

VERBS OF OBJECT EXTRACTION: A TYPOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

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In recent years, lexical typology has increasingly gained importance as a field of linguistic research (cf. Evans 2010, Koptjevskaja-Tamm et al. 2015). Much attention in this area has been given in particular to verbs of handling (see Newman (ed.) 1998, Kopecka, Narasimhan (eds.) 2012).

This study deals with a specific kind of object handling events, which has so far not been the subject of a dedicated research, namely those of taking an object out of a container. In line with the methodology developed within the Moscow Lexical Typology Group, we use semantic frames (i.e. sets of prototypical situations) as a base for cross-linguistic comparison (cf. 'to take the handkerchief out of the pocket', 'to pull a cigarette out of the pack', etc.). Languages are then contrasted in terms of how the frames are distributed among their lexical items.

Our research focuses on the following questions:

1. What are the general principles underlying the lexicalization of extraction events?
2. What kind of events can be lexically opposed within the domain, and what are the parameters that determine these oppositions?
3. What kind of events can be conceptualized as taking out of a container, i.e. what is the scope of the semantic domain under discussion?

The analysis which is based on the data from 15 languages (English, German, Armenian, Tatar, Moksha, Mandarin, and others), yields the following results:

1. Extraction entails caused motion along a specific path. This path has to be expressed in the sentence in order for it to convey the idea of extraction. The path may be encoded either in the verb (cf. French *sortir*) or in the verbal construction (cf. German *aus der Tasche ziehen*). In the latter case the verb refers to the manner of the action. Extraction verbs can thus be analyzed in terms of Talmy's lexicalization patterns (Talmy 1985).

2. However, the manner/path typology needs further elaboration to account for cross-linguistic variation in verbs of extraction. The lexical choice in this domain may be influenced by a number of additional parameters concerning various participants of the event, as, for instance:

- a. Distance between the subject and the object (cf. Komi-Zyrian [Izhma dialect] *sud'edny* for objects that are out of immediate reach of the subject VS. *kyskyny* for nearby objects).

- b. Spatial relations between the object and the container (or other objects which are in the container) (cf. Korean *ppayta* for a tight contact VS. *kkenayta* for a loose contact, see also Bowerman, Choi 2001).

- c. Efforts that are needed to perform the action (cf. Mandarin *lāchū* for the events that require efforts from the subject).

3. The verbs referring to taking an object out of a container may in some languages also encode situations which do not involve a prototypical container (cf. 'plucking the eyebrows'). This occurs presumably because such objects may be perceived as being with their part inside another object. Thus, a typological perspective clearly reveals the conceptual adjacency relations between various semantic domains (as in this case between those of extraction and detachment).

We consider also meaning shifts from the domain of object extraction and reveal cross-linguistically recurrent patterns of metaphors (e.g. 'take out of a distant container' – 'obtain a hard-to-get item').

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