight the cultural differences. Atzler (2011) found that non-native speakers of German are challenged by (a) the differences between the German term *Freund* and its

English counterpart ‘friend’ and (b) the use of *Freund* versus *Bekannter*. The study found that explicit instruction on said differences does enable the students to gain a more refined understanding of these terms. G-FOL is a frame based online dictionary at the University at Texas at Austin designed to bridge the gap between FrameNet and language learning and instruction. G-FOL has made a first attempt at pointing out the differences between the German and the English terms *Freund* and ‘friend’, however, G-FOL directs the learner to syntactic patterns that supposedly help in the distinguishment of *Freund* in the platonic versus a romantic relationship context. An extensive corpus analysis showed that these patterns are not as predictable as promised, meaning that they should not be used to support a language learner’s task to better understand the use of *Freund*. G-FOL also claims that ‘intensity’ and ‘duration’ play a key role in distinguishing among German (and English) relationship terminology. A collocation analysis in connection with a contrastive analysis between *Freund* and ‘friend’ has also provided guarded results. Whereas it supported the claim that *intensity* and *duration* of a relationship are crucial factors in the classification of relationship terminology, it has not provided clear markers. For example, it cannot be said that a person known for more than X years is considered a *Freund*. The underlying problem centers around the deeply culturally embedded presumptions carried in *Freund*. Whereas these presumptions cannot be *defined* per se, I argued that a Frame Semantic approach in combination with Natural Semantic Metalanguage can be used to aid the language learner in avoiding “assigning misrepresentative and ethnocentric characteristics to the word” (Goddard 2006:56). By giving the `Personal_Relationship` frame two subframes, the

Non_Marital_Personal_Relationship and the Platonic_Personal_Relationship frame, and augmenting these with cultural scripts emphasizing the values of ‘intensity’ and ‘duration’, I was able to highlight important differences and the invaluable importance of the context in which *Freund* occurs. This approach is unique as it combines two linguistic approaches in the attempt to classify culturally specific terms. The necessity for this combination stems from the inability to capture the entirety of cultural connotations with Frame Semantic alone. The cultural scripts allow the addition of yet another level of measurement for personal relationship terminology and where they are located on a scale of ‘intensity’ and ‘duration’. The combination of Frame Semantics and NSM proved beneficial, as Frame Semantics addresses the need to differentiate between the occurrence of *Freund* (and other German personal relationship terminology) in the romantic versus the platonic context, whereas NSM and the simple language in the cultural script allow the non-native speaker of German to relate to the concepts of ‘intensity’, ‘duration’, and ‘exclusivity’, aiding in the selection of the most appropriate LU.

Chapter 6: The meaning of *abstauben*

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The German verb *abstauben* ('to dust') is polysemous, meaning it carries other meanings besides 'to dust'. In this chapter, I focus on one domain-specific sense of *abstauben*, namely the sense of scoring a goal in soccer. I argue that this specific sense of the verb is used to describe a specific way of scoring a goal, namely, scoring a goal with ease and possibly even due to luck. This definition is drawn from my own native speaker intuition and can also be found in some dictionary entries; hence one of the goals of this chapter is to find data supporting these cultural connotations. Beyond the polysemous nature of the verb, *abstauben* requires a unique approach to analyzing cultural connotations as it occurs in a domain-specific context, namely the *Fußball* ('soccer') context. Both the polysemy and the domain specificity pose challenges which have not been addressed in the previous two chapters and which require additional analysis. The goal of this chapter is thus to investigate how Frame Semantics can be used to address both of these challenges in order to provide a frame description which aids the language learner in the understanding of *abstauben* in this domain-specific context.

The chapter first provides an overview of the concept of polysemy, followed by an investigation of the treatment of polysemy in semantic theories. The domain specificity is captured by the Kicktionary (Schmidt 2008), a multilingual (English, German, and French) electronic dictionary of the language of soccer, based on frames. *Abstauben* is among the many LUs listed in the Kicktionary, meaning that a frame and FEs have already been defined. This chapter analyzes this frame in detail and draws

heavily on the data and corpus examples found in the Kicktionary to investigate the coverage of the cultural connotations mentioned above.

6.2 POLYSEMY – THE MULTIPLICITY OF WORD MEANINGS

Polysemy, or the multiplicity of word meanings, poses specific challenges to semantic theory, translation, and lexicography. The latter has been examined by Byrd et al. (1987), who found that almost forty percent of word entries in the Webster's Seventh Dictionary have more than one sense. This large percentage warrants additional consideration and problems when examining polysemy in dictionary entries. The organization of senses is dictionary dependent, meaning that there is little consistency when comparing entries for the same word in different dictionaries. This is illustrated in Fig. 6.1:

CIDE	
crawl [MOVE] /.../ v [I] to move slowly or with difficulty, esp. (of a person) with the body stretched out along the ground or on hands and knees • <i>We watched a caterpillar crawl up the leg of a chair.</i> • <i>The child crawled across the floor.</i> • <i>The lorry crawled noisily up the hill.</i> (...)	
crawl [TRY TO PLEASE] /.../ v [I] <i>infml</i> disapproving to try hard to please in order to get an advantage • <i>He crawled (up) to the group leader because he wanted a promotion.</i> • <i>I don't like people who crawl.</i>	
crawl [FILL] /.../ v [usually be crawling] <i>infml</i> to be covered or full. • <i>The kitchen floor was crawling with cockroaches.</i> • <i>The airport was crawling with photographers waiting for the rock star.</i> • <i>Cambridge crawls with tourists in the summer.</i>	
COBUILD	
crawl /.../ crawls crawling crawled	
1 When you crawl , you move forward on your hands and knees. <i>Don't worry if your baby seems a little reluctant to crawl or walk... I began to crawl on my hands and knees towards the door... As he tried to crawl away, he was hit in the shoulder.</i>	VERB V V prep/adv
2 When an insect crawls somewhere, it moves there quite slowly. <i>I watched the moth crawl up the outside of the lampshade.</i>	VERB V prep
3 If someone or something crawls somewhere, they move or progress slowly or with great difficulty. <i>I crawled out of bed at nine-thirty... The Polish economy is crawling out of the mess it was in when communist rule ended... Hairpin turns force the car to crawl at 10 miles an hour in some places.</i> (...)	VERB V prep/adv V
4 If you say that a place is crawling with people or animals, you are emphasizing that it is full of them; an informal use. <i>This place is crawling with police... rock-hard earth littered with rubbish and crawling with vermin.</i>	VB only const PRAGMATICS V with n
5 The crawl is a kind of swimming (...)	N-SING
6 If something makes your skin crawl or makes your flesh crawl , it makes you feel horrified or revolted. <i>I hated this man, his very touch made my skin crawl.</i>	PHRASE V inflects
LDOCE	
crawl /.../ v [I]	
1 ♦ MOVE ON HANDS AND KNEES ♦ to move along on your hands and knees with your body close to the ground: [+ along/across etc] <i>She suddenly got down and crawled along behind the wall so that Carl wouldn't see her.</i> <i>Is your baby crawling yet?</i> —see picture at KNEEL	

Figure 6.1: Dictionary entries for 'crawl' (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:93).

Fig. 6.1 shows three dictionary entries for 'crawl', from the Cambridge International Dictionary of English (CIDE 1995), the Collins-Cobuild Dictionary of English (COBUILD 1995), and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE 1995). A comparison of the entries in the first two dictionaries shows that the entries vary

widely in the organization of senses and the number of senses, as Atkins and Levin (1991) point out. In the first entry the reader is presented with 3 senses (‘move’, ‘try to please’, and ‘fill’, highlighted in the relevant boxes) while the second entry in the COBUILD references 6 senses (sense definitions are numbered, here from 1-6). The difference in sense representation makes it challenging to compare entries between dictionaries, as each entry and sense needs to be evaluated independently before finding the equivalent counterpart in a different dictionary. This discrepancy does not allow for the mapping senses from one printed lexicographic source to another as (a) the number of senses and (b) the organization of senses varies (Fillmore and Atkins 2000). Besides the lack of agreement in organizational patterns, the entries often neglect senses and the definitions are prone to circularity and polysemous descriptors (Geeraerts 1993, Ravin 1990).⁸⁵ The lack of consistency in the treatment of polysemy in lexicography is due to the problems that arise when defining polysemy. It is not sufficient to define polysemy as a concept in which one word carries more than one meaning, as this definition would include an unrelated semantic phenomenon, namely homonymy. Homonyms differ from polysemes as they are semantically and etymologically unrelated. Consider the following examples:

(6.1) The oak’s bark was brownish grey in color.

(6.2) The mastiff had an alarming bark.

The two meanings are not semantically related as *bark* in (6.1) refers to the skin of a tree, while (6.2) refers to the sound of a dog. Although this is an easy distinction to make, this

⁸⁵ For a discussion of circularity and other problems in dictionary definitions, see Chapter 4.2.

is not always the case, as semantic and etymological relations may no longer be overt.⁸⁶ While this distinction has not been at the center of theoretical interest in semantic analysis, it has received more attention in recent studies in psycholinguistics, which investigate mental storage representations in an effort to support the claim that related and unrelated meanings follow different storage profiles (see e.g. Foraker and Murphy 2012, Klepousniotou and Baum 2007, Rodd et al. 2002). Another semantic distinction is indeterminacy (or vagueness), which Ravin and Leacock (2000:3) define as “aspects of meaning that correspond to multiple senses of a word versus aspects that a manifestations of a single sense”. One such distinction can be found in *child*, which can refer to both female and male children,⁸⁷ meaning that one could argue these two senses are polysemous. However, as Ravin and Leacock (2000:3) point out, it is more intuitive to define this gender difference as “indeterminate within a single sense of “*child*”. The distinction between polysemes and indeterminate referents has been at the center of theoretical interest in semantic analysis, as it “defines the relation between the semantics of linguistic expressions and the extralinguistic entities to which these expressions refer” Ravin and Leacock (2000:3). Several tests have been proposed to distinguish between the two phenomena. These tests distinguish three types of principles: linguistic, logical (or truth-theoretical), and definitional.

Linguistic tests examine the linguistic constraints when two different senses of a word are used in the same construction. If these constraints require semantic identity,

⁸⁶ Consider the following examples: a. Tim is a very bright student. b. The lights are very bright. According to Falkum and Vicente (2005) these two senses share the same etymological roots, but now mean very different things.

⁸⁷ And *girl* used to mean ‘small child of either sex’, cf. the OED entry.

then the construction indicates that the senses are polysemous. The identity test by Zwicky and Sadock (1975) is an example of a linguistic test, as the following example from Cruse (1986) shows:

(6.3) Arthur and his driving license expired yesterday.

The verb *expire* has two senses, ‘to die’ and ‘to become void’, hence (6.3) results in zeugma.⁸⁸

Logical, or truth-theoretical, tests state that “a lexical item is polysemous if it can simultaneously be true and clearly false of the same referent” (Quine 1960:129). For example:

(6.4) The feather is light and not light.

In the example above, *light* is polysemous as it refers to both ‘not heavy’ and ‘not dark’ which makes (6.4) an acceptable sentence (for more information, see Quine 1960).

The third and last group of tests are definitional and can be traced back to Aristotle who evokes them in his *Topics* (Aristotle ed. 2005). Geeraerts (2010:197) summarizes the definitional criterion by specifying “that an item has more than one lexical meaning if there is no minimally specific definition covering the extension of the item as a whole, and it has no more lexical meanings than there are maximally general definitions necessary to describe its extension.” Consider for example the two meanings of ‘bank’: ‘financial institution’ and ‘riverside’ – under the definitional test ‘bank’ is polysemous, as more than a single definition is needed to account for its meaning.

⁸⁸ Zeugma= a figure of speech in which a word, usually a verb or an adjective, applies to more than one noun, blending together grammatically and logically different ideas.

Unfortunately, these tests do not always provide uniform results and sometimes make contradictory predictions about the same data (Geeraerts 1997). For example, *newspaper* has two meanings, namely the ‘institution’ or the ‘printed information material’ and passes the definitional test, as a single definition does not account for both meanings; however, it does not pass the linguistic test, as both senses can co-occur in one construction, see example (Ravin and Leacock 2000:5):⁸⁹

(6.5) The newspaper decided to change its print.

Geeraerts (1997) points out further problems by showing that minimal context manipulation can alter the test results, as seen in Norrick (1981:115):

(6.6) Judy’s dissertation is thought provoking though yellowed with age.

(6.7) Judy’s dissertation is *still* thought provoking though yellowed with age.

Sentence (6.6) is zeugmatic as the first conjunct references the use of ‘dissertation’ to ‘informational content’, and the second conjunct references a ‘written object’. The context modification (‘still’) in (6.7) does not result in zeugma as only the ‘written object’ is referenced.

In sum, the inconsistency and conflicting predictions of the different tests outlined above call this approach to defining multiple word senses into question. This observation leads Ravin and Leacock (2000:5) to conclude that “meanings may not be fixed entities, but rather different overlapping subsets of semantic components, some more preferential than others.” To better understand some of the specific issues involved in polysemy, the following section provides an overview of two types of polysemy, commonly referenced

⁸⁹ Not all native speakers of English accept this reading.

in the literature revolving polysemy, namely regular and irregular polysemy (Apresjan 1974, Asher 2011, Pustejovsky 1995).

6.2.1 Regular and Irregular Polysemy

Apresjan (1974:16) distinguishes between regular and irregular polysemy as follows:

Polysemy of the word A with the meaning a_1 and a_2 is called regular if, in the given language, there exists at least one other word B with the meanings b_1 and b_2 , which are semantically distinguished from each other in exactly the same way as a_1 and a_2 and if a_1 and b_1 , a_2 and b_2 are nonsynonymous. Polysemy is called irregular if the semantic distinction between a_1 and a_2 is not exemplified in any other word of the given language.

In other words, regular polysemy exists if at least two words display the same sense combination. An example are words describing *living animals* as well as *animal meats*, as in the following examples:

- (6.8) The rabbit enjoyed the warm summer sun. (a_1)
- (6.8) The red wine complemented the rabbit well. (a_2)
- (6.9) The turkey ate all his food. (b_1)
- (6.9) The turkey sandwich was very popular. (b_2)

Rabbit (word A) has two senses, the living animal (sense a_1) and the meat thereof (sense a_2), and the same combinatorial patterns are shared with the word *turkey* (word B) and the corresponding senses b_1 and b_2 . In contrast to this, irregular polysemy is present when word senses are idiosyncratic to the word itself, “semantic distinction between a_1 and a_2 is not exemplified in any other word of the given language” (Apresjan 1974:16). Consider the English verb *run*, where the senses of ‘run a marathon’, ‘run early’, and ‘run

on electricity' are idiosyncratic to 'run' itself. The following section provides an overview of polysemy treatment in different semantic theories, highlighting Fillmore and Atkins (2000) Frame Semantic approach to polysemy in their analysis of the verb 'crawl'.

6.2.2 The treatment of polysemy in different semantic theories

6.2.2.1 Classical theory of meaning

In the classical approach, words and their senses are members of conceptual categories (e.g. Fury is a horse) which are organized by hierarchical feature lists (mammal, equine, etc.). The hierarchical organization of categories allows concepts on the same level (for example equine and bovine) to share concepts from a higher level (here: mammal). Katz (1972) describes these feature lists as semantic markers, which are used to define a sense. For example, for the word *chair*, the semantic markers are: 'object', 'physical', 'non-living', 'artifact', 'furniture', 'portable' 'something with legs', 'something with a back', 'something with a seat', and 'seat for one' (Ravin and Leacock 2000:8).⁹⁰ In this theory any difference in semantic marker participation equals the representation of a new sense.

Like Katz (1972), Wierzbicka (1996) uses feature lists to describe semantic properties. In her Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework, she proposes semantic primes for the definition of lexical items.⁹¹ She also links the existence or absence of primes to new word senses, as Wierzbicka (1996:23) points out: "We must proceed by

⁹⁰ Semantic markers follow hierarchical organization principles from least ('object') to most ('seat for one') specific.

⁹¹ For a discussion of NSM, see Chapter 2.6.1.

trial and error, assuming always [...] that there is only one meaning, constructing a tentative definition, checking it against a word's possible range of use, then, if necessary, positing a second meaning and so on." While Wierzbicka's approach is similar to Katz's, there are some significant differences. The semantic primes used in NSM are words in natural language that are claimed to be language universal, basic concepts. Goddard (2000: 129) points out that the strict use of semantic primes is crucial in the success thereof: "difficulties experienced by current treatment of polysemy [...] spring from [...] general problems of semantic and lexicographic methodology, in particular the lack of clear, practical and verifiable technique for framing lexical definitions." The empirical evidence for the success of analyzing and describing polysemy with semantic primes is however lacking, as no systematic approach has been proposed, meaning that the existing NSM approaches to describing polysemous words are restricted to single word case studies. One of the underlying ideas of Katz's and Wierzbicka's approaches, namely the existence of a new sense for any semantic difference is challenged by the prototypical approach, to which I now turn.

6.2.2.2 The Prototypical Approach

Rosch (1977) explains that the categorization of objects is psychologically motivated on the basis of prototypicality. In other words, people compare and categorize objects in respect to a prototypical representative of the target category. A prototype is the idealized concept of the target category, as they exhibit the most typical features. For example, a robin is considered more prototypical for the 'bird' category than a penguin,

as the latter can neither fly nor sing. While some categories are believed to have clear boundaries, other categories exhibit fuzzy boundaries which can overlap with other categories, e.g. Labov's categorization experiments (1973) showed fuzzy boundaries when altering prototypical examples of cups to more wide and shallow formed objects, which were sometimes categorized as bowls. While the classical approach discussed in the previous section relies on primitive concepts for meaning description, the prototypical approach focuses on psychologically influenced concepts. Rasin and Leacock (2000:15) summarize the differences between the two approaches as follows: "classical theories emphasize definitions and relate meaning to truth conditions [...], prototypical approaches emphasize meaning as part of a larger cognitive system and relate it to mental representations, cognitive models and bodily experiences". Polysemy in the prototypical approach is considered when one lexeme references two different domains or categories; consider for example the lexeme 'school' which is considered polysemous as it can reference the physical structure (domain one) or the administrative unit in a collegiate setting (domain two).

Taylor (1989: 45) explains that these 'polysemous categories exhibit a number of more or less discrete, though related meanings, clustering in a family resemblance category.' In later work (Taylor 1995, 1996, 2003), he elaborates on the idea and importance of family resemblance by stressing that polysemy can be seen as meaning extension. He also states that some types of meaning extensions occur more often and naturally than others; hence the focus of approaches to defining polysemy should be on finding overlapping regularities. Consider the lexeme 'mother', which can be defined by

several models: the birth model (the person who gives birth), the genetic model (the female who contributes to the child's genetic pool), the nurturance model (the female adult who nurtures and raises a child), etc.; these models all converge but more marginal models (meaning extensions) are also present, for example step-mother, surrogate mother, and adoptive mother (Lakoff 1987, Ravin and Leacock 2000).

Fillmore and Atkins (2000:100) define polysemous features as:

“(a) the multiple senses of the word can each be clearly traced back to the same word; (b) the set of senses permits a network-like description in which pairs of adjacent senses in the network are related by motivated linguistic processes (such as one or another type of metaphoric mapping) that recur across the lexicon; and (c) in all of such links there is a cognitive asymmetry in that the understanding of each derivative sense is aided by knowledge of the sense from which it derived.”

These features can be applied to the English adjective ‘sad’, which’ is polysemous as it expresses (a) the experiencer’s feelings (*He is sad*) and (b) the evocation of such feeling (*It was a sad day*), see Fillmore and Atkins (2000:100). It can be said that (a) both senses can be traced back to the same word, (b) adjacent senses, such as ‘happy’, and ‘exciting’ exhibit similar semantic links (such as *I am happy* and *It was a happy day*⁹²), and (c) the feeling of sadness is central, whereas the descriptive use is an extended meaning. One such meaning extension- focused approach is Fillmore and Atkins (2000) analysis of the English verb ‘crawl’, a summary of which follows in the next section.

6.2.2.3 A Frame Semantic Approach to Polysemy

Fillmore and Atkins (2000) approach the problem of systematically analyzing polysemy by comparing dictionary entries for the English verb ‘crawl’. After reviewing

⁹² Acceptability judgments for these sentences differ among native speakers.

four major English dictionaries they find that the inclusion and exclusion of senses in the dictionary entries for ‘crawl’ appears arbitrary as it differs widely across dictionaries. Table 6.1 summarizes and compares the listed senses and the occurrences in these entries. The numbers (1, 2 etc.) reference the numbered definitions in the dictionary entries, the ‘number-x’ indicate that this sense was not explicitly described but can be found in an example immediately following the initial definition, and the acronyms ‘PHRASE’, ‘PHRV’ (phrasal verb) and ‘IDM’ (idiom) are labels used by the dictionaries.

	Definitions	CIDE	COBUILD	LDOCE	OALD
1	of person: dragging body	1	-	-	1a
2	of person: hands on knees	1	1	1	1a
3	of baby: manner of motion	1-x	1-x	1-x	1a-x
4	of traffic: move slowly	1-x	3-x	3	1b
5	of insects, crabs etc.	-	2	2	1a-x
6	of snakes, worms, etc.	1-x	-	-	-
7	of person: grovel, fawn	2	-	4	2
8	of place: be swarming with	3	4	5	PHRV
9	of skin etc.: creeping sensation	-	PHRASE	6	IDM

Table 6.1: Comparative coverage of the verb ‘crawl’ (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:94).

The table shows that the coverage of senses is different in each of the dictionaries. Furthermore, the dictionary entry analysis illustrates that the syntactic combinatorial properties for ‘crawl’ are often neglected; hence, the learner does not receive a full and

empirically grounded account for the way ‘crawl’ can combine with other words. Fig. 6.2 shows the inconsistent coverage of grammatical information in the dictionary entries, ‘N’ indicates that this information is not mentioned in the entry, ‘x’ that an example sentence is present yet no explicit definition given, and ‘Y’ that the information is explicitly coded.

Definitions	<i>CIDE</i>	<i>COBUILD</i>	<i>LDOCE</i>	<i>OALD</i>
1 of person: dragging body [usually + DIRECTION ADJUNCT]	x	-	-	Y
2 of person: on hands and knees [usually + DIRECTION ADJUNCT]	N	Y	Y	Y
3 of baby: manner of motion [never + DIRECTION ADJUNCT]	N	Y	x	Y
4 of traffic: move slowly [usually + DIRECTION ADJUNCT]	x	N	Y	Y
5 of insects, crabs etc. [+ DIRECTION ADJUNCT]	-	Y	Y	Y
6 of snakes, worms etc. [+ DIRECTION ADJUNCT]	x	-	-	-
7 of person: grovel, fawn [+ PP/to]	x	-	Y	Y
8 of place: be swarming with [in progressive tenses, + PP/with]	Y	Y	Y	Y

Figure 6.2: Syntactic combinatorial properties for ‘crawl’ in four dictionaries (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:99)

Fillmore and Atkins (2000) conclude that these differences are due to deliberate decisions of the lexicographers and pose the question as to whether precise criteria for polysemous words exist and if so, how these criteria may be utilized to arrive at a universal treatment of polysemy. To further analyze the polysemous character of ‘crawl’ Fillmore and Atkins conducted a detailed corpus analysis of the British National Corpus (BNC) and extracted all possible senses for ‘crawl’. The corpus sense collection allows Fillmore and Atkins (2000) to identify **core sense extensions** under which each of the extracted senses from

the corpus analysis can be grouped. The following four extensions were identified for ‘crawl’ (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:102):

“(a) certain creatures move about with their bodies close to the ground because that is the way their body is built: from our perspective, when they travel on the ground they are always close to the ground; (b) human babies attain a capacity, as a result of a maturing process, in which they are not restricted to laying down and flailing their limbs, but can locomote with the use of these limbs; (c) adult humans can lower their bodies in order to closer to the ground, possibly because they want to do something that requires them to be low [...]; (d) adult humans crawl if by injury or exhaustion they are too weak to stand up.”

Upon reviewing these extensions, Fillmore and Atkins (2000:102) conclude that the central idea or **core sense** of ‘crawl’ is “moving while holding one’s body close to the “ground”. Fillmore and Atkins (2000) furthermore argue that analyzing sense connections allows for the design of a semantic network linking sense extensions (see Figure 6.3):

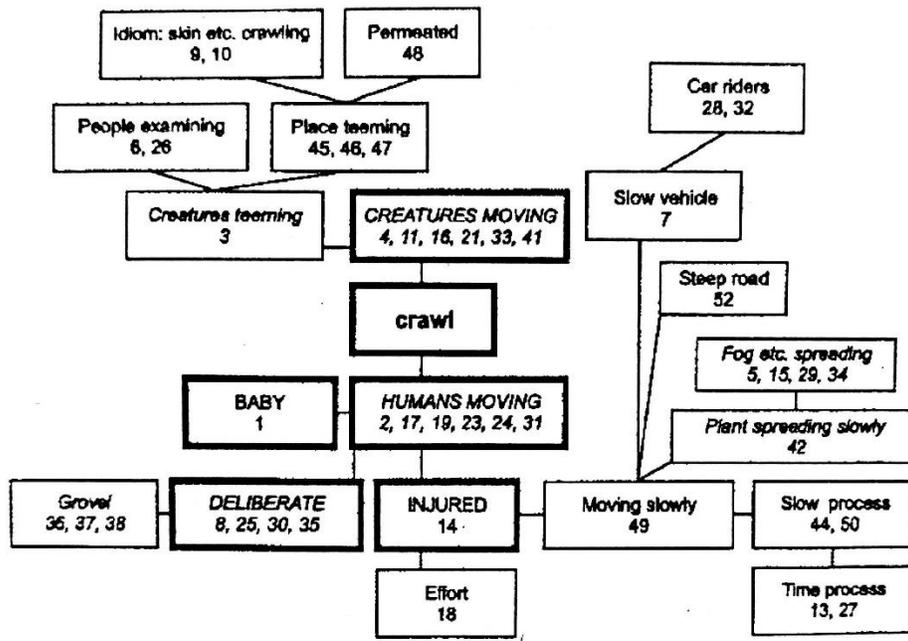


Figure 6.3: Semantic network for ‘crawl’ (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:103).

In the center of the network is the core sense ‘crawl’, surrounded by the four core sense extensions (in bold boxes), these are linked to further extensions, and so on. In sum, this systematic approach to polysemy allows for a comprehensive treatment when applied consistently. Fillmore and Atkins (2000) claim that this approach could aid mono- as well as bilingual lexicography; to elaborate on the latter a similar analysis is conducted for the French verb *ramper* (‘to crawl’). A contrastive analysis of ‘crawl’ and its French counterpart *ramper* showed that while some senses are identical, semantic divergence is also present. The semantic network for *ramper* displays these differences (Fig. 6.4):

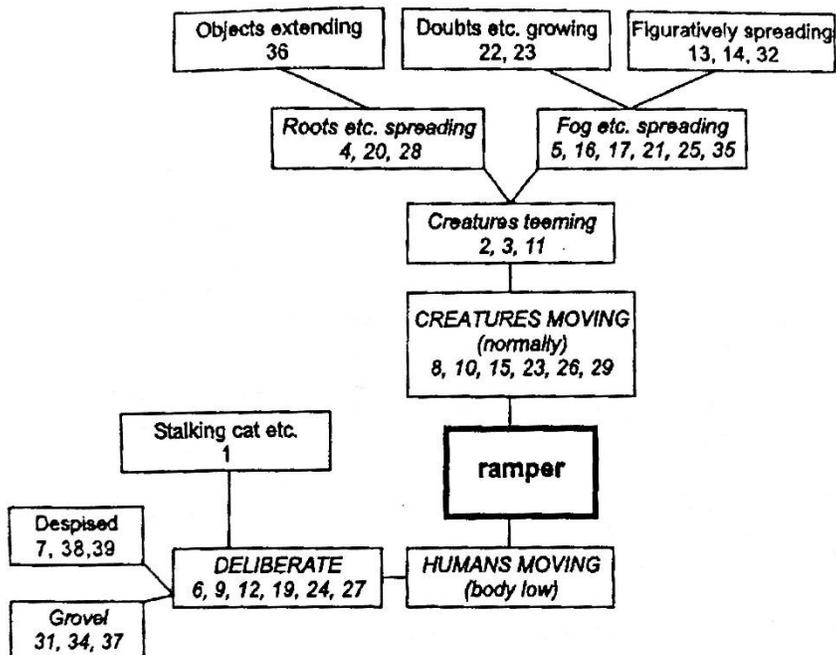


Figure 6.4: Semantic network for *ramper* (Fillmore and Atkins 2000:106).

The networks allow for direct sense comparison of ‘crawl’ and *ramper*, which aids in cross-linguistic sense matching. Fillmore and Atkins (2000) conclude that such a systematic approach aids in the treatment of polysemy in lexicography, especially in an online setting. FrameNet aims at applying systematicity in the description of polysemy, for ‘crawl’ each of the core sense extensions are treated as LUs that evoke the frame they participate in.

The analysis of ‘crawl’ in Fillmore and Atkins (2000) exemplifies the advantages of a Frame Semantic based approach over other approaches to treating and analyzing polysemy: first, all data used to extract senses is empirically grounded in corpus examples. The corpus examples are consulted throughout the process of analysis and any

claims (number of senses, meaning components, etc.) are cross-checked based on corpus data. If any of these ‘cross-checks’ proves unsuccessful, the claims are revised and the definitions altered accordingly. Secondly, the methodology is systematic and allows for easy replication, while other approaches focus on single word case studies, the goal of Frame Semantics is to investigate the structure of the lexicon as a whole. This approach allows the establishment of intra- and cross-linguistic links between LUs and their sense extensions (see ‘crawl’ and *ramp*). Furthermore the frame approach allows the exact distinction between close senses by providing frame boundaries through explicit labeling of syntactic realization of the FEs participating in the target frame (see Fillmore and Atkins 1992).

For the present study of *abstauben*, a similar approach is followed in order to systematically analyze the polysemous nature and the pertinent culture-specific meaning components of the target sense. The following section will further define the domain-specific prototype or sense extension for this study.

6.3 THE DOMAIN-SPECIFIC PROTOTYPE OF *ABSTAUBEN*

As previously mentioned, this study focused on the soccer domain-specific use of *abstauben*. To further analyze this sense, traditional mono- and bilingual dictionaries are consulted to extract the sense distinctions. Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 3, I first look at monolingual dictionaries entries for *abstauben*, specifically Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch (Wahrig et al. 1996), Duden Deutsches

Universalwörterbuch Deutsch (Drosdowski et al. 2011), and Langenscheidt (Götz et al. 1997). Table 6.2 gives the dictionary entries for the target words:

Dictionary	<i>abstauben</i>	<i>Abstauber</i>
Wahrig	1 etwas ~ <i>den Staub von etwas entfernen</i> ; oV abstäuben; [fig.;umg.] stehlen, heimlich wegnehmen, mitgehen lassen; als Geschenk erhalten	N/A
Duden	1 <i>vom Staub befreien</i> ; die Möbel, die Bilder a.; [auch ohne Akk-Obj.:] gründlich a. 2 (salopp) <i>sich auf nicht ganz korrekte Weise aneignen, irgendwo unbemerkt mitnehmen</i> : ein paar Zigaretten, eine Uhr a. 3 (bes Fußball) <i>durch Ausnutzen eines glücklichen Zufalls, durch Fehler des Gegners od. durch Vorarbeit des Mitspieler mühelos ein Tor erzielen</i> : zum 1:0 a. 4 (landsch.) ausschimpfen	1 (bes Fußball) a) <i>Spieler, der ein Tor durch Abstauben erzielt</i> ; b) <i>durch Abstauben erzielt</i> es Tor 2 (salopp) <i>jmd., der etw. abstaubt</i> ; <i>Schmarotzer, Nutznießer</i>
Langenscheidt	1 <i>etw. a den Staub von e-m Gegenstand entfernen</i> [den Schrank a.] 2 <i>etw. (irgendwo) a. gespr</i> ; j-m etwas abbetteln od. etw. stehlen	N/A

Table 6.2: Monolingual dictionary entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber*.⁹³

⁹³English translation of dictionary entries

Dictionary	<i>abstauben</i>	<i>Abstauber</i>
Wahrig	1 Remove the dust of something; Steal, taking secretly, to receive as a gift	N/A
Duden	1 to remove dust; furniture, pictures [without acc. obj.] dust thoroughly 2 to receive by less legal means, take secretly, a few cigarettes, a watch 3 soccer: to easily score a goal by means of luck or due to the mistake of the opponent / helpful pre-work of team mate 4 (rural) to scold	1 a) player who scores a goal through ‘abstauben’ b) goal scored through ‘abstauben’ 2 (ugs) someone who ‘abstaubs’ parasite
Langenscheidt	1 to remove dust off an object [to dust the cupboard] 2 to beg for something or steal something from someone	N/A

The four senses found in the monolingual dictionary entries are the following: (a) to dust (b) to steal (to acquire luckily) (c) to score a goal and (d) to scold. Table 6.3 summarizes the sense representation in the dictionaries:

Definitions	Wahrig	Duden	Langenscheidt
to dust	x	x	x
to steal / acquire with luck	x	x	x
to score a goal	N/A	x	N/A
to scold	N/A	N/A	x

Table 6.3: Monolingual dictionary entries for *abstauben*.

Similar to Fillmore and Atkins (2000) observation for ‘crawl’, the coverage of senses for *abstauben* is not systematic and differs from dictionary to dictionary. While ‘to dust’ and ‘to steal’ are covered in all three dictionaries, ‘to score a goal’ and ‘to scold’ are only covered in one publication each. The ‘scold’ sense is regionally motivated as Duden specifies that this sense is only used in a rural setting. The lack of coherence in sense representation poses problems for dictionary users, especially language learners, who often cannot verify that the dictionaries they are consulting are listing all the respective senses for *abstauben*. Following the proposals outlined by Fillmore & Atkins allows for a more systematic analysis of polysemy, by employing semantic frames to discover and catalogue individual senses of words (LUs). The dictionary entries propose that

abstauben has 4 core senses, one of which is ‘to score a goal’. Each of these senses evokes a different frame, for example, ‘to dust’ evokes the `Cleaning` frame and ‘to steal’ evokes the `Theft` frame; both ‘to scold’ and ‘to score a goal’ are domain-specific senses of *abstauben* and need to be analyzed in their respective domain (rural communication, soccer). For this study the focus is on ‘to score a goal’ in the soccer domain. The next section will further analyze the treatment of this domain specific sense in monolingual dictionaries, followed by an analysis of bilingual dictionaries.

6.3.1 The soccer domain-specific sense of *abstauben* in traditional dictionaries

As discussed above, among the three dictionary entries in Table 6.2, only Duden references the soccer domain specific use of *abstauben*. The entry is labeled as *bes. Fußball* – ‘especially soccer’, most likely because *abstauben* could also be used in closely related domains, such as handball, where scoring a goal is similar to soccer. The dictionary entry provides the user with a short description of the goal scoring process: *durch Ausnutzen eines glücklichen Zufalls, durch Fehler des Gegners od. durch Vorarbeit des Mitspieler mühelos ein Tor erzielen* (to easily score a goal by means of a lucky coincidence or due to the mistake of the opponent / helpful pre-work of team mate). As discussed in 6.1, I claim (because of native speaker intuition) that the underlying cultural connotations of *abstauben* reference a goal-scoring scenario which is executed with **luck** and **ease**. These elements are present in the Duden entry, which specifies that there is a certain ‘luck’ component that preceded the scoring of the goal (*glücklichen Zufalls* ‘lucky coincidence’) and labels the scoring *mühelos* ‘with ease’.

However, this approach to referencing cultural concepts is problematic, as the definition does not define the pertinent cultural concepts per se; without an explicit definition the language learner may not be able to access and understand the cultural value of these concepts. The goal of this study is to apply a systematic approach to extracting cultural connotations. While native speaker intuition lends valuable insight to the existence of meaning components, it is not sufficient for evidence-based description thereof.⁹⁴ A Frame Semantics based approach to analyzing the LU *abstauben* targets these issues as it allows analysts to systematically capture meaning components through corpus analysis. Corpus data can (a) empirically support the existence of these meaning components and (b) aid in their definition. This evidence based analysis and the resulting meaning component definition allows the language learner to access the underlying cultural connotations of *abstauben*.

6.3.2 Discussion

To summarize, it can be said that thus far the monolingual dictionaries inexplicitly reference two MCs for *abstauben*, namely **with ease**, and **by means of luck**. In order to investigate whether the same or more MCs are present in bilingual dictionaries, the dictionary entries in the Oxford German Dictionary, Collins, and the LEO online dictionary (<http://dict.leo.org>) are compared, see Table 6.4:

⁹⁴ See Chapter 1 for more on native speaker intuitions.

Dictionary	<i>abstauben</i>	<i>Abstauber</i>
Oxford German Dictionary	A dust B (<i>ugs.</i>) (<i>stehlen</i>) etw.~: pinch (<i>coll.</i>) or nick (<i>Brit. coll.</i>) or (<i>Amer. coll.</i>) lift <i>sth.</i> ; (<i>schnorren</i>) etw. bei jmdm. ~: sponge sth. from sb.; sie haben ordentlich abgestaubt they have been pinching things left, right, and centre (<i>coll.</i>) sponging from all over the place C (<i>Fußballjargon</i>) ein Tor ~: steal a goal	A Abstaubertor (<i>Fußballjargon</i>) opportunist goal B (<i>Fußballjargon</i>) goal-hanger
Collins	A Möbel etc to dust B (<i>inf</i>) (=wegnehmen) to pick up; (=schnorren) to cadge er will immer nur ~ he's always on the scrounge C (FtBl inf) (ein Tor or den Ball) ~ to put the ball into the net, to tuck the ball away	(<i>Ftbl inf: auch Abstaubertor</i>) easy goal
Leo.org	To dust, to scrounge, to be on the scrounge	opportunist goal

Table 6.4: Bilingual dictionary entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber*.

The three bilingual dictionaries all have entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber*, but only Collins and the Oxford German Dictionary reference the use of these terms in the soccer domain. The latter defines *abstauben* as ‘to steal a goal’ and references a new term for the *Abstauber* entry: *Abstaubertor* ‘lucky goal’. This term is also mentioned in Collins and described as an ‘easy goal’.⁹⁵ A search on leo.org for *Abstaubertor* results in one entry, namely ‘opportunistic goal’. In terms of MCs, the Oxford German Dictionary entry hints at the previously found MC **by means of luck** as stealing a goal references a similar

⁹⁵ Although this term is not mentioned nor can it be found in the monolingual dictionaries, a search on IDS Cosmas II shows that *Abstaubertor* only occurs 963 times in the whole corpus.

opportunistic circumstance. The concept of opportunity is also present in the entry for *Abstaubertor*, supporting the MC as it has previously been defined. The Collins entry for *abstauben* does not provide any insight into the deeper meaning of *abstauben* as it is simply defined as ‘to put the ball into the net, to tuck the ball away’; however, the entry for *Abstauber* gives a subtly more detailed description: ‘easy goal’ which matches with the second MC defined above, the MC **with ease**. Table 6.5 summarizes where the two MCs **with ease** and **by means of luck** can be found in the dictionary entries.

Meaning component (MC) Dictionary	With ease	By means of luck
Wahrig		
Duden	x	x
Langenscheidt		
Oxford		x
Collins	x	
Leo.org		x

Table 6.5: Meaning components for *abstauben* in mono- and bilingual dictionaries.

Thus far I have shown that the dictionary entries do not provide a lot of detailed information for the domain-specific use of *abstauben*; however, the entries did support my native speaker intuition that *abstauben* implies that the goal is scored with ease and a sense of luck; hence the two MCs extracted from the entries are **with ease** and **by means of luck**. To further investigate the existence of MC for *abstauben* in this domain, a corpus analysis is needed to (a) empirically support the existence and realization of the MCs **with ease** and **by means of luck** and (b) extract any possibly missing MCs. As discussed in Chapter 3.6.2, the Kicktionary is a corpus-based online

dictionary for the soccer domain. Hence I will use the corpus data available through this resource to further investigate the presence and treatment of *abstauben*.

6.4 THE KICKTIONARY

As noted above, the Kicktionary is a domain-specific frame based dictionary utilizing texts taken from the Union of European Football Association (UEFA)⁹⁶ as corpus data for German, French, and English. *Abstauben* and its nominal counterpart *Abstauber* are both listed as LUs in the Kicktionary. In this section, I first discuss the entry for *abstauben*, followed by an analysis of the entry for *Abstauber*. Figure 6.5 shows the LU entry for *abstauben*:

abstauben (Verb)  Scene **Goal** Frame **Goal**

Beispiele

1. [Nach einem schweren Fehler des belgischen Torguards Daniël Zarka.]_{PREPARING_EVENT} **staubte** [Ivan Klasnic]_{SCORER} [an der Strafraumgrenze]_{SOURCE} [zum 1:1-Ausgleich]_{RES} **ab** . [1077189 / p3]
2. Howard ließ Juninhos harten, aber unplatzierten Freistoß aus den Händen gleiten und [Cris]_{SCORER} **staubte** [aus wenigen Metern]_{SOURCE} **ab** . [1077152 / p5]
3. In der 58. Minute fiel dann der mittlerweile überfällige Ausgleich, als [Mantzios]_{SCORER} [nach einem Schuss von Fanourios Goundoulakis]_{PREPARING_EVENT} **abstaubte** . [7]
4. Der [Torjäger]_{SCORER} **hatte keine Mühe** , [aus fünf Metern]_{SOURCE} **abzustauben** (18.). [K_03d0 / p4]
5. Nach einer Ecke verlängerte der 34-Jährige auf den aufgerückten [Mathijsen]_{SCORER} , der bedrängt von Klitzpera [zum 2:1]_{RESULTING_SCORE} **abstaubte** (80.). [K_6006 / p4]
6. [Er]_{SCORER} **musste** nur noch **abstauben** , und brachte seine Mannschaft erneut in Führung (61.). [K_c0d5 / p9]
7. [Der nach überstandener Meningitis wiedergenesene Sand]_{SCORER} ist zur Stelle und **staubt** locker [zum 1:0]_{RESULTING_SCORE} **ab** . [K_058d / p4]
8. und dann Demichelis mit der Kopfballvorbereitung für [Ballack]_{SCORER} , der dann **abstaubte** [aus fünf Metern]_{SOURCE} [AUDIO] 

Semantische Relationen

Synonyms **abstauben**
tap_in

Frame-Elemente

PREPARING_EVENT [Action] **RESULTING_SCORE** [Score] **SCORER** [Player] **SOURCE** [On_The_Field_Location]

LU	PREPARING EVENT	RESULTING SCORE	SCORER	SOURCE
staubte ab	Nach einem schweren Fehle...	zum 1:1-Ausgleich	Ivan Klasnic	an der Strafraumgrenz
staubte ab			Cris	aus wenigen Metern
abstaubte	nach einem Schuss von Fan...		Mantzios	
hatte keine Mühe abzustauben		zum 2:1	Torjäger	aus fünf Metern
abstaubte			Mathijsen	
musste abstauben			Er	
staubt ab		zum 1:0	Der nach überstandener Me...	
abstaubte			Ballack	aus fünf Metern

Figure 6.5: Kicktionary entry for *abstauben*.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ For a detailed description of the design and background to the Kicktionary, see Chapter 3.6.2

⁹⁷ http://www.kicktionary.de/LUs/Goal/LU_28.html

The entry for *abstauben* labels the frame and scene in which this LU participates (here: Goal),⁹⁸ followed by corpus examples that have been annotated with the respective FEs, possible synonyms from English and/or French (here: ‘to tap in’) and a table which shows how the FEs are realized in the corpus examples above. The Kicktionary entry allows the user to immediately access corpus examples for the target LU. Before further analyzing these corpus sentences in reference to MC coverage, it must also be noted that the entry provides syntactic combinatorial properties for the LU in the FE realization table. As Fillmore and Atkins (2000) point out, this is often neglected in dictionary entries, even though it provides the language learner with important syntactic information. For *abstauben*, the Kicktionary defines Goal as the evoked frame, providing the following frame definition: *The frame Goal contains LUs which describe a goal from the scorer's point of view* (http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html). This definition clarifies that the Goal frame (within the Goal scene) is from the perspective of the scorer, whereas the Goal scene references the prototypical *event of the ball passing over the goal line between the goalposts and under the crossbar* (http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html). The frame entry for Goal first lists all frame evoking LUs for German, English, and French, followed by a list of all participating FEs and a table providing an overview of which FEs are found in the annotated corpus examples for each LU, as in Fig. 6.6:

⁹⁸ The prototypical event is called a scene (here: ball enters goal); the different ways of taking a perspective on it are called frames (score a goal, celebrate a goal, etc.)

Goal [Scene: Goal]

Lexical Units / Lexikalische Einheiten / Unités lexicales

■ abstauben Abstauber Anschluss Anschlussstor Anschlusstreffer Ausgleich ausgleichen Ausgleichstor Ausgleichstreffer egalisieren Ehrentor Ehrentreffer einnetzen einschieben einschießen entscheidender_Treffer erhöhen Führung Führungstor Führungstreffer nachlegen Schütze sich_in_die_Torschützenliste_eintragen Siegtreffer Tor_Torschütze treffen Treffer verdoppeln verkürzen versenken vollstrecken
■ clincher complete_the_scoring consolation_goal consolation double equalise equaliser find_the_net goal goalscorer level make_it_net open_the_scoring opener pull_back restore_parity score strike strike tap_in tap-in winner
■ aggraver_la_marque aggraver_le_score alourdir_la_marque alourdir_le_score annuler_but_de_la_victoire but_décisif but_égalisateur but_opportuniste but_pour_l'honneur but_buteur cadrier clôturer_la_marque clôturer_le_score doubler égalisation égaliser faire_le_break faire_mouche marquer ouverture_du_score ouvrir_la_marque ouvrir_le_score porter_la_marque porter_le_score réalisation réduire_la_marque réduire_le_score trouver_le_chemin_des_filets

Frame elements / Frame-Elemente / Éléments de frame

1. SCORER
2. SCORER_TEAM
3. SHOT
4. RESULTING_SCORE
5. SOURCE
6. PREPARING_EVENT
7. PREVIOUS_SCORE
8. PART_OF_BODY
9. MOVING_BALL
10. TARGET
11. GOAL
12. CONCEDED_TEAM
13. BALL
14. PATH

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
abstauben.v														
Abstauber.n														
Anschluss.n														

Figure 6.6: Kicktionary frame entry for Goal.⁹⁹

For *abstauben*, the table lists four FEs: SCORER (the person scoring the goal), RESULTING_SCORE (the game score after scoring the goal), SOURCE (the SCORER’s location on the field), and PREPARING_EVENT (situation or interaction leading to the scoring of the goal); for *Abstauber*, the table only lists SCORER and SOURCE. The frame entry also links directly to the scene to which it is linked, in the case of Goal, the corresponding scene is also named ‘Goal’. The scene entry lists all participating frames and then groups these frames into categories; for the ‘Goal scene’ these categories are: ‘A goal’, ‘A goal’s history’, ‘Awarding a Goal’, ‘Celebrating a Goal’, ‘Others’, and ‘Related frames’ (Fig. 6.7).

⁹⁹ http://www.kicktionary.de/Frames/Frame_Goal.html

Goal Scene

Frames	
A goal	Goal Overcome_Goalkeeper Concede_Goal Own_Goal
A goal's history	Prepare_Goal Convert_Chance
Awarding a goal	Award_Goal
Celebrating a goal	Celebrate_Goal
Others	Multiple_Goals Score_Goal
Related frames	Start_End_Match

Figure 6.7: Participating frames in the ‘Goal’ scene.¹⁰⁰

While the frame entry for `Goal` does not include a frame description or definition, the scene entry provides a description for the scene itself and sometimes for the participating frames. These descriptions often contain visual aids to allow the contextualization of the description itself (Fig. 6.8).

¹⁰⁰ http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html

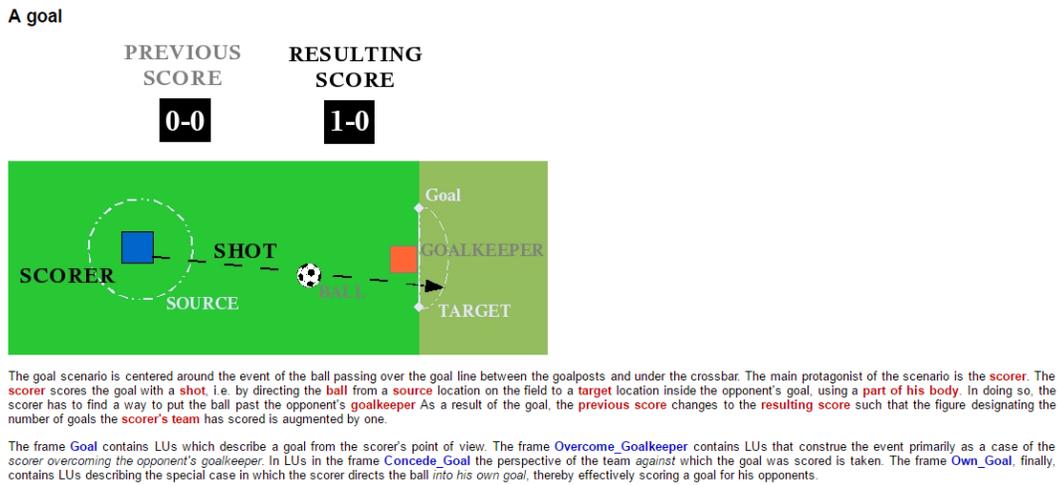


Figure 6.8: Scene and Frame description for Goal.¹⁰¹

The ‘Goal’ scene describes the prototypical scenario of a player directing the ball into a goal:

The goal scenario is centered around the event of the ball passing over the goal line between the goalposts and under the crossbar. The main protagonist of the scenario is the SCORER. The SCORER scores the goal with a SHOT, i.e. by directing the BALL from a SOURCE location on the field to a TARGET location inside the opponent's goal, using a PART OF HIS BODY. In doing so, the scorer has to find a way to put the ball past the opponent's GOALKEEPER. As a result of the goal, the PREVIOUS SCORE changes to the RESULTING SCORE such that the figure designating the number of goals the SCORER'S TEAM has scored is augmented by one (http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html).

The general description of the ‘Goal’ scene is followed by a short paragraph comparing the participating frames within the scene. For example, the Goal frame describes the goal scoring process from the point of view of the player scoring the goal:

¹⁰¹ http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html

The frame `Goal` contains LUs which describe a goal from the scorer's point of view. The frame `Overcome_Goalkeeper` contains LUs that construe the event primarily as a case of the *scorer overcoming the opponent's goalkeeper*. In LUs in the frame `Concede_Goal` the perspective of the team *against* which the goal was scored is taken. The frame `Own_Goal`, finally, contains LUs describing the special case in which the scorer directs the ball *into his own goal*, thereby effectively scoring a goal for his opponents. (http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Frame.html)

The Kicktionary's approach to lexicography differs from traditional approaches; the entry analysis for the LU *abstauben* shows that the Kicktionary allows the user to explore the target LU in its domain specific 'soccer' context. Furthermore, the Kicktionary links *abstauben* to a specific scene (`Goal`) and within this scene to an even more specific frame, the `Goal` frame. This allows the user to narrow down the context in which this LU is present (here: scoring a goal) and also provides detailed information about the specific perspective within this scene. The user learns that *abstauben* used in prototypical goal-scoring scenes from the perspective of the player scoring the goal. The frame description also lists the participating FEs which define the necessary elements of this particular goal scoring perspective (here: `SCORER`, `RESULTING_SCORE` `SOURCE`, and `PREPARING_EVENT`). The FE realization can be easily accessed in the LU entry, as the each entry first lists FE annotated corpus sentences, followed by a table in which each FE is listed with their corresponding corpus example. The corpus examples expose the user to the use of the target LU in authentic German soccer jargon. In addition to the FE realization and the annotated corpus examples, the Kicktionary also references 'semantic relations' of the target LU; here the user can access the English and French translation equivalents (labeled 'synonyms') and their LU entries if desired.

In sum, this frame based approach to lexicography offers several advantages over traditional dictionary entries: (a) the LU entry defines a specific perspective (frame) within a prototypical soccer scene, (b) the participating FEs are defined and their realization is demonstrated through corpus evidence, (c) the corpus examples are domain specific, and (d) semantic relations allow to link the target LU to proposed translation equivalents in English and French. Hence, the Kicktionary LU entry allows the user and language learner to identify where the LU is used (Goal scene), how it is used (Goal frame), and which FEs are realized and comprise the Goal frame (SCORER, RESULTING_SCORE SOURCE, and PREPARING_EVENT). The entries in traditional dictionaries do not offer a systematic approach to identifying and analyzing *abstauben*. The domain specific use is not present in all publications and the entries themselves are limited to short prosaic description of the LU without referencing all pertinent meaning components. While the existing LU entry for *abstauben* in the Kicktionary offers important information, it lacks in the description of capture of culture-specific meaning components.

Unfortunately, the Kicktionary does not offer an individual frame description for its frames (such as Goal, Overcome_Goalkeeper, and Concede_Goal); hence the user can only refer to the scene and the short comparison of frames participating in such. For the target LUs *abstauben* and *Abstauber* and the Goal frame this raises a concern, as the Kicktionary definition “The frame Goal contains LUs which describe a goal from the scorer's point of view” (http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html) is very general and does not aid in the understanding of the cultural connotations of the

target LUs. This is exacerbated by the failure of the LU entry to provide any definition of the LU (see Fig. 6.4). In other words, the entries allow the user to position *abstauben* within the goal-scoring scene but neglect to reference the existence of the **luck** or **ease** MCs. Since neither the LU nor the frame entries explicitly address these MCs for *abstauben*, the next step in this analysis is to look at the LU entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber* to check for any implicit information pertinent to their culturally specific meanings.

In Section 6.3.1 above, I extracted the MCs **by means of luck** and **with ease**. The LU entry for *abstauben* does not explicitly mention that this particular LU for scoring a goal refers to specific circumstances; however, if the user is familiar with English or French, they can possibly draw from the synonyms listed in the LU entries. In the case of *abstauben*, the synonym listed is the English ‘to tap in’ which is defined as scoring a goal without much effort.¹⁰² If the user is not familiar with this English expression, the LU entry is of little help in understanding the implied cultural connotations of *abstauben*. To further analyze the LU entry for any possible implicit coverage of the MCs **by means of luck**, and **with ease**, I now proceed to analyze the annotated corpus examples for *abstauben*. The goal of this exercise is to (a) check for the presence of the already identified MCs **by means of luck**, and **with ease** and (b) to extract any additional

¹⁰² Webster’s (Merriam-Webster 2011) defines this “as a relatively easy, close-range putt, shot, or tap of the ball into the goal.” Acceptability judgments for the use of tap_in in the soccer context differs among native speakers.

existing MCs. The following corpus examples are taken from the LU entry for *abstauben*:¹⁰³

- (6.10) [<PREPARING_EVENT>Nach einem schweren Fehler des belgischen Towarts
After a grave mistake the Belgian goalkeeper
Daniël Zitka,] *staubte*^{Tgt} [<SCORER>Ivan Klasnic] [<SOURCE> an der Strafraumgrenze]
Daniel Zitka tapped Ivan Klasnic at the penalty line
[<RESULTING_SCORE> zum 1:1-Ausgleich] *ab* .
to 1:1 equalizer in.
‘Following a grave mistake from the Belgian goalkeeper Daniël Zitka, Ivan Klasnic tapped in the ball from the penalty line and scored the 1:1 equalizer.’
- (6.11) Howard ließ Juninhos harten, aber unplatzierten Freistoß aus den
Howard let Juninhos hard , but unplaced penalty shot out the
Händen gleiten und [<SCORER> Cris] *staubte*^{Tgt} [<SOURCE> aus wenigen Metern] ab.
hands slide and Cris tapped from few meters in.
‘Juninhos’ strong but unplaced penalty shot slid out of Howard’s hands and Cris tapped in from only a few meters’
- (6.12) In der 58. Minute fiel dann der mittlerweile überfällige Ausgleich, als
In the 58. minute fell then the now overdue equalizer, when
[<SCORER> Mantzios] [<PREPARING_EVENT> nach einem Schuss von Fanourios
Goundoulakis]
Mantzios after a shot of Fanourios
Goundoulakis
abstaubte^{Tgt} .
tapped in.
‘The now overdue equalizer happened in the 58th minute, when Mantios scored on a tap-in following a shot from Fanourios Goundoulakis.’
- (6.13) Der [<SCORER>Torjäger] hatte keine Mühe , [<SOURCE> aus fünf Metern]
The attacker had no effort from five meters
abzustauben^{Tgt} .
tap in.
‘The attacker effortlessly scored the tap-in from five meters’

¹⁰³ The FE labeling was changed to match typographic conventions for Frame Semantics.

- (6.14) Nach einer Ecke verlängerte der 34-Jährige auf den aufgerückten
 After a corner flicked on the 34 year-old on the approaching
 [<SCORER> Mathijsen], der bedrängt von Klitzpera [<RESULTING_SCORE> zum 2:1]
 Mathijsen, who pressured by Klitzpera to 2:1
abstaubte^{Tgt}.
 tapped in.
 ‘After a corner kick, the 34 year-old flicked the ball to the approaching Mathijsen,
 who pressured by Klitzpera tapped the ball in, resulting in a 2:1 score’
- (6.15) [<SCORER> Er] *musste* nur noch *abstauben*^{Tgt}, und brachte seine Mannschaft
 He had to just only tap in, and brought his team
 erneut in Führung
 again in lead.
 ‘He only had to tap in the ball and brought his team back into the lead’
- (6.16) [<SCORER> Der nach überstandener Meningitis wiedergenesene Sand]
 The after overcome Meningitis convalescent Sand
 ist zur Stelle und *staubt*^{Tgt} locker [<RESULTING_SCORE> zum 1:0] *ab*.
 is to position and tapped in easily to 1:0.
 ‘Sand, who has successfully recovered from meningitis, is right there and easily
 tapped in the ball, scoring the 1:0.’
- (6.17) Und dann Demichelis mit der Kopfballvorbereitung für
 And then Demichelis with the preparation for header for
 [<SCORER> Ballack] der dann *abstaubte*^{Tgt} [<SOURCE> aus fünf Metern].
 Ballack who then tapped in from five meters.
 ‘And Demichelis then laid the foundation for Ballack’s header, who tapped in
 from five meters’

The MC **with ease** is present in example (6.13), (6.15), and (6.16) as highlighted below:

- (6.13) Der [<SCORER>Torjäger] **hatte keine Mühe**, [<SOURCE> aus fünf Metern]
 The attacker **had no effort** from five meters
abzustauben^{Tgt}.
 tap in.
 ‘The attacker scored the tap-in without any effort from five meters’
- (6.15) [<SCORER> Er] **musste nur noch abstauben**^{Tgt}, und brachte seine Mannschaft
 He **had to just only** tap in, and brought his team
 erneut in Führung
 again in lead.
 ‘He **only had to** tap in the ball and once again brought his team back in the lead’

- (6.16) [_{<SCORER>} Der nach überstandener Meningitis wiedergenesene Sand]
 The after overcome Meningitis convalescent Sand
 ist zur Stelle und *staubi*^{Tgt} **locker** [_{<RESULTING_SCORE>} zum 1:0] *ab* .
 is to position and tapped in **easily** to 1:0.
 ‘Sand, who is successfully recovering from Meningitis is right there and
effortlessly tapped in the ball, scoring the 1:0.’

In (6.13) the expression *hatte keine Mühe* (‘without any effort’) can be linked to the MC **with ease**; the adverb *locker* (‘effortlessly’) in (6.16) is similar and hence linked to the same MC. The MC reference in (6.15) is more subtle, as the adverb *nur* ‘only’ in *musste nur noch* ‘only had to’ implies the lack of challenge in scoring a goal. In sum, the majority of the corpus examples do not explicitly reference the MC **with ease** and the MC **by means of luck** is not present in any of the corpus examples above. This is important as it means that the MCs must be implicitly understood by native speakers of German and there is no need to explicitly mention them again. However, the absence of such explicit encoding poses a challenge to the dictionary user (especially a learner of German), who does not have access to these cultural connotations.

To complete this analysis and to verify whether the corpus examples for the nominal counterpart *Abstauber* also fail to explicitly mention the MC **with ease** and/ or the MC **by means of luck**, consider the corpus sentences for the LU *Abstauber*:

- (6.18) Die Israelis bestimmten weiterhin die Partie
 The Israelis dominated continued the game
 und bauten durch einen *Abstauber*^{Tgt} von [_{<SCORER>} Boccoli] ihre Führung
 and built through a tap-in by Boccoli their lead
 aus.
 out.
 ‘The Israelis continued to dominate the game and expanded their lead through a
 tap-in by Boccoli’

- (6.19) Einen Kopfball von Seedorf konnte Laštuvka zwar noch abwehren, doch
 A header by Seedorf could Laštuvka even still block, but
 gegen [<SCORER> Crespos] *Abstauber*^{Tgt} war auch er machtlos.
 against Crespos' tap-in was also he powerless.
 'Seedorf was able to block Laštuvka's header but he was powerless against
 Crespo's tap-in.'
- (6.20) Gegen Frings pariert Stiel noch glänzend, ist aber gegen
 Against Fring's counters Stiel still glowing, is but against
 den *Abstauber*^{Tgt} [<SCORER> von Ewerthon] [<SOURCE> aus fünf Metern] machtlos.
 the tap-in by Ewerthon from five meters powerless.
 'Stiel was able to counter beautifully against Frings, but was powerless against
 Ewerthon's tap-in from five meters.'
- (6.21) Den abgefälschten Ball konnte Valdez nur abklatschen -
 The deflected Ball could Valdez only palm
 [<SCORER> Lampards] *Abstauber*^{Tgt} sorgte für das 2:0.
 Lampard's tap-in handled for the 2:0.
 'Valdez was only able to slap the deflected ball away – Lampard's tap-in resulted
 in the 2:0'

The corpus examples above show that neither the MC **with ease** nor the MC **by means of luck** are present in the annotated sentences for *Abstauber*. Before investigating how this neglect of MC coverage can be targeted to assure users are able to access this pertinent information, the LU entry for *abstauben* is further analyzed. As described above, 'synonyms'¹⁰⁴ for the target LUs are listed beneath the annotated corpus examples in the Kicktionary LU entries (see Fig. 6.4). These 'synonyms' can be helpful if the dictionary user is proficient in English and/ or French, consider the target LU *Abstauber*, where two synonyms are listed, namely the French 'but_opportuniste' and the English 'tap_in'. As mentioned above, the English verb 'to tap in' references the element of effortlessness;

¹⁰⁴ The term 'synonym' is taken directly from the Kicktionary; these LUs are proposed translation equivalents for the target LU in English and French.

hence it is likely that the corresponding noun ‘tap-in’ also links to the MC **with ease**. The Kicktionary lists five corpus examples for ‘tap-in.n’:

- (6.22) Two goals from Aleksei Eremenko Jr either side of [<SCORER>Aki Riihilahti's] *tap-in*^{Tgt} sealed a comfortable win for the Finnish team, who lost their opening qualifying match 2-1 in Romania last month.
- (6.23) With just seconds left in the game, a corner from Zoltán Bőör wormed its way through the visiting defense, allowing [<SCORER> Rajczi] an easy *tap-in*^{Tgt}.
- (6.24) The right-back advanced into the Sochaux area and squared to leave [<SCORER> Bellamy] with a simple *tap-in*^{Tgt}.
- (6.25) When the last surviving UEFA Intertoto Cup winners did eventually make the breakthrough, it was inevitably the Argentinian playmaker who created the *tap-in*^{Tgt} [<SCORER> for Lucho].
- (6.26) His effort was well saved by Muscat but the ball fell into the path of [<SCORER> Ibrahimovic] who had the easiest of *tap-ins*^{Tgt} to make in three.

While the noun ‘tap-in’ itself already implies the MC **with ease**, an adjectival emphasis of this concept can be found in three of the five corpus examples (Tab. 6.6):

Corpus Example	Adjectival emphasis of the MC with ease (in bold)
(6.23)	[...] allowing [<small><SCORER></small> Rajczi] an easy <i>tap-in</i> ^{Tgt} .
(6.24)	[...] to leave [<small><SCORER></small> Bellamy] with a simple <i>tap-in</i> ^{Tgt} .
(6.26)	[...] who had the easiest of <i>tap-ins</i> ^{Tgt} to make in three.

Table 6.6: Adjectival emphasis for the MC **with ease** in the corpus examples for ‘tap-in.n’.

While the English synonym for *Abstauber* (‘tap-in’) references the MC **with ease**, the French synonym *but_opportuniste* ‘lucky goal’ references the MC **by means of luck**.

The following corpus examples for the French LU *but_opportuniste* are listed in its LU entry:

- (6.27) Huit minutes avant la pause, l'Angleterre parvenait à faire
 Eight minutes before the pause, England managed to make
 sauter le verrou de la défense polonaise grâce à un **but opportuniste**
 jump the latch by the defence polish thanks to a tap in
 [<SCORER> de Defoe].
 by Defoe.
 'Eight minutes before halftime, England managed to overpower the Polish
 defense, thanks to Defoe's tap in'
- (6.28) Le Dinamo menait au score à la pause grâce au
 The Dinamo led to the score to the pause thanks to the
but opportuniste [<SCORER> de Mikheil Kakaladze].
 tap in by Mikheil Kakaladze.
 'Dinamo was in the lead at halftime thanks to Mikheil Kakaladzes' tap in'
- (6.29) En effet, un **but opportuniste** [<SCORER> de l'attaquant Lyonnais]
 In effect a tap in by the attacker of Lyons
 suite à une tête de Diatta relâché bêtement par le gardien.
 following to a head by Diatta loosened stupidly by the goalkeeper
 du Sparta.
 of Sparte.
 'In fact, a game changing goal was headed by Diatta, the attacker of the Lyon
 team, after the Spartan goalkeeper stupidly let go of the ball'

Since *but opportuniste* explicitly relates to the 'luck' aspect of such a goal, the MC **by means of luck** is present in all of the French corpus examples above.

To summarize, the Kicktionary entry for the target LU *abstauben* and its nominal counterpart *Abstauber* lack a clear definition of the terms and only by exploring the entries and their listed synonyms does one get a closer look at the cultural connotations these terms carry. The corpus examples for *abstauben* reference one of the MCs extracted in the dictionary analysis of this chapter, namely **with ease**; however, the second MC

extracted in this analysis **by means of luck** is not referenced in the corpus examples for *abstauben* or *Abstauber*. A closer look at the synonyms listed for the target LUs, the English LU ‘tap in’ and the French LU ‘but opportuniste’ showed that the MCs are present in the corresponding corpus examples. Thus it can be said that the explicit MC coverage in the LU entry for *abstauben* in the soccer domain is not present. However, the Kicktionary allows the learner to put *abstauben* in the correct frame, namely the `Goal` frame. This frame (and scene) assignment in the Kicktionary explains when *abstauben* is used and which FEs are commonly realized in the corpus examples. The missing element remains the cultural understanding that *abstauben* implies, namely that the scoring of the goal was done effortlessly with a sense of luck. The next section describes how the existing Kicktionary `Goal` frame can be adopted, altered, and expanded to account for the missing MCs **by means of luck** and **with ease**.

6.5 A FRAME FOR *ABSTAUBEN*

The goal of this section is to design a new frame that allows for the inclusion of the cultural connotations for the target LU *abstauben*. Based on the information available in the Kicktionary, I aim to utilize existing frame information to aid in the design of the new frame. First, I summarize the data available in the Kicktionary, as this data is the basis for the steps leading towards a new frame, i.e. (a) a frame description followed by (b) the identification of participating FEs.

To summarize the data presented in the Kicktionary entry for *abstauben* and *Abstauber*, it can be said that both LUs participate in the `Goal` frame; while the

Kicktionary does not provide a frame description *per se* it does provide a ‘scene’ description for the general scenario for scoring a goal:

The goal scenario is centered around the event of the ball passing over the goal line between the goalposts and under the crossbar. The main protagonist of the scenario is the SCORER. The SCORER scores the goal with a SHOT, i.e. by directing the BALL from a SOURCE location on the field to a TARGET location inside the opponent's goal, using a PART OF HIS BODY. In doing so, the scorer has to find a way to put the ball past the opponent's GOALKEEPER. As a result of the goal, the PREVIOUS SCORE changes to the RESULTING SCORE such that the figure designating the number of goals the SCORER'S TEAM has scored is augmented by one

Figure 6.9: The ‘Goal’ scene description on the Kicktionary.¹⁰⁵

While the scene description does not provide much insight to the specificity of the Goal frame as such, the Kicktionary does mention that this particular frame “contains LUs which describe the goal from the scorer’s point of view” (Kicktionary.de). A simple frame description for the Goal frame could therefore look as follows:

GOAL
A SCORER scores a goal.

Figure 6.10: Goal frame.

In order to identify the participating FEs for the new frame, I first look at the FEs as listed in the Kicktionary. The 14 participating FEs in the Goal frame are: SCORER, SCORER_TEAM, SHOT, RESULTING_SCORE, SOURCE, PREPARING_EVENT, PREVIOUS_SCORE, PART_OF_BODY, MOVING_BALL, TARGET, GOAL, CONCEDED_TEAM, BALL, and PATH. Because the goal is to identify those FEs which participate in a new

¹⁰⁵ http://www.kicktionary.de/Goal_Scenario.html

frame that references the MCs **by means of luck**, and **with** ease, and which is evoked by the LUs *abstauben* and *Abstauber*, I first look at the FE realizations for these as listed in the Kicktionary. Table 6.7 shows the FEs that are realized in the annotated corpus examples:

Frame Element	LU <i>abstauben</i>	LU <i>Abstauber</i>
SCORER	X	X
RESULTING_SCORE	X	
SOURCE	X	X
PREPARING_EVENT	X	

Table 6.7: FE realizations in the LU entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber*.

While four FEs are realized in the corpus examples for *abstauben* (SCORER, RESULTING_SCORE, SOURCE, and PREPARING_EVENT) only two FEs are realized for *Abstauber* (SCORER and SOURCE). Since the Kicktionary lists synonyms for French and English that carry the same MCs, I argue that the FE realization for these LUs needs to be considered to find the “least common FE denominator”. The following table compares the FE realization for *abstauben* and *Abstauber* and their corresponding synonyms, ‘tap_in.v’, ‘tap_in.n’, and ‘but_opportuniste’ (see Tab. 6.8):

Frame Element	<i>abstauben</i>	tap_in.v	<i>Abstauber</i>	tap_in.n	but_opportuniste
SCORER	X	X	X	X	X
RESULTING_SCORE	X				
SOURCE	X	X	X		
PREPARING_EVENT	X				
BALL		X			
MOVING_BALL		X			

Table 6.8: FE realization in the LU entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber* and their synonyms.

The only FE realized in all LU entries is SCORER; a newly designed frame for *abstauben* and *Abstauber* that attends to the MCs **by means of luck** and **with ease** must therefore account for the FE SCORER. As there are no existing frame or FE descriptions in the Kicktionary, the newly designed frame for the target LUs has to be defined, along with its participating FEs. As shown above, the only FE participating in all LU entries for *abstauben* and *Abstauber* and corresponding synonyms is SCORER; which will thus be the first FE to be defined in the list of participating FEs in the new target frame (Fig. 6.11):

SCORER : The player scoring the goal.

Figure 6.11: FEs for a new frame for the target LUs *abstauben* and *Abstauber*.

In addition to the FE SCORER, the MCs **by means of luck** and **with ease** need to be accounted for; the corpus analysis showed that both MCs are not overtly present in the majority of the corpus examples. The initial frame description thus needs to be augmented to account for the cultural connotations. As in the analysis of *Freund* in the previous chapter, I argue that an augmentation by means of a NSM cultural script is necessary to cover the MCs for *abstauben* and *Abstauber*. The script is referenced in the LU entry for the target words and allows for easy access to the culturally relevant implications.

The goal of the cultural script augmentation is to incorporate the MCs **by means of luck** and **with ease** in the LU entry. The script allows the non-native speaker of German to access the cultural connotations of the LU *abstauben* in an easy format with simple language. Based on the data and discussion above, I propose the following script:

<p>[people think like this] When I [SCORER] play soccer I think like this When I score a goal this way I think: ‘It was easy to score this goal’ and / or ‘I was lucky to score this goal’ Other people feel the same way about this goal.</p>

Figure 6.12: NSM script for *abstauben*.

The script is written from the perspective of the scorer, who is also realized as a FE in the GOAL frame. This perspective allows an emphasis on the ‘feeling’ the scorer experienced when scoring the goal (‘When I score a goal this way I think’), namely the feeling of having scored an easy goal by means of luck. To cross-reference the FE SCORER, I add a brief reference in the script itself for purpose of identification. The script is linked to the

lexical entry of *abstauben*, in the Kicktionary, this augmentation could easily be incorporated into the original entry, following the corpus examples and their annotations:

abstauben (Verb) Scene **Goal** Frame **Goal**

Beispiele

1. [Nach einem schweren Fehler des belgischen Torschützen Daniel Zitka,]PREPARING_EVENT **staubte** [Ivan Klasnic]SCORER [an der Strafraumgrenze]SOURCE [zum 1:1-Ausgleich]RESULTING_SCORE (36.) **ab** . [1077189 / p3]
2. Howard ließ Juninho hartnäckig, aber unplatzierten Freistoß aus den Händen gleiten und [Cris]SCORER **staubte** [aus wenigen Metern]SOURCE **ab** . [1077152 / p5]
3. In der 58. Minute fiel dann der mittlerweile überfallige Ausgleich, als [Mantzios]SCORER [nach einem Schuss von Fanourios Goundoulakis]PREPARING_EVENT **abstaubte** . [79723 / p4]
4. Der [Torjäger]SCORER **hatte keine Mühe** , [aus fünf Metern]SOURCE **abzustauben** (18.) . [K_03d0 / p4]
5. Nach einer Ecke verlängerte der 34-Jährige auf den aufgerückten [Mathijsen]SCORER , der bedrängt von Klitzpera [zum 2:1]RESULTING_SCORE **abstaubte** (80.) . [K_6006 / p4]
6. [Er]SCORER **musste** nur noch **abstauben** , und brachte seine Mannschaft erneut in Führung (61.) . [K_c0d5 / p9]
7. [Der nach überstandener Meningitis wiedergenesene Sand]SCORER **ist** zur Stelle und **staubt** locker [zum 1:0]RESULTING_SCORE **ab** . [K_058d / p4]
8. und dann Demichellis mit der Kopfballvorbereitung für [Ballack]SCORER der dann **abstaubte** [aus fünf Metern]SOURCE [AUDIO]

Semantische Relationen

Synonyms abstauben
tap_in

NSM Script

[people think like this]
 When I [SCORER] play soccer I think like this
 When I score a goal this way I think:
 ‘It was easy to score this goal’ and / or
 ‘I was lucky to score this goal’
 Other people feel the same way about this goal.

Figure 6.13: Kicktionary LU entry for *abstauben* with cultural script augmentation.

So far the analysis and frame design for *abstauben* showed that the existing LU entry in the Kicktionary does not explicitly reference the culture-specific concepts for *abstauben*; however, the existing entry and frame provide pertinent information: *Abstauben* evokes the **Goal** frame, which is explained as the act of scoring a goal from the perspective of the player scoring the goal. Because the Kicktionary does not provide a frame definition *per se*, a simple frame definition was designed (A SCORER scores a goal) and the participating FEs were analyzed through corpus analysis. The corpus examples showed that the culture-specific MC **by means of luck** and **with ease** are not overt in the corpus

sentences. A NSM cultural script may therefore be utilized to address said void. The cultural script in Fig. 6.10 captures the pertinent MCs and allows for cross-reference with the FE SCORER, as the Goal frame is defined from his perspective. The augmentation allows the user to quickly access the culture-specific MCs and their importance in the understanding of *abstauben*. However, it has to be pointed out that the cultural script references broader concepts (easy and lucky) which are themselves complex and culture-specific. Consider the Webster dictionary entry for ‘easy’ (Table 6.9):

Sense	Definition
1	<i>a</i> : causing or involving little difficulty or discomfort <within <i>easy</i> reach> <i>b</i> : requiring or indicating little effort, thought, or reflection < <i>easy</i> clichés>
2	<i>a</i> : not severe : lenient <hopes they'll be <i>easy</i> on him> <i>b</i> : not steep or abrupt < <i>easy</i> slopes> <i>c</i> : not difficult to endure or undergo <an <i>easy</i> penalty> <i>d</i> : readily taken advantage of <an <i>easy</i> target for takeovers> <i>e</i> : (1) : readily available < <i>easy</i> pickings> (2) : plentiful in supply at low or declining interest rates < <i>easy</i> money> (3) : less in demand and usually lower in price <bonds were <i>easier</i> > <i>f</i> : pleasant < <i>easy</i> listening> <i>g</i> : sexually promiscuous
3	<i>a</i> : marked by peace and comfort <the <i>easy</i> life of a courtier> <i>b</i> : not hurried or strenuous <an <i>easy</i> pace>
4	<i>a</i> : free from pain, annoyance, or anxiety <did all she could to make him <i>easier</i> > <i>b</i> : marked by social ease <an air of <i>easy</i> assurance> <i>c</i> : easygoing <an <i>easy</i> disposition>
5	<i>a</i> : giving ease, comfort, or relaxation <i>b</i> : not burdensome or straitened <bought on <i>easy</i> terms> <i>c</i> : fitting comfortably : allowing freedom of movement < <i>easy</i> jackets> <i>d</i> : marked by ready facility <an <i>easy</i> flowing style> <i>e</i> : felt or attained to readily, naturally, and spontaneously <an <i>easy</i> smile>

Table 6.9: Webster's dictionary entry for 'easy'.¹⁰⁶

The table shows that 'easy' is also polysemous and according to Webster's dictionary, there are five core senses. The polysemous nature of *easy* poses possible problems for the proposed cultural script – the question arises of how it can be guaranteed that the user or language learner will reference the correct or appropriate sense. Because of the polysemous complexity in English, the use of 'easy' as a semantic prime has to be

¹⁰⁶ "Easy." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Web. 9 Jan. 2017.

investigated as well. In other words, it has to be analyzed if the concept is similarly complex in other languages; consider the following German examples:

(6.30) Der Test war einfach.
The test was easy.

(6.31) Das Dekor war einfach.
The décor was simple.

The two examples show that the German *einfach* ('easy') is also polysemous. The sense of *einfach* in (6.30) is close to the first sense listed in Webster's dictionary: 'requiring or indicating little effort, thought, or reflection', whereas the sense in (6.31) is judging the value of the corresponding noun and the correct English translation is 'simple' rather than 'easy'. In addition to its polysemous nature, 'easy' is also a complex concept as it is rather subjective. Consider the following example:

(6.32) The player scored on an *easy* tap-in.

Assuming that the appropriate sense for 'easy' in the context of scoring a *Abstauber* is close to Webster's first entry ('requiring or indicating little effort, thought, or reflection'), how can the amount of effort be measured? In other words, the definition of 'little effort' is subjective in itself. A prototypical goal-scoring scenario can be defined as effortless by an experienced soccer player, but that judgment and the scenario definition might be different from the perspective of an inexperienced player. Similar problems arise with the **MC by means of luck**, as the concept is also complex and furthermore culture-specific in itself. The definition of luck varies between religious, cultural, philosophical, and psychological contexts and backgrounds. While luck may be considered a result of

random chance by some, others may attribute luck to superstition and even faith (consider the Roman goddess Fortuna, who was believed to embody the concept of ‘luck’).

In sum, it can be said that both MCs are complex, culture-specific or even subjective concepts. I argue that further research is needed to investigate the culture-specificity of these concepts themselves, the results of such an analysis (possibly a NSM explication linked to the script itself) would allow to make necessary adjustments to the to the proposed cultural scripts for *abstauben* to ensure that the script is language and culture universal.

6.6 SUMMARY

This dissertation investigates how Frame Semantics can be used to aid in the description of culturally specific terms. This chapter explores the cultural connotations of *abstauben* which bears its own unique problems as it does not only carry said connotations but it is polysemous. The concept of polysemy poses problems in semantic theory, which are discussed at the beginning of the chapter. While there are different approaches to the treatment thereof, this chapter focuses on a prototype based approached, namely Frame Semantics. Fillmore and Atkins (2000) proposed a Frame Semantic based approach to systematically addressing polysemy, which was used as a guiding tool in the analysis of *abstauben*. In Frame Semantics each sense of a word evokes a specific frame, in the case of *abstauben* I argue that 4 senses are present, one of which is soccer domain specific and the target sense of this study. The domain specificity allows the utilization of a domain specific frame based online dictionary, namely the

Kicktionary. In this online lexicographic resource, *abstauben* is realized as a LU participating in the `Goal` frame. Through dictionary and corpus analysis I was able to extract two culturally important meaning components of *abstauben*, namely ‘**by means of luck**’ and ‘**with ease**’. While these MC are generally not overtly mentioned in the corpus examples, I argued that they are implicitly understood by native speakers of German. This implicit understanding, or the cultural connotation of *abstauben* poses problems for non-native speakers of German; hence the chapter aimed at addressing this problem by reconstructing some of the existing information found in the Kicktionary to account for the MCs. I argued that the existing Kicktionary frame can be used if augmented with a NSM cultural script. By designing a cultural script I was able to highlight the implicitly understood MCs ‘by means of luck’ and ‘with ease’. This script can be incorporated in the LU entry for *abstauben*, where it is easily accessible for the Kicktionary user. The approach to the cultural script augmentation for *abstauben* is similar to the methodology and script design for *Freund*; however, it poses some additional challenges: First, the frame evoked by *abstauben* is perspective-specific (from the view of the SCORER) within the prototypical scene of scoring a goal, to capture this perspective I included a cross-reference to the FE SCORER which allows the identification of the first person ‘I’ in the cultural script (‘When I [SCORER] play soccer I think like this’). Secondly, the pertinent MCs for *abstauben* are complex concepts and themselves culture-specific. I argue that a culture-specificity analysis for both concepts is needed to capture the underlying connotations necessary to define both concepts in the soccer domain. With this data the proposed cultural script to augment the `Goal` frame (and the

LU entry for *abstauben*) may be revised or augmented itself, possibly with an explication for each of the MCs **‘by means of luck’** and **‘with ease’**.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aimed to investigate how culture-specific words can be systematically analyzed to generate a frame description that incorporates the meaning components necessary to fully capture culture-specific concepts. The research questioned whether existing approaches to adopting English frames for frame descriptions in other languages can be used for the culture-specific German words such as *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. Furthermore it asked whether a purely frame-based description is sufficient for the treatment of these words and how to address potential insufficiencies to arrive at a description that captures all meaning components comprising their concepts. Although this study focuses on the systematic approach to analyzing culture-specific words on the basis of Frame Semantics, its significance is transferable to the field of second language vocabulary acquisition and the role of culture in the foreign language teaching context. The following section provides a summary of each of the chapters of my dissertation and highlights their results. These are discussed in the context of (a) applicability of Frame Semantic analysis for culturally specific words (b) implications for the theory of Frame Semantics and (c) other applications for Frame Semantics, specifically second language and culture acquisition.

7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This dissertation investigated three culture-specific German words, namely *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. In Chapter 1 the research questions were introduced as

linked to the current claims of Frame Semantics, followed by a literature review summarizing the history and organizational principles of Frame Semantics and FrameNet. To display why a frame-semantic approach was chosen for this project, three competing semantic theories, Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Componential Analysis, and Prototype Theory, were reviewed and their approaches to the theory of Frame Semantics were contrasted, while the advantages of Frame Semantics were highlighted. Chapter 3 exemplifies the evidence-based data collection for this study through dictionary and corpus analysis. The methodology outlined in this chapter was adopted from previous studies on frame design (Fillmore et al. 2003; Ruppenhofer et al. 2010) and the applicability of English frames to other languages (Boas 2002, 2005a). Since the focus of this study is the investigation of the culture-specific connotations of the target words, a brief literature review on collocation analysis was provided to show how the corpora were used to gather pertinent collocation information for *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. The chapter concluded with a detailed overview of the databases used for the corpus analysis, namely IDS COSMAS II and Kicktionary. In Chapters Four, Five, and Six, the three culture-specific target words, *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben* were analyzed respectively.

The data analysis for *Kulanz* in Chapter 4 showed that traditional dictionary entries do not cover all the culturally meaningful concepts of the word, hence a thorough corpus and collocation analysis was conducted to extract additional components pertinent to the understanding of *Kulanz*. The corpus data supported the claim that *Kulanz* mainly evokes the `Commercial_transaction` frame but also confirmed the native speaker

intuition that the person seeking *Kulanz* brings anticipatory negative expectations into the *Kulanz* scenario. By adopting frame elements from two existing English frames, namely `Commercial_transaction` and `Authority`, the design of the new *Kulanz* frame was made possible. This newly designed frame captures the German culture-specific *Kulanz* concept much more precisely.

The data analysis for the second German culture-specific word in Chapter 5, *Freund*, followed the same methodology as the analysis for *Kulanz* but presented some additional challenges. While *Kulanz* does not have an English translation, *Freund* and the English noun '*friend*' appear to be translation equivalents. To account for the problem of partial translation equivalents, the data analysis was expanded with a contrastive analysis of German and English dictionary entries and corpus data. Based on the differences extracted from these analyses, the existing English `Personal_Relationship` frame was adopted and expanded in an attempt to capture the differences. However, the resulting frame description posed challenges due to the mainly implicit notion of two key meaning components: length and intensity of relationship. To address this challenge, a frame augmentation by means of NSM cultural scripts (Wierzbicka 1996) was presented. The cultural scripts allow for direct access to the implicit meaning components and aid the initial frame description in capturing the concept of *Freund* and related personal relationship terminology in its entirety.

The final data analysis in Chapter 6 was conducted for *abstauben* and its soccer domain-specific occurrence. The domain specificity allowed for the use of the soccer domain specific frame-based dictionary, the Kicktionary (Schmidt 2008); however, due

to the verb's polysemous nature, the core sense of the verb was analyzed first, following a frame-based approach to polysemy (Fillmore and Atkins 2000). Similar to the analysis of *Freund*, *abstauben* also lacked the overt expression of two pertinent meaning components, "by means of luck" and "with ease", hence the existing English *Goal* frame was also augmented with cultural scripts. The Kicktionary was used to exemplify how this augmentation is a readily accessible resource for users and language learners alike.

7.3 APPLICABILITY OF FRAME SEMANTIC ANALYSIS FOR CULTURE-SPECIFIC WORDS

The results from this study carry both important implications for semantic analysis of culture-specific words and add to the literature on Frame Semantics. The findings show that applying a systematic corpus analysis-based approach is successful for identifying and analyzing pertinent meaning components of culture-specific words. A frame-semantic approach to semantic analysis from previous studies (Fillmore et al. 2003; Ruppenhofer et al. 2010) was used for the data analysis for all three target words. The first step in this approach, the dictionary analysis, allowed extraction of MCs while exemplifying the inconsistent treatment of senses in the entries. A frame-semantic analysis is based on corpus evidence; in the present study the corpus evidence was used to (a) validate the existence of the preliminarily extracted MC from the dictionaries, (b) capture additional MCs that were not present in the dictionary entries, and (c) validate the existence of MCs claimed through native speaker intuition. This process proved not only successful in the extraction of MCs, it also allowed for the description and definition of participating FEs. The present study demonstrated that extensive corpus analysis and

corresponding FE annotation processes (with the newly proposed FEs) validated the FE participation in the newly designed frames. In addition to the corpus-based validation process of MCs and FEs, the frame-semantic approach proved successful in capturing encyclopedic and cultural knowledge pertinent to the target LUs. Frame Semantics coupled with native speaker intuition allowed for novel postulates about the defining properties of a LU, which were then validated through corpus analysis. Every step in the frame design process (FE definition, frame definition, etc) is cross-checked and empirically verified. This process led me to the conclusion that the proposed frames are indeed sufficient for the description of the culture-specific target words. This verification process was successfully applied in the present study, as it captured challenges and insufficiencies in the proposed frame and FE definitions.

In summary, following the methodology proposed in a frame-semantic approach to semantic analysis was successful in the extraction and validation of culture-specific MC and the resulting FE and frame descriptions for *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. Furthermore, due to the corpus-based verification process of this approach, challenges in the frame design for *Freund* and *abstauben* were discovered which will be discussed in the following section.

7.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THEORY OF FRAME SEMANTICS

My study's findings support the effectiveness of Frame Semantic in describing certain culture-specific concepts (here: *Kulanz*); however the results challenge the claim that Frame Semantics is sufficient for the description of culture-specific words in general.

The study showed that for certain words (here: *Freund* and *abstauben*) the methodology was not successful in capturing the pertinent underlying cultural connotations of the target words. Consider for example the case of *Freund*: While the methodology was successful in extracting MCs and FEs for the proposed frame(s), the corpus validation and annotation process showed that the frame description and FE definition is not sufficient and does not capture the MCs **duration** and **intensity of relationship**. The corpus data showed that both elements are not explicitly expressed and hence do not allow for FE assignment. However, these two MCs are pertinent to understanding and defining German personal relationship terminology; hence, I argued for frame augmentation by means of NSM cultural scripts. The augmentation allowed creating levels defining the length and the intensity of the relationship and directly linking those to the frame-evoking LUs. A similar challenge was encountered in the analysis of *abstauben* in the domain specific context of soccer. As in the analysis for *Freund*, the frame-semantic methodology was successful in extracting MCs and FEs for the target unit. However, the two pertinent MCs **with ease** and **by means of luck** were not overtly present in the corpus data and therefore also called for frame augmentation. While the augmentation for *Freund* focused on the ‘measurement’ or levels of MCs, the augmentation for *abstauben* had to express the circumstantial context of scoring a goal from the perspective of the FE SCORER. Hence, I argued that the cultural script used to augment the frame is cross-referenced to said FE. In sum, the results show that an approach solely based on Frame Semantics is not sufficient to capture meaning components that are not overtly expressed. Frame Semantics defines the frame concept as

a description of relations to other concepts based on world knowledge or experience, word meanings are characterized “in terms of experience-based schematization of the speakers’ world” (Petrucci 1996: 5). However, the results of this study show that Frame Semantics’ claim and ability to capture world knowledge and speaker experience is challenged by culture-specific words such as *Freund* and *abstauben*. The semantic analysis of these culture-specific terms was only possible by using a Natural Semantic Metalanguage-based approach in addition to the frame semantic-approach. This proposed ‘mixing’ of theories challenges traditional forms of semantic analysis which are commonly single-theory driven and do not apply principles from more than one theory.

7.5 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REPLICATION

The present study’s limitations have to be addressed, as they could aid in the design of further studies and recommendations for future research. This study had a limited scope, focusing on only three culture-specific German words, *Kulanz*, *Freund*, and *abstauben*. To make more generalized claims about the applicability of Frame Semantics for the description of culture-specific words, my proposals need to be expanded significantly by following the same methodological approach but expanding it to additional culture-specific LUs. As the study showed that a solely frame-based approach was only sufficient in one out of the three target words, more LUs should be analyzed to investigate which criteria call for a frame augmentation with cultural scripts. Furthermore, though this study is focused and based on standard German corpus data and native speaker intuition, culture-specific words are not exclusive to German and culture-

specific words from other languages must be analyzed to verify that the proposed methodology of this study is transferable and applicable to Frame Semantics in general. In addition to the limitations outlined above, it must also be mentioned that the term and the labeling of words as ‘culture-specific’ is in itself challenging as ‘culture-specificity’ is not easily defined. The label ‘culture-specific’ cannot be seen on a binary scale but rather on a continuum; however no test yet exist to measure the level of culture-specificity. The following questions need to be answered: What criteria can be used to measure culture-specificity? What does the spectrum for culture-specificity look like? And how can culture-specific words be distinguished from non-culture-specific words?

7.6 OTHER APPLICATIONS OF A FRAME SEMANTIC BASED APPROACH TO CULTURE-SPECIFIC WORDS – SECOND LANGUAGE VOCABULARY ACQUISITION

In addition to this study’s implications for semantic analysis, it also adds to the literature on Frame Semantics and its applicability in the foreign language classroom (Atzler 2011, Boas 2001, Boas & Dux 2013, Boas, Dux, & Ziem 2016, Ziem 2011). Atzler’s (2011) study was the first to investigate the effectiveness of Frame Semantics as a teaching tool and the results suggested that learner exposure to Frame Semantics may increase learners’ cultural awareness. Culture has been established to be a key component in the foreign language classroom (Kramsch 1989, ACTFL Standards 2006, MLA Ad Hoc Committee 2007) with research in second language acquisition calling for a symbiotic treatment of culture and vocabulary (Zhao 2004, Liu & Zhong, 1999, Atzler 2011). The following section provides a brief overview of the calls on integrating culture focused instruction in foreign language education.

7.6.1 The Role of Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom

As mentioned above, language and culture exist in a symbiotic relationship, in which one cannot be separated from the other. Every word carries its own cultural connotations, as Steele (1990:4) points out:

Every word, every expression we use has a cultural dimension. Culture is the means by which a community communicates. If people were not referring to a commonly agreed upon set of meaning in their interactions with each other, no communication would take place. Speakers of a language share not only the vocabulary and structure of the language; they share the perception of reality represented by that vocabulary and structure. And because speakers of different language have different perception of reality, no two languages show a one-to-one correspondence between vocabulary items or grammatical structures. It stands to reason then, that learning a second (or additional language), without learning about and understanding the culture(s) in which it is used, will not enable an individual to communicate effectively with speakers of that language.

The importance of viewing culture and language as *one* system rather than separate elements has been adopted in the context of foreign language teaching. In 2006 the U.S. Department of Education's American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) released the 2006 ACTFL *Standards of Foreign Language Learning*, which are comprised of a five-tiered foundation (commonly referred to as five Cs): Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities. According to ACTFL (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project 2006:4), these "five goal areas of the Standards establish an inextricable link between communication and culture, which is applied in making connections and comparisons and in using this competence to be part of local and global communities." ACTFL's call for the inclusion of culture-focused instruction in the foreign language classroom was further augmented in 2007, when the

Modern Language Association's (MLA) ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages published a report (commonly referred to as the MLA report) which aimed to address and eliminate the language-literature dichotomy¹⁰⁷ in collegiate language departments. The MLA report (MLA ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages 2007:2) defines language-culture symbiosis as:

At one end, language is considered to be principally instrumental, a skill to use for communicating thought and information. At the opposite end, language is understood as an essential element of a human being's thought processes, perceptions, and self-expressions; and as such it is considered to be at the core of translingual and transcultural competence. While we use language to communicate our needs to others, language simultaneously reveals us to others and to ourselves. Language is a complex multifunctional phenomenon that links an individual to other individuals, to communities, and to national cultures. Institutional missions and teaching approaches typically reflect either the instrumentalist or the constitutive view of language.

The report further elaborates on the role culture plays in the foreign language context:

Culture is represented not only in events, texts, buildings, artworks, cuisines, and many other artifacts but also in language itself. Expressions such as "the pursuit of happiness," "liberté, égalité, fraternité," and "la Raza" connote cultural dimensions that extend well beyond their immediate translation. [...] deep cultural knowledge and linguistic competence are equally necessary if one wishes to understand people and their communities.

In summary, the ACTFL Standards and the MLA report call for an approach to language teaching that focuses on the inseparability of language and culture. Language and culture need to be equally present in vocabulary teaching approaches. Language learners need to be able to develop a translingual competence and transcultural awareness, which allows identification of and critically examination of the cultural concepts embedded in culture-

¹⁰⁷ This dichotomy reflects the different approach to lower and upper-level instruction, where typically literature is not introduced until upper-level classes and lower-level classes focused mainly on form.

specific words. Jiying (2004) stresses that language learners need to constantly reevaluate this transcultural awareness in order to appropriately use new vocabulary in the target language context.

This dissertation proposes an approach to systematically capturing and analyzing meaning components pertinent to the understanding of culture-loaded words using Frame Semantics. This approach addresses the call to link culture and language and furthermore offers an opportunity for language learners to readily access these culturally relevant meaning concepts.

Therefore, the present study carries implications for foreign language instruction as it offers a systematic approach to (a) capturing and (b) accessing relevant meaning components for culture-specific words. By adopting a frame-based approach to vocabulary teaching and learning, students may experience improvement in their translingual and transcultural competence.

7.6.2 Suggestions for further research on the applicability of Frame Semantics in second language vocabulary acquisition.

As outlined above, the present study provides opportunities for further research on the possibilities Frame Semantics offers to second language vocabulary acquisition. With the call to SLA researchers to combine vocabulary and culture teaching (Zhao 2004, Liu & Zhong, 1999, Atzler 2011), the present approach to capturing culture-specificity can aid in the development of curricula and classroom materials. Consider the following criteria for vocabulary instruction as proposed by Spinelli and Siskin (1992:310): (a) vocabulary must be presented in authentic culture semantic fields and relationship

networks, (b) vocabulary must be presented highlighting the differences between the native and target culture, (c) by using authentic visuals, (d) vocabulary must be presented with the words' connotations, and lastly (e) vocabulary must be practiced and presented to aid in its culturally appropriate use in the target culture.

The systematic frame-semantic approach to capturing culture-specific aspects of word meanings addresses most of these criteria. The culture-specific words are presented in culture semantic fields and relationship networks (frames), the frame descriptions and NSM cultural scripts allow the language learner the access the differences between the native and target culture, and the annotated corpus examples provide information on connotations. To fulfill the list of criteria in its entirety, the current frame descriptions need to be part of a vocabulary teaching module which also focuses on authentic visuals and practice with the newly acquired words to aid in the language learner's ability to use them appropriately in the target culture.

To investigate the foreign language classroom applicability of the proposed frame descriptions in this study, a corresponding teaching module would first be required. To incorporate a frame-semantic approach to teaching and learning the culturally specific vocabulary of the German personal relationship context into the language classroom, a possible module design for beginning learners of German could be designed as follows: First, the students are asked simple questions to activate their background knowledge, such as *Wie viele Freunde hast du?* ('How many friends do you have?') *Wie heißt dein bester Freund?* ('What's your best friend's name?') etc. The instructor may elect to collect some of the results on the board, such as the number of friends, to arrive at a

classroom average. These questions should be followed by another set of simple questions, such as asking students *Wie viele Bekannte hast du?* ('How many acquaintances do you have?'), and so forth. Again, the instructor could collect results on the board for illustrative purposes.

To address Spinelli and Siskin's (1992) call for authentic material, the introductory question-answer section of this activity could be followed by short videos of native German speakers responding to the same set questions. The videos allow the students to practice their listening proficiency and could be accompanied by handouts on which the students record information extracted from the video. These results are reported again on the board and compared to the students' own answers. Comparing the answers of English and German native speakers such as *Wer hat mehr Freunde?* 'Who has more friends? etc. may elicit thought-provoking classroom discussion, while also allowing students to practice their oral communication skills. To segment further into the cross-cultural differences, the students would be presented with short paragraphs about relationships and asked to guess the correct German term. Afterward, the answers from native German speakers would be revealed and compared to the students' answers and a short discussion focusing on the students explanations as to why there are differences would follow.

The instructor could then transition to using the existing G-FOL platform to familiarize the students with the basic principles of Frame Semantics (alternatively, this could also be assigned as homework in preparation for the next class). In this activity, the students are presented with the newly designed frames from this study and asked to read

the cultural script augmentations carefully. Because the proposed target level of this module design is beginning German, a follow-up discussion may be held in English to facilitate a rich exchange which may otherwise be too advanced for the proficiency level of the language learners. The discussion is led by the instructor but learner driven. One approach to this would be to first have learners discuss their findings in small groups and then open the discussion to the entire class. After the discussion the learners are redirected to the original paragraphs and asked to label FEs and choose an appropriate cultural script level. The results would be discussed again and compared to (a) the original answers of the learners and (b) the answers of the native speakers. To measure the effectiveness of frame semantics in this context, the outlined module would be accompanied by the instructor gathering the responses for data collection purposes. In a study setting, it would also be advisable to have a control group that was not exposed to Frame Semantics. The control group would be asked to evaluate the same written paragraphs as this would allow for direct comparison of both groups. This module is just one of many ways Frame Semantics could be included into the foreign language context. More classroom studies need to be conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of frames as a vocabulary acquisition tool.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: IDS COSMAS II CORPUS EXAMPLES WITH COMMERCIAL_TRANSACTION ANNOTATIONS

- (1) [_{BUYER}>Kunde] ist auf die *Kulanz^{Tgt}* des [_{SELLER}>Händlers]
client is on the goodwill of the seller
angewiesen
dependent
'the client is dependent on the goodwill of the seller'
- (2) auf die *Kulanz^{Tgt}* des [_{SELLER}>Herstellers] hoffen
of the goodwill of the manufacturer to hope
'to hope for the goodwill of the manufacturer'
- (3) viele [_{SELLER}>Unternehmen] lassen *Kulanz^{Tgt}* walten
many companies let goodwill rule
'many companies offer customer accommodating measures'
- (4) [_{SELLER}>der Händler] [_{GOODS}>die Ware] aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
the seller the goods out of goodwill
zurücknimmt
return
'the seller returns the goods out of goodwill'
- (5) Die Rücknahme von [_{GOODS}>fehlerfreier Ware] ist reine *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
The return of error-free goods is pure goodwill
'the return of error-free goods is done solely out of goodwill'
- (6) den freiwilligen Umtausch aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
the voluntary return out of goodwill
'the voluntary return made out of goodwill'
- (7) hier wurde vieles auf Garantie oder *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
here was much out of warranty or goodwill
gemacht
done
'a lot was done due to warranty or goodwill'

- (8) der [<SELLER>Händler] seine Ware aus *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
the seller his goods out of goodwill
zurücknimmt
returns
‘The seller returns his goods in order to accommodate’
- (9) [<SELLER>die Bahn] wirbt mit Kundenfreundlichkeit
the Bahn advertises with customer service
und *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
and accommodating procedures
‘the Bahn advertises their customer service and accommodation services’
- (10) Räumt der [<SELLER>Inhaber] [<BUYER>seinenKunden]
Offers the owner his clients
auf *Kulanz^{Tgt}* ein Umtauschrecht ein
out of goodwill a return policy in
‘the owner offers his clients a return policy to be accommodating’

APPENDIX B: ENGLISH GLOSS OF CORPUS EXAMPLES

	Collocation	Occurrences (283 total)	Corpus examples
1	<i>Angewiesen auf</i> (‘dependent on’)	95	<i>Kunde ist auf die Kulanz des Händlers angewiesen</i> (NUN09/DEZ.02078)
2	<i>Hoffen auf</i> (‘to hope for’)	58	<i>auf die Kulanz der Herstellers hoffen</i> (M09/MAI.34222)
3	<i>walten</i> (‘to rule’)	33	<i>viele Unternehmen lassen Kulanz walten</i> (M04/DEZ.94736)
4	<i>Händler</i> (‘seller’)	31	<i>der Händler die Ware aus Kulanz zurücknimmt</i> (BRZ12/NOV.09899)
5	<i>reine</i> (‘pure’)	22	<i>Die Rücknahme von fehlerfreier Ware ist reine Kulanz</i> (M04/DEZ.93315)
6	<i>Umtausch</i> (‘return’)	21	<i>den freiwilligen Umtausch aus Kulanz</i> (M96/601.04180)
7	<i>Garantie</i> (‘warranty’)	13	<i>hier wurde vieles auf Garantie oder Kulanz gemacht</i> (HMP11/DEZ.00124)
8	<i>Ware</i> (‘goods’)	10	<i>der Händler seine Ware aus Kulanz zurücknimmt</i> (R99/JAN.06209)
9	<i>Kundenfreundlichkeit</i> (‘customer service’)	5	<i>die Bahn wirbt mit Kundenfreundlichkeit un Kulanz</i> (RHZ04/MAI.13170)
10	<i>Umtauschsrecht</i> (‘exchange policy’)	5	<i>Räumt der Inhaber seinen Kunden auf Kulanz ein Umtauschrecht ein</i> (NUN02/MAI.02569)

APPENDIX C: ANNOTATED CORPUS EXAMPLES FOR **KULANZ** FRAME

- (1) Dies gehöre zur normalen *Kulanz*^{Tgt} [_{<AGENT>}der Reiseveranstalter]
 This belongs to normal courtesy of the travel companies
 ‘this is a normal act of courtesy by travel companies’
- (2) [_{<AGENT>}Hotels und Pensionen] verzichten aus *Kulanz*^{Tgt}
 Hotels and motels decline out of goodwill
 [_{<ACCOMODATION>}auf Stornogebühren]
 on cancellation fees
 ‘Hotels and motels decline the collection of cancellation fees out of
 courtesy’
- (3) [_{<THEME>}Kundinnen] mit guter Beratung und *Kulanz*^{Tgt} immer wieder von
 customers with good service and goodwill always again from
 neuem gewinnen
 new win
 ‘customers are attracted over and over again by good service and
 accommodation’
- (4) [_{<AGENT>}Wal-Mart] [_{<ACCOMODATION>}verspricht] *Kulanz*^{Tgt}: „[_{<THEME>}Kunden],
 Wal-Mart promise goodwill:” customers,
 die benachteiligt worden sind
 who disadvantage been made
 ‘Wal-Mart promises accommodations: ”customers who have been treated
 unfairly’
- (5) [_{<AGENT>}VW] gewährt zehn Jahre *Kulanz*^{Tgt} und [_{<ACCOMODATION>}kommt für
 VW offers ten years goodwill and covers for
 die Schäden auf]
 the damages on
 ‘VW offers courtesy acts by covering the damages’

- (6) [<AGENT>Man] könne dem [<THEME>Kunden] im Rahmen der *Kulanz^{Tgt}*
 One could the customer in terms of goodwill
 [<ACCOMODATION>entgegenkommen]
 oblige
 ‘One could be obliging to the customer out of goodwill’
- (7) [<ACCOMODATION>Die Reinigung übernehmen] [<AGENT>wir] auf *Kulanz^{Tgt}*,
 The cleaning cover we out of goodwill,
 betont auch Diepenhorst
 stresses also Diepenhorst
 ‘We cover the cleaning as courtesy, stresses Diepenhorst’
- (8) seien [<THEME>Arbeitnehmer] auf die *Kulanz^{Tgt}* [<AGENT>der Arbeitgeber]
 be employees on the goodwill of the employer
 angewiesen
 dependent
 ‘The employees would be dependent on the accommodations by the employer’
- (9) Positiv beurteilten [<THEME>die Befragten] die *Kulanz^{Tgt}* [<AGENT>der
 Positive rate the participants the goodwill of the
 Baumärkte]
 home improvement stores
 ‘The participants in the study rated the home improvement store’s
 accommodations positively’
- (10) [<AGENT>Kontrolleure] schon seit längerem *kulant^{Tgt}* [<THEME>mit
 Ticket inspectors since longer show goodwill with
 betroffenen Kunden] umgegangen
 affected customers treated
 ‘Ticket inspectors have been showing goodwill towards affected
 customers’
- (11) sind [<AGENT>viele Händler] auch in Nürnberg *kulant^{Tgt}*
 are many merchants also in Nuremberg oblige
 ‘Merchants in Nuremberg are also showing goodwill’

- (12) [_{<AGENT>}Ihr Vorgesetzter] gab sich dann *kulant*^{Tgt} und
 Her supervisor gave self then show goodwill and
 [_{<ACCOMMODATION>}verzichtete]
 declined
 ‘Her supervisor then showed goodwill himself and declined’
- (13) [_{<AGENT>}Rom] zeigte sich gegenüber [_{<THEME>}den Berglern] *kulant*^{Tgt} und
 Rome showed self towards the Bergler goodwill and
 [_{<ACCOMMODATION>}erlaubte]
 allowed
 ‘Rome was courteous towards the Bergler and showed’
- (14) [_{<AGENT>}Swisscom] zeigt sich nun *kulant*^{Tgt}
 Swisscom show self now goodwill
 ‘Swisscom proved themselves to be accommodating’

APPENDIX D: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF DICTIONARY ENTRIES FOR *FREUND* AND *BEKANNTER*

Dictionary	<i>Freund(in)</i>	<i>Bekante(r)</i>
Wahrig	1 <i>in herzlicher, kameradschaftl. Zuneigung Verbundener; (guter, freundschaftl. verbundener) Kamerad, Genosse, Partner (Geschäfts~, Schul~, Sport~, Studien~); [umg.] Liebhaber</i>	Jmd., den man kennt ; der ~ meiner Schwester [umg.] <i>der Freund meiner S.</i> ; ich habe eine(n) ~(n) getroffen; ein alter, flüchtiger, guter ~r; ein ~r von mir
Duden	<p>Freund 1. <i>männliche Person, die einer anderen in Freundschaft verbunden ist, ihr nahesteht: Ein guter F. von mir; mein F. Klaus; mein bester F.;</i> 2 <i>männliche Person, mit der eine Frau od. ein Mann befreundet ist [u. mit der sie od. er zusammenlebt] sein neuer F. ist zu ihm gezogen; sie hat einen festen F.</i></p> <p>Freundin 1. <i>weibliche Person, die einer anderen in Freundschaft verbunden ist, ihr nahesteht</i> 2 <i>weibliche Person, mit der ein Mann od. eine Frau befreundet ist [u. mit der er od. sie zusammenlebt]</i></p>	<p>Bekante Die Bekante/eine Bekante; der/einer Bekanten, die Bekanten/zwei Bekante: a) <i>weibliche Person, mit der man bekannt ist: sie war eine gute B. von mir; b)</i> [mit Possessivpronomen] (ugs. verhüllt) <i>Freundin eines Mannes: ich war mit meiner Bekanten vereist</i></p> <p>Bekannter Der Bekante/ein Bekannter; des/eines Bekanten, die Bekanten/zwei Bekante: a) <i>männliche Person, mit der man bekannt ist: wir sind alte Bekante; er ist ein alter B. von mir; b)</i> [mit Possessivpronomen] (ugs. verhüllt) <i>Freund einer Frau: ich war mit meinem Bekanten vereist</i></p>
Langenscheidt	Freund 1 <i>ein F. (von j-m) j-d, den man sehr gut kennt u. zu dem man über e-e relative lange Zeit e-e enge Beziehung hat [ein guter, treuer, wahrer F.; j-n zum Freund gewinnen; viele Freunde haben /</i>	<i>Der/die; -n, -n; 1 j-d, den man (oft durch seinen Beruf) kennt u. gelegentlich trifft, mit dem man jedoch nicht unbedingt ein freundschaftliches Verhältnis hat – Fremde(r) : im Biergarten zufällig zwei alte Bekante</i>

	<p>besitzen] 2 j-s F. ein Junge od. Mann, der mit einem Mädchen od. e-r Frau befreundet ist (u. mit ihr zusammenlebt) [der, mein, dein, ihr F.; ein fester langjähriger F.]: <i>Sie fährt mit ihrem F. in Urlaub</i></p>	<p><i>treffen</i> 2 ein guter Bekannter / e-e gute Bekannte e-e Person, die man zwar gut kennt u. öfter trifft, die aber (noch) kein richtiger Freund / keine richtige Freundin ist 3 <i>euph</i> ~Geliebter, Geliebte: <i>Er fuhr mit seiner Bekannten in Urlaub</i></p>
--	---	---

References

- ALSINA, V. & DECESARIS, J. (2002). Bilingual lexicography, overlapping polysemy, and corpus use. *Lexis in Contrast*, ed. by B. Altenberg and S. Granger, 215-230. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- ALTENBERG, B. & GRANGER, S. (2002). Recent trends in cross-linguistic lexical studies. *Lexis in Contrast*, ed. by B. Altenberg and S. Granger, 3-50. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- ARISTOTLE (2005). *Topics*. NuVision Publications, LLC.
- ATKINS, S. (1994). Analyzing the verbs of seeing: A frame semantic approach to corpus lexicography. *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, ed. By C. Johnson et al., 42-56. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistic Society.
- ATKINS, S. (1995). The Role of the Example in a Frame Semantics Dictionary. *Essays in Semantics and Pragmatics – in Honor of Charles Fillmore*, ed. M. Shibatani and S. Thompson, 25-42. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- ATKINS, S., & FILLMORE, C. J. (2003). Lexicographic relevance: Selecting information from corpus evidence. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16 (3), 251–280.
- ATKINS, S., RUNDELL, M., & SATO, H. (2003). The Contribution of FrameNet to Practical Lexicography. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16, 333–357.
- ATZLER, J. K. (2011). *Twist in the List: Frame Semantics as Vocabulary Teaching and Learning Tool*. University of Texas, Austin: Dissertation.
- BAKER, C. F., C. J. FILLMORE & LOWE, J.B. (1998). The Berkeley FrameNet Project. *COLING-ACL '98: Proceedings of the Conference*, 86–90.
- BAKER, C. F., FILLMORE, C. J., & CRONIN, B. (2003). The Structure of the Framenet Database. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16 (3), 281–296.
- BARNBROOK, G. (2007). Sinclair on Connotations. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 12 (2), 183-199.
- BARTLETT, F.C. (1932). *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- BÉJOINT, H. (2000). *Modern Lexicography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BIBER, D. (1996). Investigating language use through corpus-based analysis. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 1, 171-197.
- BLAKE, P., ET AL. (2015). The ontogeny of fairness in seven societies. *Nature*, 528, 258-261.
- BLOOMFIELD, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Henry Holt.
- BLUMSTEIN, S. (1973). *A phonological investigation of aphasic speech*. Mouton: The Hague.
- BOAS, H.C. (2001). Frame Semantics as a framework for describing polysemy and syntactic structures of English and German motion verbs in contrastive computational lexicography. *Presented at the Corpus Linguistics 2001 Conference*. 64-73. Lancaster, UK.
- BOAS, H. C. (2002). Bilingual FrameNet Dictionaries for Machine Translation. *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation*, ed. by M. González Rodríguez and C. Paz Suárez Araujo, 1364-1371. Las Palmas, Spain.
- BOAS, H.C. (2005a). From Theory to Practice: Frame Semantics and the design of FrameNet. *Semantik im Lexikon*, ed. by S. Langer & D. Schnorbusch, 129–160. Tübingen: Narr.
- BOAS, H.C. (2005b). Semantic Frames as Interlingual Representations for Multilingual Lexical Databases. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 18, 445–478.
- BOAS, H.C. (2006). A frame-semantic approach to identifying syntactically relevant elements of meaning. *Contrastive Studies and Valency: Studies in honor of Hans Ulrich Boas*, ed. by P. Steiner, H.C. Boas and S. Schierholz, 119-149. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- BOAS, H.C. (2008). Towards a Frame-Constructional Approach to Verb Classification. *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, 57, 17–47.
- BOAS, H.C. (ed.). (2009). *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Linguistics: Methods and Applications*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- BOAS, H.C. (2009a). Recent trends in multilingual lexicography. *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Lexicography: Methods and Applications*, ed. by H.C. Boas, 1–34. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- BOAS, H.C. (2009b). Semantic frames as interlingual representations for multilingual lexical databases *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Lexicography: Methods and Applications*, ed. by H.C. Boas, 59-100. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Boas, H.C. (2010). The syntax-lexicon continuum in Construction Grammar. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 24, 54-82.
- BOAS, H.C. (2013). Wie viel Wissen steckt in Wörterbüchern? Eine frame-semantische Perspektive. *Zeitschrift für angewandte Linguistik*, 75-97.
- BOAS, H. C. & DUX, R. (2013). Semantic frames for foreign-language education: Towards a German frame-based dictionary. *Veridas On-Line*, 1/2013, 81-100.
- BOAS, H. C., DUX, R., & ZIEM, A. (2016). Frames and constructions in an online learner's dictionary of German. *Applied Construction Grammar*, ed. by S. De Knop and Gaetanelle Guilquin, 303-326. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.
- BURCHARDT, A., ERK, K., KOWALSKI, A., PADO, S., & PINKAL, M. (2009). Using FrameNet for the semantic analysis of German: Annotation, representation, and automation. *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Lexicography: Methods and Applications*, ed. by H.C. Boas, 209-241. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- BUSSE, D. (2012). *Frame Semantik*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- CHAMBERS, A. (2005). Integrating corpus consultation in language studies. *Language Learning and Technology*, 9 (2), 111-125.
- CHODKIEWICZ, C., BOURIGAULT, D. & HUMBLEY, J. (2002). Making a workable glossary out of a specialized corpus: Term extraction and expert knowledge. *Lexis in Contrast*, ed. by B. Altenberg and S. Granger, 249-270. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- CHOMSKY, N. (1957). *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- COSERIU, E. (1964). Pour une sémantique diachronique structural. *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature*, 2, 139-186.

- CROFT, W., & CRUSE, D. A. (2004). *Frames, domains, spaces: the organization of conceptual structure. Cognitive Linguistics, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CRUSE, A. (1986). *Lexical Semantics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DASKALOVA, N. (2015). Corpus-based versus traditional learning of collocations. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 28 (2), 130-144.
- DOLBEY, A., ELLSWORTH, M., & SCHEFFCZYK, J. (2006). BioFrameNet: A Domain-Specific FrameNet Extension with Links to Biomedical Ontologies. *The proceedings of KR-MED*, 87-94.
- DROSDOWSKI, G., ET AL. (2011). *Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch Deutsch.* Berlin: Bibliographisches Institut & FA Brockhaus AG.
- ERK, K., KOWALSKI, A. & PADÓ, S. (2003). Towards a resource for lexical semantics: A large German corpus with extensive semantic annotation. *Proceedings of ACL 2003*, Sapporo.
- FARWELL, D., HELMREICH, S., DORR, B., HABASH, N., REEDER, F., MILLER, K., LEVIN, L., MITAMURA, T., HOVY, E., RAMBOW, O., & SIDDHARTHAN, A. (2004). Interlingual Annotation of Multilingual Text Corpora. *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics Workshop on Frontiers in Corpus Annotation*, 55-62. Boston, MA.
- FELLBAUM, C. (1998). *WordNet: An electronic lexical database.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1968). The case for case. In *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. by E. Bach and R.Harms, 1-88. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1970). The Grammar of Hitting and Breaking. *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, ed. by Jacobs, R.A. and P.S. Rosenbaum, 120-133. Boston: Ginn and Company.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1975). An Alternative to Checklist Theories of Meaning. *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, ed. by Cogen, C. et al., 123–31. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1976a). Frame Semantics and the Nature of Language. *Origins and Evolution of Language and Speech*, ed. by in: Harnad, S.R. et al., 20-32. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

- FILLMORE, C.J. (1976b). The need for frame semantics within linguistics. *Statistical Methods in Linguistics*, 12, 5-29.
- FILLMORE, C. J. (1977a). Scenes and Frames semantics. *Linguistic structures processing*, ed. by A. Zampolli, 55–81. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1977b). Topics in Lexical Semantics. *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, ed. by Cole, R.W., 76-138. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1978). On the Organization of Semantic Information in the Lexicon. *Papers from the Parasession on the Lexicon*, ed. by D. Frakas, et al., 148-73. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- FILLMORE, C. J. (1982). Frame Semantics. *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, ed. by Linguistic Society of Korea, 111–138. Seoul: Hanshin.
- FILLMORE, C. J. (1985). Frames and the semantics of understanding. *Quaderni di Semantica*, 6(2), 222–254.
- FILLMORE, C. J. (1987). U-semantics, Second Round. *Quaderni di Semantica* 7 (1), 49-58.
- FILLMORE, C. J. (1988). The mechanisms of ‘Construction Grammar’. *BLS*, 14, 35–55.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (2007). Valency issues in FrameNet. *Valency: theoretical, descriptive, and cognitive issues*, ed. by T. Herbst and K. Götz-Vetteler, 129-160. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (2008). *Border Conflicts: FrameNet meets Construction Grammar*. Plenary Lecture at EURALEX XIII, Barcelona, Spain.
- FILLMORE, C. J., & ATKINS, B.T.S. (1992). Toward a Frame-based Lexicon: The Semantics of RISK and its Neighbors. *Frames, Fields and Contrasts: New Essays in Semantic and Lexical Organization*, ed. by A. Lehrer & E. Kittay, 75–102. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- FILLMORE, C.J. (1994). The Hard road from Verbs to Nouns. *In Honor of William S.Y. Wang: Interdisciplinary Studies on Language and Language Change*, ed. by Chen, M.Y., O.J.L. Tzeng, and W.S.Y. Wang, 105-129. Nottingham: Pyramid Press.

- FILLMORE, C.J., & ATKINS, B.T.S. (1994). Starting where the dictionaries stop: The challenge for computational lexicography. *Computational Approaches to the Lexicon*, ed. by B.T.S. Atkins and A. Zampolli, 349-393. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FILLMORE, C.J. & ATKINS, B.T.S. (1998). FrameNet and Lexicographic Relevance. In *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation*, Granada, Spain.
- FILLMORE, C.J.; & ATKINS, B.T.S. (2000). Describing polysemy: The case of “crawl”. *Polysemy*, ed. by Y. Ravin and C. Lacock, 99-110. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FILLMORE, C. J., & BAKER, C. F. (2010). A frames approach to semantic analysis. *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. by B. Heine & H. Narrog, 313–340. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FILLMORE, C. J., JOHNSON, C., & PETRUCK, P. (2003). Background to FrameNet. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16 (3), 235–250.
- FILLMORE, C. J., PETRUCK, M., RUPPENHOFER, J., & WRIGHT, A. (2003). FrameNet in Action: The Case of Attaching. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16, 297–332.
- FONTENELLE, T. (1997). Using a bilingual dictionary to create semantic networks. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16, 297-333.
- FONTENELLE, T. (2000). A bilingual lexical database for frame semantics. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 14 (4), 232-248.
- HEPPIN, K., & FRIBERG, K. (2012). Using FrameNet in Communicative Language Teaching. *Proceedings of the XV EURALEX International Congress*. Oslo, Norway.
- FUNG, P., & CHEN, B. (2004). BiFrameNet: Bilingual frame semantics resource construction by cross-lingual induction. *Proceedings of COLING 2004*. Geneva, Switzerland.
- FIRTH, J.R. (1957). *A synopsis of linguistic theory*. *Studies in linguistic analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- GAWRON, J. (2008). Frame Semantics. Online:
http://www.hf.uib.no/forskerskole/new_frames_intro.pdf

- GEERAERTS, D. (2006). *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GEERAERTS, D. (2011). *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GODDARD, C. (1998). *Semantic Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GODDARD, C. (2006). Ethnopragmatics: a new paradigm. *Ethnopragmatics*, ed. by C. Goddard, 1–30. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GODDARD, C. (2008). *Cross-Linguistic Semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- GODDARD, C. (2009). Cultural scripts. *Language and Culture*, ed. by G. Senft. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- GODDARD, C. (2010). The Natural Semantic Metalanguage Approach. *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. by B. Heine & H. Narrog, 459-489. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GODDARD, C. (2011). *Semantic Analysis: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GODDARD, C., & WIERZBICKA, A. (1994). *Semantic and Lexical Universals – Theory and Empirical Findings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- GODDARD, C., & WIERZBICKA, A. (2002). *Meaning and Universal Grammar – Theory and Empirical Findings. Vols I & II*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- GODDARD, C. & WIERZBICKA, A. (2004). Cultural scripts: What are they and what are they good for? *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 1 (2), 153-166.
- GODDARD, C. & WIERZBICKA, A. (2007). Anglo scripts against “putting pressure” on other people, and their linguistic manifestations. *Ethnopragmatics. Understanding Discourse in Cultural Context*, ed. by C. Goddard. 31-64. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GÖTZ, D., ET. AL. (1997). *Langenscheidt Standard German Dictionary*. Munich: Langenscheidt.
- GOLDBERG, A. (1995). *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HALL, T.A. (2011). *Phonologie: Eine Einführung*. 2d edition. Berlin: de Gruyter.

- HAMP, B. & FELDWEG, H. (1997). GermaNet: a lexical-semantic net for German in P. *Proceedings of the ACL/EACL-97 Workshop on automatic information extraction and building of lexical semantic resources for NLP applications*, ed. by Vossen, N. Calzolari, G. Adriaens, A. Sanfilippo, and Y. Wilks, 9-15. Madrid.
- HANSEN-SCHIRRA, S., NEUMANN, S., & STEINER, E. (2012). *Cross-linguistic Corpora for the Study of Translations. Insights from the Language Pair English-German*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- HEID, U., & KRÜGER, K. (1996). Multilingual Lexicon based on Frame Semantics. *Proceedings of the AISB Workshop on Multilinguality in the Lexicon*. San Diego: Brighton.
- HUNSTON, S. (2002). *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- JACKENDOFF, R. (1985). *Semantics and Cognition*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- JACKENDOFF, R. (1990). *Semantic structures*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- JACKENDOFF, R. (1992). Parts and boundaries. *Lexical and Conceptual Semantics*, ed. by Beth Levin and Steven Pinker, 9-45. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- JACKENDOFF, R. (2006). On conceptual semantics. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 3 (3), 353–358.
- JAKOBSON, R., & FANT, G., & HALLE, M. (1952). *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis*. Cambridge: MIT.
- JAKOBSON, R., & HALLE, M. (1956). *Fundamentals of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- JIANG, N. (2002). Form-Meaning Mapping in Vocabulary Acquisition in a Second Language. *SSLA*, 24, 617-637.
- JOHANSSON, R., & NUGUES, P. (2006). A FrameNet-based Semantic Role Labeler for Swedish. *Presented at the Proceedings of Coling/ACL 2006*. Sydney, Australia.
- KATZ, J., & FODOR, J. (1963). The structure of a semantic theory. *Language*, 39 (2), 170–210.

- KEAN, M. L. (1977). The linguistic interpretation of aphasic syndromes: Agrammatism in Broca's aphasia, an example. *Cognition*, 5, 9–46.
- KRAMSCH. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- KRZESZOWSKI, T.R. (1990). *Contrasting Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- KUNZE, C., & LEMNITZER, L. (2002). GermaNet – representation, visualization, application. *LREC 2002 Proceedings Vol. V.*: 1465-1491.
- LAKOFF, G. (1986). Frame semantic control of the coordinate structure constraint. *Papers from the Parasession on Pragmatics and Grammatical Theory*, ed. by Anne M. Farley, et. al., 152-167. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- LAKOFF, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and other dangerous things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LAUFER, B. (1990a). Ease and Difficulty in Vocabulary Learning: Some Teaching Implications. *Foreign Language Annals*, 23 (2), 147-155.
- LAUFER, B. (1990b). Words you know: how they affect the words you learn. *Further insights into contrastive linguistics*, ed. by J. Fisiak, 573-593. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Benjamin's.
- LAWLER, J. (1989). Lexical semantics in the commercial transaction frame: *value, worth, cost, and price*. *Studies in Language* 13 (2), 381-404.
- LENCI, A., JOHNSON, M., & LAPESA, G. (2010). Building an Italian FrameNet through Semi- automatic Corpus Analysis. *Presented at the Proceedings of the Seventh conference on International Language Resources and Evaluation*, Valetta, Malta: LREC 2010.
- LEVIN, B. (1993). *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago, Chicago University Press.
- LOENNEKER-RODMAN, B., BAKER, C. F., & HONG, J. (2008). The New FrameNet Desktop: A Usage Scenario for Slovenian. *Presented at the Proceedings of The First International Conference on Global Interoperability for Language Resources*. Hong Kong.
- LOENNEKER-RODMAN, B., & BAKER, C. (2009). The FrameNet model and its applications. *Natural Language Engineering*, 15 (3), 415-453.

- LOWE, J., BAKER, C., FILLMORE, C. (1997). A frame-semantic approach to semantic annotation. In *Tagging Text with Lexical Semantics: Why, What, and How? Proceedings of the Workshop. Special Interest Group on the Lexicon*, 8-24. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- LYNGFELT, B., BORIN, L., FORSBERG, M., PRENTICE, J., RYDSTEDT, R., SKÖLDBERG, E., & TINGSSELL, S. (2012). Adding a Constructicon to the Swedish resource network of Språkbanken. In *Proceedings of Konvens 2012*. Vienna, Austria.
- MANNING, C., & SCHÜTZE, H. (1999). *Foundations of Statistical Natural Language Processing*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- MERVIS, C. & ROSCH, E. (1981). Categorization of natural objects. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 32, 89- 115.
- MINSKY, M. (1975). A framework for representing knowledge. *The Psychology of Computer Vision*, ed. by P. Winston, 211–277. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- MLA AD HOC COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES. (2007). *Foreign languages and higher education: New structures for a changed world*. Retrieved 10 April 2015, from <http://www.mla.org/flreport>.
- NATION, P. (2001). *Learning vocabulary in another language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- NIDA, E.A. (1975). *Language Structure and Translation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- NORD, C. (2006). Translating for communicative purposes across culture boundaries. *Journal of translation studies*, 9 (1), 43–60.
- OHARA, K. FUJII, S., SAITO, H., ISHIZAKI, S., OHORI, T., & SUZUKI, R. (2004). The Japanese FrameNet Project. An introduction. *Proceedings of the satellite workshop on building lexical resources from semantically annotated corpora*, 9-11. Fourth international Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC) 2004, Lisbon.
- OHARA, K. (2009). Frame-based contrastive lexical semantics in Japanese FrameNet: The case of *risk* and *kakeru*. *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Lexicography Methods and Applications*, ed. by H.C. Boas, 163-182. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- OSSWALD, R., & VAN VALIN, R. (2012). *FrameNet, Frame Structure, and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Heinrich-Heine-Universitaet Duesseldorf.
- PALMER, F. (1981). *Semantics*, 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PEARSALL, J. (1999). *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PETRUCK, M. (1995). Frame semantics and the lexicon: nouns and verbs in the body frame. *Essays in Semantics and Pragmatics*, ed. by M. Shibatani and S. Thompson, 279-296. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- PETRUCK, M. (1996). Frame Semantics. *Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. by J. Verschueren, J.-O. Oestman, J. Blommaert, & C. Bulcaen, 1-13. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- PETRUCK, M. & BOAS, H.C. (2003). All in a day's week. *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Linguists*, ed. by Hajičová, E., Kotěšovcová, A., and Mírovský, J. Prague: Matfyzpress.
- PETRUCK, M., FILLMORE, C. J, BAKER C.F., ELLSWORTH, M. & RUPPENHOFER, J. (2004). Reframing FrameNet data. *In Proceedings of The Eleventh European Association of Lexicography International Congress*, 405-416. Lorient: EURALEX.
- PETRUCK, M. (2005). Towards Hebrew FrameNet. *Kernerman Dictionary News*, 13, 1-4.
- PETRUCK, M. (2009). Typological considerations in constructing a Hebrew FrameNet. *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Linguistics: Methods and Applications*, ed. by H. Boas, 183-208. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- ROSCH, E. (1975). Cognitive Reference Points. *Cognitive Psychology*, 7, 532-547.
- ROSCH, E. (1978). Principles of Categorization. *Cognition and Categorization*, ed. by Eleanor Rosch & Barbara Lloyd, 27-48. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- ROSCH, E. (1988). Coherences and Categorization: a historical view. *The Development of Language and Language Researchers: Essays in Honor of Roger Brown*, ed. by Frank Kessel, 373-392. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- ROSCH, E., & MERVIS, C. (1975). Family resemblances: studies in the internal structure of categories. *Cognitive Psychology*, 7, 573-605.

- RUPPENHOFER, J., ELLSWORTH, M., PETRUCK, M., JOHNSON, C., & SCHEFFCYK, J. (2010). *FrameNet II: Extended Theory and Practice*. Berkeley: International Computer Science Institute: Technical Report.
- SAITO, H., KUBOYA, S., SONE, T., TAGAMI, H., & OHARA, K. (2008). The Japanese FrameNet Software Tools. *Presented at the Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation*, 1-4. Marrakech: LREC 2008.
- SALKIE, R. (2002). Two types of translation equivalence, *Lexis in Contrast*, ed. by B. Altenberg and S. Granger, 51-72. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- SALOMAO, M., TORRENT, T., CAMPOS, F., BRAGA, R., & VIEIRA, M. (2011). Copa 2014 Framenet Brasil. *Presented at the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq)*. Juiz de Fora, Brazil.
- SCHANK, R., & ABELSON, R. (1977). *Scripts, Plans, Goals, and Understanding: an Inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures*. Hillsdale: L. Erlbaum.
- SCHERFER, P. (1993). Indirect L2-vocabulary learning. *Linguistics*, 31, 1141-1153.
- SCHMIDT, T. (2009). The Kicktionary - A Multilingual Lexical Resource of Football Language. *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Linguistics: Methods and Applications*, ed. by H.C. Boas, 101-134. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SCHMITT, N. (2000). *Vocabulary in language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- SCHMITT, N. (2010). *Vocabulary Research: A Vocabulary Research Manual*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- SCHMITT, N., & MCCARTHY, M. (1997). *Vocabulary: description, acquisition and pedagogy*. Cambridge: New York.
- SCHMITT, N., & MEARA, P. (1997). Researching Vocabulary through a Word Knowledge Framework. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 19 (1), 17-36.
- SHARIFIAN, F. (2007). Politics and/of translation: Case studies between English and Persian. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 28 (4), 413-424.
- SINCLAIR, J. (1991). *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- SMADJA, F., & MCKEOWN, K. (1990). Automatically extracting and representing collocations for language generation. *Proceedings of the 28th annual meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*, 252-292.
- SNELL-HORNBY, M. (1988). *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- SPINELLI, E., & SISKI, J. H. (1992). Selecting, Presenting and Practicing Vocabulary in a Culturally-Authentic Context. *Foreign Language Annals*, 25 (4), 305-315.
- STUBBS, M. (1995). Collocations and semantic profiles: on the cause of the trouble with quantitative studies. *Functions of Language*, 2 (1), 23-55.
- SUBIRATS, C., & PETRUCK, M. (2003). Surprise: Spanish FrameNet. *Presentation at the workshop on Frame Semantics, International Congress of Linguists 2003*, Prague.
- SUBIRATS, C. (2009). Spanish FrameNet: A Frame Semantic Analysis of the Spanish Lexicon. *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Linguistics: Methods and Applications*, ed. by H.C. Boas, 135–162. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SUN, Y. C., & WANG, L. Y. (2003). Concordancers in the EFL classroom: Cognitive approaches and collocation difficulty. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 16 (1), 83-94.
- SVENSÉN, B. (1993). *Practical lexicography. Principles and methods of dictionary-making*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SWAN, M. (1997). The influence of the mother tongue on second language vocabulary acquisition and use. *Vocabulary: description, acquisition and pedagogy*, ed. by N. Schmitt & M. McCarthy, 156-180. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TANNEN, D. (1979). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. *New Directions in Discourse Processing*, ed. by Roy Freedle, 137-181. Norwood: Ablex.
- TAYLOR, J. (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TAYLOR, J. (1995). *Linguistic categorization: Prototypes in linguistic theory*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- TAYLOR, J. (1996). On running and jogging. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 7, 21-34.

- TAYLOR, J. (2003). Polysemy's paradoxes. *Language Sciences*, 25, (6), 637-655.
- TEICH, E. (2003). *Cross-linguistic variation in system and text. A methodology for the investigation of translations and comparable texts (Vol. 5)*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- VANNEREM, M., & SNELL-HORNBY, M. (1986). Die Szene hinter dem Text: scenes-and-frame semantics in der Übersetzung. *Übersetzungswissenschaft – eine Neuorientierung*, ed. by M. Snell-Hornby, 184–205. Tübingen: Francke.
- VENTURI, G., MONTEMAGNI, S., MARCHI, S., SASAKI, Y., THOMPSON, P., MCNAUGHT, J., & ANANIADOU, S. (2009). Bootstrapping a verb lexicon for biomedical information extraction. *Computational Linguistics and Intelligent Text Processing*. Berlin / Heidelberg: Springer.
- WAHRIG, G., ET AL. (1996). *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Gütersloh: Bertelsman & Mosaik Verlag.
- WEIGL, E., & BIERWISCH, M. (1970). Neuropsychology and linguistics: topics of common research. *Foundations of Language*, 6, 1–18.
- WHITAKER, H. A. (1971). *On the representation of language in the human brain*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (1972). *Semantic primitives*. Frankfurt: Athenäum.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (1985). *Lexicography and conceptual analysis*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (1996). *Semantics, Primes and Universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (1997). *Understanding cultures through their key words: English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (2006). Anglo scripts against “putting pressure” on other people and their linguistic manifestations. *Ethnopragmatics*, ed. by Cliff Goddard, 31-63. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (2010). *Experience, Evidence and Sense: The Hidden Cultural Legacy of English*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- WILKS, Y. (1980). Frames, Semantics and Novelty. *Frame Conceptions and Text Understanding*, ed. by D. Metzging. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- YOU, L., LIU, T., & LIU, K. (2007). Chinese FrameNet and OWL Representation. *Presented at the Sixth International Conference on Advanced Language Processing and Web Information Technology*.
- ZIEM, A. (2008). *Frames und sprachliches Wissen*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- ZIEM, A. (2011). Cognitive science meets language pedagogy. *Bi-directionality in the Cognitive Sciences: Avenues, Challenges, and Limitations*, 249–272. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.