TATIANA POZOLOTINA

Emptiness is not so empty: The meaning of the Russian prefix *вы-* in the natural perfective verbs

The present article analyzes the meaning of the so-called "empty" prefix вы- ('out-') natural perfective verbs in the Russian language. The name "empty" is based on the belief of some scholars that these prefixes with particular verbs do not possess any lexical meaning, but only conveys grammatical meaning of perfective aspect. In the article, I will consider such verbs and will show that their prefixes indeed possess a meaning that can be analyzed as a radial category. My research is based on the concepts of cognitive linguistics, such as radial category and prototype.

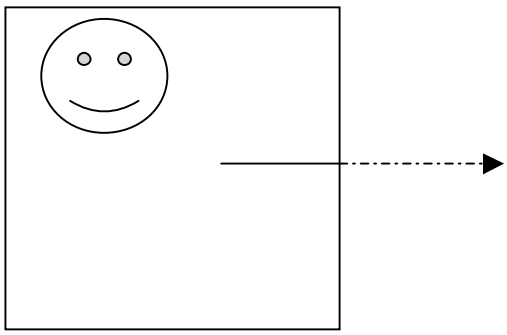
I will begin with the description of the prototypical meaning of the prefix вы-. I will argue that prototypical meaning of the prefix вы- involves two construals: with an observer inside and an observer outside the landmark. While verbs whose prefix has prototypical meaning can for the most part participate in both construals, the verbs whose prefix has a less prototypical meaning can participate in only one of the construals. Thus the less prototypical meanings branch off from a particular construal of the prototype and not from the prototype as a whole. I will show that the lexical meaning in every case indeed exists and is connected to the prototypical meaning directly or through other meaning by means of extension of the meaning.

The prototypical meaning of the prefix вы-

Prefixes like "вы-" establish relationships between two participants. Following Langacker (2008: 70ff), I will call the participants "trajector" and "landmark". In the simple sentence "он вышел из комнаты" ('he left the room'), the primary part, i.e. *he*, is the trajector, while the landmark is the *room*. Since the landmark of вы-verbs is typically a three-dimensional space, in the following I will refer to the participants of "вы-" as the trajector and the container. According to Langacker, a trajector is the most prominent participant, a landmark is the participant of secondary prominence (Langacker 2008: 70).

To describe the radial category of the вы-prefix I should first consider the prototypical meaning. The prototypical meaning tends to be the most concrete meaning, the one based on the everyday life experience of people, on the material world. Thus, for the purpose of describing the prototypical meaning I chose verb идти (‘to go’). The scenario described by the prefix вы- can have two construals depending on the position of an implicit observer. Let us first consider situations where the implicit observer is inside the container:

(1) – Это вы сами уже скажете, – улыбнулся вестовой, дотронулся до козырька и вышел из палатки. [Ю. О. Домбровский. Факультет ненужных вещей, часть 3 (1978)]. (‘- You will tell about it yourselves, - said the orderly smiling, saluted and went out of the tent’).

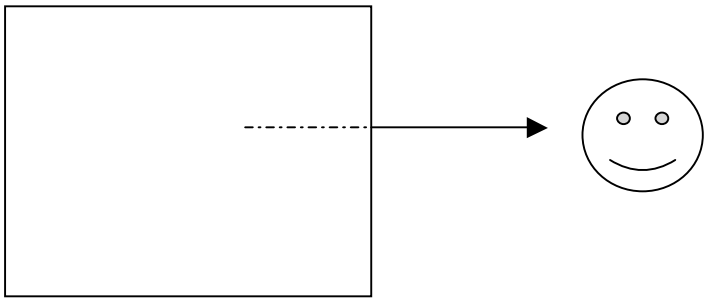


Let us look closer at the situation and consider what components it consists of. We have a room that is a prototypical **container.** The container is empty inside, and its walls are the borders separating an inner space from an outer space. In the image schema of the container, the container itself is just walls or borders that divide some part of the space from the rest of the space. We have another object that is initially placed inside the container. This object, the **trajector**, moves towards one of the borders of the container and crosses it. There is another participant of the situation, the implicit **observer** that is placed **inside the container**. As in the example above, the observer is inside the container (палатка ‘the tent’), and the trajector (вестовой ‘the orderly’) is leaving. The trajector moves away from the observer and **crosses the border** of the container **completely**. Thus as a result the trajector is outside the container and no

longer visible for the observer. As a result of the action for the observer the trajector is no longer within the borders of the container; the borders prevent the observer from seeing the trajector. The emphasis in the construal with observer inside is on the fact that the trajector disappears from the container, which implies that the **container is free from the trajector** in the final situation.

We now turn to the second construal whereby the implicit observer is outside the container:

(2) Она внимательно всматривалась во всех, кто выходил из школы. [Андрей Геласимов. Фокс Малдер похож на свинью (2001)]. ('She peered attentively into all those who was going out of the school building').



As in the first construal, there is a **container**, empty inside, that is an object, whose walls are the borders that separate an inner space from an outer space. There is also an **observer, but this time s/he is outside of the container**. The **trajector** that is initially in the container starts to move towards one of the borders of the container and crosses it **completely or partially**. As the trajector (in our example, students) starts to cross the border, the observer can see it; it appears in the outer space (in our example, outside the school). The movement inside the container was not seen by the observer, and is therefore not very important. For the observer outside it is not important whether the trajector left the inner space completely or not; what is important is the fact that the trajector appears in the observer's field of vision. Thus the emphasis in construal 2 is on the **appearance of the trajector in the outer space before the observer.**

To show that in construal 2 the trajector can cross the border partially I can use the following example:

(3) Мальчик вынырнул из воды. (‘The boy emerged from the water’).

In this case the water is the container, the boy is the trajector and the implicit observer is outside the container, say, on the beach. The surface of the water is the container’s border. When we say: “Мальчик вынырнул” (‘the boy emerged from the water’) we don’t mean that the boy appeared over the surface of the water completely. Rather, it is sufficient that just the boy’s head appears over the water’s surface while the rest of the body is still in the water. For the observer outside it is not important whether the boy left the container completely or not, as long as the boy became visible for the observer at least in part.

I can conclude that the prototypical meaning of the verbal prefix вы- consists of two types of components: 1) those that are independent from the position of the observer, i.e. common to both construals, and 2) those dependent on the position of the observer. The facets of the prototypical meaning common to both construals are:

- The container, whose walls are the border between inner and outer spaces
- The trajector, moving out of the container

The facets of meaning, which are different in the two construals, are:

- The position of the observer: the observer is inside (construal 1), the observer is outside (construal 2)
- The way the trajector crosses the border: the trajector crosses the border completely in construal 1, while the trajector crosses the border completely or partially in construal 2.
- What is seen to the observer: the trajector moves from the observer, the observer can see the trajector only before it crosses the border; the trajector disappears from the inner space (construal 1). The trajector moves towards the observer, the movement of the

trajector in the inner space is not seen by the observer. The trajector becomes visible to the observer after crossing the border (construal 2).

- The difference of emphasis: the focus is on the fact that there is no more of the trajector in the container (construal 1), while in construal 2 the focus is on the fact that the trajector appeared in the outer space and became visible to the observer.

Prototypical and near-prototypical cases from the list of verbs under analysis

After this thorough examination of the prototypical meaning of the вы- prefix, let us consider the meaning of вы- in the natural perfective verbs under analysis in the present study. I will describe ten groups of verbs, starting with those displaying a prototypical or near-prototypical meaning.

I. This group includes the following verbs in the following constructions:

выпотрошить перья из подушки (‘to (out-)take the feathers out of the pillow’), выпороть подкладку у пальто (‘to (out-)rip the lining out of the coat’), выкрасить краску из ведра (‘to (out-)paint the paint out of the pail’), вымазать жир из банки (‘to (out-)smear the fat out of the jar’), вымыть грязь из углов (‘to (out-)wash the dirt out of the corners’), вытравить зайца из норы (‘to (out-)smoke the hare out of the burrow’), вычистить сор из дому (‘to (out-)clean the litter out of the house’).

I. a. Вытравить зайца из норы (‘to (out-)smoke the hare out of the burrow’)

The point of this example is not that the burrow is empty, but rather that the hare becomes available. The trajector thus moves toward an implicit observer located outside the burrow.

I. b. Вытравить всех мышей (из дому) (to (out-)poison all the mice (out of the house))

In this construal it is very important that **all** the mice leave the

house. The example вытравить мышей из дому (to (out-)poison all the mice (out of the house)) is very important for us because it shows in which direction the extension of the prototypical meaning takes place. The expression can mean both that mice left the house because of some poison or that they all just died inside the house and then were taken out. And in this case for the observer, who is inside the house, it is not important how the mice disappeared. What matters is the fact that they disappeared from the house completely, so that the house is free from mice. I will return to this extension later.

II. In this group I will consider verbs with a meaning very close to the prototypical. These are such constructions as: выдрать/выкопать куст с корнем (‘to (out-)dig/pull the bush with the root’), выдрать перья у попугая (‘to (out-)pull parrot’s feathers’), выдрать гвоздь из стены (‘to (out-)pull the nail from the wall’), выкопать картошину из земли (‘to (out-)dig the potato from the ground’), вырыть клад (‘to (out-)dig the treasure’), выполоть георгин (‘to (out-)weed the dahlia (by mistake)’).

(4) Недавно ездили на огород полоться (ты знаешь, как у нас это обычно проходит) и по неосторожности выполола у папы астрагон (для засолки огурцов) ты бы знала, как он меня материл, я думала "зашибёт на раз", но ничего, вроде бы обошлось. [Письмо девушки из Перми сестре в Москву (2001)]. ‘Not so long ago we went to the kitchen garden to weed (you know how we usually do it) and I (out-)weeded tarragon (used for cucumber pickling) by mistake, if you could only imagine how he was swearing, I thought he would kill me at once, but everything worked out well’

The meaning of the вы-prefix here is close to construal 2 of the prototypical meaning. The difference is that the container is not prototypical. It is not empty inside. However, objects that are not empty inside can be regarded as containers as they actually hold the trajector inside. As we can see in the examples выдрать гвоздь из стены (‘to (out) pull the nail from the wall’), выкопать куст (‘to (out-)dig the bush’), the trajector is not completely inside the container, which is also somewhat different from the prototypical picture, where the trajector is initially inside the container and not visible to the observer. In the case of the nail

and the bush, some part of the trajector is outside the container initially and is seen by the observer. In this case we are dealing with a metonymical extension whereby the whole stands for a part, namely the part (for example the root) that comes out and that was not seen initially by the observer. In this construal with the observer outside the focus is on the entity that comes out of the container.

The same verbs can be used in other constructions that are similar to the prototypical construal I a. with the observer inside. Relevant constructions are: выкопать картошку (‘to (out-)dig potatoes’) and выполоть морковь (‘to (out-)weed the carrots’). The difference from the prototype here is that the observer cannot actually be inside the container (the earth in our case), and the inside of the container is not even seen by the observer. But in this situation the observer mentally places himself/herself inside the container and that gives the observer the knowledge that there is no more of the trajector left in the container. When the speaker says: “Мы выкопали картошку” (‘We have (out-)dug potatoes’), s/he means that the container, the earth, is free from potatoes, and that the action is completed.

A similar case is the construction выполоть грядку. One might object that this situation is completely different from the construction выкопать картошку (to (out-)dig potatoes), as the part of weeds is over the surface of the earth and thus seen by the observer that can be placed outside.

Firstly, I would like to mention that the construction here is metonymical because by saying выполоть грядку ‘to (out-)weed the garden bed’ we actually mean выполоть сорняки (‘to (out-)weed the weeds’). But the fact of using the metonymical construction actually supports our suggestion that this is the construal type a. with the observer inside. As we saw in the example выпотрошить подушку (‘to disembowel the pillow’) the construction with metonymy was available for use only in the situation with the observer inside.

Secondly, in the construction выполоть грядку (‘to (out-)weed the garden bed’), the container is actually not the earth, but грядка (‘the garden bed’), that is the earth and the plants over the earth. The fact that the plants over the earth are construed as the container is supported by the fact that it is possible to say выполоть морковь (‘to (out-)weed the

carrots'). In this case, it is not the carrots that are taken out, but the weeds, so we see the metonymical construction here. In other words, the carrots are actually regarded as a part of the garden bed, thus the container.

Since the plants are the container we cannot say that the surface of the earth is the border of the container, so in this sense the weeds are not outside of the container from the beginning. In view of this we can conclude that the cases выкопать картошку ('to (out-)dig potatoes') and выполоть грядку ('to (out-)weed a flower bed') are very similar. In the case of выполоть грядку ('to (out-)weed a flower bed') the observer is inside only in his/her mind, considering that there are no more weeds left, while in reality there can be some weeds left. But the observer doesn't see them, so s/he considers that the container (грядка 'flower bed' in our case) is free from the trajector. The action is completed and the goal is reached.

I can conclude that all the elements of the prototypical meaning are shared by the meaning under analysis, but there are some deviations from the prototypical meaning in the elements themselves; the deviations are:

- The container is not prototypical.
- The observer cannot be physically inside the container, but only mentally.
- The conclusion that the action is completed and all the container is completely free from the trajector is made not on the basis of the fact that the trajector disappears from the observer's physical field of view, but on the basis of the observer's consideration, thus on the basis of observer's "mental" field of view.

Metaphorical extensions from the prototypical meaning

In group III I will consider examples of the following type: выдрать из рук ('to (out)pull (something) from the hands'), вымарать из текста (to (out-)cross out of the test), вырыть/выкопать информацию ('to (out)'dig the information), вытравить желание жить ('to (out-)poison the desire to live'), вычистить коллектив ('to (out-)clean the collective'), выпотрошить из кого-либо все деньги (to disembowel money out of somebody).

This group involves meanings that are the result of metaphorical extension from the prototypical meaning. The elements of meaning stay the same here, with the only difference that they are abstract and not physical:

(5) Выдрать что-то у кого-то (‘to (out-)drag something from somebody’): the subject that owns something or is holding something is construed as a container; the object possessed is the trajector.

As in the prototype, most of the verbs can participate in different constructions and bear different foci depending on the position of the observer. Here is an example where the observer is inside:

(6) В толпе у меня вырвали камеру (‘Someone (out-)drug the camera from me in the crowd’) – the focus is on the fact that the owner (the container) is free from the trajector.

Here is an example of construal 2 with the observer outside and the focus on the appearance of the trajector:

(7) Нам наконец-то удалось выдрать у государства пособие на ребенка (‘At last we have managed to (out-)drag the child benefit from the government’) – the focus is on the trajector that appears before the observer.

Verbs with the focus on disappearance

In the fourth group I will consider such cases as выстирать белье (‘to (out-)wash the clothes’), выполоскать белье (to (out-)rinse the clothes), вымыть пол (to (out-)wash the floor), вычистить пальто (‘to (out-)clean the coat’), выгладить белье (‘to (out)iron the linen’).

Let us first turn to the case вытравить мышей (‘to (out-)poison the mice’). This case is very important as it clearly shows the direction in which the extension from the prototype goes. There can be two different situations described by this case: The first situation is a prototypical one, i.e. construal 1 with the observer inside: someone used chemicals or other devices which made the mice physically leave the house. This situation was described above. The second possibility is that someone used poison and the mice just died inside the house. In this case, the poison doesn’t

make the mice physically leave the house. The action described by the verb just describes the fact of disappearance of mice, but not the fact that they physically vent out of the container (the house).

The same case we can observe in the example поляки хотели вытравить всех русских (‘the Polish wanted to (out-)poison all the Russians’), in this situation Russians don’t physically go out of the container (Russia), but die. By this action the container becomes free from the trajector, although the trajector doesn’t move physically anywhere.

We can also look at differences in construction use. In the first, prototypical case, we can only say: “Вытравить всех мышей из дому” (‘to (out-)poison all the mice out of the house’); in the second case we can say both: “Вытравить всех мышей из дому (‘to (out-)poison all the mice out of the house’) and “Вытравить всех мышей в доме” (‘to (out-)poison all the mice in the house’).

That this extension of meaning comes from the prototypical construal 1 with the observer inside is explained by the fact that in this construal the focus is on the fact that the container becomes completely free from the trajector.

Although this meaning shares most of the semantic components of the prototype, the movement of the trajector out of the container is missing. It is arguable that the meaning of the prefix in such cases as выстирать белье (‘to (out-)wash the clothes’), выполоскать белье (to (out-)rinse the clothes), вымыть пол (to (out-)wash the floor), вычистить пальто (‘to (out-)clean the coat’), выгладить белье (‘to (out-)iron the linen’) does not belong in the group IV. One might instead suggest that in the process of cleaning and washing the mud actually goes away and that these examples should be considered members of group I. But I argue here that these cases belong in group IV as we should look not at what happens in the real world (where the mud goes away), but on how the event is conceptualized by the language speakers. I claim here that the result of the action expressed by the verbs under discussion isn’t conceptualized as the going out of something, but rather as the disappearance of something.[1] This can be demonstrated by the

[1] Disappearance is often regarded as metaphorical movement out.

impossibility to use constructions where the container is mentioned explicitly:

(8) *Выстирать грязь с белья (‘to (out-)wash the dirt from the clothes’)
(9) *Вымыть грязь с пола (‘to (out-)wash the dirt from the floor’)
(10) *Выполоскать порошок из белья (‘to (out-)rinse the washing powder from the linen’)
(11) *Выгладить складки из одежды (‘to (out-)iron the folds from the clothes’)
(12) ?? Вычистить грязь со стола (‘to (out-)clean the dirt from the table’)

As this type of meaning originates from the prototypical construal 1 (observer inside) meaning, the focus is on the **disappearance** of the trajector and the fact that the **container becomes free from the trajector**. As we remember, in the prototypical meaning with the observer inside for the observer to say that the trajector is out it was important that the trajector crosses the border completely. In other words, **the trajector should disappear completely.**

I conclude that the meaning considered here originates from the prototypical meaning construal 1 with the observer inside. The difference from the prototype is in the absence of one component of meaning: the actual going out of the trajector. The focus, as in the prototypical meaning, is on the fact that the container is free from the trajector. In order for the observer inside to state that the container is free from the trajector, the trajector should disappear completely. The result is the appearance of the meaning ‘to do something completely, to the end’.

Verbs of appearance of the trajector by means of destroying or changing the container

In the fifth group I will consider what is an extension from the prototypical meaning construal 2. The prototypical meaning construal 2 has the observer outside. The focus in this construal is on the appearance of the trajector, the observer outside doesn’t see the inside of the container, thus the observer doesn’t know whether the container is free from the trajector. The container doesn’t matter for the observer outside,

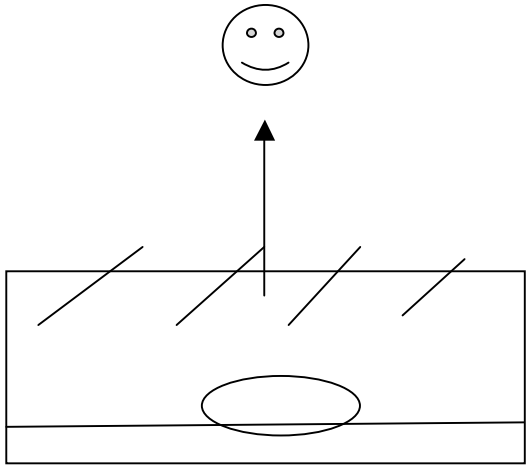
so it is not in focus.

As the container is not in focus and the emphasis is on the appearance of the trajector before the observer's eyes, the container can be destroyed to satisfy the main purpose of the action: to make the trajector visible to the observer. Either the border of the container can be taken away if the container has a cavity inside, or part of the container is taken away (destroyed) if the container is not prototypical and is not empty inside.

The following example illustrates the case where the container is destroyed:

(13) Лишь острый мартовский снег сравнится с вами в умении шлифовать дерево и выбеливать кости! [Василий Голованов. Остров, или оправдание бессмысленных путешествий (2002)]. ('Only the March snow can compete with you in the ability of polishing wood and (out-)whitening bones').

In this case we have the container (meat or earth), we have the trajector, (the bones), that appears before the observer's view. The difference from the prototype is that the bones do not move physically. On the contrary, it is the part of the container that was the obstacle for the observer's view that is removed. The following drawing illustrates the partial removal of the container.



In short, the difference is that it is not the trajector that moves and crosses the border, but rather the border that is removed. But the effect is the same as in the prototype: the trajector appears before the observer.

Here we should return to such cases as вымыть пол (‘to (out-)wash the floor’), вычистить пальто (‘to (out-)clean the coat’), выполоскать белье (‘to (out-)rinse the linen’). These examples are doubly motivated. Above we looked at them from the perspective of construal 1 with the observer outside. Thus the focus was on the container (floor, linen, etc). However, we can also look at these cases from the perspective of construal 2 with the observer outside. The actual focus in those constructions does not change: it is still on the floor, coat, linen, etc. But in the construal 2 they are not containers but the trajectors, while the dirt and the washing powder are construed as containers. During the action, described by the verb, the container is removed and the trajector appears before the observer outside.

An important thing to mention here is that for the observer to see the trajector, the border of the container covering the trajector from the observer’s eye should be removed completely. That can explain the origin of the meaning “to bring an action to the end”, to remove the container fully, which, as we have seen earlier, is present in verbs like выгладить (‘to (out-)iron’), выстирать (‘to (out-)wash’), выполоскать (‘to (out-) rinse’), etc. This case is the basis for the next extension of the meaning.

VI This group consists of constructions: выкопать яму (‘to (out-)dig a pit’), выгравировать надпись (‘to (out-)engrave an inscription’), выдолбить отверстие (‘to (out-)hollow a hole’), вымыть яму (о воде) (‘to (out-)wash a pit (about water)’), вырыть яму (‘to (out-)dig a pit’), высечь надпись (‘to (out-)cut an inscription’), выстрогать игрушку (‘to (out-)cut a toy’), выточить фигуру (‘to (out-)fashion a statuette’), вытравить изображение на металле (‘to (out-)etch a picture on the metal’), выкроить рукав (‘to (out-)cut a sleeve’).

The difference from the previous submeaning is that the trajector is not an actual object that is enclosed in the container. Before the action takes place the trajector does not exist, it’s only the material of the container. But as the result of the action described by the verb an object with definite qualities and shapes appears before the observer’s eyes. We should notice here that as the observer is outside, the observer does not

see what is inside the container. Only when part of the material is removed some object with definite shapes appears before the observer's eyes.

For example, we can consider the construction выточить игрушку из дерева ('to (out-)cut a toy from the tree'). Here the container is a piece of wood, so physically the trajector with its shapes, the toy, does not exist in the container. But when the container is destroyed the trajector appears before the observer's eyes.

The following elements distinguish group VI from the prototype:

- The trajector does not physically exist inside the container.
- The trajector does not move physically.
- The trajector does not cross the border of the container but the container is destroyed instead.

In such examples as выкопать яму ('to (out-)dig a pit'), вытравить/ выгравировать надпись ('to (out-)engrave/etch an inscription') and вода вымыла яму ('the water has (out-)washed a pit') it is important to understand that such an object as a pit that usually serves as a container actually is the trajector in this case. The pit like the toy in the previous example does not physically exist in the container, but as the result of the action of taking away the container the pit with its definite shapes appears before the observer's eyes.

As we can see, there can be two types of trajectors that appear: those with prominent shapes (a toy, a statue) and those concave (e.g. a pit). But the important thing shared by both types is that some object with definite shapes appears. In other words, the meaning in this case is the appearance of some object with definite shapes before the observer from the material that is conceptualized as the container for that object.

VII. The meaning described here is an extension from the previous one. The component of destroying or removing the container is not shared, but the component of the appearance before the observer outside is preserved. A point in case is вылепить фигуру (to (out-)model a statuette); in this case we have the container – a piece of clay for example. As in the previous case, a piece of clay doesn't physically contain the trajector inside itself; the trajector does not exist before the action described by the

verb takes place. Before the action takes place the trajector is part of the container.

The difference from the previous case is that here the container is not destroyed, but it changes its shape and becomes the trajector. In this case we had the container – a piece of material, and as the result of the action this container gets certain shapes, and becomes a concrete object. A facet of the meaning shared with the previous case is the appearance of the trajector: an object with certain shapes, before the observer outside.

VIII I will now consider the example вытатуировать паука (‘to (out)tattoo a spider’), where the trajector appears on the surface of something. Let us take a closer look at this example which shares an important component of meaning with the cases VI and VII, since the trajector does not exist before the action described by the вы-verb takes place. The trajector is an object or image with certain shapes that appears before the observer outside. The difference is that in cases VI and VII the trajector is part of the container, whereas in VIII the container does not exist at all. Instead, there exists some surface that can be conceptualized as the container’s border.

As in the previous two cases, the trajector does not move physically. Unlike the previous cases, however, in this case the border or the surface is not taken away or destroyed. In fact, this border does not physically cover any trajector because the trajector and the container do not physically exist. As the result of the action described by the verb, the trajector – an object or an image with certain shapes – appears on the surface before the observer outside.

Summarizing, I can say that the case described here is an extension from meaning VI – the appearance of the certain image with certain shapes before the observer outside.

The meaning resulting from blending of two construals

In groups IX and X I will consider such cases as выкрасить пол (‘to (out)paint the floor’), высеребрить ложку (‘to (out-)silver a spoon’), высмолить лодку (‘to (out-)tar a boat’), вымостить улицу (‘to (out)pave a street’), выбелить печь (‘to (out-)whitewash the stove’), выдубить кожу (‘to (out-)tan the skin’), вылудить посуду (‘to (out-)tin the

dishes'), вымазать хату глиной ('to (out-)clay the hut') and выстегать одеяло ('to (out-)quilt a blanket').

This is the most complex case we consider because it involves **both construals** (with the observer inside and outside) **at the same time**. To show this I must say that in these constructions there are **two simultaneous foci**: on the **substance that is covering the surface** (the trajector) and on **the surface that is being covered** (the container). The fact of having two foci is seen in the use of constructions. In constructions like выкрасить дом ('to (out-)paint a house'), высмолить лодку ('to (out-)tar a boat') the trajector is incorporated into the root of the verb. Выкрасить дом ('to (out-)paint a house') means 'to cover the house with paint' and высмолить лодку ('to (out-)tar a boat') means 'to cover the boat with tar'. However, if the verb in the construction does not have the trajector in its root we have to mention it in the construction. For example, we should say вымазать хату глиной ('to (out-)smear the hut with clay') and вывалять котлету в сухарях ('to (out-)drag the meatball in the crusts'). As we can see, the trajector must be mentioned in the construction, at least if it cannot be reconstructed from the context. And, as we remember, if the **focus is on the trajector**, the situation is construed with **the observer outside**.

However, at the same time the focus is on the container (the surface of the house, boat, spoon, etc.), which should also be mentioned in the construction. That the focus is on the container is shown by the fact that the container should be always present in the construction as well. And we know that if the **focus is on the container** the situation is construed with **the observer inside**.

Considering the fact that the focus is **simultaneously** on the trajector and on the container I suggest that we are dealing with the **blending** of two meanings[2]. **The first meaning** is an extension from meaning VIII described above: the trajector (paint, tar, silver, clay, etc.) appears before the observer on the surface. It is important to notice here that the container of the second meaning is not the container of the first meaning. The first meaning does not have a container; this meaning

[2] We will use the term "blending" in a way similar to Turner (2007: 377ff), but we will not discuss Turner and Fauconnier's theory of conceptual integration.

incorporates the trajector appearing on the surface, as in case вытатуировать паука (‘to (out-)tattoo a spider’). The difference from case VIII is that this trajector does not have certain shapes. And I should also say that in the first meaning there is no container, there is just the surface. This first meaning gives the focus on the trajector that appears before the observer outside.

The second meaning is an extension from case IV and the prototypical meaning construal 1 with the observer inside. Here we have a container – the surface of the house, boat, spoon that “contains” some imperfection, the undesired quality (such as not being painted or not being tarred). As the result of the action the undesired quality disappears completely from the view of the observer inside. This meaning is similar to the meaning of verbs like вымыть (‘to (out-)wash’), выстирать (‘to (out-)wash (about the clothes)’) – to make some undesired quality disappear. And I should also notice that the trajector of the second meaning is not the trajector of the first meaning. The trajector in the second meaning is an undesired quality, from which the container should become free. In a metaphorical sense, therefore, the container is being emptied.

I argue that this case contains this second meaning because:

- There is focus on the container.
- these constructions have an additional meaning – **thoroughly/ completely.** This additional meaning appears only in the construal with the observer inside when the focus is on the fact that the container becomes absolutely free from the trajector and the trajector disappears completely. “Выкрасить дом” means ‘to paint the house thoroughly so that no unpainted places are left’, “высмолить лодку” means ‘to tar the boat thoroughly so that no bare places are left’. In other words, the вы-verb is not felicitous unless a complete surface is covered.

Thus I can conclude that in such constructions as выкрасить дом, the meaning of the prefix вы- is a complex blending of extensions from two prototypical construals with the observer inside and the observer outside. In the first meaning the trajector is the substance that appears on the surface of the objects before the observer outside. This gives us focus on

the trajector and the container does not exist. In the second meaning the container is the surface and the trajector is the undesired quality of this surface. As the result of the action the undesired quality disappears completely from the container and thus the view of the observer inside. The second meaning provides for the focus on the container and the appearance of an additional meaning "thoroughly".

X. Here I will consider the constructions выпороть/ высечь/выдрать/ выстегать ребенка ('to (out-)whip/flog/lash a child'), выстегать одеяло ('to (out-)quilt a blanket'). This case is very similar to the previous one. It is also the result of blending of two meanings.

The first meaning entering the blend is with the observer outside. It is relevant because there is a surface of the body, where the marks from the beating appear. The second meaning is a little different from the previous meaning. In the previous meaning the container of the undesired quality was the whole surface of the object, in this case the container is the whole patient. The undesired quality is also more abstract than in the previous case. The undesired quality is the quality of being not punished or taught. This case also gets the additional meaning "thoroughly", so the undesired quality of not being punished and taught disappears from the container (the child) completely (the position of the observer inside). This notion of performing the action thoroughly is very subjective and depends completely on the person performing the action: some people might consider that 5 hits will be enough to punish, others will think 20. But in any case this does not mean that for the action to be done thoroughly the whole surface of the body should be covered with scars.

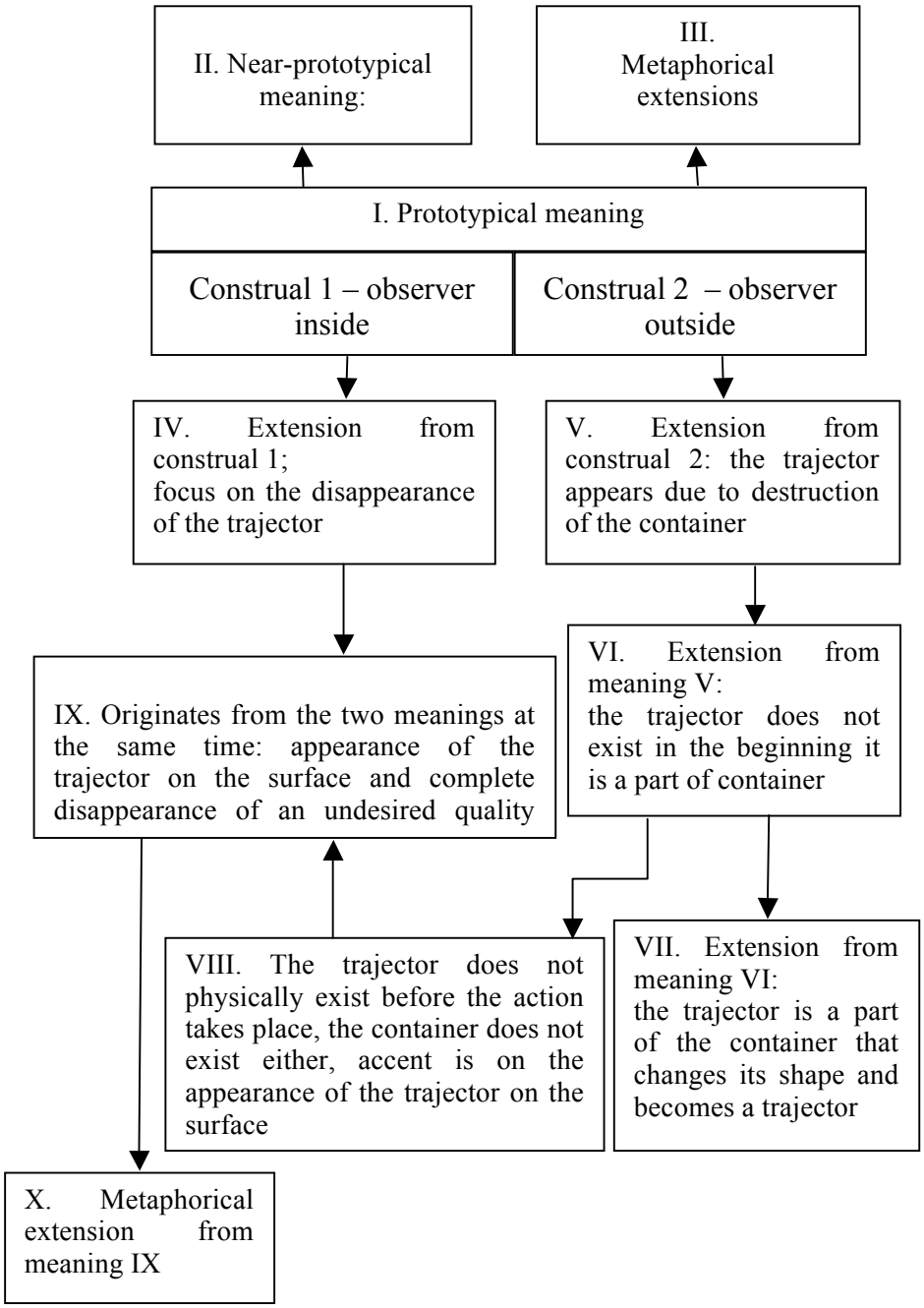
Summary of the radial category of meaning of the prefix вы-

The network below summarizes the analysis I have proposed. As shown, all the submeanings are related directly or indirectly to a prototype which involves the trajector's physical motion out of the landmark (a container). The prototype involves an implicit observer who can be inside or outside the container, thus giving two possible construals. These two construals give rise to different extensions with focus on the appearance of the trajector or the emptying of the container.

With the help of the tools provided by cognitive linguistics, I managed to describe the meaning of the prefix вы- as a category of related submeanings. The verbs under our analysis that were stated in the dictionaries as being natural perfectives, i.e. having the "purely aspectual" or "empty" prefix вы-, were shown to have a meaningful prefix. Each of the submeanings found its place in the network of the submeanings of the category of meaning of the prefix вы-.

The schema below graphically presents the radial category of the meaning of prefix вы-. To summarize I can briefly describe it. Within the prototype there can be two different construals: with the observer inside and with the observer outside. In the construal with the observer inside the focus is on the container and the fact that it becomes free from the trajector, while in the construal with the observer outside the focus is on the trajector and the fact that it appears before the observer. Extensions from the prototype originate either from the construal with the observer inside or from the construal with the observer outside, but there are also cases of blending, when the submeaning is the extension from both construals. The extension from the construal with the observer inside is the following: focus on the disappearance of the trajector, container becoming free, but absence of focus on physical going out of the trajectory, which is not important, e.g. выгладить белье ('to (out-)wash the clothes'), выстирать кофточку ('to (out-)wash a cardigan'), выутюжить брюки ('to (out-)iron the trousers'). The extensions from the situation with the observer outside are: the trajector does not move physically, but appears because the container it destroyed, e.g. дождь выбелил кости ('the rain has (out-)whitened the bones'); the trajector does not exist in the beginning it is a part of container; but as the container is destroyed the trajector appears before the observer outside, e.g., выкопать яму ('to (out-)dig a pit'), выстрогать игрушку ('to (out)cut a toy'), вычеканить узор ('to (out-)engrave a pattern'); the trajector is a part of the container in the beginning, but the container is not destroyed or taken away, but changes its shape and becomes a trajector, e.g. вылепить фигурку из глины ('to (out-)form a statuette from clay'). The trajector does not physically exist before the action takes place, the container does not exist either, accent is on the appearance of the trajector on the surface, e.g. вытатуировать паука ('to (out-)tattoo a spider'). The

submeaning that is the extension from both construals: appearance of the trajector on the surface and complete disappearance of an undesired quality from the container: e.g. выкрасить дом (‘to (out-)paint a house’), высмолить лодку (‘to (out-)tar a boat’), and its metaphorical extension: e.g. выпороть ребенка (‘to (out-) whip a child’), высечь ученика (‘to (out-)flog a pupil’), выдрать сына ремнем (‘to (out-)strap the son’).



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Internet resources

Национальный корпус русского языка (Russian National Corpus): www.ruscorpora.ru.

E-mail: globe4@yandex.ru