Grammaticalization in Derivational Morphology: Verification of the Process by Innovative Derivatives

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1. Introduction

(1) "But it looked very black against him … He was a secreter." (BNC G3E:623)

(2) The place is full of young English couples wearing colourful T-shirt and pale Yorkshire faces. When they land the young ones break lanes, and stream off down the corridor, hustling for position. This crowd are experienced packagees: they know about immigration lines … (BNC HGU:2840)

Aim: to elucidate some aspects of the semantic, functional, and formal extension of complex words by analyzing the English and Japanese agentive/"unagentive" derivatives and deverbal adjectivals extracted from large corpora.

Organization: outlining the theoretical background (§2) → three types of expansion of agentive/unagentive nominals and deverbal adjectivals (§3) → implications for grammaticalization (§4).

2. Theoretical Background

・Bolinger (1972): an intensifier such as *truly* is derived context-basedly from the corresponding "truth identifier" by grammatical shift.

(3) a. He is *truly* a foolish person. (truth identifier: to refer to the truth of the whole sentence)

      ↓   "contextual reinterpretation"

  b. He is *truly* foolish person. (intensifier)   (Bolinger 1972: 94)

・Clark and Clark (1979):

・Verbs are innovatively zero-derived from nouns with a wide range of possible interpretations.

・(4): a novel verb is innovated in the proper context: Max has a queer habit of rubbing the back of the leg with a teapot. Conversion is thus linked to contextual recategorization.

(4) Max tried to teapot a policeman.   (Clark and Clark 1979: 786)

・Point: an adverb or noun undergoes a **contextual operation** to induce the expansion of its meaning, function, and occurrence environment.

・This **approach to linguistic potential** forms the theoretical basis of this study.

2. Three Major Classes of Grammatical Extension

Target expressions
・ **hapax legomena**: words which occur only once in a large corpus. They can be a reliable barometer of lexical inventions (Baayen and Renouf 1996, Jackendoff 1997:131-133).
・ Our target expressions are mainly extracted from BNC and BCCWJ:
  ・ 643 hapaxes of the suffix *-er*, 400 hapaxes of the Japanese counterpart (*-sha*)
  ・ 83 word types of the suffix *-ee* including 17 hapaxes, and 54 word types of the Japanese equivalent (*hi-VN-sha*) including 12 hapaxes.
・ Previous studies of *-er* and *-ee*:
  ・ a descriptive perspective: Jespersen 1949, Marchand 1969, Quirk et al. 1985
  ・ generative literature: Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1992, Lieber 2004, Baker and Vinokurova 2009, Barker 1988
  ・ Although rather fragmentary observations have been made on Japanese personal nominals (Nagashima, 1982; Kageyama, 1993), there has been no systematic analysis of them.

2.1. Semantic Expansion

Case 1:
・ The suffix *-er* has a prototypical meaning of 'agent' ('one who does something').
・ The suffix *-ee* has a prototypical meaning of 'unagent' or 'patient' ('a person affected by an action').
・ (5a): with an aid of contextual force, the meaning of *-er* is extended to include '**instrument**.'
・ (5b): the patient nominal *selectees* as well as *selectors* imply non-human entities.
 (5) a. … the camera will not contain so much an image as an <u>image-blocker</u>, ie <u>a mask or matte that blocks our part of the image behind it</u> … (BNC FBB:231)
  b. In a head-modifier construction, the modifier is the <u>selector</u>, but in a head-complement construction it is the head which is the <u>selector</u>. <u>Selectors</u> may generally be identified by the fact that they presuppose one or more semantic traits of their <u>selectees</u>. (BNC FAC:1990)

Case 2:
・ the shift of unagentive ***-ee* to an agentive marker**.
・ *-Ee* nouns entail the lack of volitional control over the relevant event.　　　(Barker (1988: 717))
・ (6): the persons concerned merely attend a meeting. To emphasize the lack of volition, the typical agentive noun *attender* or *attendant* is replaced with *attendee*.
 (6) Some 30 <u>named</u> <u>attendees</u> heard a long and detailed speech from the Mayor in which … (BNC AMY:144)

2.2. Functional Expansion

Case 1:

・*-Er* derivatives usually express non-transitory properties of individuals.

<div align="right">(Baker and Vinokurava 2009: 531)</div>

・(7): they may shift **to stage-level nominals**.

> *inscriber*: a stage-level property—'one who inscribes the names at one point in time,' directly derived from the prior verb phrase *engrave our names in big letters upon the sand*.

・(8): the same applies to the *-ee* noun *signee*.

> *OED*'s definition: 'one who <u>has signed</u> a contract or register.'

(7) We are on a beach, and someone—probably me in my cheerleader mode—suggested we <u>engrave our names in big letters upon the sand</u>, then one of us would mount the promenade and photograph inscription plus <u>inscriber</u>. (BNC EDJ:913)

(8) But on forty one minutes it was Milton who took the lead as <u>new</u> <u>signee</u> from A E R Harwell, Robbie Munn, was on hand to slide the ball home from close range … (BNC KS7:428)

2.3. Morphosyntactic Extension

Case 1:

・*-Er* generally attaches to a verb or noun. *-Ee* principally combines with a verb.

・Barker (1988: 716): *-ee* can be affixed to **nonverbal bases** (categorical extension).

  e.g. *giftee* 'one who receives a gift'   *asylee* 'one granted political asylum'

・(9): the base of *-er* is categorically extended to **adjective**:

> depending on the preceding predicate adjectival *up to no good*, the suffix *-er* attaches to the adjectival to produce the agentive nominal *up-to-no-gooders*.

(9) "I have decided you are <u>up to no good</u>. … But I prefer you to be <u>up to no good</u> in London. Which is more used to <u>up-to-no-gooders</u>. (John Fowles, *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, p. 91))

2.4. Grammatical Expansion in Japanese

Aim

・To identify and account for **the similarities and differences between English and Japanese** agentive/unagentive derivatives.

2.4.1. Functional Extension

Case 1:

・(10): linked to the antecedent phrase *sono futatsu-o ketsugo suru mono*, the **stage-level nominal** *ketsugo-sha* 'one who connected (the two things) at a certain time in the past' is succinctly created as a thematic pro-form.

(10) … sono futatsu-o ketsugoo   suru mono-ga   arawareru made Tokyo-wa

      the   two-Acc   connection   do   person-Nom appear   until Tokyo-Top

      toki-o   matte ita.   Sono ketsugoo-sha-ga   Tokugawa Ieyasu dearu.

      time-Acc wait   Past-Prog the   connection-er-Nom   be

      'Tokyo was waiting the day when someone who could connect the two things would appear. The connecter was Tokugawa Ieyasu.'   (BCCWJ)

2.4.2. Morphosyntactic Extension

Case 1:

・Japanese unagentive nominals are coined by affixation of "*hi-…-sha*" to verbs, as indicated in (11a).

・The base of the affix is **categorically extended to** noun, as in *hi-hoken-sha* in (11b).

(11) a. hi- …   -sha + koyoo   →   hi-koyoo-sha 'one who is employed'

        Passive pref -er   employ

    b.   hi-hoken-sha 'Passive pref-insurance-er (=one who is insured)'

3.5. Differences in Semantic Expansion between English and Japanese

・**Semantic extension** is likely to occur in English, whereas it is **unlikely to occur in Japanese**.

Case 1:

・The agentive suffix *-er* is often extended to mean 'instrument,' while the Japanese counterpart (*-sha*) seldom undergoes such extension.

    e.g. *choori-sha* 'cook-Agent': 'cook,' but not 'instrument for cooking'

		derived words	compounds	Total
English	[+personal]	130	411	541 (84.1%)
	[−personal]	12	90	102 (15.9%)
Japanese	[+personal]	123	276	399 (99.7%)
	[−personal]	0	1	1 (0.3%)

Table 1: Classification of agentive hapaxes in BNC/BCCWJ

Case 2:

・Unagentive derivatives in Japanese never become agentive nouns.

(12)   hi-V-sha: 'one who is V-ed'   →   *'one who does V'

    e.g. *hi-tobo-sha 'escapee'   *hi-kikan-sha 'returnee'

4

Reason: **Why we rarely see the relevant semantic expansion in Japanese?**

・The Japanese agentive suffix *-sha* has the corresponding content word *mono*. They share the same logographic (Chinese) character 者, meaning 'person': this written form functions as a suffix when it is pronounced in a pseudo-Chinese manner (called *onyomi*), [ʃə], while it principally functions as an independent word when pronounced in a Japanese manner (called *kunyomi*), [mɔnɔ]. *-Sha* seems to be developed from the cognate synonymous word *mono*.

・The prefix *hi-*, pronounced in a pseudo-Chinese fashion, seems to stem from the cognate synonymous word *komuru* 'to suffer the action,' which is pronounced in a Japanese fashion.

◎The lack of semantic expansion in Japanese is deducible from the fact that **the affixes *-sha* and *hi-*, derived from Sino-Japanese words, retain their original meanings** ('person/ be V-ed').

2.5. Deverbal Adjectivization

・ Semantic Extension of *-able* adjectivization

・Submeanings of *-able*: (a) 'can be V-ed,' (b) 'should be V-ed,' (c) 'apt to,' and (d) 'suitable for'

・ The number of hapaxes with submeaning (a) accounts for 81% of the whole hapaxes recorded (203 *-able* hapaxes). → **meaning (a) is the core or prototypical meaning**

・ **How is the core or prototypical meaning related to the peripheral meaning of (d)?**

・(13a): derivatives ending in *-able* often occur with 'facility' adverbs such as *easily* and *readily*.

・(13b): the collocational behavior of these terms produces **ambiguity**, i.e., *removable* may be interpreted as (a) 'can be removed' or as (d) 'suitable for removing.'

→ **(d) becomes conventionalized** to act as an independent marker of the item's suitability for selling, as in (14).

→ When *-able* undergoes **recategorization so as to convey an active import**, a Locative subject and unergative verb can be involved in *-able* constructions, as (15) illustrates.

(13) a. Knights too were readily identifiable … (BNC CTW:54)

　　 b. It has cushion covers that are easily removable for dry cleaning … (BNC A70:1804)

(14) The resulting straight thin poles were readily *saleable*. (BNC F9H:1619)

(15) The Thames at Abingdon was barely fishable … (BNC A6R:1594)

4. Implications for Grammaticalization

・The phenomena discussed in §3 naturally conform to the system of grammaticalization.

・**Grammaticalization**: the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status (Heine et al., 1991a:3)

→ To extend the grammatical functions of a morpheme

・Its primary means: to expand the use of existing forms for categorizing new concepts

(Heine et al., 1991a:27; Lichtenberk, 1991:476)

Semantic expansion and grammaticalization:

Case 1:   *-er*
・The deverbal suffix *-er* chiefly attaches to action verbs.   (Marchand, 1969:273)
(16) intransitive *-er* derivatives (Ann *stands* in a nightgown): [+human] [+volitional] [+active]
  G_i: [+volitional] → "**foregrounded**"   [+human] → "**downgraded**"   [+active]
  G_{i+1}: to use an *-er* derivative for conceptualizing this situation → the word *stander* is **recategorized**, as in (17). →   it no longer refers to an entity but to a <u>volitional activity</u> (standing ovation).
  (17) He received 56 bouts of <u>applause</u>, including the interminable <u>standers</u>. (*The Guardian*, October 11, 1997, p. 10)
・(17): a conceptual transfer from the domain of animate beings to that of inanimate concepts, a specific aspect of grammaticalization.   (Heine et al., 1991b:151, 157)

Case 2:   *-ee*
G_i: stand<u>er</u>: [+human] [+active] [+volitional] → [−volitional]
G_{i+1}: stand<u>ee</u>$_1$: [+human] [+active] [−volitional]   … (18)
G_{i+2}: stand<u>ee</u>$_2$: [+human] → [−human] [+active] [−volitional]   … (19)

  (18) On a bus from Northallerton to Thirsk yesterday a sign stated that the vehicle could hold <u>24 seated passengers</u> and six <u>standees</u>. (BNC K55:6600)
  (19) "You know those life-size <u>cardboard figures that stand around</u> in video shops to advertise films?" she said. "They are called <u>standees</u>." (*The Independent*, April 15, 2004, p. 29)

semantic extension of *-ee*: 'patient' → 'agent' → 'non-human entity' e.g. *standee*		
grammaticalization of *-ee*: *-ee₁* → *-ee₂* → *-ee₃*		
	a) agent-maker	a) agent-maker
		b) marker of non-human entity

Table 2: On the relation between the semantic extension and grammaticalization of *-ee*

Functional extension and grammaticalization:
・The *-ee* derivative *tellees* in (20) denotes <u>a complex entity of the patient which contains a proposition</u>: 'one who adopts the speaker's belief when it is told.'
  (20) … it's the fact that when we tell people the truth, we do so by <u>getting them to believe what we believe</u>. But why do we do that? Why, for a start, do we want to be <u>tellees</u>, i.e. <u>to adopt other people's beliefs</u>? (BNC FBD:757)

$-ee_1$	→	$-ee_2$	e.g. *tellee* in (20)
mere nominalizer		a) marker of deictic, stage-level feature	
of simple verb		b) function of giving a label to a larger conceptual unit in a discourse	

Table 3: "Functional" grammaticalization of *-ee*

5. Conclusion

On the basis of close analysis of the spontaneous coinages discerned in large corpora, we have revealed some facets of the semantic, functional, and formal extension of English and Japanese agentive/antiagentive nominals and 'capable' adjectivals. We have then provided a unified account of them from the perspective of grammaticalization.

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