

英語の不変化詞・接頭辞 *out(-)* の文法化とアスペクトにかかわる意味の発達について

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1. はじめに

(1) 英語の接頭辞 *out-*

- a. an eagle outspreading its wings (空間用法)
 b. Fenster outran Letitia. (Lieber (2005: 398)) (比較用法)

(2) *out-*に関する研究

- a. 形態・意味上の特性について (e.g., Bresnan (1982), Yumoto (1997), 由本(2005), Kotowski (2021, 2023), Ahn (2022), Togano (2021, 2022))
 b. 比較用法はどのように発達したのか。

- (3) a. John outjockeyed/outsmarted Peter. (Togano (2022))
 b. [out-[[jockey]_N]v]v, [out-[[smart]_A]v]v (Nagano (2011b: 62))

- (4) a. Global big data competitors can out-technology you, but they can't out-human you. (Kotowski (2021: 79), with slight modifications)
 b. Some Dutch ladies, out-gutturaling even the Swiss themselves. (Togano (2021))

- (5) a. We try to outdrink our friends and end up as alcoholics. (COCA)
 b. We often try to outdrink ??(our friends) (??the beer). (Kotowski (2021: 62))

- (6) The trick here is to outsit your neighbors. Lots of hunters get tired and antsy after spending many hours in a stand, and start coming down to the ground by 10 a.m. or so. (Kotowski (2021: 63))

(7) *over-*

- a. The river overflowed its bank. (Miller (2014:67), slightly modified)
 b. He often overdrinks (himself).

(8) *out-*

- (i) 'out, outlying, outside, outward' (*outhouse, outflow, outgoing*)
 (ii) intensive meaning (*outbāken* 'bake thoroughly', *out-tire*)
 (iii) 'surpassing, going beyond' (*outrenen* 'outrun', *outbid, outlive*)

(Nagano (2011:68), cf. Marchand (1969), Brinton (1988), Nevalainen (1999), *OED out-*)

Prefix の意味のうち、(ii)のアスペクトに関わるものは *particle* に引き継がれた (Brinton (1988))。

(9) outdry/dry out ‘to dry completely’

- a. Al þe buriownyng of hem I shall *out drien* [a1425 L.V. drie vp; Latin exsiccabo].
(Bible (Wycliffite, early version) (Bodleian MS. 959) (1969) Isaiah xlii. 15) (*OED*)
- b. The hot sun *dried out* our wet clothes. 「クラウン英語句動詞辞典」

(10) a. directional な意味を表さない。

cf. Out goes the garbage. (Jackendoff (2002: 75))

b. 項位置を占めず、省略が可能である。

... these volunteers have spent years patiently *digging (out)* weeds and caring for the reserve. (岩宮 (2023), 一部変更)

c. 意味が合成的である。

(11) 接頭辞から不変化詞への移行の要因

- a. the general analytic tendency of English
- b. the shift in word order from OV to VO (OV 語順から VO 語順への変化)
- c. the model of Old Norse, which had lost verbal prefixes at an early stage
- d. the lack of stress in the particles and subsequent loss of phonetic content
- e. the weakening of the meaning of the prefixes, their syncretism, and grammaticalization
- f. the development of adverbial functions in the particles
- g. the greater clarity and expressiveness of phrasal forms
- h. the tendency to shift from literal to figurative

(Brinton (1988: 189))

(12) Los et al. (2012) の分析：不変化詞、接頭辞どちらも結果を表す句が文法化したもので、接頭辞は不変化詞よりも文法化が進んだ状態である。

[VP ... -XPRES-V⁰] > [VP ... [V' X(P)-V⁰]] > [VP ... [V₀ prefix-V⁰]]

phrase > optionally projecting word > prefix

目的 Los et al. (2012) の分析をもとに、(i) *out* の場合どのようにして接頭辞ではなく不変化詞がアスペクトの意味を担うようになったかを考え、(ii) 接頭辞 *out-* の発達の全体像を明らかにする。

2. Los et al. (2012) の分析

2.1. 文法化による不変化詞と接頭辞の発達

○不変化詞のステータス

西ゲルマン諸語の *particle verb* は句のような特性と語のような特性の両方を示すため、不変化詞がどのようなステータスの要素なのかが問題とされてきた。

(13) *opbellen* (オランダ語)

- a. Jan zegt dat hij morgen zijn moeder *op-belt*.
John says that he tomorrow his mother up-rings
'John says that he will phone his mother tomorrow,'
- b. Jan *belt* zijn moeder morgen *op*.
John rings his mother tomorrow up
'John will phone his mother tomorrow.'

(Los et al. (2012: 15))

(14) *opbelbaar* 'phone-up-able' (Los et al. (2012: 15))

- (15) a. He *threw away* the remains of his dinner.
b. He *threw* the remains of his dinner *away*.

(Los et al. (2012: 15))

(16) *come-at-able, get-at-able, lookers-on* (Los et al. (2012: 15))

→動詞＋不変化詞の語順(*particle order*)は、名詞が介在することで分離可能な並び(*predicate order*)になる。

- (17) a. He *pried* it *apart/open/loose/free/*flat/*straight*.
b. It *came apart/open/loose/free/*flat/*straight*.

(Los et al. (2012: 18))

(18) a. He *drove* her *crazy/nuts/bananas/to desperation/to drink/up the wall/meshuga/frantic*.

- b. * He *drove* her *happy/sick/silly/clean/calm/thin/sober*.

(Los et al. (2012: 18))

○西ゲルマン系の言語における文法化の流れ

(19) *Preverb cline*

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----------------------------|
| a. | stage 1 | [<i>v'</i> ... -XP _{RES} V ⁰] | head of a full phrase |
| | stage 2 | [<i>v'</i> ... [X(P) V ⁰]] | optionally projecting word |
| | stage 3 | [<i>v'</i> ... [X V ⁰]] | non-projecting word |
| | stage 4 | [V ⁰ ... [X V ⁰]] | quasi-incorporated word |
| | stage 5 | [V ⁰ ... [prefix-V]] | prefix |
| b. | phrase XP > particle X(P) > particle X > incorporated particle X > prefix | | |

(Los et al. (2012: 93))

- Stage 1 (full phrase) から Stage 2/Stage 3 (particle) への移行

(20) *Sijn predicaren sullen alle die werelt over wanderen.*

his preachers shall all the world over wander

‘His preachers will wander all over the world.’

(Tafel vanden Kersten ghelove-Zomerstuk, 1480, kap. 49, 620)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>Sijn predicaren sullen</i> | [_{VP} [_{PP} alle die werelt <i>over</i>] wanderen] |
| b. | <i>Sijn predicaren sullen</i> | [_{VP} [_{NP} alle die werelt] [<i>v'</i> <i>over</i> wanderen]] |

(Los et al. (2012: 107))

(21) ... -[_{PP} NP-P]-V⁰ > ... -NP-[*v'* P-V⁰]

(Los et al. (2012: 119))

- Stage 3 から Stage 4,5 の移行

文法化がさらに進むと、不変化詞は、動詞と切り離せない接頭辞に変化し、それに伴って、強勢の位置が不変化詞から動詞へ移動した。

(22) a. ... dat Jan klassieke piano speelt.

that John classical piano plays

‘... that John plays classical piano music.’

- b. * Jan is *ann het* klassieke piano *spel-en*.

[_{VP} [_{NP} ...N⁰] V⁰]

John is at the classical piano play-INF

- c. Jan is klassieke piano *ann het* *spele-en*.

[V⁰ N⁰ V⁰]

John is classical piano at the play-INF

(Los et al. (2012:67), with modifications)

(23) Spatial path over
 dat de river het land *over-spoelt*
 that the river the land over-washes
 ‘that the river washes over the land’ (Los et al. (2012:184))

(24) [GO [(through/over (y)) (x)], BY {V (x)}]

(25) a. Jans geluk *over-staalde* zijn vioolspel.
 John’s happiness over-shone his violin play
 ‘John’s happiness shone over his violin play’
 b. Maries roem *over-straalt* die van haar collega.
 Mary’s game over-shines that of her colleague
 ‘Mary’s fame outshines that of her colleague.’
 (Los et al. (2012:186))

(26) a. De voeistof *over pikkelt* de zenuwen.
 the liquid over-stimulates the nerves.
 ‘the liquid stimulates the nerves more than they can stand’
 b. Jan *over-voedt* de puppies.
 John over-feeds the puppies
 ‘John feeds the puppies more than they can stand.’
 (Los et al. (2012:186))

(27) [V (x) {more that (y) can stand/ too much for (y)}] (Los et al. (2012:186))

○英語における Particle verb から不変化詞/接頭辞の移行

・ Particle verb から VPC への移行

OE: 現代英語の VPC の前身にあたる Particle verb を形成する。不変化詞は Preverb として用いられていた。

(28) a. Donne Moyses his handa *up a-hof*, þonne hæfde Israhela folc sige;
 when Moses his hands up _{PREF}-lifted, then had Israel’s people victory
 ‘when Moses raised up his hands, then Israel’s people had victory’
 (coexodusP,Exod [Ker]:17.1 1.63)

- b. And seo helle þone deofel *ut a-draf*
 and the hell the devil out PREF-drove
 ‘And Hell drove out the devil’ (conicodC, Nic [C]:282.274)
 (Los et al. (2012: 140))

• V-movement が起こると postverbal な位置に不変化詞が現れる

- (29) a. þa *sticode* him mon þa eagan *ut*
 then stuck him someone the eyes out
 ‘then his eyes were gouged out’
 (coorosiu, Or 4:5.90.13.1822/Los et al. (2012: 141))

- b. Hel oncneow Crist. þa ða heo *for-let* hyre hæftlingas *ut* þurh ðæs hælendes hergunge.
 Hell acknowledged Christ, when it for-let its captives out by the saviours’s
 Harrowing
 ‘Hell acknowledged Christ, when it let forth its captives, through the harrowing of
 Jesus.’
 (cocathom 1, ÆCHom I, 15:306.178.2903/ Los et al. (2012: 142))

• 非定形動詞は V-movement を経ないため、典型的に particle が動詞の前

- (30) þonne ne miht þu na þæt mot *ut a-teon* of ðæs mannes eagan,...
 then not could you not the speck out PREF-draw of the man’s eye
 ‘then you could not draw out the speck from the man’s eye, ...’
 (coaelhom, ÆHom 14: 153.2086/Los et al. (2012: 143))

ME: OV 語順の頻度が大幅に減り、particle はほぼ postverbal な位置に現れるようになった。

- (31) a. Ha *hackede of* his hcaud
 they cleaved off his head
 ‘They cleaved off his head’ (cmancriw, II.220.3 190)
- b. & *couered vp* þe gaderyng of Abyron.
 and covered up the gathering of Abyron
 ‘and (the earth) covered up Abyron’s gathering.’ (cmearlps, 131.5704)
 (Los et al. (2012: 143))

- (32) a. On hwylcen heowe *steah* he *up*?
 towards which heaven rose he up
 ‘Towards which heaven did he ascend?’ (cmkenth, 145.290)
- b. Strupeð hire steort-naket, and *heoueð* hire on *heh up*
 Strip her stark-naked, and lift her on high up
 ‘Strip her naked, and lift her up high’ (emmarga, 84.471)
- c. Ach a nelde pricunge *warpeð* alþe winl *ut*
 but a needle’s sting casts all the wind out
 ‘But a needle’s sting casts out all the wind’ (emancriw. II .207.2975)
 (Los et al. (2012: 143))

・英語と他のゲルマン系の言語とのもう一つの違いは、接頭辞システムが消失したこと。

- (33) Witodlice ic dyde þæt þa gewurdon cristene ealle þe in ðam cwarterne *be-clysode* wæron, ...
 truly I did that they became Christians all who in the prison in-shut were
 ‘Truly, I brought about that those shut up in prison all became Christians, ...’
 (coaelhom, ÆHom 24:170.3871)
 (Los et al. (2012: 145))

○接頭辞から不変化詞への移行 (Brinton (1988), Los et al. (2012))

- (34) & Ceawlin wæs *ut a-drifen*
 and Ceawlin was out PREF-driven
 ‘and Ceawlin was expelled’
 (cochronA-1, ChronA [Plummer]: 592.1.243)
- (35) Hel oncneow Crist, þa ða heo *for-let* hyre hæftlingas *ut þurh* ðæs hælendes hergunge.
 Hell knows Christ when she PREF-casts her prisoners out through the Saviour’s harrowing
 ‘Hell knows Christ when she releases her prisoners through the Saviour’s harrowing.’
 (cocathoml, ÆCHom I, 15: 306.178.2903)

3. 接頭辞から不変化詞への移行

3.1. 不変化詞 *out* の発達

OE 不変化詞は、動詞の左に隣接する接頭辞と右に隣接する例から Particle verb に発展する。

(36) Spatial /Directional *out* (*ut*)

- a. gif hie hi *ut* ne *sprecað* (CP 38.273.19)
'if they themselves do not speak out'
- b. Vtan *gan ut*; ða hi *ut* agane *wæron* (Gen 4.8)
'Let them go out; then they were gone out'
- c. Hi *eodon þa ut* to þam inran gate (ÆLS [Martin] 1158)
'They went then out to the inner gate'

(Brinton (1988: 222), slightly modified)

(37) The combination of spatial and aktionsart meaning

- a. þa *ut* *awearp* ða *sceamolas* (HomS 21[BiHom 6] 94)
'then [he] cast out the “shambles” (benches)'
- b. ealle þa *londbigengan wolde ut amærian* (Bede 418.306.20)
'[he] would exterminate all the inhabitants'
- c. *geote* hit man *ut* (Conf 3.1.1 [Raith Y] 4.32)
'let one pour it out'
- d. þa *wearp* se broðor þæt glæsene fæt *ut* (ÆCHom II, 11 104.425)
'then the brother cast out that glass vat'
- e. God bebead ... þæt hi sceoldon ... *alysan* hit *ut* mid fif scyllum
(ÆCHom I, 9 138.15)
'God commanded that they should free it [each first-born housechild] with five shillings'

(Brinton (1988: 222-223))

(38) Figurative *out*

- a. Deofolseocnessa *ut* to *adrifanne* (Mk[WSCp] 3.15)
'To drive out the devilsickness'
- b. þæt is þonne *ut gangendum* þam monþe þe we aprelis hatað
(Med 3[Grattan-Singer] 189.1)
'that is then going out (to an end) the month which we call April'

(Brinton (1988: 222-223))

- c. Hel oncneow Crist, þa ða heo *for-let* hyre hæftlingas *ut þurh* ðæs hælendes hergunge.
 Hell knows Christ when she PREF-casts her prisoners out through the Saviour's harrowing.
 'Hell knows Christ when she releases her prisoners through the Saviour's harrowing.'
 (cocathoml, ÆCHom I, 15: 306.178.2903)(Los et al. (2012: 146))

(39) [[CAUSE [ACT(x)], BECOME [*out* (y)]], BY [V(x)]]

(Los et al. (2012: 70), slightly modified)

3.2. 不変化詞 *out* のアスペクトに関わる意味の発達

ME

・不変化詞 *out*

- (40) a. When þe sowpe, *souwpe owt* yowr messe (Mankind 772)
 'When you eat, eat up your food'
 b. The thef entrith þe hous ... & *doth oute* the fire (GRom. 64)
 'The thief enters the house and puts out the fire'
 c. But long sikernes of pees haþ *wered out* [Lt. aboleuit] þe vse of þis craft
 (Vegetius [I] 11b)
 'But long certainty of peace has worn out the use of this craft'
 (Brinton (1988: 229-230))
- (41) a. If euyl thoghtes our hertes tak, *Kast þam oute* for godes sake (Ben.Rule [2] 620)
 'If evil thoughts take hold of your hearts, cast them out for God's sake'
 b. A coward ... is but as a drane in an hyue, and deuoureþ and *etiþ out* þe hony
 (Vegetius [I] 10b)
 'A coward is but a drone in a hive and devours and eats up the honey'
 c. When ane abbot dyes, his laumpe *gase out* (Mandev. [2] 31/17)
 'when an abbot dies, his lamp goes out'
 (Brinton (1988: 229-230))

(42) a. [[CAUSE [ACT (x)], BECOME [completely *out* (y)]], BY [V(x)]]

b. [[CAUSE [ACT(you)], BECOME [completely *out* (evil thoughts)]], by [cast (you)]]

• 接頭辞 *out*

(43) Þe harnes out sprange þe harnepan.

‘The brains sprang out of the brainpan.’

(?a1425(?a1350) Castleford Chron.(Göt Hist 740) 22249)

(44) To the extent that prefixes perfectivize, they do this by virtue of their basic spatial meaning. This holds particularly true for those prefixes which show the change from a state of contact to a state of separation or the reverse. For this is an occurrence which does not allow itself to unfold in individual sections ...

(Behaghel (1924: 96-97), cited from Brinton (1988:203-204))

(45) *outbāken* ‘to bake thoroughly’

Lo, I haue *out bake* þee, but not as siluer; I chees þee in þe chymne of porenesse.

((a1382) Wible(1) (Bod 959) ls. 48.10)

(46) *outdry* ‘to dry completely’

Desert I shal make heze mounteynes & hillis, & al þe buriownyng of hem I shal *out drien*.

((a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959) Is.42.15)

(47) *outrōten* ‘to root something out, eradicate’

Afterward be it [ulcer] eradicate, i. *out roted* [Ch.(2): vnrotede; L eradicetur], with þat þat escarez ar eradicate with.

(*Chauliac(1) (NY 12)82b/b)

(cf. Brinton (1988: 213))

(48) *outyet* ‘to pour out, diffuse, shed’

Als water *outyete* I am at anes. (Psalter (Vespasian MS.) xxi. 13 in C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1896) vol. II. 153 (Middle English Dictionary)) (*OED*)

(49) [GO [(COMPLETELY OUT (y)) (x)], BY [V (x)]]

ModE

(50) a. *Tire* him *out*.

(J. Foxe, Actes & Monuments (K.O.))

b. They would quickly *tyre out* them~selues without spurring.

(R. Sanderson, 12 Sermons 39)

(*OED*)

(51) a. an eagle outspreading its wings (locational)

b. John outran Mary.(surpass)

(= (1))

4. おわりに

- (52) a. Particle verb のうち、不変化詞が動詞の後ろに現れる例から不変化詞 *out*、左に隣接するものから接頭辞 *out-*が発達した。
- b. 不変化詞と接頭辞どちらのシステムにおいても、空間を表す意味からアスペクトに関わる用法が発達したが、接頭辞システムが衰退するのに伴い、その機能は不変化詞に引き継がれた。
- c. *out-*の場合は接頭辞システムは完全には消失しなかったもので、空間用法の一部と、不変化詞が表さない比較用法は現代英語まで残った。

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