『文法化と語彙化とカートグラフィー ― 統語論と形態論の境界をめぐって』
「場所を表す前置詞句に基づく語形成：通時的な語形成と共時的な語形成」

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1. Introduction

(1) a. a tall man

  b. a man <u>asleep</u>

(2) a. a book on the shelf, a picture over the counter, a bench under the elm

  b. the <u>under-tree</u> planting, an <u>off-map</u> location, a major <u>between class</u> activities   (島村 2005: sec. 4)

(3) a. functional PP   *on* PP   >   *a*-form   lexicalization due to grammaticalization

  b. lexical PP   *under* PP   ---   *under*-N form   lexicalization as competition

2. Lexical and Functional Items: Synchrony and Diachrony

(4) Lexical vs. functional morphemes   Distributed Morphology, Beard 1995, Aronoff 1994, Baker 2003

  a. lexeme: members of the lexical categories, i.e., nouns, verbs, and adjectives/adverbs

  b. functional morpheme

(5) a. Baker's (2003) theory of lexical categories

  b. Criteria: Beard 1995, Beard and Volpe 2007

Lexemes	Grammatical Morphemes
open classes	closed classes
Specific, concrete meanings	Abstract, functional meanings
Must be phonemically expressed	May be phonemically expressed

(6) Two types of prepositions (Miller 1993, Baker 2003: appendix, Cinque 2010b)

  a. functional prepositions: *at, of, to, on, in*

  b. lexical (complex) preposition: *above, below, between, under, inside (of), in front of…*

(7)   Baker's (2003) definition of P: a category-shifting functional category, NP > AP

Lexical prepositions: location-denoting relational nouns conflated into P

   a.   [$_{PP}$ [$_P$ at   [the table]]]   *at the table*

   b.   [$_{PP}$ [$_P$ AT [UNDER (of) [the table]]]   *under the table*

(8)   Grammaticalization (Traugott 2010)

   a.   Diachronic relationship between F and L: the principle of unidirectionality

       L > F, *F > L

   b.   Two stages:

     primary grammaticalization: L > F (the initial stage)

     secondary grammaticalization: F > 'more F' (the development of an already grammatical form into a yet more grammatical one)

(9)   Lexicalization (diachronic)

   a. "the process that turns linguistic material into lexical items, i.e., into lexemes, and renders them still more lexical" (Wischer 2000: 359)

   b. "the use of a syntactic string or word-formation as a new contentful form that is semantically not fully compositional, is relatively idiosyncratic, and does not belong to a set (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 96)" (Traugott 2010: 274)

3.   Functional Preposition and Word Formation
3.1. The Derivational Prefix *a-*

(10)   Meaning

   a.   'in a state or position of---'

   b.   "The meaning is similar to that of the progressive aspect: *afloat* = 'floating'."

                                   (Quirk et al. 1985: 992)

(11)   Categorial selection

     Category-changing prefixes in Namiki (1985: 21-22)

   a.   *a-*:   +N, V, A → Adv, predicative A

   b.   *be-, en-, out-, de-, dis-, un-*:   +N, A → V

(12)   Productivity

     "It is doubtful whether this prefix is still productive." (Quirk et al. 1985: 992)

(13)   Syntactic distribution

   a.   The children are {asleep/awake/abroad/aboard}.

   b.   the children asleep   vs.   *the asleep children   (Markus 1998: 135)

   c.   He went {abroad/aboard}.

   d. *He went {asleep/awake}.   (Quirk et al. 1985: 235)

3.2. The F-preposition *on* Historically

OE preposition	*an, on*	>	11th c.	*o*	>	*a* [ə]	'clitic'	>	*a-*	prefix	>	zero

(14) Marcus (1998: 136-137) states:

    a. "The term '*a*-adjective' suggests a homogeneity which is unjustified; rather, those adjectives where <u>*a*- is an obscured English morpheme *on, of,* or *in* should be kept apart from all the others</u> where *a*- has less transparent morphonemic status."

    b. "It is <u>the relic of the former prepositional English morphemes *on, in,* or *of* followed by a noun (as in *afire < on fire*)</u>. In Webster's (1989) this <a>, in a list of six different morphemes, is classified as 'a1' and 'a2' for former *on/in* and *of* respectively."

      Also: Jespersen (1942: 127-131, 494-496), Marchand (1969: 139-140), 米倉 (2006)

(15) The clitic stage: a [ə], *prep.*[1] in *OED*

    a. A worn-down proclitic form of OE. preposition *an, on*.

    b. In 11 th c., *on* began to be reduced before consonants to *o*, which from its tonelessness soon sank to *a* [ə].   Before a vowel *an* was occasionally used; when emphatic *on* remained.

    c. The separate *a* ceased to be used in standard English after about 1700, being replaced by the full *on, in*, or the various prepositions which represent them in modern idiom.

    d. But the preposition *a* really remains in a large number of combinations, where present spelling treats it as a prefix to the governed word, and the whole as a compound adverb.

[I] *on/a* selects Noun, forming a spatial PP

(16) Position or Location

    a. 1525 Ye wynde was so streynable **on see borde**, that they coude nat departe thence.

         1597 In all my Tyme **on Seaboorde**…I have knowen nombers that were on another disposition.

    b. 1602 My selfe being nearest that coast, Captaine Iones next vunto me, and the Dutch men of warre **a Sea-board**, and…

         1616 He almost first starued **a** ship-boord.

    c. *afoot, a-horseback, a-tiptoe, aboard, a-seaboard, a-shipboard, ashore, awheel…*

         1591 When thou didst keepe my Lambes **a-field**.

         1873 Fernando was **afield** against the Moors in what he called a holy war.

(17) Direction

    a. 1860   I threw the letter **on the table**, with all the contempt that I felt for it.

    b. 1300 He tolde of a man Þat **a pilegrimage** wende.

         1305 [Thou] Þus fole maistres of clergie: bringest and settest **a benche.**

         1523 The queen was brought **a bedde of a fyre lady named Margarete**.

    c. *abed, a-weather, adistance, a-south, a-west, anorth…*

         1610 Upon her breast Delight doth softly sleep, And of Eternal joy is brought **abed**.

[Ⅱ] *on/a* **selects Adjective or Noun, forming a manner PP**

(18)   Manner

    a.   on + N, A

        on haste, *on right*, *on (a) sudden*, *on the alert*, *on the cheap*, *on the cross*, *on the sly*, *on the square*

        1375   Sche wold..Meke hire in his merci **on þise maner wise**.

        1440   He wille sprede his armes **on brade**.

    b.   a + N, A

        1400   To construe here lessons & here Þinges **a freynsche.**

        1430   Me to reduce whan I went **a wrong**.

        1480   Humbre renneth first **a crook** oute of the southside of York.

        1616   Why dooest thou garter vp thy armes **a this fashion**?

    c.   a-A/N/V

        a-rape 'in haste, hastily,' *abroad* 'broadly, widely,' *aloud* 'loudly,' *awong* 'wrongly,' *a-scoff* 'in scorn, mockingly,' *apace* 'at a pace, swiftly,' *acrook* 'crookedly,' *agallop* 'at a gallop, galloping,' *asteep* 'steeping or soaking,' *agape* 'on the gape,' *aswarm* 'swarming,' *a-twitter* 'twittering'

        1535 When Ezechias had receaued the letters...[he] layed them **abrode** before the Lorde.   [a + A]

        1862 Her prayer had been heard **awrong**! [a + A]

        1719 They are coming toward us too, **apace**.   [a + N]

        1500 And truly els the matter is **acrooke**. [a + N/V]

        1833 Eaves all **a-twitter** with swallows. [a + V]

[Ⅲ] *on/a* **selects a verbal noun or gerund, forming part of a verbal construction**

(19)   State/Process, selecting a (verbal) noun

    (i)   stative V (be)   +   {on N,   a N/V,   a-N/V }

    (ii)   motion V   +   {on N,   a N/V,   a-N/V }

  (i) a.   *c*1275   Wel wes him **on liue.**

        *a*1400   All **on-slepe** he fand þam fast.

        1629   The doores (which were all **on a flame**).

        1998   I'm **on night shift** and I've got to rush.

    b.   1533   Al the while that al those holy folke were **a worke** therwith.

        1611   To flourish, live in prosperitie, be al **a flaunt**, or a hoight

    c.   1663   The soldiers sleeping carelessly in the bottom of the ship upon heather, were all **a-swim**, through the water that came in at the holes and leaks of the ship.

  (ii) a.   1633   I presume you will set him **on work**.

        1885   Facts which ought to have **put** him **on inquiry**.

    b.   1556   And [they] sette it alle **a fyer**, and went their ways agayne.

        1611   Three thousand and six hundred ouerseers to set the people **a worke**.

        1616   One straight falls **a sleep**.

    c.   fall asleep

(20)   State/Process, selecting a gerund

    (i)   be   on/a/a-/Ø   Ving   'engaged in some action'

    (ii)   be   on/a/a-/Ø   Ving   'undergo some process'

    (iii) go   on/a/a-/Ø   Ving,   set on/a/a-/Ø Ving (motion verbs) 'to/into some action' [= on prep. 23]

(i) a.   *c*1300   Hit was in one someres day..Þat..þe gode kinge Rod **on his pleyhinge**.

          *a*1500   Whyle Torrent **an huntyng wase**.

     ---This construction becomes obsolete in ModE and PE.

    b.   1482   Whyll I **am a whryttyng of** thys letter.

         1523   They had **ben a fyghtyng** with theyr enemies.

         1627   His enyme…that **was a preparing** to invade his countrys.

    c.   1660   I was told the Queene **was a-coming**, so I got a sculler for sixpence…

         1732   I was told that one **was a-dying**…little more than a stone-cast from the church.

         1842   An old widower that's **ben a-marrying of a young girl.**

    d.   be fishing, be fighting

(ii) a.   1387   While þe gospel **was on redynge**.

      ---This construction becomes obsolete in ModE and PE.

    b.   1611   In the dayes of Noah while the Arke **was a preparing.**

    c.   1727   Tomorrow, all day, papers will **be a-reading**

    d.   the house was building.   Cf. the house was being built.

(iii) a.   1300   Þis child scholde **wende An hontingue**.

         1622   That might..**set** the Plough **on going**.

    b.   1475   He…sum tyme **rode a huntyge** be hynde the kynge.

         1673   **Set** it **a boiling** in a clean soured Skillet.

    c.   1960   Pappy **went a-visiting** yesterday.

    d.   Menelaus **went looking** for Helen.   (Zandvoort 1969: 43)

(21)   Data summary

	on PP	Separate *a*	Bounded *a-*	Replacers
I Location	on NP	a N(P)	a-N	
Direction	on/to NP	a N(P)	a-N	N-ward
II Manner	on/in/of NP, A	a N(P), a A	a-N, a-A, **a-V**	N-wise, A-ly, Ving, Ving-ly
III State/Process	on/in NP	a N, **a V, a Ving**	a-N, a-V, a-Ving	Ving, on/in (the) N

3.3. Mechanisms

(22) Analogy in (18c) and (19) N-selecting ---- V-selecting

Jespersen (1942: 127-128):

"An important consequence of the falling together of the noun and the verbal stem is the growing frequency of formations like *aswoon*. This particular instance is found as early as Chaucer; *a-* represents on and swoon is originally the sb; Gower has *on swowne*. In some cases it is impossible to decide whether the word after *a-* was originally a sb or a vb, but in recent centuries the linguistic feeling has certainly been in favour of taking it as a vb, and thus a greater number of new combinations have arisen where there was no sb in existence. They may for all intents and purposes be regarded as a new type of present participles, but their use is often more literary than colloquial."

Cf. 久米 (2013) have/take + N (*have rest*) > have/take + zero-derived N (*have (a) cry*)

(23) Reanalysis in (20) (i)

Nominal construction ---- Progressive construction
The 'in the process of' sense: on, a, a- >>> (be+) –ing

a. In OE and early ME, the V*ing* form was purely a noun (Tajima 1985, Koma 1998; 2000).
refusing > the sudden refusing of the offer > refusing the offer suddenly

b. 中尾 (1972: 260-261), 中尾・児馬(1990: 119):
OE nominal construction **bēon + on + Ving**

on > a [ə] > a- > zero

Progressive construction 13th c---: **be + Ving**

c. Visser (2002: 1996-2004):
The English progressive has had several variants in which V*ing* is preceded by *in*, *on*, *at*, and *a-*.
In southern dialects in US, the *a*-prefixed progressive is still used (though it is on the wane now):
e.g. Appalachian English: *a-* + V present participle
It just took somebody all the time a-working, a-keeping that, because it was a-boiling.
---Montgomery (2004: 256) "The prefix [a-] has little if any semantic content today."

(24)

Syntagmatic axis

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1.	V… on + NP	V … a + NP/N	V … a-N	
2.	V… on + [[V]]$_N$	V … a + [[V]]$_N$		
3 i.		V … a + V	V … a-V	
ii.	{be/go} on [Ving]$_N$	{be/go} a + Ving	{be/go} a-Ving	{be/go} Ving

Paradigmatic axis

(25)   The development of the *go + Ving* construction (20) (iii)   (Nagano 2008: sec. 5.4.3)
        Purpose ---gradual semantic bleaching ---> 'categorizer'

   a.   Menelaus *went looking for* Helen.
        The ship *came sailing* into the harbor.   (Zandvoort 1969: 43)

   b.   As boys they used to *go nutting* and *bird's-nesting* together.
        A fishing-smack has been fitted out specially there for parties who wish to *go out 'sharking.'*

   c.   *go biking* 'ride a bike,' *go catting* 'go after the opposite sex,' *go filibustering* 'act as a filibuster,' *go slumming* 'visit slums,' *go soldiering* 'become a soldier, act like a soldier,' *go vacationing* 'take a vacation'   (Nagano 2008: 145-146)

4.   Lexical Preposition and Word Formation

(26)   [**P + bare N**]
        the *under-tree* planting in this area, our *below knee* boots, an *off-map* location, a major *between class* activities, the first *around world* flight, my favorite *after-party* cleaning, *after-sale* maintenance, *off-road* vehicles   (島村 2005: sec. 4)

(27)   **[P + {the/a} N]**
        an *under-the-tree(s)* picnic, *below the knee(s)* dress, its *off-the-map* location, *between classes* activities, *around the world* flight, an *after-the-party* mess, *after-sales* service   (島村 2005: 57-58)
                                                                        (cf. Okubo 2013)

(28)   No **[P + {the/a} N]** form
        between-meal snacks   cf.   **between meals* snacks
        a *for-profit* enterprise   **a *for-the-profit* enterprise
        an *on-target* forecast   **an *on-the-target* forecast   (島村 2005: sec. 4)
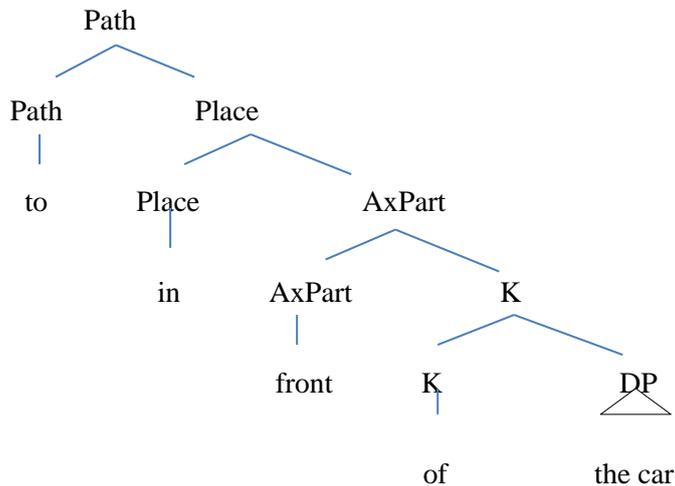
(29)   The syntactic distribution: prenominal modifier position
        The X^0-PPs cannot be viewed as a result of grammaticalization or diachronic lexicalization in view of their syntactic distribution, which is restricted to the position that excludes a full PP.

   a.   **an *yellow with age* book   a'.   a book *yellow with age*
        **a *full of pictures* book   a book *full of pictures*
        **the *navigable by boat* river   the rivers *navigable by boat*
   b.   **a *on the shelf* book   b'.   a book on the shelf
        **over-the-counter* picture   a picture over the counter
                                          (Beard 1995: 283, 330-331, Sadler and Arnold 1994: 187)

(30)   [$_{DP}$ Determiner --- Direct Modifier   ---   Noun   ---   Indirect Modifier   ]

              non-projecting AP (*cram-full*)   full AP (*full of crams*)

              X^0-PP (*under-tree*)   full PP (*under this palm tree*)

                                                                                    (cf. Cinque 2010a)

(31) a.   structural smallness

          Sadler and Arnold (1994: 213): "small" = zero-level projection

          Baker (2003: 274): a direct modifier is similar to an incorporated head in that they are "both very

                    small pieces of syntax, typically consisting of only a single X^0."

    b.   semantic properties

          Sproat and Shih (1988): non-intersective interpretation possible

          Cinque (2010a: ch. 1): generic interpretation

5. Spatial PPs

(32)   Svenonius (2006: 60)

(33) a.   [TO   [on   [the bed]]]   *on the bed*   (= (7a))
    b.   [TO   [AT   [under   [OF   [the tree]]]]   *under the tree*   (= (7b))
(34)   [[under-tree]-AT]   *under-tree* (picnic)

(35)   Ackema and Neeleman's (2004) Parallel Architecture framework

    a.   Syntax (S) and Morphology (M) can compete for the realization of the same structural
          representation.

    b.   In M-minimizing languages, M realizations survive (only) when there is no competition.

(36) a.   *garage* door, *library* curtains, the *New Zealand* economy, *Tiffany* lamp, *US* ambassador (Liberman
          and Sproat 1992: 157), *city* bus station, *classroom* activities (森田 2006: sec. 2.3)

    b.   [**P + bare N**]:   ?*in-office* friendship, **in-city* transportation   (森田 ibid.)

    cf.   *in-room* movie, *on-base* military club   (森田 ibid.)

6. Conclusions

(37)　影山(1993: 6 章, 2009)
　　「Syntax と Morphology の関係を考えるうえでは、以下の二つを区別することが肝要である。」
　　　a.　言語単位の問題：言語を構成する単位として語と句・文は異質のものか？
　　　　　　　　　　　　　Phrase　Word+　Word　Stem　Root　　　　　　(連続的)
　　　b.　文法部門の問題：語形成のみを専門に扱う部門が文法内に存在するのか？
　　　　　　　　　　　　　Ackema and Neeleman (2004)　Parallel Architecture model　(並列的)

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