A LEXICO-SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF VERB-PARTICLE CONSTRUCTIONS WITH OUT

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Investigators like Fraser (1976) have claimed that particles in complex verbs like <u>figure out</u> have no meaning. In contrast, I claim that the particle almost invariably codes some facet of the meaning of a verb-particle construction. Using theoretical notions like <u>trajector</u> and <u>landmark</u>, I characterize a network of semantic extension for the particle OUT. It is claimed that prototypical and extended meanings are related via <u>schemas</u> which are extracted from them at various levels of specificity. Thus OUT does not have a <u>single</u> meaning, but rather a <u>unified</u> meaning, characterized as a cross-cutting schematic hierarchy.

1. Introduction.

The overall purpose of my research is to characterize the semantic structure of a slice of the English lexicon, namely, the complex verbs belonging to the Verb-Particle Construction (henceforth VPCs).[1] To this end, I have chosen a subgroup of these verbs--those with <u>out</u> as the particle--in order to gain a fine-grained picture of the kinds of questions that need to be answered about VPCs in a grammar of English. In particular, given a complex verb like <u>spread out</u> in (1):

(1)   She spread her notes out on the table.

we need to ask how the meaning of the components <u>spread</u> and <u>out</u> figure in the meaning of the verb as a whole, how they are integrated with each other, and how they are related to their counterparts outside the construction. Can generalizations be stated about the kinds of meanings that <u>out</u> is used by speakers to code? That is, given a series of semantically similar verbs, say, verbs denoting extension in space (e.g. <u>spread out</u>, <u>roll out the carpet</u>, <u>lay out</u>, <u>draw out the taffy</u>) how can we characterize the semantic pattern implicit in them and relate it to other semantic patterns like 'extension in time' (<u>draw out the affair</u>, <u>drag out the meeting</u>) or, somewhat less obviously related, 'cognitive discovery' (<u>figure out</u>, <u>work out a problem</u>), or 'demise of objects' (<u>die out</u>, <u>fade out</u>)? Can we give a unified account of the meaning of a particular particle like <u>out</u> as it occurs in diverse classes of VPCs?

Previous approaches (Fraser 1976, Bolinger 1971, Declerk 1976 and Kennedy 1920) have implicitly assumed or explicitly concluded a negative answer to this last question. Declerk (1976) assumes that the field of VPCs can be divided into literal verbs in which the particle

has meaning (e.g. go in, jump off, walk out) and idiomatic verbs for which the semantic interpretation is "not a compositional function of the formatives of which it is composed" (Declerk 1976:1). Such verbs include take off, and set out. Kennedy (1920) lists a number of isolated meanings for out, but recognizes a number of combinations (find out, give out, look out, make out what it says, try out) for which "out is almost inexpressive and the verb itself has nearly lost its earlier individuality" (Kennedy 1920:22). Although Fraser (1976) finds some patterns "where the particle causes a constant change in meaning" (e.g. ink out, pencil out, blot out, black out), he admittedly "cannot characterize precisely" these consistent changes and maintains that"systematic verbs constitute only a small part of the total verb–particle combinations...the unsystematic cases are much more frequent" (Fraser 1976:7). Fraser's unsystematic verbs are VPCs for which "there is no obvious way of predicting the effect that the addition of the particle has on the interpretation of the verb" and include drown out, fake out, knock out, reach out and test out. Thus most of the VPCs have been relegated to the lexicon which has been regarded as a repository of arbitrary and unanalyzable lexical items; it is regarded coincidental that these items share an identical formal component (out) and exhibit identical syntactic behavior.

Having investigated a corpus of some 600 VPCs, I am convinced that the particle out does in fact code part of the meaning of the complex verb. That is, I claim that out is not a bleached and meaningless quasi-affix, but a contentful predicate, having meaning where it was previously assumed not to, in fact, having many meanings which are related to each other in a cross–cutting schematic hierarchy. It is the purpose of this paper to characterize these meanings as they are instantiated in groups of semantically similar complex verbs, and to characterize the schemata that relate them. To this end, I will introduce terminology which will facilitate the discussion of meaning and, in particular, help us identify facets of a VPC's meaning that out may code. I will then begin discussion of the data by explicating prototypical meanings of out and then showing how other meanings less commonly recognized as "belonging to" out are related to the prototype. By showing that out is meaningful, I show that VPCs previously tossed into the unanalyzable bin may now be considered componential.

2. Terminology and assumptions.

Following Langacker (1979a), I assume that linguistic entities are built on knowledge and express it, that knowledge of the world comes in chunks we will call functional assemblies (henceforth FAs) which are complexes of interrelated concepts "reflecting recurrent groupings of objects and relations in...physical, social, cultural and intellectual experience" (Langacker 1979a:10). A lexical item is a symbolic unit pairing a semantic unit and a phonological unit; a predicate is defined as the semantic representation of a minimal lexical item and is characterized as a particular facet of a given FA, a facet singled out for symbolization by a phonological representation. (Henceforth, predicates will be given in capital letters, e.g. OUT, lexical items will be underscored, and phonological representations given in slashes, e.g. /awt/.) A predicate has figure-ground organization, consisting in a profile (the

figure or designatum, an object or configuration of objects) standing in bas relief against the <u>base</u> or FA of which it is a part and relative to which it is identified. Since I assume an encyclopedic approach to meaning, a given predicate may have a profile and an indefinite number of bases which will include, for example, shape specification, typical function, typical scenes or scripts of which the profile is a part; the collection of bases is the <u>extended base</u> of the predicate.

Predicates are of two types; <u>objects</u> (defined as having a profile that is in some sense bounded and autonomous) and <u>relation</u> (having a profile consisting of configurations or series of configurations of two or more objects).[2] Thus, CUP and TABLE are objects, while ON is a relation which may specify a particular configuration of these two objects, namely CUP ON TABLE. ON itself is a <u>stative relation</u>—in particular, it is a configuration in the spatial domain (see fig. 1) and makes no reference to time, although the configuration may be extended through time by the predicate BE, as in <u>The cup is on the table</u> (see fig. 2).
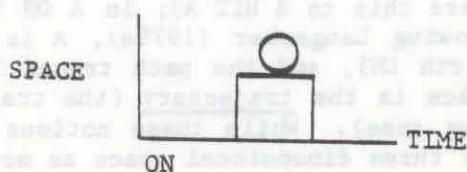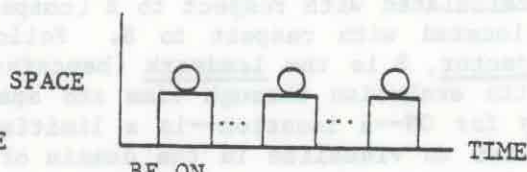

Figure 1   Figure 2

Verbs constitute more complicated relations, in that they refer to the temporal dimension (they have a positive temporal profile) so that configurations, shapes, and internal states of objects are seen either as changing or evolving in time, as in HIT (fig. 3), or as constant in time, as in CONTAIN (fig. 4) and BE ON.
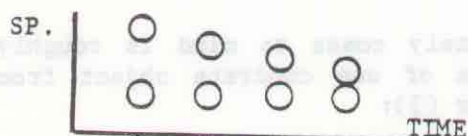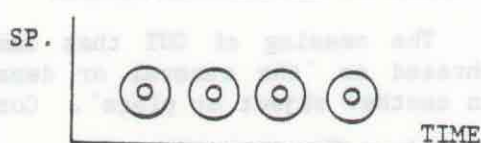

Figure 3   HIT   Figure 4   CONTAIN

The former type of process is defined as <u>perfective</u>, the latter as <u>imperfective</u> processes; ON by itself is a <u>state</u>.

It is crucial to note that relations do not exist independent of objects. For example, ON makes inherent reference to two objects, and these objects will be present, schematically specified, in ON's profile. Since, in a construction, ON must combine with two object predicates (e.g. CUP and TABLE), ON is said to have <u>valence</u> of two. The two object predicates are said to <u>elaborate</u> ON—they supplement the schematic information already present in ON's profile. The valence of a predicate is a matter of linguistic convention, for a given relational predicate may make inherent reference to schematically or completely specified objects and yet not require combination with other predicates to code all of these objects explicitly. So in sentence (2):

(2)   He's eating now.

it is clear that he must be eating something (and that something is partially specified in the profile of EAT—it must, for example, be typically eaten), yet this particular version of EAT has a valence of one, combining only with the predicate HE. The thing being eaten remains sublexically specified and is not explicitly coded. Note that there is another version of EAT, EAT′, which does require combination with two object predicates, say, HE and ROCKS; less information is given in the profile of EAT′, as the object in question must be edible, although not necessarily typically eaten. Relations like SWEEP, BAIL and WASH also sublexically involve schematically specified objects (typically brooms, buckets, and water) which never coincide with valences in these predicates, although other objects in the relation do (floors, boats, and clothes, for example).

In the profile of a given relation, one object may be conceptually foregrounded so that its change through time (or its location, statively speaking) is specified with respect to an object or objects which serve as background or landmarks. So, in A HIT B, A follows a path that is calculated with respect to B (compare this to B HIT A); in A ON B, A is located with respect to B. Following Langacker (1979a), A is the trajector, B is the landmark (henceforth LM), and the path traced by A in its evolution through time and space is the trajectory (the trajectory for ON—a location—is a limiting case). While these notions are easiest to visualize in the domain of three dimensional space as motion and location, they are applicable also to less concrete domains (A LOVE B, A THINK, A SOLVE EQUATION) where the trajectory might involve the evolution (or constancy) of inner mental and emotional states rather than configurations in space.

3. Prototypical OUT.

3.1. Paths in the spatial domain.

The meaning of OUT that immediately comes to mind is roughly paraphrased as 'the removal or departure of one concrete object from within another object or place'. Consider (3):

(3)   She went out.
       'She left (e.g., the room).'

In this complex conceptual picture, we can distinguish the trajector (SHE) and the trajectory (motion through space and time along a specific path) plus some partially specified LM object (a ROOM or some other object capable of being walked out of). This conceptual picture can be schematically represented in the following "exploded diagram" (fig. 5), where each point in time is associated with a configuration between the LM object and a particular point occupied by the trajector.
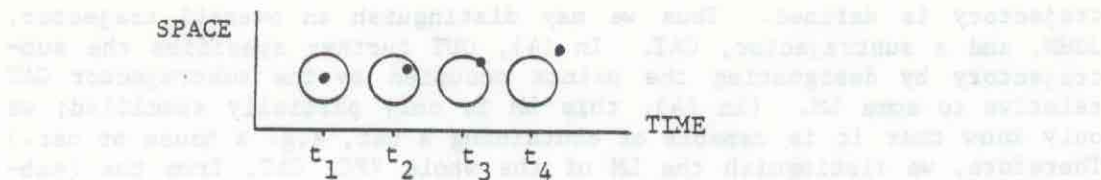
Figure 5

In general, motion predicates (like GO, WALK, RUN, etc.), designate that their trajectors occupy through time some set of contiguous spatial points, while OUT (like IN, THROUGH, etc.) designates which points are so occupied. The predicate OUT, then, codes a LM object and the set of points to be occupied by the trajector, which are defined relative to the LM. They are the points between X and Y in fig. 6, where X bears the IN relation (intuitively understood) to the LM and Y does not.
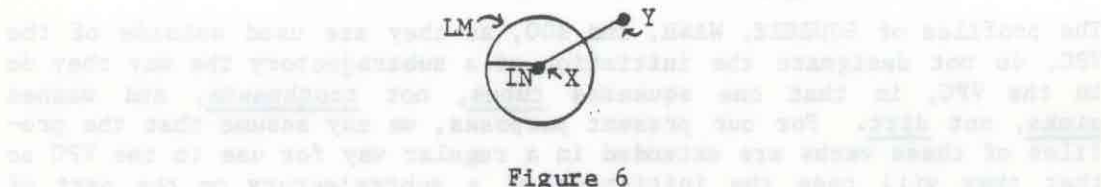

Figure 6

Fig. 6 may be interpreted in several ways. It may be taken as the projection (fig. 7) onto the spatial domain of the trajectory depicted in fig. 5, or as the summary of the series of configurations in fig. 5 considered apart from the temporal dimension, or as the result of superimposing these configurations on each other.
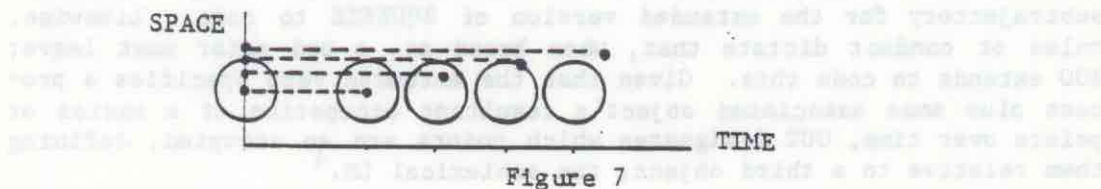

Figure 7

Thus OUT, like ON, is stative, for it has no temporal profile; like HIT and unlike ON, OUT involves not one, but a (summarized) series of configurations between objects.[3] While OUT has no temporal profile, there must be some specification that X in fig. 6 is initial and Y is final when instantiated in time.

3.1.1. Trajectories and subtrajectories: coding complex conceptual scenes.

Several points must be made about the above analysis. In (3), the overall trajector (SHE) is also the trajector of OUT. This will not always be the case. In a more complex conceptual scene, more than one trajectory might be explicitly coded. In (4), for example,

(4)   John threw the cat out (into the yard).

the overall trajector (JOHN) engages in a series of actions (his trajectory) which includes setting the CAT on its own trajectory. Such complex scenes are typically coded via two layers of figure-ground organization. While CAT is the figure with respect to its own trajectory, CAT together with its trajectory constitute the ground against which JOHN's

trajectory is defined. Thus we may distinguish an overall trajector, JOHN, and a subtrajector, CAT. In (4), OUT further specifies the subtrajectory by designating the points occupied by the subtrajector CAT relative to some LM. (In (4), this LM is only partially specified; we only know that it is capable of containing a cat, e.g. a house or car.) Therefore, we distinguish the LM of the whole VPC, CAT, from the (sublexical) LM of the CAT's subtrajectory coded by OUT.

Predicates like THROW or CARRY contain as part of their profiles the initiation of an object on a subtrajectory (in fact, the subtrajector constitutes a valence of each of these verbs). Consider, however, (5):

(5)a. He squeezed some toothpaste out.
   b. He washed the dirt out.
   c. The angry crowd booed the bad actor out.

The profiles of SQUEEZE, WASH, and BOO, as they are used outside of the VPC, do not designate the initiation of a subtrajectory the way they do in the VPC, in that one squeezes tubes, not toothpaste, and washes sinks, not dirt. For our present purposes, we may assume that the profiles of these verbs are extended in a regular way for use in the VPC so that they will code the initiation of a subtrajectory on the part of some object in their FAs, some object which does not necessarily correspond to the valence of the simple verb. The subtrajectory is somehow related to the action designated by the verb, typically resulting from it, either strictly causally or as a matter of cultural convention. For example, squeezing some (sublexically specified) object results in the displacement of its contents, constituting a possible subtrajectory for the extended version of SQUEEZE to code. Likewise, rules of conduct dictate that, when booed at, a bad actor must leave; BOO extends to code this. Given that the extended verb specifies a process plus some associated object's resultant occupation of a series of points over time, OUT designates which points are so occupied, defining them relative to a third object, the sublexical LM.[4]

To summarize, for the majority of intransitive VPCs, the overall trajector (the subject) will also be the trajector of OUT. In the meaning of transitive VPCs, we may distinguish an overall trajector (the subject) and an overall LM (the direct object). In the majority of cases, this overall LM coincides with a subtrajector in the scene coded by the whole VPC and, as such, constitutes the trajector of the particle OUT. In the following discussion, I will use the term trajector to denote the trajector of OUT itself whether or not it is the trajector of the overall VPC. Likewise, LM will refer specifically to the LM of OUT, not of the whole VPC.

3.1.2. Specification of the LM.

This analysis explicitly recognizes that motion must be calculated with respect to some LM object or region, and so a LM is "built into" the predicate OUT in both the verb-particle construction and the prepositional phrase construction. In the former, of course, the LM is sublexical, while in the latter, the LM corresponds to a valence in the predicate. That is, OUT combines with another predicate which further

specifies the LM. An Object Deletion transformation deriving particles from prepositional phrases is unnecessary.

Given that a LM object is sublexically specified in the VPC, how is it possible to understand that, for example, the LM in (5a) is a tube? Recall that TOOTHPASTE is a profiled object in a base that will include information about other objects and relations typically associated with it, notably, that it bears **an** IN relation to a tube, that it is applied to a brush, that it may or may not have fluoride, etc. Since the trajector of OUT bears the IN relation to its LM, the object TUBE is a likely candidate to match up with the sublexical LM in OUT. In general, then, knowledge of the world (present in the extended base of other predicates or in the discourse context) will narrow the range of possibilities for the identity of the LM object, sometimes fairly exclusively.

3.1.3. Variations in the correlation of spatial and temporal points.

Recall that the (sub)trajectors of verbs like GO, WALK, SQUEEZE' and BOO' occupy certain points while OUT specifies which point are so occupied. There are several ways in which the occupation of spatial points may correlate to the occupation of temporal points. Thus far, we have seen temporally distributed instantiation of the trajector's path, where the instantiation of each spatial point corresponds to a distinct temporal point. In (7), where the trajector of OUT is small relative to the path, we see that it may occupy only one point on the path at a given moment.

(7)a. She went out.
   b. He stuck his tongue out.

Contrast (7) to (8):

(8)a. This tunnel goes out, I think.
   b. This branch sticks out.

Here we find imperfective versions of GO and STICK which accommodate trajectors that are large enough to occupy all points in the path at a single point in time, so that the sentences designate imperfective processes, extending a static configuration through time. Compare figs. 8 and 9:
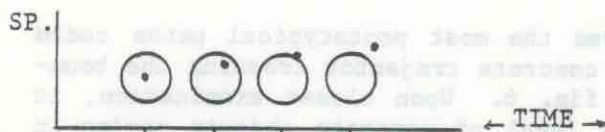

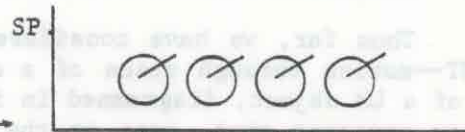Figure 8 SHE GO OUT   Figure 9 TUNNEL GO OUT

Note that OUT remains the same, while its instantiation in time varies.

Other imperfective processes involve a slightly different version of OUT. Consider (9):

(9)   He is out.

Here, the profile consists of only the last configuration in the series

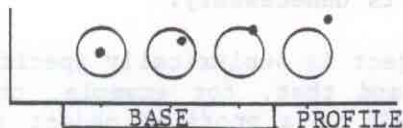designated by OUT; the rest will be in the base as in fig. 10:

Figure 10

Recalling definitions of base and profile, we see that, although this version of OUT foregrounds a single configuration (similar to ON), this configuration is nonetheless defined relative to a series of others leading up to it. Thus, in (9), OUT designates the final position of HE with respect to some unspecified LM resulting from some preceding motion in space. (9) would be a suitable answer to a question like 'Has he come out yet?'.

There is an interesting variation on the OUT of fig. 10. Whereas the non-profiled configurations of its base may be interpreted as preceding motion, as in (9), the base may also be interpreted as a somehow potential path, as in (10)-(14):

(10)   Keep him out.
(11)   Block/lock/shut it out.
(12)   Our maid lives out. ('has a separate domicile')
(13)   The boss is out for the day.
(14)   He sat out during the whole game.

In these sentences, the trajector hasn't actually borne the IN relation to the LM yet, but would like to, is expected to, or habitually does. That the potential path in the base is part of the meaning of this version of OUT is illustrated in the following:

(15)   ?Keep the tree out!
(16)   ?Antarctica is out (of North America).

The configurations described by the trajectors and LMs conforms to the profiled configuration in OUT, but, since there is no possibility of the trajectors being IN (unless the tree is potted and therefore movable), there is nothing in these sentences corresponding to the base of OUT, so (15) and (16) sound funny.

3.1.4. Variations in the paths profiled by OUT.

Thus far, we have considered the most prototypical paths coded by OUT—motion through space of a concrete trajector crossing the boundary of a LM object, diagrammed in fig. 6. Upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that, even at the level of concrete objects moving in space, there are a number of distinct series of configurations which constitute profiles for the predicate OUT. In particular, there is considerable variation as to the kinds of IN relation the trajector can bear to the LM, and variation in the kinds of boundaries attributed to the LM. The canonical case, which we have seen, involves two discrete objects such that the boundary defined by the LM completely surrounds the trajector. The LM may be hollow, as in (17), or not, as in (18); see fig. 11:

(17)   The cat clawed its way out (of the bag).
(18)   There is a fly in my soup; get it out!

The LM's boundary may not surround the trajector completely, but will surround it sufficiently for the missing parts to be filled in, in a Gestalt-like manner; see Fig. 12:

(19)a. The cat was in the box and jumped out.
    b. Pour that coffee out; it's no good.
    c. If there's still frosting in the bowl, scrape it out.

Only part of the trajector may be in the LM; see Fig. 13:

(20)   Pluck the feather out.
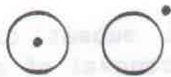

Figure 11   Figure 12   Figure 13

Rather than a neatly defined boundary on all sides, we see in (20) that there may be only one obvious boundary where the LM stops and something else begins; the rest may extend indefinitely (Fig. 14):

(21)a. The dog dug the bone out.
    b. If Fred is still swimming in the ocean, call him out.

The LM's outer form may be salient as the boundary, but it is not dense; rather the LM is capable of containing the trajector among its subparts, as in (22), shown in Fig. 15:

(22)a. There's dust in the rug; beat it out.
    b. Wash this dirt out (of the handkerchief).
    c. Wring the water out (of the dishcloth).
    d. The forest fire burned all the animals out.

Figure 14   Figure 15

As a special case of (22), the LM and trajector may be mass nouns (or plurals) which are mixed together:

(23)a. There are rocks in the sand; sift them out.
    b. Strain out the orange pulp.
    c. Salt out the dissolved substance. (in chemistry)

In (24), the trajector is a part of the LM (see Fig. 16):

(24)a. Carve out the best piece of meat for yourself.
    b. Cut out that picture and save it.
    c. Fry out all the fat (in this bacon).

A variant of the part-whole relation is the member-group relation (see

Fig. 17):

(25)a. He picked out two pieces of candy (from the dish).
   b. Separate out the ones we'll take with us.
   c. Weed out the ones we don't want.

In (25), the trajector is one or more of a number of equivalent objects which, taken together, form a more abstract object--a group with an abstractly conceived boundary.

Figure 16   Figure 17

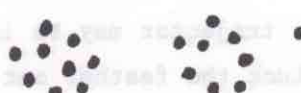While (25) designates the departure of a relatively small subset of member objects from the group, the VPCs in (26) imply the removal of a large proportion if not all of the members from the group, stack, pile, stock, deck:

(26)   <u>hand</u> <u>out</u>, <u>give</u> <u>out</u>, <u>dole</u> <u>out</u>, <u>deal</u> <u>out</u>, <u>mail</u> <u>out</u>

Similarly, the VPCs in (27) code the division and removal of subparts from a homogeneous mass:

(27)   <u>apportion</u> <u>out</u>, <u>portion</u> <u>out</u>, <u>parcel</u> <u>out</u>, <u>measure</u> <u>out</u>
          <u>serve</u> <u>out</u>, <u>dish</u> <u>out</u>.

(In listing these VPCs here, I'm referring only to simple removal of subparts from the whole; other facets of meaning, like 'distribution to many people', will be treated in a later section.)

     Still another variant of the part-whole relation is found in:

(28)a. Pound out the dents.
   b. Smooth out the wrinkles.
   c. Comb out the tangles.
   d. Wear a hair net--you'll sleep out the curls!

Figure 18

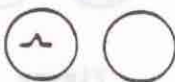Previously, we saw that OUT has as its profile the path of an object's movement from one point to another; now we see that the trajector is not relocated, but rendered nonexistent. The same is true in (29):

(29)a. Burn out the carbon in the engine.
   b. Bleach out the color.
   c. Rinse out the spot.
   d. Filter out the high frequencies. (The filter amplifies
       some frequencies and dampens the rest.)

3.2. One OUT or many: the schematic hierarchy.

The preceding groups of verbs show that a number of distinct configurations between various kinds of objects may be profiled by OUT. Recall from section 2.0 that a predicate was defined as some facet singled out (profiled) for symbolization with a phonological representation; we would seem to be admitting as many predicates as there are profiles. At this point, I will broaden the preliminary definition to make explicit what 1 have assumed all along: a single predicate may have many versions or distinct profiles which are nonetheless related. There are two good reasons to consider all the configurations we have seen to be versions of a single predicate OUT. First, all are symbolized by the same phonological unit, namely /awt/. This constitutes one shared facet among them. Secondly, because these configurations are a great deal alike, it is reasonable to assume that speakers extract schemas from them, where a schema is a generalization made about specific meanings extracting what they have in common and neutralizing their differences. The many configurations we have seen will be unified by virtue of extracted schemas and so may be considered versions of a single predicate. We will call the configurations presented in figs. 11-18 instantiations of some schematic configuration, say fig. 19.

Figure 19

Fig. 19 is to be interpreted not as a pictorial diagram (although it is pictorial for the prototypical version in fig. 11), but as something more abstract, neutral with respect to the degree of completeness fo the LM boundary, the existence of the trajector in the final configuration, whether or not the trajector is part of the LM, whether or not the trajector and LM are mass, plural or singular discrete objects, etc. The predicate OUT is a sort of equivalence class, regarding a wide range of specific FA's equivalent for purposes of linguistic coding.[5]

Versions of a predicate may arise through metaphoric extension. Given the prototypical series of configurations symbolized by /awt/ (fig. 20), we may use the same phonological symbol for the configuration in fig. 21 by virtue of a perceived similarity between the two configurations in fig. 22:
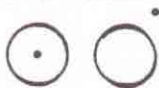

Figure 20   **Figure 21**   **Figure 22**

The similarity is extracted as a schema; the two notions become versions or instantiations of it. Again, the prototype in fig. 20 may be compared to the wrinkled and smooth states of the LM in (28) indicated in fig. 23.
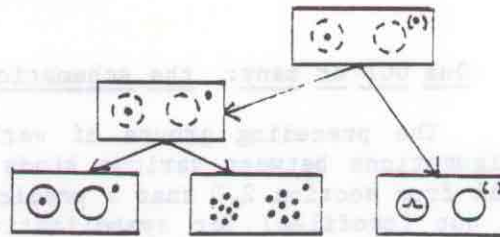
Figure 23   Figure 24

As long as the final position of the trajector is irrelevant, the two
sets of configurations are perceived as similar. A still more abstract
schema may be set up so that 'removal by dislocation in space', 'removal
from group', and 'removal by eradication' will be versions or instantia-
tions of it. In this way, we build up a schematic hierarchy of versions
of the predicate OUT. The more similar two configurations are, the
closer together they are in the hierarchy. Figs. 20 and 21 might be
more closely related to each other than to fig. 23, and so are hierarch-
ically related as in fig. 24. Thus, highly specified senses or versions
of a predicate coexist with (and are related by) the generalizations
speakers have extracted from them at various levels of abstraction.
Versions may be actual, conventional units (mastered units shared by
most members of the speech community) or novel (newly created by an
individual speaker). Versions may also be potential, in which case the
similarities between some actual version of the predicate and some FA
may exist but are "waiting" to be exploited in a novel use of the predi-
cate.

        From the preceding, it is apparent that schemas not only unite
versions of a predicate, but also facilitate the establishment of new
versions. For this reason, the different senses of a predicate them-
selves should be considered schematic, for they are regularities
extracted from groups of established VPCs and represent (at least part
of) what the verbs in each group have in common. That a version of OUT
is in fact extracted from some group of VPCs is borne out by the fact
that such a group is productive. So next to the verbs in (30)

        (30)a. Wash out the spot.
            b. Scrub out the spot.
            c. Soap out the spot.
            d. Rinse out the spot.

the TV commercial for the washday miracle Shout advises us to

        (30)e. Shout it out!

The existence of the versions mentioned thus far is rather obvious, so
mustering evidence for them seems minor. However, in sections ahead, I
will discuss not-so-obvious meanings of OUT, so the fact of regular and
productive groups of verbs takes on importance.

3.3. Some extensions of OUT in nonspatial domains.

        We have established fig. 19 as a schematic configuration relat-
ing various versions of OUT in the spatial domain. In fact, fig. 19 is
one of three major subschemas for OUT and we refer to it as OUT-1 The
second and third subschemas are presented in sections 4 and 5. In the
remainder of section 3, I present a wider range of the specific instan-
tiations of OUT-1. In particular, we will see that certain nonspatial

phenomena are conventionally viewed for purposes of linguistic expression as objects in an OUT-1 relation. OUT-1 is schematic not only for projections onto the spatial domain of a trajector's change of location, but also for "projections" onto various abstract domains (temporal, perceptual, cognitive, social, etc.) of a trajector's change of state. In other words, because versions of the spatial relation OUT-1 are perceived as similar to various nonspatial relations in abstract domains, these nonspatial relations themselves will become, via metaphoric extension, versions of OUT.

3.3.1. Distinguishing, choosing, and rejecting.

Beyond denoting physical removal of an object from a group or mixture (fig. 21), OUT-1 refers as well to the cognitive process of distinguishing, choosing or rejecting objects from among others. There need be and often can be no corresponding displacement in space.

(31)a. The professor singled him out for criticism.
   b. Having heard his story, we must sift out the facts.
   c. Try to screen out/weed out the bad applicants.
   d. She always picks out the most expensive clothes.

3.3.2. LM is some abstract, coherent complex of information.

Coherent complexes of information, conditions, events or socially defined connections appear to constitute bounded objects, for, conventionally, we speak of events in stories, flaws in designs, politicians in office, someone in trouble. Thus:

(32)a. In telling his mother about his trip, he left out
        the part about going to Black's Beach.
   b. There are flaws in this design; I want you to
        engineer them out.
   c. The angry people voted the crook out; the dishonest
        election officials counted the candidate out.
   d. When I was in trouble, my family bailed me out.

In a great many cases, a concrete LM may typically, though not necessarily coincide with a more abstract LM, here, culturally defined institutions, where becoming OUT involves official release from socially defined commitment or behavior: at a hotel, one may check out without actually having left the building; at work, on may ring out, punch out, sign out without actually having left; and at school, one may wash out, flunk out, drop out or get kicked out without actually having left the premises.

3.3.3. LM is a restriction or obligation.

The notion of a boundary carries with it the sense of constraint or restriction, making it ideal for metaphoric extension to certain binding social or interpersonal agreements, responsibilities, promises, contracts or obligations. Illegitimate removal of oneself from these can be expressed by VPCs like back out, bail out, bow out, chicken out, cop out, poop out, punk out, skip out, walk out on someone, weasel out.

Note how the adjective/noun <u>chicken</u> ´coward(ly)´ has been extended to code something like ´act like a chicken with the resultant trajectory´ of getting OUT of something frightening or unpleasant.

3.3.4. <u>LM</u> <u>is</u> <u>an</u> <u>abstract</u> <u>neighborhood</u> <u>of</u> <u>possession</u>.

We saw above that <u>hand</u> <u>out</u>, <u>give</u> <u>out</u>, <u>dole</u> <u>out</u>, <u>deal</u> <u>out</u>, <u>dish</u> <u>out</u>, etc., involved displacement in space of members from their collection points. So also may verbs like <u>lend</u> <u>out</u> and <u>rent</u> <u>out</u>:

(33)a. Did you lend out all your books?
    b. He bought a bunch of trucks and rented them out.

Perhaps more salient for these verbs than displacement in space is the notion of transfer of ownership. Thus (33c) involves no physical movement on the part of the trajector of OUT (the house). Similarly, (33d) involves transferring the responsibility of doing a job to someone else. Finally, (33e) and (33f) denote transfer of abstract objects for which no movement in space is possible, while (33g) may apply to the transfer of money on paper as well as actual physical exchange of cash:

(33)c. He rents out his house at the beach.
    d. They contract out/farm out the smaller jobs.
    e. The Soviets are handing out scholarships for study
        in the Soviet Union to Argentinians.
    f. The judge boasted of meting out probations.
    g. How much did you pay out/lay out/shell out for it?

That the temporary or permanent transfer of ownership, responsibility, or rights to use is codable by OUT suggests that possession is construed as an abstract neighborhood around a person, a sort of sphere of influence, such that items owned are IN it and items transferred to someone else are OUT (see fig. 25).

POSSESSION
NEIGHBORHOOD

Owner
Item

Figure 25

Such an image surfaces in sentences like (34):

(34)   I <u>have</u> it <u>in</u> my possession/custody.

The possession image is extended to the domain of communication:

(35)   Do you <u>have</u> any advice?
        Yes, I <u>give</u> it <u>out</u> freely.

3.3.5. <u>LM</u> <u>as</u> <u>privacy</u>.

The notion of a boundary around something carries a sense of privacy; if something comes out of privacy, it is often accessible to the public. OUT may code commercial availability to the public:

(36)a. This magazine comes out once a week.
    b. The new play came out on Broadway.

      c. Ring out the news!
      d. Gucci just put out a new line of shoes.

OUT may refer to 'affecting the public'—an epidemic is not said to break <u>out</u> until it is capable of affecting the public at large, not just a few individuals.

      Although when we <u>go</u> <u>out</u>, <u>take</u> <u>someone</u> <u>out</u>, <u>dine</u> <u>out</u>, <u>hang</u> <u>out</u> or <u>stay</u> <u>out</u> too late, we are not making ourselves accessible to the public, it is true that we are frequenting places of entertainment that are accessible (as compared to inaccessible, private places like home). Finally, a debutante officially enters society by <u>coming</u> <u>out</u> or being <u>brought</u> <u>out</u>.

3.3.6. The individual construed as LM.

      The individual may be considered a LM for OUT, for a person in a sense contains thoughts and feelings that remain private, inaccessible to others, unless he

    (37)a. lets out his emotions.
        b. has it out with someone. (release of pent-up anger)

This image is found in <u>keeping</u> <u>one's</u> <u>feelings</u> <u>in</u>, <u>wondering</u> <u>what</u> <u>goes</u> <u>on</u> <u>in</u> <u>someone's</u> <u>head</u>, and <u>wishing</u> <u>to</u> <u>know</u> <u>someone's</u> <u>innermost</u> <u>thoughts</u>. Additionally, we speak of <u>beating</u> information <u>out</u> of a person, or <u>driving</u> demons <u>out</u>.

      In a conversation, information passes from within the individual and into the consideration of others, as in (38):

    (38)a. He threw out a few suggestions for us to consider.
        b. He trotted out his standard arguments.
        c. He likes to speak out his opinions.

OUT may code not only the bringing of ideas into the open among people, but also the notion that some of these ideas are not fresh but kept in mental storage until needed (38b) or the notion that one is breaking through some sort of restraint or opposition in making one's opinions known (38c).

3.4. OUT-1 as change from hiddenness to accessibility

      Since LM objects may be opaque, they often hide their contents, concealing them from someone whose viewpoint is on the outside. To remove a trajector from within the LM is to reveal it to the viewer, making it visible, knowable, or attainable. So, for example, when a hunter <u>ferrets</u> <u>out</u> his quarry, he is doing more than using a trained ferret to remove a rabbit from its hole; he is making it visible to himself and therefore accessible. This general knowledge about what is often true of removing one object from inside another makes OUT suitable for conventionally coding the transition from a hidden state to a revealed state, and therefore a state of accessibility to some viewer's perception. In this version of OUT, the LM may be only vaguely specified; in fact it may refer to no concrete object at all, but to a state of obscurity.

Most obviously, we see the transition from hidden to revealed when the trajector is a secret (39), or when the trajector is a purposely hidden object (40):

(39)a. It came out that he had cheated.
    b. The news leaked out; someone leaked it out.

(40)a. Although no one could see the smuggled limburger
        cheese, the dog was able to sniff it out.
    b. The great detective was able to sniff out the criminal.
    c. The police smoked out the criminal.

(40b) and (40c) are of course metaphoric extensions in which SNIFF and SMOKE are used to refer to any indirect means of detection.

Fraser (1976:93) gives 'to seek' as the definition for seek out; we are now in a position to characterize some differences between the two. Seek denotes looking for an object--asking people, observing things, looking in, under and around--whereas, seek out means bringing a hidden object out of its hidden state as a result of seeking it. Consider (41):

(41)a. I'm seeking the enemy.
    b. I'm seeking out the enemy.

(41a) implies that I want to find the hidden enemy, but not necessarily expose him; I may just want to know where his headquarters are so I can defect to his side. (41b), in contrast, implies that I want to find him, and, in so doing, expose him. I don't want to go into his hiddenness; I want him to be out in the range of my view.

Subtle differences are also apparent in the meanings of search and search out, as in (42):

(42)a. I will search for my long lost father.
    b. I will search out my long lost father.

(42b) was judged to involve a more serious endeavor, implying a greater degree of resolve than in (42a). This follows from the fact that search out (like seek out) is an achievement verb, as shown by (43) and (44):

(43)a. He was successful at seeking out the enemy.
    b. ?He was successful at seeking the enemy.

(44)a. ?He searched out his long lost father until Friday.
    b. He searched for his long lost father until Friday.

We may account for the differences as follows. The trajectories of search out and seek out include the action of looking for something plus that something's resultant change from hidden to revealed; this change of state is something that can be achieved, that has a completed state built into it. In contrast, seek and search for have this completed state as an understood purpose--built into their bases--but do not code it as part of their profiled trajectories.

The meaning 'change of state from hidden to revealed' includes the more specific meaning 'change of state from nonvisible to visible'. This version of OUT contributes the impression that the objects that

become visible don't just materialize out of nowhere (cf. <u>show up</u>), but rather exist either obscured by something or as potentials.

(45)a. The rash broke out.
   b. The stars came out one by one.
   c. The sun finally came out today.
   d. The mountain is out ('is not obscured by clouds')
   e. June is bustin' out all over.

Note that only rashes, measles, chicken pox and other visible diseases can <u>break out</u>; less visible diseases like colds and pneumonia do not. (45b)-(45d) clearly require this version of OUT, for there is certainly no concrete LM that surrounds and obscures the stars, sun and mountains. Finally, (45e) was judged to pertain to the presence of visible signs of spring, which were in hibernation or which existed as potential growth.

As a special case, we see that an object may be invisible because of the obscuring effect of its background. Thus, verbs discussed with respect to distinguishing items from a group may also pertain to distinction from background, resulting in perceptual prominence.

(46)a. That shirt's color really brings out his eyes.
   b. Point him out to me.
   c. Can you pick him out in this crowd?
   d. He really stands out in a crowd!

Visibility and understanding are closely allied linguistically—<u>I</u> see may mean 'I understand'—so it is not surprising that the verbs in (47) also denote prominence leading to greater accessibility to one's cognitive faculties:

(47)a. Praise brings out the best in him.
   b. He pointed out the flaws in the proposal.
   c. He stands out in my mind as a real troublemaker.

Information that is unknown to someone may be construed as hidden from his view, inaccessible to his "cognitive eye". Various kinds of action may be taken to bring the information OUT of its obscured state and into a known state, accessible to the viewer's cognition. In these examples, we see that such action may be taken by someone other than the viewer to whom the information is unknown. The viewer in (48a) will be the person who utters this sentence, a person who was in Fred's audience:

(48)a. During the discussion, Fred brought out some
        interesting facts.

On first glance, we could include <u>bring out</u> with verbs denoting the flow of information from an individual into the consideration of others. While OUT may clearly code this transition, it also codes something more, namely, the introduction of information that was unknown to hearers. This is evident in (48b) and (48c).

(48)b. During the discussion, he brought out some facts we
        were unaware of/hadn't realized/didn't know.
   c. ?During the discussion, he brought out some facts we
        were already aware of/already knew/had already heard.

Compare <u>bring out</u> to <u>bring up</u>. <u>Bring up</u> also makes information accessible to hearers, but via a different metaphor—high things are more prominent and visible; <u>raising</u> an issue and <u>bringing up</u> a point make the information more "visible" in the conversation. <u>Bring up</u> is therefore neutral to the hiddenness of the information:

> (49)a. During the discussion, he brought up some points we
>   were unaware of.
> b. During the discussion, he brought up some points we
>   were aware of already.

Thus (50a) is ambiguous as to whether the speaker of the sentence knew these facts already, while (50b) implies that the viewer/hearer was unaware of the facts until Fred mentioned them:

> (50)a. Fred brought up some very embarrassing facts at the
>   meeting last night.
> b. Fred brought out some very embarrassing facts at the
>   meeting last night.

Informants judged that <u>bring up</u> was more likely to refer to the mentioning of information that the hearers already know but that no one else has the courage or desire to mention:

> (50)c. Fred had the nerve to bring up those facts again at
>   last night's meeting.
> d. ?Fred had the nerve to bring out those facts again at
>   last night's meeting.

Since <u>bring up</u> does not necessarily imply that unknown information is becoming known, <u>bringing up</u> can be repeated. <u>Bringing out</u> must be a one time act, however, since, once the information is known, it cannot be learned again. (For some speakers, <u>bring out</u> patterns with <u>trot out</u> in (38b). This latter involves the metaphoric retrieval of information from some mental storage place, and this may be repeated indefinitely. The present discussion involves a sense of <u>bring out</u> in which the image of such storage is not present.)

In the following, the viewer himself may act to make the unknown information known. One way to do this is to consult sources of information; as sources may be viewed to <u>contain</u> information, the LM may have two interpretations: a hidden state, or these sources. Consider (51):

> (51)a. The reporters ferreted out the facts.
> b. I must search out the truth about my origins.

These culminate in knowledge of the truth/facts, and imply that the information was obtained, not by direct observation, but OUT of once-removed sources (asking witnesses, reading reports, perusing documents, etc.). These sources, moreover, are difficult to extract information from—either they are purposely concealed or they may have been lost, forgotten, scattered.

Contrast <u>search out</u> and <u>ferret out</u> with <u>find out</u>. OUT means the same—making information known—but the sources of information need not be difficult to locate or extract information from in the <u>find out</u> case. In fact, the source may even volunteer the information (52d):

> (52)a. Find out what time it is.

      b. Go find out the facts.
      c. See what you can find out about his origins.
      d. I just found out that the moon is made of green
           cheese--Fred just called and told me.

      The profile of _search_ involves effortful looking about, questioning, etc.; _search out_ codes all this plus the change of state from unknown to known of the object of the search. _Find_, on the other hand, simply codes an object's being brought into a viewer's awareness, whether the viewer took effortful action (as in _go find your sister_) or not (as in _I just found a rock in my shoe_). _Find out_, then codes a piece of information's change from hidden to known as a result of the viewer's becoming aware of it. Since _searching out_ implies effortful extraction from hard-to-get-at sources, there is usually the further implication that the information sought is unknown to nearly everyone. On the other hand, what is unknown in the _find out_ case may well be known to others and is hidden only to the viewer, without necessarily being hard to come by:

(52)e. I just found out what everyone else has known for years.

      From what we know about OUT, it seems that the difference between _find_ and _find out_ is that the object of the latter is explicitly coded as having been unknown to, concealed from, or incapable of being directly observed by the viewer, whereas the object of the former is brought into the viewer's awareness without explicitly being thought of as hidden.

      Another way the viewer can make information known to himself is by inferencing from information he already knows, where inferencing is broadly construed to mean activities like pursuing implications, reinterpreting information, putting it into a form from which answers may be extracted, etc. The LM is both the hidden state and the incomplete, available information that the desired information is implicit in. Thus:

(53)a. Try to figure out/puzzle out how to do it.
     b. I leave it to you to work out how we shall break in.
     c. Can you make out who is standing over there?
     d. Can you dope it out?

      The trajector of OUT may be the missing piece of information itself, as the embedded questions in (53), or it may be a noun denoting a complex of information to be inferred from available information, as in (54):

(54)a. Figure out the solution.
     b. Work out the details.
     c. Think out the implications.
     d. Puzzle out his reasons.

The trajector may denote a complex of information which is assembled out of (as well as inferred from) the existing facts:

(55)a. Think out a good plan.
     b. Work out a paper outline.

      c. Mead strove to work out the patterns of the culture.

The trajector may be made OUT because some salient piece of information about it is made known:

    (56)a. Figure out your taxes. (how much you owe)
         b. Given a rudimentary knowledge of the alphabet, he
              will be able to figure out the words on the sign.
              (how they're pronounced and what they are)
         c. Try to work out this problem. (the solution)
         d. Try to figure him out. (his motives)
         e. Crafty students always try to psych out their professors.
              (what will be on the next exam)

     Note that trajectors of this last type (where the missing information is some salient aspect typically associated with it) may be found with verbs denoting other ways of deriving information besides pure inference. (57a) refers to a process of compromise based on known demands and desires, while (57b) denotes gathering information and making the trajector's opinions and attitudes known via intuitive judgment. (57c) and (57d) involve gathering and interpreting observations in order to learn about the activities at a given place or about a person's opinions. (57e) implies that somehow we've become aware of John's true motives or identity; in the process, we may have brought him out of hiding, too.

    (57)a. Hammer out/hash out the details.
         b. Feel him out.
         c. Case out the joint.
         d. Sound him out.
         e. We've found John out.

Finally, when we

    (58)a. Test out a hypothesis
         b. Try out a new recipe
         c. Scope out the bike route for our trip tomorrow
         d. Check out the scene

we gather and evaluate observations which will make known whether the hypothesis works, whether the recipe is good, what the bike route is like and whether it is negotiable, and what the scene is like and whether it is desirable. That something unknown is becoming known is indicated in the implication that we are assessing the trajector's potential for the first time.

     This pattern is productive (a fact which provides evidence for this version of OUT). When I went to the store to find a suitable pen to mark diacritics on a paper, my mother noticed that I was bringing some of the typing paper I had used, and she asked:

    (58)e. Are you going to sample out the pens?
           ('evaluate their potential for use by sampling them')

     In the previous section, we saw that a viewer brought information into cognitive access by extracting it from sources, deriving it from known information, gathering and interpreting observations. In a

sense, unknown information exists as potentially known, residing in implicit form in incomplete information, observations, and other sources, until some action is taken to extract it. Resultant states of evolving situations may also be thought of as existing in implicit, potential form, residing in the chains of events and factors which give rise to them. As potentials, resultant states are not yet knowable to the viewer; however, the viewer need not extract them to make them known, but rather need only wait--resultant states evolve out of incomplete situations and objects on their own. Thus:

(59)a. It turned out that Fred could go and I had to stay.
b. Everything worked out ok.
c. I hope that this matter will come out allright.
d. As things proved out...

Objects, too, may evolve to a resultant state at which point they are knowable and therefore capable of being evaluated:

(60)a. John turned out ok, considering his background.
b. Even though you dropped a few stitches, the
sweater came out just fine.

These verbs may preserve the sense of 'becoming knowable' as abstracted away from the actual evolution of the object or situation; what we know about an object or situation will itself evolve until we know the object completely:

(61)a. It turned out that he had cheated on the last exam.
b. Remember the guy I met last week? Well, he turned
out to be a real jerk, once I got to know him.

In this sense, these verbs are more like find out in that hidden information becomes known, yet they are also like their evolution-of-situation-or-object readings in that the knowledge comes into view on its own, through no effort on the viewer's part to extract it from its hidden state.

3.5. OUT-1 as change from accessibility to inaccessibility.

In 3.4, we saw that versions of OUT-1 code a concrete or abstract object's becoming accessible to some viewer. Fig. 26 illustrates the position of this viewer relative to the trajector's path.
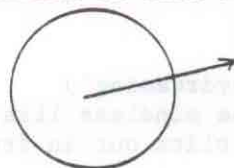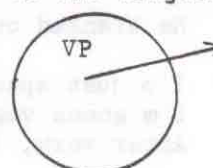

Figure 26   Figure 27

In 3.5, we will see the reverse--as illustrated in fig. 27, the viewer will be considered IN the LM's boundary with the trajector, which, once it leaves the LM, becomes inaccessible to the viewer. It appears from the following groups of verbs, that the LM boundary is perceived in states in which an object is perceivable, usable, desirable

and understandable to the viewer.

In (62), the trajector becomes inaccessible to perception:

(62)a. Drown out the music.
   b. Tune out the static.
   c. Mask out his voice with white noise.
   d. Black out the house (so it can't be seen).
   e. Black out/white out/cross out/strike out/blot out a name.

As a special case, a light becomes imperceptible when extinguished:

(62)a. Put out the fire.
   b. The lights went out; did you turn them out?
   c. Blow out/snuff out the candle.
   d. The sparkler fizzled out.

When an object functions, it is potentially usable by a viewer; its transition to a nonfunctional state constitutes a version of OUT as instantiated in (63):

(63)a. His engine blew out/conked out.
   b. The brakes burned out/cut out.
   c. It shorted out.
   d. I think he drowned out the engine.

Other kinds of nonfunction, besides mechanical, are found in (64):

(64)a. He talked out/sang out/shouted out his voice.
   b. The support/his strength gave out.
   c. The part rusted out/wore out.
   d. Rain washed the road out.
   e. The building was flooded out/bombed out/burned out.

Human nonfunctioning includes becoming unconscious (65), falling asleep (66), lapsing (67), being or becoming vacant (68), being extremely tired (69). In these states, the trajector is inactive, or inaccessible in the sense that others are not able to interact with him.

(65)a. He knocked out/duked out his opponent.
   b. She passed out/crapped out.

(66)a. I'm going to sack out early tonight.
   b. The poor kid just conked out/zonked out.

(67)   He blanked out/blacked out.

(68)a. I'm just spacing out. ('daydreaming')
   b. I'm gonna veg out soon. ('be mindless like a vegetable')
   c. After work, I only want to blitz out in front of the TV.

(69)a. tired out, pooped out, tuckered out, burned out, fried out, wiped out, worn out.
   b. He knocked himself out to get it done.

Stroke out was attested as an example of this pattern's productivity:

(70)   She's getting so old, I'm afraid of her stroking out. ('having a stroke and being incapacitated')

Yet another kind of nonfunction is found in various sports:

> (71)a. Strike out the batter.
> b. The ref counted out the felled fighter.
> c. He crapped out. ('lose at craps')

An extreme case of nonfunction is nonexistence:

> (72)a. The sound faded out quickly.
> b. The custom/species/signal is dying out.
> c. The town didn't quite ghost out, although most people left.
> d. My enthusiasm for verbs with OUT is petering out.
> e. Close out your bank account.

The LM boundary may represent the range of a viewer's desire, possession or consideration, from which the trajector is ejected:

> (73)a. Throw out/toss out that garbage.
> b. Throw out any data that doesn't fit the hypothesis.
> c. They ruled out that possibility.
> d. That went out with button shoes.

Note that in (73d), desirability is determined by a cultural, not just an individual viewpoint. In (74), the LM may represent a experience the viewer desires to participate in:

> (74)a. Fred sure lost out by not speaking up in time.
> b. Fred beat me out for starting position on the team.
> c. I'd hate to miss out on an opportunity like that.

Note that the viewer may or may not be the trajector of OUT—the speaker of sentence (74a) may think Fred lost out because the the speaker values the experience Fred missed; Fred may not think he lost out, however.

In the following verbs, the LM is what we might call the canonical human state, which includes psychological or emotional states like happiness and solidarity. Such states are deemed desirable and canonical at least by cultural, if not individual, viewpoint. Depressed, deceived, and angry states are therefore OUT:

> (75)a. That really bums me out.
> b. John really psyched out his opponent by acting confident.
> c. That remark put him out.
> d. The two friends fell out over it.

The LM may represent other facets of the canonical human state, namely being normal, conscious, and controlled. Note that being in such a state means being accessible—easy for others to interact with. OUT codes departure from canonical, accessible states in the verbs of (65)-(69) as well as those of (76):
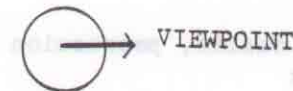
> (76)a. He just freaked out/flipped out.
> b. That really freaked me out/weirded me out.
> c. The test blew me out.
> d. Don't panic out!

Various actions may be continued to an extreme, beyond the normal range of intensity, reasonableness, duration. Thus:

(77)a. Let's go pork out/pig out/munch out! ('indulge in food')
   b. They're rocking out! ('really getting into the music')
   c. I'm just spazzing out today! ('be abnormally clutzy')
   d. I'm going to the library and nerd out. ('immerse oneself totally in studying')

3.6. Viewer-defined regions in the profile of OUT.

The preceding sections present several converging patterns. Compare figs. 28 and 29:

private	public	binding ties	breaking same
private	considered	in consideration	out of same
hidden	accessible	accessible	inaccessible
invisible	visible	revealed	hidden
unknown	known	functioning	nonfunctional
potential	actual	viable	defunct
		conscious	unconscious
		normal	abnormal
		desired	undesired

Figure 28   Figure 29

The viewpoint seems consistent between these two patterns. When a trajector is accessible to the viewer in either diagram, it is available to the public, upholds social commitments, is under consideration, desired, revealed, actual, viable, existing, known and visible; the viewpoint itself is conscious, functioning, seeing and knowing, normal and happy. Thus we may superimpose figs. 28 and 29:
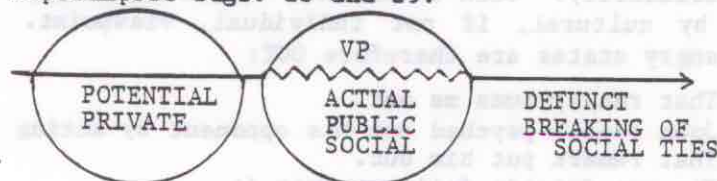

Figure 30

What is interesting is that the directionality of the arrows may be accounted for by positing a notion of a typical evolutionary cycle that objects follow and that is built into the language via metaphoric use of OUT. Regions of this cycle thus serve as LMs for OUT. With this model, we can account for apparent perversities of English which have previously led people to assume that the particle is meaningless:

(78)a. I may throw out a suggestion which you may then throw out as a foolish one.
   b. I may dredge out a fact from memory or blot it out.
   c. I may pick out the good applicants or weed out the bad ones.
   d. I may smoke out the criminal from where he is hiding out.
   e. I may be able to make out your voice or drown it out.

f. The stars may come out and yet the lights will go out.

Note that the use of deictic COME and GO support the placement of a viewpoint in the configurations coded by OUT. Whereas deictics fairly obviously require some notion of a viewpoint, we now see that viewpoint also operates in a part of the lexicon where such a notion was not previously considered to play a role.

4. OUT-2.

4.1. Expansion in the spatial domain.

In section 3, I presented a sampling of configurations and state changes in concrete and abstract domains from which the schematic configuration in fig. 19 could be extracted. Fig. 19 (OUT-1) is one of three major subschemas in the schematic hierarchy of OUT; I will now present the second subschema (OUT-2), beginning with various versions of it in the spatial domain and then showing how they, too, are perceived metaphorically in abstract relations. OUT-2 is perhaps best exemplified by sentences like these:

(79) a. Roll out the cookie dough.
b. The goo is spreading out.

An important difference between FAs coded by OUT-2 and those coded by OUT-1 is immediately obvious: instantiations of OUT-1 profiled various series of configurations between two concrete or abstract objects, that is, the trajector and LM were somehow construed as distinct. In contrast, versions of OUT-2 will profile the change of shape of a single object (the trajector of OUT-2), namely, the change from some initial (LM) form to a final form that occupies a greater area than the initial one. Pictorially, the trajectors of OUT-2 in (79) undergo the following change through time:

SPACE

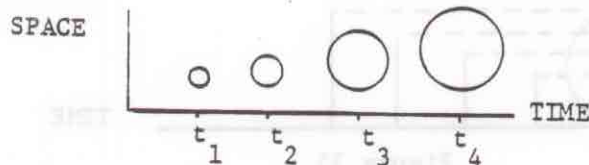$$t_1 \quad t_2 \quad t_3 \quad t_4$$

TIME

Figure 31

Recalling that the verb, not the particle, contributes the temporal profile to the VPC, we take the projection on the spatial domain (fig. 32) to be the profile of OUT-2 (fig. 33).
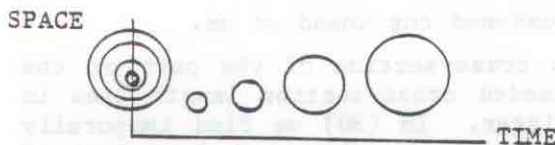
SPACE

TIME
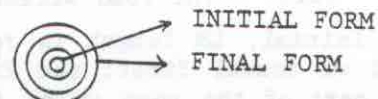
Figure 32

INITIAL FORM
FINAL FORM

Figure 33

Compare figs. 19 and 33. As fig. 19 is the summary of a series of configurations, we may consider fig. 33 a summary of a series of shapes or figures. The similarity between the two will be brought out clearly if in fig. 33, we take the initial shape of the trajector to be the LM of OUT-2 and then represent the successive shapes by points on their
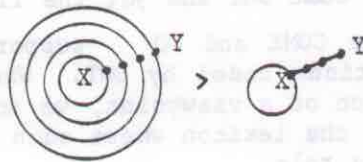
outlines:

Figure 34

Thus line segment XY will represent the progressive enlargement of the
trajector as it approaches its final form, the outline of which inter-
sects XY at Y.   Since the LM is identified with a particular stage
(namely, the first) in the evolution of the trajector's form, there is
no literal sense in which the trajector crosses a boundary to become
OUT; rather, the trajector becomes OUT when its outline broadcasts away
from its initial LM boundary.

As was the case with OUT-1, OUT-2 in fig. 34 is schematic for a
number of different types of change; that is, there will be a number of
versions of this schematic diagram which vary along certain parameters.

Versions of OUT-2 vary according to whether the trajector is
viewed as one-, two-, or three-dimensional.   A version of OUT-2 with a
one-dimensional trajector codes this object's increase in length.

(80)a. Stretch out the rope.
    b. Pull out the taffy.
    c. Lengthen out your stride.
    d. Grow out your hair so you can have it styled.

This version of OUT-2 is pictured in fig. 35, which shows that the LM is
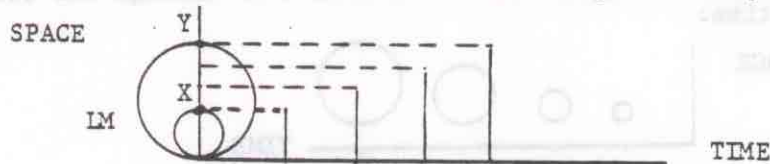the initial length against which the final length is compared.

Figure 35

In (81), we also find extension along one of two dimensions of a
trajector, namely, the dimension parallel to a cross-section of the
road:

(81)   The road widened out/broadened out ahead of us.

The initial, LM length is found in a cross-section of the part of the
road we travel first; the final, extended cross-section length lies in
the part of the road to be traveled later.   In (80) we find temporally
distributed instantiation of the trajectory in that each increment of
the trajector's extension corresponds to a distinct point in time.   In
contrast, the trajector of (81), ROAD, is large enough to instantiate
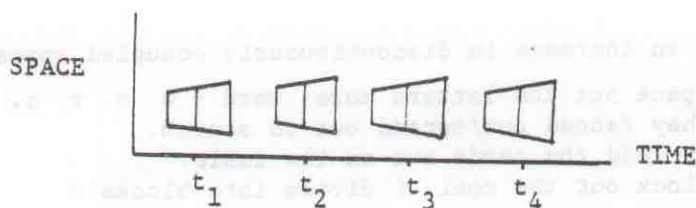the entire trajectory at a single point in time:

SPACE | | | | | TIME

t_1 t_2 t_3 t_4

Figure 36

We have already seen a version of OUT-2 which profiles a trajector's extension along two dimensions (its increase in area); more examples are:

(82)a. Flatten out the dough.
   b. Pound out/beat out the gold till it's thin.
   c. The housing project has sprawled out all over the valley.

Another version of OUT-2 profiles a trajector's extension in three dimensions (its increase in volume):

(83)a. It ballooned/bulged/billowed/swelled/bloated out.
   b. He puffed out his cheeks.
   c. Fluff out your hair a bit.
   d. My hair frizzed out this morning.

This version of OUT-2 explicitly codes part of the profile of verbs BLOAT and SWELL, and yet does not seem to overlap at all with FRIZZ ('to become frizzy'). This is problematic for approaches which, in a sense, "start" with the verb's meaning and try to determine what increment of meaning the particle adds onto it, for the particle would here seem to add different "amounts" of meaning. Recall that we make the plausible assumption that a verb may extend to code its regularly profiled process plus the specification that some object associated with this process changes state as a result; OUT codes the kind of change effected. In a sense, we "start" with a meaning of OUT-2 ('gain greater volume') and view all three verbs as denoting processes by which some object increases in volume. The fact that BLOAT and SWELL are ways of gaining volume is to be found already built into the linguistic code in the profiles of these verbs; that becoming frizzy contributes to overall volume is a fact to be found in knowledge of the world (somewhere in the extended base of FRIZZ will be the fact that once individual hairs become curly, they do not lie together). FRIZZ will extend from 'curl tightly' to code other changes of state which follow from the curling.

Thus far, we have observed extension in one, two and three dimensions of concrete objects which easily undergo adjustment of magnitude--objects that are malleable or stretchable. These are typically mass nouns (GOO), but not necessarily (STRIDE, ROPE, ROAD). The concept of extension in space may be applied to groups of "nonmalleable" objects. As we have seen, members of a group define an abstract boundary or outline, which may in turn constitute the initial LM form for another version of OUT-2. This version will profile the separation of these group members with the resulting enlargement of the length/area/volume included in the final abstract outline. That is, in contrast to an increase in continuously occupied space, the following

are examples of an increase in discontinuously occupied space:

(84)a. Space out the letters more: word - w o r d.
   b. They fanned out/spread out to search.
   c. He laid the cards out on the table.
   d. Block out the coal. ('divide into blocks')

(84)d denotes the separation of a mass into subparts, inflating the overall boundary of the mass.

4.2. Expansion in abstract domains.

Versions of OUT-2 will code nonspatial expansion, as in (85). (85a) indicates that the company got bigger by sending forth "branches"; (85b) refers to separating people's scores and placing them over a large interval on a ranking scale. (85c) is a particularly interesting attested form illustrating the productivity of this version of OUT-2. The speaker of (85)c meant that the narrative followed one character through time until another character came on the scene, at which point the narrative followed this new character until the next one was introduced, and so on. Thus the characters taken as a group may be separated and placed individually along an abstract timeline of the book's events.

(85)a. The company branched out.
   b. Dictation tests provide a rank order that spreads them out.
   c. In Faulkner's Light in August, you can practically
        timeline out the characters.

(86) provides more examples of the separation of abstract entities: Here, one gets the feeling that each idea/argument/condition is separated from some confused mass for purposes of clarification. Indeed, when a vendor sets out his wares, he spreads them apart so that each may be seen more easily; similarly, when one's ideas are made distinct, they become easier to understand. Interestingly, an OUT-2 configuration provides an alternative image for coding a concept that OUT-1 codes, namely, a trajector's becoming accessible to a viewer's understanding.

(86)a. Lay out your ideas clearly.
   b. He spelled out the conditions he would work under.
   c. A family of sitcom characters gets caught up in some
        controversial issue, spelling out the various arguments
        pro and con, but never resolving the problem.

We may now characterize the rest of the meaning of give out, hand out, dole out, rent out, parcel out, etc. Recall from the discussion of OUT-1 that the members/subparts of the trajectors of these VPCs are viewed as being removed from within some boundary, presumably the abstract boundary of a possession neighborhood and possibly an abstract boundary defined by the concrete items themselves. That these members/subparts are distributed to many people is coded by an extension of the version of OUT-2 found in (84), for the collection point/possession neighborhood defines a boundary which is taken as the LM "area" for OUT-2, while the distributed items define an expanded boundary. (See fig. 37)

POSSESSION/
COLLECTION → DISTRIBUTED STATE

Figure 37

From these examples, as well as certain preceding ones, emerges a crucial point of the analysis—that in a given FA, several distinct versions of OUT may be instantiated. So, <u>hand out brochures</u> combines the individually attested patterns ´removal from a group´ (as in <u>pick out</u>) and ´be separated from a clump so as to occupy more area´ (as in <u>spread out</u>). The question arises, given a lexical item like <u>hand out</u> having several facets of meaning each fitting the profile of some version of OUT-1 or OUT-2, how are we to decide which version is instantiated? Should <u>hand out</u> be categorized with <u>pick out</u> or with <u>spread out</u>? As posed, this question is unanswerable—there is no nonarbitrary way to decide which is to be the definitive categorization. We must rather entertain the possibility that <u>hand out</u> belongs to both categories, or instantiates both versions, simultaneously. Since a given lexical item may be doubly categorized, the schematic hierarchy we posit is cross-cutting:
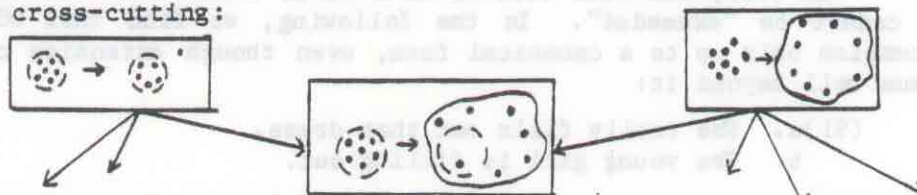

Figure 38

4.2.1. <u>Temporal extension</u>

Verbs of spatial extension will code temporal extension along a one-dimensional timeline:

    (87)a. Drag out an affair.
        b. Draw out the weekend by taking Monday off.
        c. Stretch out the rest period.

Parallel to the VPCs denoting the extension of discontinuously occupied length, we find:

    (88)   He wants to string out the meetings beyond the first
            of the month.

The following sentences might be grouped with (84e) (<u>block out the coal</u>) in that time is treated like a mass which is to be divided up and its subparts allocated to various activities:

    (89)a. Plan out your time.
        b. Schedule out your day.

4.3. Expansion to full or canonical form.

Up to this point, we have considered indefinite expansion: that is, OUT-2 has coded a series of forms for which there is no real specification of the final form other than the stipulation that it is somehow larger than the initial LM form. In the next groups of verbs, OUT-2 will code extension up to some full, canonical form. In other words, the final figure in these versions of OUT-2 has more information specified about it, namely, that it is a complete form, where completeness is judged relative to each individual trajector.

Discrete, nonmaleable objects may typically assume a compacted form—they may be folded up, coiled up, rolled up, etc. Conversion from compacted form to the full form fits the profile of this version of OUT-2:

(90)a. Roll out the red carpet.
    b. Write out the abbreviation.
    c. Spread out the newspaper to read.
    d. Lay out your clothes so they won't get wrinkled.
    e. He stretched out on the couch.

In (90), the full form is in a sense built into the trajector-- it cannot be "exceeded". In the following, we find that OUT-2 codes extension only up to a canonical form, even though extension could continue well beyond it:

(91)a. She really fills out that dress.
    b. The young girl is filling out.

(91a) means she has a good figure and fills the dress to its proper shape; she is not bulging in the wrong places in a dress that's too tight. (91b) means that the girl is expanding in the right amount in the right places, and not becoming large in general. Similarly, the following verbs denote the addition of substance up to some contextually or conventionally defined limit which is considered the trajector's proper or canonical form. In particular, (91d) denotes adding onto the existing menu to arrive at what's conventionally considered a proper, balanced meal.

(91)c. He offered me several jobs; I remember that he
        asked me how much money I could live on and
        he pieced the money out so that it fit.
    d. He rounded out his meal with soup and dessert.
    e. Let us flesh out the diagram.

At this point, we can clear up an apparently arbitrary fact of English, namely, that (91f) and (91g) may refer to the same activity:

(91)f. Fill in a reg card.
    g. Fill out a reg card.

The former codes the insertion or addition of missing information, while the latter profiles the addition of information to what's already there up to the reg card's properly completed state. Compare to this make out a check.

For groups of discrete items, 'up to canonical form' takes on a reading of 'separated into proper arrangement':

(92)a. Lay out the silverware, cards, pictures on a page.
    b. Sort out the papers.

Closely related to these are verbs denoting the "extension" of the trajector from some incomplete or potential form to its proper, full form via the establishment of its distinct subparts plus their proper arrangement relative to each other:

(93)a. Block out the floorplan.
    b. Lay out a page/a garden.
    c. Map out/chart out your course.
    d. Kostelanetz conducted orchestras in every major city, plotting out each concert as carefully as a general would a battle.
    e. The author worked out the plot of his next book.
    f. Plan out your tour carefully.
    g. Make out a will.

(93g) illustrates an extreme case, where the notion of distinguishing subparts may vanish, leaving OUT-2 to code the development of its trajector to full, final form.

Conflated versions of OUT may also be found in FAs of expression, the giving of form to a mental construct for purposes of communication. Cognitive/semantic constructs are construed as reduced, compacted forms which constitute LMs for OUT-2. When they are converted into symbol systems or into the physical medium of written or spoken language, they are fully endowed with temporal and spatial extension, in the process, of course, passing from within the individual to become accessible to the perception and cognition of some viewer. Thus we find endowment with symbolic form (94), endowment with general verbal form (95) and with specific kinds of verbal form (96), endowment with written form (97):

(94)a. Act out the title in charades.
    b. Beat out the message on the drums.
    c. Tap out the message in Morse.
    d. Unable to talk, she typed out her answer.

(95)a. He sketched out his plan to me.
    b. She made him out to be a real jerk.

(96)a. Bellow out blasphemies.
    b. Bark out orders.
    c. Blurt out answers.
    d. Call out your name.
    e. Shout out/sing out/yell out the answer.
    f. Read out the answer. ('read aloud')
    g. ?Whisper out the answer.

(Note that perceptual accessibility is salient here—a reading of 'loudness' makes (96f) preferable to (96g).)

(97)a. Scribble out/scrawl out one's signature.

     b. Pound out something on the typewriter.
     c. Write out your ideas, plans, and goals.

Note that (97c) implies writing down full detail for these ideas, plans and goals, not just the often vague and abbreviated forms that we usually carry around in our heads.

       Similarly, full, accessible form may be given to musical constructs (98) or to visual constructs (99):

   (98)a. Pound out/bang out a tune on the piano.
      b. Pick out a tune on the piano.
      c. Strum out a tune on the guitar.
      d. Belt out a torchy ballad.

   (99)a. Sketch out/draw out a diagram.
      b. Trace out/plot out the curve.

Finally, we may translate mental constructs into real events in time which are observable by others:

  (100)a. Act out your fantasies.
      b. Live out your dreams.
      c. Carry out your plan.

       In the following set of examples, a version of OUT-2 applies to it trajector's extension along the temporal dimension. Some objects have inherently bounded temporal extension--week and year most obviously have built-in temporal endpoints, while, less obviously, objects like storm, dance, ordeal, illness, soccer match consist in a coherent set of evolving conditions and events which "run their course", developing from a beginning, through a middle, to an end. OUT-2 codes such an object's progress through time from a given LM point on the timeline (often in the middle of the development) to its endpoint, at which point, the trajector reaches full form. For example, (101a):

  (101)a. When we were sick, we just had to tough it out.

means that when we found ourselves in the middle of an illness (t_1 in Figure 39), we would have to be tough until we reached its endpoint (t_2).
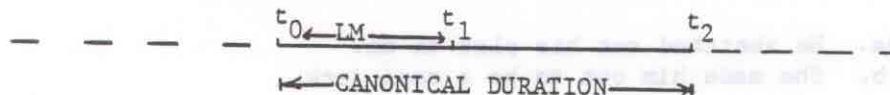
$$ \text{---}\ \text{---}\ \text{---}\ \underset{t_0}{\vert}\text{---LM---}\underset{t_1}{\vert}\ \longrightarrow\ \underset{t_2}{\vert} $$

$$ \longmapsto\text{---CANONICAL DURATION---}\longrightarrow $$

Figure 39

Other examples include:

  (101)b. Sit out the dance. (also implies 'nonparticipation')
      c. Will the patient see the week out?
      d. They lived out their lives in obscurity.
      e. He will serve out his sentence on a work furlough program.
      f. The crew rode out the storm pretty well.
      g. You'll have to sweat/stick/wait it out to the bitter end.
      h. Fred will finish out his term as a lame duck.

          i. I guess I'll finish out/stay out the year.

In (101h), <u>finish</u> <u>out</u> implies that the subject has lost interest or via-
bility in some activity, but will continue it, going through the
motions, until he is officially permitted to discontinue it. Thus, <u>fin-
ish</u> <u>out</u> defines two temporal points, the moment one loses interest (t_1
in Figure 39) and the legal endpoint of the activity (t_2). Whereas <u>fin-
ish</u> has a pointlike meaning (you can <u>finish</u> something <u>at</u> a point in
time, say 3:00), <u>finish</u> <u>out</u> codes the stretch of time between t_1 and t_2
(hence *<u>finish</u> <u>something out at 3:00</u>).

      The last set of examples for OUT-2 are similar to the preceding,
in that the trajectors (issues, situations, arguments) have built into
them beginnings, middles and endpoints. However, the endpoints (resolu-
tions, decisions, victory) are not reached by waiting for time to pass,
but by actively

    (102)   fighting it out, slugging it out, duking it out,
                thrashing it out, arguing it out, talking it out.

In (101) and (102), we see that two patterns of OUT converge, a possi-
bility discussed in conjunction with <u>hand</u> <u>out</u>. Full extension of an
object up to its temporal or developmental endpoint (OUT-2) results in
its extinction (OUT-1). Thus, once a sentence is <u>served</u> <u>out</u>, it no
longer exists; once an issue is <u>thrashed</u> <u>out</u>, it ceases to be an issue.

<u>5. OUT-3</u>

      The third and final subschema, OUT-3, may be diagrammed as in
Figure 40 and it is schematic for movement away from a LM point desig-
nated as origin, center, or source.

Figure 40

In (103), we find 'movement away from origin':

    (103)a. They set out/started out/struck out for Alaska.
         b. The teenager peeled out/dug out in his fancy new car.
            ('start suddenly, laying rubber')

<u>Step</u> <u>out</u> ('start to walk briskly, especially lengthening one's stride')
may refer to leaving a moving LM point by suddenly increasing speed.
Beyond the spatial domain, <u>set</u> <u>out</u> and <u>start</u> <u>out</u> code the initiation of
any activity (not just motion through space); one leaves one's temporal
origin when one begins to do something.

      The following code 'movement away from source'; in (104a) and
(104b) instantiate OUT-2 'distribution' as well.

    (104)a. The whale sends out distinctive sounds.
         b. That candle gives out lots of light.
         c. Can you send out a towtruck?

Similarly, the VPCs in (105) code the emanation of a sublexical trajec-
tor ('sound') from its source, the sentence's subject. Note that as the
sound leaves its source, it becomes more accessible to perception, hence
the reading of 'loudly'.

(105)a. Cry out in pain.
    b. Bellow out in anger.
    c. The bells rang out.
    d. The trumpets blared out.

OUT-3 indicates position or movement away from some point which
is somehow considered to be central. So, in (106), we move the seam away
from the center of the garment, toward the edge of the material.

(106)   Let out a seam.

The vertical axis of the body, viewed from above, can be taken
as a central point from which we

(107)a. Lash out at someone.
    b. Strike out in fury.
    c. Hit out at our foes.
    d. Reach out to touch someone.
    e. Hold something out to show someone.

Note that raising one's arms above one's head, remaining in line with
the vertical axis, does not constitute reaching out. Again, when

(108)a. My nose/ears stick out.
    b. My feet turn out.

they are oriented away from the central body axis. Of course, it is
possible to define a neighborhood of personal space or a range of normal
body part dimensions and consider OUT-1 to be instantiated here. In
fact look out and watch out may utilize the concept of a person's own
space or surrounding neighborhood of attention which does not as yet
include some imminent danger.

6. Conclusion

The three schematic diagrams (Figures 19, 34, and 40) may them-
selves be subsumed under a single schema, for OUT-2 and OUT-3 are limit-
ing cases of OUT-1. Consider the initial configuration of OUT-1, an
object bearing the IN relation to a LM object (Figure 41):
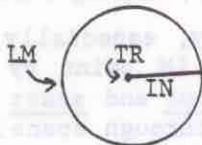
LM   TR   IN

Figure 41

If we expand the trajector object until the IN part of the path is zero,
then the trajector will be identical to the LM, whence the initial con-
figuration of OUT-2. We interpret an object's moving OUT of itself as
going beyond its original boundary. If, on the other hand, we start
with Figure 41 and shrink the LM down to a single point, it will not be

able to 'contain' a trajector, but instead serve as the trajector's initial location or source or some other reference point (center) against which to calculate the trajector's movement, whence OUT-3. Therefore, we may posit a superschema (Figure 42) which is understood to be neutral with respect to whether or not the LM and trajector are distinct and whether or not the LM is pointlike. (Such levels of neutralization are, of course, hard to draw).

Figure 42

   In what sense have we arrived at a unified account of the meaning of the particle out? We have certainly not arrived at a single, unchanging meaning that OUT contributes to all VPCs; the superschema developed above is far too abstract to supply the specific kinds of information found in the VPCs. Rather, we have found a wide variety of meanings of OUT; in fact, employing notions like abstract domain and metaphoric extension, we have been able to characterize an even wider variety of meanings than previous analyses recognized. That each of these meanings, or versions of OUT, are not idiosyncratic, but must be included in a grammar of English, is borne out by the fact that each serves as a basis for some regular and productive group of verbs. Although a given speaker may not be able to articulate what OUT means in these verbs, he nonetheless knows at some level what it is doing in VPCs, for he can produce more like them.

   Yet this wide array of versions does not fly in the face of a unified account of OUT, for, as we have seen, these versions will be united under cross-cutting schemas which represent what they have in common. Thus, the various versions of OUT in figure out, turn out the light, pick out your favorite, and the coward chickened out all have in common that they are somehow similar to the prototypical series of configurations in space summarized by Figure 19. That is, the abstract schema Figure 19 is what is left over after specific information about the domain, the abstractness or concreteness of the LM or trajector, the position of the viewer, if any, etc., is abstracted away. Thus the predicate will consist in specific meanings which coexist with the generalizations that unite them. The superschema will be the most general of these generalizations.

   Failure to recognize that the predicates in the VPC may have versions united by schemas has led to the conclusion that most VPCs are unanalyzable; but just because a standard meaning for figure and a prototypical meaning for OUT (configuration in space) don't combine to yield the meaning of figure out, it should not be assumed that OUT has no meaning and that the combination is idiosyncratic. By recognizing that the particle has a number of related senses (that is, by recognizing that a variety of phenomena are construed for linguistic expression as objects in an OUT relation), we may replace that idiosyncracy with systematicity. And there is no reason not to allow the particle to vary

in meaning--why should it be different from other predicates? Even the prepositional version of OUT codes more than just spatial configurations, but profiles as well relations between abstract objects in abstract domains:

(109)a. Out of sight, out of mind.
    b. He's out of his mind.
    c. He got kicked out of the group.
    d. He got out of an obligation.
    e. He came out of hiding.
    f. It's all stretched out of shape.
    g. Get out of here!

7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

8. FOOTNOTES

1. VPC's uniformly distinguish themselves from Verb-PP and Verb-Adv constructions in terms of position relative to a direct object nominal, position relative to a nonfocussed pronoun direct object, and noncontrastive stress placement:

(i)   In front of a nominal DO:
        a) He looked up her number.   (VPC)
        b) He looked up her dress.   (Vb-PP)
        c) *He watched yesterday the game. (Vb-Adv)
(ii)   After nominal DO:
        a) He looked her number up.
        b) *He looked her dress up.
        c) He watched the game yesterday.
(iii) Particle must follow prenominal DO:
        a) He looked her number up.
        b) He looked it up.
        c) *He looked up it. (with same meaning as (a))
(iv)   Preposition must precede prenominal DO:
        a) He looked up her dress.
        b) He looked up it.
        c) *He looked it up. (with the same meaning as (a))
(v)   Particle gets noncontrastive stress; preposition doesn't:
        a) He looked up her number.
        b) He looked up her dress.

2. The term _predicate_ is not used to mean 'verbal' as in 'subject-predicate' analysis of a sentence, nor does _object_ refer to a semantic role (like direct object), but is synonymous with _thing_.

3. That OUT has something in common with stative predicates like ON and with processes like HIT probably misled Bolinger into analyzing particles as having a vaguely defined 'verbal feature' in

them, for which he gives as evidence paraphrases like:

    (i)   He threw it out.
    (ii) He outed it by throwing.

In (ii), he has created a verb out of the stative predicate OUT by extending OUT to include a temporal profile. As a particle, however, OUT has no temporal profile, since, as suggested in Langacker (1979b), only predicates with temporal profile will have agreement and tense marking in English. OUT, of course, takes no such marking in the VPC:

    (iii) *He threw it outed.

    4. Positioning an extended verb to encode a resultant subtrajectory is not ad hoc, but is also necessary or Verb-Locative constructions in general. All of the following will require some version SQUEEZE' of SQUEEZE:

    (i)   He squeezed the toothpaste out.
    (ii) He squeezed the toothpaste onto the brush/
             into his brother's hair/
             all over the clean floor.

    5. The notion of version is used in Space Grammar to account for other predicates besides OUT. Consider John ran and Fido ran. The same predicate RUN designates two different series of configurations, one appropriate to a two-legged creature, the other to a four-legged one. Both versions of RUN may be subsumed under a single schema that extracts what they have in common (rapid motion in space achieved by moving legs) and neutral with respect to what they don't have in common (the number of legs). These two version of RUN will be related by a still more more abstract schema to the RUN in The water is running; this schema will extract something like 'rapid, self-propelled movement through space'.

    As we have seen, EAT has two versions, one with a valence corresponding to the object eaten, the other without a valence there.

    As another example, IN has many versions:

    (i)   The cat is in the box. (hollow LM)
    (ii)   The wooly mammoth is frozen in the ice. (solid LM)
    (iii) The cigarette is in his mouth. (only one end)
    (iv) He wants to be in the group. (abstract boundary)

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