アスペクトを表す不変化詞 out 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 「ランダムハウス英和大辞典」(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, 2005), Kotowski (2021, 2023), Ahn (2022), Togano (2022a, b))
 - b. 各用法について 比較用法はどのように発達したのか。
- (3) a. John outjockeyed/outsmarted Peter.

(Togano (2022b))

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 (2022a))
- (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) *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-)

接頭辞の機能は不変化詞に引き継がれた (Brinton (1988))。

- (8) 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」
- (9) 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。

(10) 接頭辞から不変化詞への移行の要因

- a. the general analytic tendency of English (van der Gaaf (1930: 12, 19); Konishi (1958: 118, 119); de la Cruz (1975: 67); Traugott (1982: 250));
- b. the shift in word order from OV to VO (Konishi (1958: 118); Traugott (1982: 250); Hiltunen (1983a: 125, 144-6, 222));
- c. the model of Old Norse, which had lost verbal prefixes at an early stage (Roberts (1936: 477); Samuels (1972: 60, 163-4); Denison (1985a: 49-53, 57-8); cf. Hiltunen (1983a: 43, 97));
- d. the lack of stress in the particles and subsequent loss of phonetic content (Samuels (1972: 163); de la Cruz (1975: 78); cf. Hiltunen (1983a: 52) or, conversely, the stressing of the prefixes (Curme (1913/14); cf. Kennedy (1920: 11, 16-17));
- e. the weakening of the meaning of the prefixes, their syncretism, and grammaticalization (Samuels (1972: 164); de la Cruz (1975: 78); Hiltunen (1983a: 94-8, 100); Denison (1985a: 46-7));
- f. the development of adverbial functions in the particles (de la Cruz (1972a: 79));
- g. the greater clarity and expressiveness of phrasal forms (de la Cruz (1975: 49, 77); Hiltunen (1983a: 96, 97, 99); Denison (1985a: 47-8)); or
- h. the tendency to shift from literal to figurative (Kennedy (1920: 17))

(Brinton (1988: 189))

(11) 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。

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から不変化詞がアスペクトの意味を担うようになったか、(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。

(12) 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))

(13) opbelbaar 'phone-up-able'

(Los et al. (2012: 15))

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

(Los et al. (2012: 15))

(15) come-at-able, get-at-able, lookers-on

(Los et al. (2012: 15))

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

(Los et al. (2012: 18))

- (17) 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))

- (18) over-brengen 'to carry over'
 - a. dat Jan de boodschap *over brengt* > dat Jan de boodschap [*over-brengt*]
 that John the message across brings
 'that John communicates the message'
 - $b. \qquad NP\text{-}NP\text{-}XP\text{-}V^0 > NP\text{-}NP\text{-}[{\scriptscriptstyle V'}X\text{-}V^0]$

(Los et al. (2012: 93))

○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 $[v'...-XP_{RES} V^0]$ head of a full phrase stage 2 $[v'...[X(P) V^0]]$ optionally projecting word stage 3 $[v'...[X V^0]]$ 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) a. dat Jan de boodschap *over brengt* > dat Jan de boodschap [*over-brengt*] that John the message across brings 'that John communicates the message'

b.
$$NP-NP-XP-V^0 > NP-NP-[v'X-V^0]$$
 (=(18))

(21) 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. Sijn predicaren sullen [VP [PP alle die werelt *over*] wanderen]
- b. Sijn predicaren sullen [VP] [NP alle die werelt] [VP] over wanderen]]

(Los et al. (2012: 107))

・Stage 3,4 から Stage 5 の移行

不変化詞から動詞への強勢の移動に伴い、SCV システムを持つ不変化詞は、動詞と切り離せない接頭辞に変化した。

(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.

 $[VP [NP ...N^0] V^0]$

John is at the classical piano play-INF

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

 $[v^0 N^0 V^0]$

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)]]

(Los et al. (2012:184), with modifications)

(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 vooeistof 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 SCV から不変化詞/接頭辞への変化
- ・SCV から VPC へ変化

OE: 現代英語の VPC の前身にあたる SCV 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*, bonne 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 pone 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) V-to-C movement
 - a. þa sticode him mon þa eagan utthen 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))

(30) V-to-I movement

HeI 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.'

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- ・非定形動詞は V-movement を経ないため、典型的に particle が動詞の前。
 - (31) ponne ne miht pu na pæt 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。

(32) Particle order

a. Ha *hackede of* his heaucd they cleaved off his head

'They cleaved off his head'

(cmancriw, II.220.3 190)

b. & couered vp be 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))

(33) Predicate order

a. On hwylcen heowe *steah* he *up*? towards which heaven rose he up

'Towards which heaven did he ascend?'

(cmkentho, 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'

(cmancriw. II.207.2975)

(Los et al. (2012: 143))

- ・ICV システムの消失と不変化詞への移行 (Brinton (1988), Los et al. (2012))
 - (34) 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: 144))

→ME における ICV システムの衰退は、英語において不変化詞(VPC)がさらに定着することを意味する。

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

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

(Brinton (1988: 222))

- → 不変化詞は動詞の左に隣接する接頭辞から、右に隣接する SCV が発達する。
 - (36) a. þa *ut awearp* ða sceamolas

(HomS 21[BlHom 6] 94)

'then [he] cast out the "shambles" (benches)'

b. ealle ba 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. ba wearp se broðor þæt glæsene fæt ut

(ÆCHomII, 11 104.425)

- 'then the brother cast out that glass vat'
- e. God bebead ... þæt hi sceoldon ... alysan hit ut mid fif scyllingum

(ÆCHom I, 9 138.15)

- 'God commanded that they should free it [each first-born housechild] with five shillings'
- f. *alæd* me *ut* of ðyssum bendum

(HomS 26[B1Hom 7] 95)

- 'free me (lead me) out from these fetters'
- g. Gif hwa *slea* his weales eage *ut*, oððe his wylne ... læte hi frige for ðam eagan ðe he *ut adyde* (Exod 21.26)

'If someone puts out the eye of his slave, or of his maidservant, let them [be] free for the eye which he put out'

(Brinton (1988: 222-223))

(37) a. Deofolseocnessa ut to adrifanne

(Mk[WSCp] 3.15)

'To drive out the devilsickness'

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))

b. Hel oncneow Crist, þa ða heo *for-let* hyre hæftlingas *ut þ*urh 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))

3.2. アスペクトに関わる意味の発達

ME

(38) 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))

(39) outbāken 'to bake thoroughly'

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

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

(40) outdry 'to dry completely'

Desert I shal make he3e mounteynes & hillis, & al be buriownyng of hem I shal out drien.

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

(41) 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)

(42) a. Marrch wass þa Neh all gan ut till ende (*Orm.* 1892) 'March was then nearly all gone out to its end' When be sowpe, *souwpe owt* your messe (Mankind 772) b. 'When you eat, eat up your food' c. The thef entrith be hous ... & doth oute the fire (*Grom.* 64) 'The thief enters the house and puts out the fire' d. But long sikernes of pees hab wered out [Lt. aboleuit] be vse of bis craft (*Vegetius [I]* 11b) 'But long certainty of peace has worn out the use of this craft' (Brinton (1988: 229-230)) A coward ... is but as a drane in an hyue, and deuoureb and etib out be hony (43) a. (*Vegetius [I] 10b*) 'A coward is but a drone in a hive and devours and eats up the honey' b. He saide oute his masse & made a fayre ende (Capgr. *St.Norb*. 261) 'He said out his mass and made a fair end' c. If euyl thoghtes our hertes tak, Kast bam oute for godes sake (Ben.Rule [2] 620) 'If evil thoughts take hold of your hearts, cast them out for God's sake' d. And so they *fell oute* at that tyme, that it was put of tyll Candlemas (Malory *Wks.* 15.25; de la Cruz 1972b: 121) 'And so they disagreed at that time, so that it was put off till Candelmas' When ane abbot dyes, his laumpe gase out (*Mandev.* [2] 31/17) e. 'when an abbot dies, his lamp goes out' (Brinton (1988: 229-230)) (44) Pe blode he durst no3t oute 3ett, Be cause bat it was sakird. (?c1450 St.Cuth.(Eg 3309)) (45) Hel oncneow Crist, þa ða heo *for-let* hyre hæftlingas *ut þ*urh 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)

ModE

(46) a. Tire him out.

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

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

(R. Sanderson, 12 Sermons 39)

(OED)

(47) a. an eagle outspreading its wings

(=(1a))

b. Fenster outran Letitia.

(=(1b))

4. おわりに

- (48) a. SCV 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* が、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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