Reanalyzing the typology of null instantiation patterns
with a focus on *give* verbs in English and Spanish

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The current work seeks a deep semantic explanation for the interpretation of null instantiated (NI) arguments, while also reconsidering the existing typology of null argument interpretation types as outlined originally in Ruppenhofer (2004). It does so via a case study of verbs of giving in English and Spanish, namely: *donate*, *contribute* and *give* in English, and *dar*, *donar*, *conceder* in Spanish.

The puzzle is a long-standing one. Based on work by Fillmore (1986) and Lambrecht (2004) and others, we know that omitted elements, such as the Competition role in the English sentence *I won $\emptyset_{Competition}$!* are subject to both lexico-semantic and information-structuring constraints. Here, the Competition role is NI and is understood as definite (or anaphoric), i.e., as obligatorily contextually-determined. In contrast, for a verb such as *eat*, one can and often does get an indefinite NI (INI), e.g., *No thank you, I ate $\emptyset_{Ingestibles}$ already, Who was eating $\emptyset_{Ingestibles}$ in here?*

In addressing this contrast, some argue it is the the frame-association of lexical units which is responsible for the interpretation type of any one omitted core frame element for all of the lexical units linked to a particular frame (Ruppenhofer 2004; Ruppenhofer and Michaelis 2009). Yet, as a quantiative survey of FrameNet frames conducted in the current study, frames rarely have all-DNI, never have all-INI, and most frequently have part-DNI part-INI interpretation for omitted core frame elements. Furthermore, as this study finds, this holds not only for English but for Spanish as well. In short, a frame-based account of NI patterns needs revision.

In light of these findings, the current reanalysis is motivated by the uncertainty in the literature regarding the circumstances in which part-DNI/part-INI interpretation occurs, which often proves to be generic null instantiation (GNI): an NI type similar to INI but often constructionally-licensed occurring in generic constructions (e.g., habitual forms, 'whenever' clauses, under negation). GNI is often conflrated with INI. To test the difference between GNI and DNI and INI, I will focus on a set of verbs, specifically *donate*, *contribute*, and *give*, with respect to the omitted Recipient role. With the verbs in the Giving frame, one can see both indefinite and definite null instantiation interpretations:

(1) Don't donate your paintings anymore ($\emptyset_{Recipient}$).   INI (recipient can be anyone)
(2) He donated $50 ($\emptyset_{Recipient}$).   DNI (recipient is contextually-understood)

However, the INI in (1) is more akin to GNI given the generic context of negation.

A targeted analysis of one frame and its associated verbs will illustrate how a finer-grained frame structure can help account for contexts in which GNI is available as the only type of indefinite NI. The verbs show NI patterns based on their respective primary lexical frames, which involve different parametrization and combination of Access and Transaction frames. An inter-language comparison between English and Spanish will help illustrate why a deep-semantic analysis is necessary not only to account for intra-linguistic manifestations of indefinite, definite and generic null instantiation of core arguments, but for cross-linguistic similarities and differences as well.

References
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