

論文の英文要旨

Title	The Competition between Prefix and Particle Verbs in Modern German
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This dissertation conducts corpus-based case studies to determine the extent to which the regular content differences, as pointed out by previous studies and reference books, in the competition between prefix and particle verbs are actually observed in modern German. It also considers the question of why prefix and particle verbs often compete.

The competition between prefix and particle verbs is, for example, seen in the relationship between *erblühen* (a prefix verb) and *aufblühen* (a particle verb). Although there is a difference between *er-* (prefix) and *auf-* (particle), the two words have the same meaning: ‘to begin to bloom’. In other words, the *er-* and *auf-* compete here in the same function as an inchoative marker.

In modern German, there are many cases of competition between prefix and particle verbs. In view of the fact that competition between prefix verbs or between particle verbs is “less frequent” (Erben ⁵2006: 85), it seems likely that there are reasons why prefix and particle verbs compete.

Some previous studies and reference books state that certain content differences are observed with varying degrees in the competition between prefix and particle verbs (Streitberg 1895; Dunger ⁸1929; Erben ¹¹1972; Curme ²1974; Weinrich 1993; Dewell 2011, 2015; Helbig/Buscha 2017; Duden ³2018). If in fact specific content differences are regularly observed in the competition, then competition serves to express these differences.

However, prior studies differed in the types of regular content differences and in the types of competition between prefix and particle verbs observed. Therefore, this study will conduct case studies using a corpus to examine the reality of content differences.

The following nine cases will be taken up:

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|--------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) a. | durchboh <u>r</u> en, du <u>r</u> chboh <u>r</u> en | <i>drill or bore through</i> |
| | durchblät <u>t</u> ern, du <u>r</u> chblät <u>t</u> ern | <i>leaf through</i> |
| | übersiedel <u>n</u> , ü <u>b</u> ersiedel <u>n</u> | <i>move, emigrate</i> |
| | überf <u>ü</u> hren, ü <u>b</u> erf <u>ü</u> hren | <i>transfer</i> |
| | unterschie <u>b</u> en, un <u>t</u> erschie <u>b</u> en | <i>foist, attribute falsely</i> |
| b. | erblü <u>h</u> en, aufblü <u>h</u> en | <i>begin to bloom</i> |
| | verblü <u>h</u> en, abblü <u>h</u> en | <i>finish booming</i> |
| | erkling <u>e</u> n, aufkling <u>e</u> n | <i>begin to ring</i> |
| | belü <u>g</u> en, anlü <u>g</u> en | <i>lie to</i> |

The above examples were selected as representatives of the competition between separable and inseparable cases in so-called separable/inseparable prefix verbs, and between other prefix and particle verbs, according to the approach used in previous studies. Note that (1a) are examples of “competition between type B prefix and type C1 particle verbs,” while (1b) are examples of “competition between type A prefix and type C2 particle verbs.”

In the case studies, particular attention was paid to processuality and figurativity/abstractness.

With regard to processuality, the study first examined the situation type that the verb in question realized in the “eventuality description” (de Swart 1998a, 2012, 2019), on the basic level of the temporal-aspectual hierarchy of a sentence, using criteria based on previous studies (e.g., Rapp 1997; Nicolay 2007; Löbner ²2015). Next, the durativity of the verb was determined following Smith’s (²1997) approach, and finally it was judged which of the two competing verbs is more process-oriented.

Regarding figurativeness/abstractness, the research relied on Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel (2007) and Löbner (²2015) and focused on the frequency of semantic shifts of the verb due to deviations from its selectional restriction.

Following the case studies, two hypotheses are proposed:

- (2) Hypothesis on the competition between type B prefix and type C1 particle verbs:
Prefix verbs tend to be more figurative and abstract than particle verbs.
- (3) Hypothesis on the competition between (type B) prefix and (type C1) particle verbs with *durch-*:
Prefix verbs with *durch-* are more consequence-oriented than particle verbs with *durch-* (i.e., particle verbs with *durch-* are more process-oriented than prefix verbs with *durch-*).

Hypothesis (2) can be seen as an extension of the statements of Duden (³2018: 294) and Helbig/Buscha (2017: 202) regarding the competition between prefix and particle verbs with *durch-* to the competition between type B prefix and type C1 particle verbs in general.

Hypothesis (3) is more or less the same as that of Dunger (⁸1929: 81), Weinrich (1993: 1069), and Duden (³2018: 294). In other words, this study hypothesizes that the consequence-oriented or process-oriented difference is not, as Curme (²1974: 328) and Erben (¹¹1972: 71f.) argue, often observed in conflicts between type B prefix and type C1 particle verbs in general, but only in conflicts between (type B) prefix and (type C1) particle verbs with *durch-*.

With regard to the competition between type A and type C2 particle verbs, I conclude that it is difficult to find any regular differences, contra Erben (¹¹1972: 73) and Dewell (2015).

In the competition between type A prefix and type C2 particle verbs, the structural difference between prefix and particle verbs does not seem decisive. If so, then the reasons for the competition between type A prefix and type C2 particle verbs and the competition between type B prefix and type C1 particle verbs would differ. Hypotheses (2) and (3) may answer the latter question, but for the former, such regularity is not likely to be observed.