

外国語要旨

学位論文題目 A Study of Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects of Grammaticalization:
Analyses of Japanese and English Modifiers

氏名 Mitsuko Takahashi

The purpose of this study is to give a detailed explanation of synchronic and diachronic aspects of grammaticalization with examples of Japanese and English adverbs and adjectives. Based on examples gathered from literary investigations, derivation of various words and their historical changes in meaning are analyzed from the viewpoint of cognitive linguistics.

Grammaticalization has both synchronic and diachronic aspects. Synchronic grammaticalization is the first stage of grammaticalization and diachronic grammaticalization is the second stage.

There are many instances of synchronic grammaticalization, the first stage of grammaticalization. The main characteristic of synchronic grammaticalization is the derivation of an abstract functional word out of a concrete content word. There are fewer instances of grammaticalization from a diachronic point of view than those from a synchronic one. This study analyzes Japanese adverbs *kesshite*, *kasaneete*, *kamaete* and the English adverb *hardly* from a diachronic point of view.

In Chapter 2, *kesshite* is analyzed through detailed investigation, according to which the whole picture of synchronic and diachronic grammaticalization was revealed as the following. *Kesshite* often appeared in the works (and ascribed works) of Kiseki Ejima, a writer of popular novels in the early 18th century. The early examples of *kesshite* were all gathered from Kiseki's works from the 1710s. The verb *kessu*, the source word of *kesshite*, was a common basic word used in war chronicles. It was used in the context of war and meant "to decide the outcome of the war." It evoked meanings such as tenseness, resoluteness, and risking life. *Kesshite* was also used in a context which was life-threatening or hostile, where it had the same connotation as *kessu*. *Kesshite* was an adverb of mood expressing the speaker's feeling and manner that were the same as a warrior's.

Kesshite has undergone both synchronic and diachronic changes. In the first half of the 18th century, *kesshite* was used both affirmatively and negatively, expressing the speaker's strong feeling or reliability of the speaker's judgment, and had many lexical meanings. In the 19th century, *kesshite* began to be used in various negative ways, expressing the speaker's negative feeling or judgment, or prohibition orders to the listener. *Kesshite* had attenuated meanings in an illocutionary force. In the present-day Japan, *kesshite* is used in the following manner: *kesshite so to wa kagiranai to omou* (I think that it is not necessarily so.), and its lexical meanings are vacated by bleaching.

From the middle of the 18th century, the shorter form *keshite* appeared. *Keshite* is more grammaticalized than

kesshite because grammaticalization reduces the phonetic and morphological linguistic substance. At the end of the 19th century, *kesshite* began to be used within an adjectival clause which modifies a noun. *Kesshite* used to intensify the speaker's negative assertion died out, and its lexical meanings were bleached out. There was a layering of old and new meanings and usages of *kesshite*; they coexisted in a certain period. However, the beginning of each stage gained a more abstract grammatical meaning and function.

Chapter 3 takes up grammaticalization from the verb *kaseneru* to the adverb *kasanete* with the meaning of 'again,' and to the adverb *kasanete* with the meaning of 'in the future,' with using image-schema. The image schema clearly showed the process of abstraction and similarity retained in each stage of grammaticalization. It also showed that concreteness of the word gradually faded as grammaticalization progressed.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on characteristics of diachronic grammaticalization with examples of the Japanese and English negative adverbs *kamaete* and *hardly*. The attrition or erosion, i.e. the gradual loss of phonetic and morphological linguistic substances, occurred, and their lexical meanings were reduced and attenuated as they underwent grammaticalization. Their older meanings remained to coexist with newer, more abstract ones for a while. The main difference between *kamaete* and *hardly* is that *kamaete* became obsolete in the 19th century while *hardly* gained more abstract categorical status of the prefix in the 17th century. *Hardly* has changed into a more grammatical element with more abstract meaning and function in the course of diachronic grammaticalization.

Chapter 6 analyzes synchronic grammaticalization with the following examples: grammaticalization of nouns into adjectives (e.g., *cat* - *catty*; *frost* - *frosty*; *book* - *bookish*), verbs into adjectives (e.g., *choose* - *choosy*; *strike* - *striking*; *cry* - *crying*), verbs into adverbs (e.g., *ou* - *otte*), and nouns into adjectives (e.g., *kuro* - *dosuguroi*; *mizu* - *mizukusai*). All analyses of those examples showed that common basic words served as source words of grammaticalization. They are concrete and easily remind people of its meanings. Subjective meanings evoked from the source word are mapped onto the derivative target word, and the subjective meanings become the meanings of the derivative. The source word and its derivative are linked by metaphor, i.e., the relationship of similarity or contiguity.

In Chapter 7, the relationships among innovation, grammaticalization, and linguistic change are discussed. Synchronic grammaticalization is a linguistic change through which an abstract word is derived from a concrete word by individual innovation and the derivative becomes common in the language community. Diachronic grammaticalization is one kind of historical, linguistic change through which the derivative loses its phonetic, morphological, and semantic linguistic substance and acquires more abstract meaning and grammatical function.