<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Image Schemas for In-Out Orientation --With Special Reference to Out, Come, Appear, Occur and Emerge--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>FUKADA, Chie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>言語科学論集 = Papers in linguistic science (1997), 3: 61-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>1997-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="https://doi.org/10.14989/66937">https://doi.org/10.14989/66937</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textversion</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kyoto University
Image Schemas for In-Out Orientation
- With Special Reference to Out, Come, Appear, Occur, and Emerge-

Chie Fukada
Kyoto University
e-mail: chie@hi.h.kyoto-u.ac.jp

1. Introduction

One of the crucial tasks in linguistic science is to clarify the ways in which image schemas characterize the conceptual structure of natural language. Image schemas are embodied, that is, they are directly and repeatedly experienced because of the nature of the body and its mode of functioning in our environment (cf. Lakoff 1987: 267-268). They influence conceptualization or conceptual structure and a part of it is reflected in linguistic expressions. Therefore, we cannot understand linguistic meaning without image schemas. The main objectives of this paper are to examine the conceptual structures of out, come, appear, emerge and occur in terms of image schemas and to propose that there is a schema or a recurrent pattern of our experience preserved in their conceptual structures. If it is possible that the same schema characterizes the conceptual structures of different linguistic expressions, the schema can be seen as one of the most common embodied structures which are fundamental to our cognition. In what follows, this attempt will solve one of the interesting questions we should ask: to what extent image schemas are universal.

In the next section, we will see a general definition of image schemas. In section 3, I will review the research of OUTgI in Lindner (1982). It will be argued that the concept of 'movement' serves a great deal to characterize the conceptual structure of out as well as the concept of 'containment.' In section 4, I will examine the conceptual structures of come, appear, emerge and occur in terms of image schemas. I will suggest that the same image-schematic structure characterize the conceptual structures of out and these verbs.

2. Our Bodily Experience, Image Schema and Conceptual Structure

Image schemas are fundamental to human cognition. Since image schemas or the image-schematic structures "emerge" naturally as a consequence of our experience and structure our bodily experience preconceptually, they are recurrent patterns, shapes, and regularities in, or of, ongoing ordering activities like our actions, perceptions, and conceptions. In other words, they are directly and repeatedly experienced because of the nature of the body (i.e. the nature of our biological capacities) and its mode of functioning in our environment (cf. Lakoff 1987: 268 and 292).

Image schemas are embodied, i.e., they are experienced directly and repeatedly. Therefore, image schemas are meaningful themselves. Those embodied schemas give rise to conceptual structure and a part of it is reflected in ordinary language. In this way, image schemas influence the conceptual or semantic structure of natural language and make it meaningful.

Another important feature of image schemas we should notice here is, as Johnson (1987: 28) suggests, that image schemas exist at the level of generality and abstraction. This feature allows them "to serve repeatedly as identifying patterns in an indefinitely large number of experiences, perceptions, and image formations for objects or events (ibid.)." In short, image

© Chie Fukada, Image Schemas for In-Out Orientation
Papers in Linguistic Science, No. 3 (1997), pp. 61-76.
schemas can influence the ways in which we can make sense of things or events and reason about them.

Thus, image schemas (i) emerge from our daily experiences, (ii) serve to organize our experience or comprehension and to form particular mental images and (iii) characterize the conceptual structure of natural language.

Some of the most common image schemas are schemas for CONTAINER, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, UP-DOWN and FRONT-BACK. These schemas structure our experience of space. Lakoff (1987: 283) proposes that image schemas which structure space are mapped into the corresponding abstract configurations which structure concept. He calls it the “Spatialization of Form Hypothesis.”

In the next section, I will review Lindner’s study of the particle out. The schemas for out are schemas including both the CONTAINER schema and the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema.

3. Image Schemas for Out

Let us take as an example of schemas those for in-out orientation in our experience, understanding, and language. My example is adapted from Lindner (1982).

Lindner (1982) observes verb particle constructions with out in English and finds a small number of prototypical schematic structures (i.e. OUT schemas) that could be systematically extended to cover nearly all occurrences of the particle out. First, she identifies three basic uses of the particle out. The relevant domain is the domain of physical space. See the examples in (1).

(1)  a. (OUT-1) He ironed out the wrinkle in his shirt./She went out./She picked out a piece of candy and ate it.
    b. (OUT-2) The lava spread out./Hand out the brochures./She fills out that dress.
    c. (OUT-3) He set out for Nepal./He reached out to grab it.

Lindner assumes that OUT-1 is the most prototypical subschema of the three because the relation is most readily identified as OUT. The others are extended from OUT-1.

Then, she illustrates a network of image schemas for out as Figure 1.

Figure 1

We notice here that the particle out is characterized by the schema for ‘movement’ (i.e. the schema for SOURCE-PATH-GOAL) represented by a vector as well as the CONTAINER schema depicted by a circle.\(^2\) In other words, as the superschema shows, the concepts which characterize

\(^2\)Though the schema for OUT-3 might not seem to have a schema for ‘containment,’ it does have the concept of ‘containment.’ The initial location or the initial position can be seen as a small container.
the basic uses of the particle *out* are the concept of ‘containment’ and the concept of ‘movement.’

I stress here the significant role of the concept of ‘movement’ in characterizing the conceptual structure of *out*. Though the concept of ‘containment’ or the CONTAINER schema has been highlighted in the previous researches of *out*, it is a part of the conceptual structure of *out*. Since *out* represents the trajector’s movement from INSIDE to OUTSIDE, the concept of ‘movement’ as well as the concept of ‘containment’ plays a significant role in characterizing OUT.

Then, Lindner (1982: 310) shows in great detail numerous kinds of metaphorical elaboration of the OUT-1 schema. Some of the examples are seen in (2).

\[(2)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{The debutante came out.} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{The stars/the sun finally came out.} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{I figured out a solution to the problem.}
\end{align*}
\]

In these sentences, which was hidden, unknown, inaccessible, or unnoticed before has become public, known, accessible, or noticed. (2a) represents a man’s becoming public by making a debut, (2b) the stars’ or the sun’s becoming visible and (2c) a solution’s coming to be known. The relevant domains of these sentences are the domain of social interaction, the domain of perception and the domain of cognition, respectively. The concept of ‘movement from inside to outside’ in the basic use of OUT-1 is shifted to an abstract movement, i.e. a change of state from inaccessible to accessible states. Lindner (1982: 311) illustrates the metaphorical uses of OUT-1 in (2) as seen in Figure 2. “Viewpoint” is used metaphorically in this schema. The viewer can be identified with the experiencer. Therefore, I call the viewer’s range the experiencer’s domain.

\[
\text{Figure 2}
\]

Lindner also discusses *out* in sentences like (3). The examples in (3) describe something’s becoming inaccessible to perception, memory or consciousness.

\[(3)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{Turn out the static; it drowns out the music.} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{The light went/faded out.} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{He tried to blot out the painful memory.}
\end{align*}
\]

Though *out*’s in the sentences of (3) are defined in these same domains, there is an important difference between (2) and in (3): while the LM (landmark) in (2) is the inaccessible state, the LM in (3) is the accessible state to the experiencer. Therefore, the difference in meaning between (2) and (3) emerges from a difference in the specification of LM .

Lindner illustrates the image schema of *out* in (3), as seen in Figure 3.

\[\text{“Experiencer” means a person who perceives, recognizes and judges the object. In most cases, it is the speaker or the conceptualizer.}\]

\[\text{“Landmark” is that in relation to which the trajector moves. In other words, trajector’s path or trajectory is defined relative to the landmark.}\]
In our ordinary experiences of spatial events, 'going out of a certain domain' implies simultaneously 'coming into another domain.' Therefore, the schema in Figure 3 can be revised as a schema in Figure 4.

These opposite perspectives in terms of the specification of LM can be also observed in the basic uses of OUT-1.

(4) a. She came out.
    b. She went out.

*Come out* represents 'moving into the speaker's (i.e. the experiencer's) domain,' while *go out* describes 'moving from the speaker's domain.' In other words, the LM in (4a) is the physical space non-proximal (or inaccessible) to the speaker and, in (4b), it is the domain proximal (or accessible) to the speaker. Here, we notice that in the basic and extended uses of OUT-1 the proper perspective or orientation is context-dependent, though some perspective is embodied in the concept of 'movement.' This means that the LM is not specified in the conceptual structure of the particle *out*.

Lindner (1982: 312) suggests that both image schemas in Figure 2 and Figure 4 preserve "the same schematic OUT path." This means that whether or not the experiencer's domain serves as the LM, the concept of 'moving from one domain (LM) to another domain' is preserved in basic and metaphorical uses of OUT-1.

Figure 5 is a conflation of Figure 2 and Figure 4. It is a revised version of the schema in Lindner (1982: 312). Since the opposite perspectives are also observed in the basic use of OUT-1, the domain of physical space can be included in the relevant domains.
image schemas for the particle *out*. (2) the basic use of OUT-1 whose relevant domain is the physical space is metaphorically extended to more abstract domains like perception, cognition and social interaction and (3) there is no specified LM in the conceptual structure of OUT-1.

Let us examine here whether the concept of ‘movement’ is preserved in all versions of the particle *out*.

The conceptual structure of OUT-1 involves the concept of ‘moving from one domain (LM) to another domain.’ In OUT-3, the concept of ‘movement’ is still preserved, though the domain becomes narrower. OUT-3 involves the concept of ‘moving from one location to another.’ Even in OUT-2, does involve the concept of ‘movement.’ Consider the examples of OUT-2 again.

(5) (=1b)(OUT-2)The lava spread out./Hand out the brochures./She fills out that dress.

When we focus on a certain point of the trajector (TR), e.g. a certain point of the flowing lava, one of the brochures, and a certain point of the dress, we can see that every part of TR is moving from the initial location (LM) to another. Figure 6 illustrates ‘movement’ in OUT-2. Compare the schema in Figure 6 with the schema in Lindner (1982: 310).

< Schema for OUT-2 in Lindner (1982)>

![Figure 6]

We might say that in OUT-2 the conceptualizer scans the component movements of the TR holistically as a single gestalt (summary scanning).

In this way, the concept of ‘movement’ is involved in all uses of the particle *out*.

The concept, however, is not particular to the conceptual structure of the particle *out*. It is also involved in *out* in sentences describing static configurations. Consider the next sentence.

(6) She is out in the pool.

In saying this sentence, the conceptualizer mentally scans the pool and judges that it is outside the his/her domain. In other words, the conceptualizer traces a mental path by scanning in a particular direction and then, he/she construes that the pool is “out.” Mental path or mental scanning is considered to be an abstract movement. Therefore, *out* in sentences describing static configurations also has the concept of ‘movement.’

Therefore, the concept of ‘movement’ plays a significant role in characterizing the conceptual structure of *out*.

4. Image Schemas for Verbs of Appearance

In this section, we will see that the image schemas for verbs like *appear*, *occur*, *emerge* and *come* have similar characteristics to one of the image schemas for *out*.
In Fukada (1996), I have discussed semantic extensions observed in verbs like appear, occur, emerge and come. I have found that the same extension pattern is commonly observed in the senses of these verbs. In the basic use, these verbs convey the sense of ‘coming out into view.’ In the extended uses, they come to convey the sense of ‘coming out into consciousness.’ I have called this semantic extension a metaphorical extension from the physical space to a mental space (more precisely, a metaphorical extension from the conceptualizer’s field of view to the conceptualizer’s consciousness) through schematization and domain shift (cf. Fukada 1996: 66).

Compare the sentences in (7) and (8). In the basic uses of (7), the verbs convey the sense of ‘a [+visible] entity’s coming out into view.’ In the metaphorical uses of (8), they come to convey the sense of ‘a [-visible] entity’s coming out into consciousness.’

(7) a. The ship appeared in sight.  
   b. Typhoons occur in late summer.  
   c. The sun has emerged.  
   d. The shore came in sight.

(8) a. The more clearly their excellences must appear.  
   b. An idea occurred to me.  
   c. A conclusion began to emerge.  
   d. The solution to the problem just came [to me/into my head].

Figure 8 depicts a metaphorical extension suggested above.  

\[\text{Figure 8} \quad \text{<Appearance of [+Visible] Entity> \hspace{1cm} <Appearance of [-Visible] Entity>}\]

\[\text{Physical Space} \hspace{1cm} \text{Mental Space}\]

\[\text{Field of View} \quad \text{Consciousness}\]

\[\text{tr : physical [+visible] entity} \quad \text{tr : abstract [-visible] entity}\]

\[\text{lm : field of view} \quad \text{lm : consciousness}\]

It should be noticed here that the original image-schematic structure is preserved in this extension. The concept of ‘coming into the experiencer’s (relevant) domain’ in the basic use is preserved in the metaphorical uses. In other words, the conception of ‘moving into the experiencer’s domain’ plays a significant role in characterizing the conceptual structures of both basic and metaphorical uses of these verbs.

Figure 9 illustrates an image schema which seems to characterize the semantic structures of the relevant verbs come, appear, emerge, and occur. I call it the image schema for ‘appearance.’

---

5 The schema is slightly revised from the schema in Fukada (1996).

6 The relevant domain of the basic uses is the experiencer’s field of view and that of the metaphorical uses is the experiencer’s mind. Again, the term ‘experiencer’ means in this paper a person who perceives and comprehend the object or the event. The experiencer is in most cases the speaker and/or hearer, i.e. the conceptualizer.

7 The concept consists of the conception of ‘containment’ and the conception of ‘movement.’

8 A vector in Figure 9 illustrates the conception of ‘movement’ (i.e. ‘moving toward the experiencer’s domain’) in the basic
Compare the schema for ‘appearance’ with one of the image schemas for out in Figure 2. The difference between them is that only the former schema involves the concept of ‘existence,’ though both schemas involves the conception of ‘movement.’

There is a difference in conceptual structure between come and the other verbs. Only the conception of ‘movement,’ i.e. the conception of ‘moving into the experiencer’s domain’ is profiled in the conceptual structure of come, though the conception of ‘existence’ as well as the conception of ‘movement’ is made salient in the conceptual structures of the other verbs. In other words, although the verbs appear, emerge, and occur convey that something comes to exist in the experiencer’s domain as a result of its movement, the verb come conveys the movement of the trajector’s rather than its existence. This property of come is similar to that of out.

Here, we notice that there is a conceptual relationship among out and these verbs. Although what is made profiled differs from each other, their conceptual structures have in common the same conception of ‘movement’ and preserve the same image-schematic structure. It seems to me that there is a superschema subsuming the schemas for out and the schemas for these verbs. If it is correct, the superschema is one of the limited set of basic image schemas.

In the following sections, I will show the basic and extended meanings of the verbs come, go, appear, emerge, and occur. The differences in conception of these verbs will be explained in terms of image schemas.

4.1 Image Schemas for the Conceptual Structures of Come and Go

4.1.1 Conceptual Structures of Come and Go

The basic use of come describes ‘to move toward the speaker’s physical domain,’ while go represents ‘to move from the speaker’s domain.’ See the following pairs.

(9) a. come [here/*there]10
    b. go [*here/there]11

In the basic and prototypical use, here refers to a physical space proximal to the speaker and uses of appear and come and the conception of ‘change of state in the experiencer’s domain’ in the basic uses of occur and emerge. I will discuss it in detail in the following sections.

9The following example, however, does not express Mary’s moving toward the speaker, though the relevant domain seems to a physical domain.

(1) Mary came to his house.

Sentences like this are often seen in novels. The physical relation between the speaker and the person described at the speech time in the prototypical use is changed into a physical relation between the subject and the location in which the conceptualizer’s perspective is located in a more abstract space like a novel. Thus, they cannot be seen as a basic use of come and go. In order to explain the meanings of come and go in these examples, we must take into consideration the concept of “empathy” in Kuno (1987) or the role of “ground” in Langacker (1990).

10Come there is used in the context that “the speaker will be at that place when the person described is to do his coming (Hofmann and Kageyama 1986: 44).” However, this context is not a basic use discussed here.

11Go here is used as a direction in using computers (Tsubomoto, p.c.). Anyway, this use is not a basic use of go.
there refers to a physical domain which is not proximal to the speaker. The restriction in co-occurrence with here/there reflects one of the significant characteristics of the conceptual structures of come and go: at least in the basic use, come inherently has the concept of 'moving toward the speaker' and go has the concept of 'moving from the speaker.' In other words, the difference in conceptual structure between these motion verbs emerges from the difference in perspective embodied in each conceptual structure, 'toward the speaker' or 'from the speaker.'

The difference in context in which these verbs are used also reflects the semantic difference between these verbs. Consider the following examples.

(10) "The train is coming into the station."
    <Relevant Context>
    a. The sight of the train is getting larger and more clear from the speaker's point of view.
    b. *The sight of the train is getting smaller and vaguer from the speaker's point of view.

(11) "The train is going to New York."
    <Relevant Context>
    a. *The sight of the train is getting larger and more clear from the speaker's point of view.
    b. The sight of the train is getting smaller and vaguer from the speaker's point of view.

The sight's getting larger and more clear implies that the trajector is moving into the speaker's domain, while the sight's getting smaller and vaguer implies that the trajector is moving from the speaker's domain.

Here is a conflations of the image schemas for the basic uses of come and go.

The schema above is very similar to the schema for out in Figure 5.

Here, we notice that the same schematic structure is preserved in the conceptual structures of out, come, and go. The concept of 'movement' depicted by a vector is involved in their conceptual structures. The difference between out and the motion verbs lies in the specification of LM. Though the LM in OUT schemas is not always the experiencer's domain, the LM in COME or GO schemas is specified. It is the speaker's domain. Therefore, the difference in meaning between out and the motion verbs emerges from the difference in the specification of LM.

Let us consider next come and go occurring with the particle out. The examples in (12) are the most prototypical uses. The relevant domain is the physical space.
(12) a. She (finally) came out. 
   b. She went out.

The examples in (13) and (14) are the extended uses of come out and go out. The domain is shifted to abstract domains like social interaction, perception, and cognition.

(13) a. The debutante came out. <SOCIAL INTERACTION>
   b. The stars/the sun finally came out.¹² <PERCEPTION>
   c. It finally came out that he had lied to us. <COGNITION>

(14) a. His fame went out soon. <SOCIAL INTERACTION>
   b. The light went out. <PERCEPTION>
   c. Memories of their old house went out soon. <COGNITION>

Notice here that the LM is extended from the speaker's physical domain to the experiencer's domain of perception, cognition or social interaction in metaphorical uses.¹³ I have called the latter domain as the experiencer’s domain in section 2.

Even in the extended uses of come out and go out, however, the proper perspectives in COME and GO are preserved. Come out conveys 'moving into the experiencer’s domain' and go out 'moving from the experiencer's domain.' Hence, come out in (13) represents something's becoming public or something's becoming accessible to perception or consciousness, while go out in (14) represents the opposite meaning, i.e. 'something's becoming inaccessible to perception or consciousness.' Figure 11 and 12 illustrate the image schemas for metaphorical uses of come out and go out.

Image Schema for Come out
<Experiencer's Domain>
PRIVATE INACCESSIBLE PUBLIC ACCESSIBLE

Image Schema for Go out
<Experiencer's Domain>
PUBLIC ACCESSIBLE UNINTERESTING INACCESSIBLE

Figure 11
Figure 12

It should be noticed here that 'something’s becoming inaccessible to the public' in the conception of go out of (14a) does not imply 'something’s becoming private.' ‘Becoming inaccessible to the public’ implies ‘becoming unnoticed or less interesting to the public.’

The schema for come out in Figure 11 is based on the schema for OUT-1 and the schema for ‘appearance.’ In the schema for come out, the movement depicted by a vector is profiled, while the trajector’s existence in the experiencer’s domain illustrated by a dotted line is not profiled. Though both the concept of ‘movement’ and the concept of ‘existence’ are involved in COME OUT, the former is more profiled than the latter.

Let us return to come and go without the particle out. In the metaphorical use, an interesting difference between come and go can be observed. See the following pairs.

¹¹I don't know whether come out in (13b) is an example of the metaphorical uses and whether there is a clear semantic difference between come out in (13b) and the same verb phrase in (12a).

¹²The speaker sometimes functions as an experiencer.
(15) a. A memory comes to {me/us/her/him/them} of snowfield in June.
   b. *A memory goes to {me/us/her/him/them} of snowfield in June.

The relevant domain in the examples of (15) is the domain of cognition. The examples show that *come can occur with to-dative, while go cannot. The difference in acceptability is closely related to the following reasons. First, to-dative highlights the concept of 'moving toward the mind of a certain experiencer's' and this property of to-dative is incompatible with the central conception of go, i.e. the concept of 'moving from the experiencer's domain.' Second, through our experience, we believe that abstract entities like a memory or a thought cannot move from someone’s mind to another’s, though they can come into someone’s mind.

The same is true in the structure of [It + verb + to-dative + that-clause].

(16) a. It came to {me/us/her/him/them} suddenly that what was wrong was that I was tired.
   b. *It went to {me/us/her/him/them} suddenly that what was wrong was that I was tired.

My claim in this section is that the same image-schematic structure is preserved in the conceptions of out, come and go. The structure seems to be one of the fundamental image schemas which emerge from our recurring physical experience. The difference in meaning between come and go is a difference in perspective or orientation. The difference between the conception of out and those of these verbs is a difference in the specification of the LM. In the next section, I will compare come and come out in metaphorical uses.

4.1.2 Come vs Come Out

In this section, I will compare come and come out in metaphorical uses. In the structure of [It + Verb + that-clause], come shows different characteristics to come out.

(17) a. It came out that he has been seriously ill.
   b. It came out that his complaints were founded.

(18) a. *It came φ that what was wrong was that I was tired.
   b. It came [to me/us/him/her/them] that what was wrong was that I was tired.

(19) a. It came [to me/us/him/her/them] suddenly that what was wrong was that I was tired.
   b. (%) It came out [to me/us/him/her/them] that he has been seriously ill.

The relevant domain prototypically imagined differs from each other. In most cases, the domain in which come out is used is the domain of social interaction, while the domain in which come + to-c-dative is used is the domain of cognition. Therefore, the entity which becomes accessible to the experiencer differs from each other: what has “come out” is a fact, while an entity that has “come to a certain person” is a thought or an idea. Come out expresses a certain fact's becoming known to the public, while come + to-dative conveys a certain idea's coming to someone's mind. If the relevant domain is shifted to the domain of cognition in (19b), come out can occur with to-dative. In these sentences, a certain fact comes to be known only to the person expressed by to-dative, not to the public.

This difference between come out and come + to-dative is also seen in the following examples.
In the sentences of (20), *come out* represents the sense of ‘becoming public’ or ‘coming to be known or noticed to the public’ and *come* + to-dative conveys the sense of ‘coming to be known or noticed only to the speaker.’

(20) a. The fact [came out/?came to me].
   b. An idea [came out/came to me].

In this way, *come* tends to highlight the domain of social interaction or the public domain when occurring with *out* but when it occurs with *to*-dative, the same verb comes to highlight the domain of cognition or the personal domain.

4.2 Schema for the Conceptual Structure of *Appear*

The basic use of *appear* represents something’s coming out into view, as seen in (21). The relevant domain is the domain of physical space. There are two important semantic properties in the verb *appear*. First, since the experiencer’s visual field is specified as the landmark, a particular perspective ‘to the experiencer’s field of view’ is embodied in the conceptual structure of *appear*. Second, the verb represents not only the trajector’s movement but the trajector’s existence as a result of its movement. In other words, the concept of ‘existence’ is embodied in the conceptual structure as well as the concept of ‘movement.’ So, the verb *appear* profiles the existence of the trajector as well as its movement. In this sense, the conceptual structure of this verb differs from those of *out* and *come*.

(21) a. (=7a) The ship appeared in sight.
   b. The stranger suddenly appeared in the doorway.  

The image schema for the basic use of *appear* is illustrated in Figure 13. It is based on the schema of ‘appearance’ in Figure 9.

As seen in (22), the verb *appear* can be used metaphorically. Since the relevant domain is changed to the cognitive domain, it is a metaphorical extension through domain shift.

(22) (=8a) The more clearly their excellences must appear.

In the metaphorical use of *appear*, one of the original conception of this verb ‘movement’ is not made salient, i.e. it is made background. Instead, a resultant state motivated by movement like ‘becoming accessible’ or ‘becoming clear’ is made salient. The verb, thus, comes to convey the sense of ‘something’s becoming accessible to consciousness’ or ‘something’s becoming clear to understanding’ rather than the sense of ‘coming into consciousness.’

There is another example which is in the middle stage of a semantic shift in meaning from ‘coming into view’ and ‘becoming accessible to the experiencer.’
He appeared as a wise man.  

The sentence in (23) can express both the trajector's movement 'coming into the experiencer's sight' and a visual impression of the trajector expressed by as-phrase, though the latter is a primary interpretation. In the former interpretation, the relevant domain is the physical space, i.e. the experience's field of view, and the conception of 'movement' is still profiled. In the latter interpretation, however, the relevant domain is changed to the experiencer's mind or the experiencer's cognitive domain and the conception of 'movement' is made background. The verb comes to convey a sense like 'a certain thought's becoming accessible to the experiencer's consciousness.'

Also, appear is used in the sentence of [It + verb + that-clause]. The relevant domain is the domain of cognition. See the following examples of (24).

(24) a. It appears that he is wise.  
                    <THOUGHT>  
 b. It appears, in fact, that reference points are fundamental to both linguistic and cognitive organization.  
                    <FACT>

The content of what becomes clear, i.e. the content of the fact or the thought, is explicitly expressed in that-clause. This means that the content is paid more attention to than the movement. The conception of 'movement' in the original sense of appear is more background and the meaning of 'becoming accessible' becomes more salient in the sentence of (24) than in the sentence of (22) and (23).

Sentences with appear to-infinitive like (25) represent the speaker's belief toward the situation or the speaker's subjective judgement of the object (tr). In these sentences, the conception of 'movement' seems to be bleaching. The sense of 'a certain thought's becoming accessible to the speaker' comes to be the only meaning of the verb appear.¹⁴

(25) Sam appears to realize the importance of the problem.  
                    (Fukada 1996)

I do not know whether the conceptual structure of appear in this use can be characterized by the image schema in Figure 13. I believe, however, that the image schema in Figure 13 is still preserved in the conceptual structure of appear in (25).

As Fukada (1996) suggested, there seems to be a gradual shift in meaning from 'coming into view' to 'becoming accessible to the experiencer.' The uses of appear in (22), (23), and (24) are in the middle stage of the extension from the basic meaning of appear in (21) 'coming into view' to the extended meaning in (25) 'becoming accessible.'

Appear is also used in the domain of social interaction. See the following examples. The verb comes to convey a change of state from private/hidden to public/known.

(26) His picture appeared in the paper.  
                    <SOCIAL INTERACTION>

¹⁴ In (23), what becomes accessible to the experiencer is a thought that 'he is a wise man.'

¹⁵It should be also noticed that the experiencer in appear to-sentences is restricted to the speaker. Consider the following sentences.

(i) a. Sam appears to be wise to me.  
          b. Sam appears to be wise to her.

Sentences with the explicit experiencer is less usual or less acceptable than sentences without the explicit experiencer like Sam appears to be wise. Moreover, when the explicit experiencer is not the speaker, the sentence is least acceptable. This observation shows that the proper experiencer in appear to-sentences is implicitly understood as the speaker.
(27) He had always seemed the perfect husband but it now appeared that he had frequently beaten his wife.  

To sum up, the schema for appear in Figure 13 involves the concept of 'movement' as well as the schemas for out and the schema for come. One of the most significant differences between APPEAR and the other terms is that the concept of 'existence' is made salient only in the conceptual structures of appear. Moreover, these terms show the same semantic extension pattern from the domain of the physical space to abstract domains like cognition, perception and social interaction. Through domain shift, the conception of 'movement' is bleached and the conception of 'becoming accessible' is salient. This characteristic is most saliently observed in the semantic extension of appear.

4.3 Schema for the Conceptual Structure of Occur

Let us consider next the conceptual schema of occur. The most prototypical or basic use of occur is to describe an event's coming about, though occur can be also used to express a [+visible] entity's coming into view like (29).

(28) a. Typhoons occur in late summer.  
   b. Several traffic accidents occurred yesterday.

(29) Bats occurs almost everywhere.

Since the objects construed in the basic use are events and they cannot "move," the conception of 'movement' does not seem to be involved in the conceptual structure of the verb. Rather, the concept of 'change of state' seems to be involved inherently.

Since the verb frequently occurs with the word suddenly, the change involved in OCCUR is a sudden one from non-existence to existence.

(30) The traffic accident suddenly occurred.

Occur is also used metaphorically. The relevant domain in the examples of (31) is the domain of cognition. In these metaphorical uses, the same verb can also occur with the term suddenly.

(31) a. An idea \(\phi\) /suddenly\) occurred to me.  
   b. It occurs to me \(\phi\) /suddenly\) that I may have misunderstood you.

A tentative schema for the conceptual structure of occur is illustrated in Figure 15. The experiencer's domain serves as the LM. One of the most significant differences between the image schema for occur in Figure 14 and that of appear in Figure 13 is that OCCUR involves the concept of 'change of state in one domain' while APPEAR involves the concept of 'moving from one domain to another.' However, in both image schemas for appear and occur, a vector illustrates the concept of 'movement' or the concept of 'change of state' and the experiencer's domain serves as the LM. Therefore, we can say that these schemas preserve the same image-schematic structure.
4.4 Schema for the Conceptual Structure of *Emerge*

*Emerge* conveys a change of state from non-existence to existence as well as *occur*. The most prototypical use of *emerge* is seen in (32).

(32) The sun has emerged.

*Emerge* in (32) represents the sun's change of state 'from invisible to visible' rather than the sun's moving toward the speaker's field of view.

However, there is a difference between the conceptual structure of *emerge* and that of *occur*. Consider the following examples. *Emerge* occurring with *suddenly* is less acceptable than *occur*.

(33) a. The traffic accident suddenly occurred.
   b. ??The sun suddenly emerged.

The change expressed by the verb *emerge* is a gradual one, while *occur* represents a sudden change of state. In other words, the original sense of *emerge* is 'something's gradually coming to exist.' This means that the middle stage in a sequential change of state is involved and is made salient in the conceptual structure of *emerge*, while it is not salient in that of *occur*. This difference is tentatively illustrated as follows.
Emerge is also used metaphorically to express something's becoming accessible to consciousness. The relevant domain is the domain of cognition.

(34) a. A conclusion began to emerge.  
    b. It emerged that she had been drinking.

5. Concluding Remarks

Image schemas are fundamental to our cognition. They emerge as meaningful structures for us at the level of our perceptual interactions, bodily experiences, and cognitive operations. Since they preconceptually structure our bodily experience, image schemas influence the ways in which we make sense of things or events and reason about them and characterize the conceptual structure of natural language. To explore the conceptual structure of natural language in terms of image schemas is not only to explore our ability to make linguistic expressions meaningful but to clarify the emergence of meaning. I have attempted to suggest in this paper that the same image-schematic structure is preserved in the conceptual structures of out and the verbs come, appear, occur, and emerge and that it is one of the most common embodied structures which constantly recur in our everyday bodily experience. In all the conceptual structures of out, come, appear, occur, and emerge, the concept of 'movement' is embodied as well as the concept of 'containment.' The difference in conception between out and the relevant verbs is that the LM is not specified in OUT, while the LM is the experiencer's domain in the other conceptions. In other words, a particular perspective is not embodied in OUT. Also, though the conceptual structures of these verbs are based on the same image schema, i.e. the schema for 'appearance,' their meanings are different from each other. Come profiles the movement of trajector with a particular perspective 'toward the experiencer' but it does not profile the existence of trajector. Appear, unlike come, profiles the concept of 'existence' as well as the concept of 'movement.' Both occur and emerge express a change of state in the experiencer's domain rather than a movement toward the experiencer's domain. However, occur expresses a sudden change of state, while emerge represents a gradual one. These differences in meaning among come, appear, occur, and emerge are explained in terms of image schemas.

This paper clarified the crucial roles of image schemas in characterizing the conceptual structures of out, come, appear, occur, and emerge. If there is a schema that characterizes the conceptual structures of some linguistic expressions, the schema is one of the most common embodied structures that occur directly and repeatedly in our everyday bodily experience and that are fundamental to our cognition. In future research, I will examine other linguistic expressions concerning appearance or perception of appearance in terms of image schemas. It will be argued that a limited number of image schemas characterize the conceptual structures of those expressions. The ways in which those expressions give rise to a variety of abstract meanings by employing the image schemas metaphorically will be also explored.

References

Cognitive Linguistics 4 (4), 335-370.