THE DEVELOPMENT OF PREPOSITIONS FROM CONVERBS AS REANALYSIS: COUNTEREVIDENCE FROM RUSSIAN AND TURKISH

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So far, the development of prepositions from converbs has been analyzed mainly for English [cf. Kortmann 1992 [1] and Kortmann & König 1991 [2]] with the outcome that the process in question can be considered a case of reanalysis [cf. Brinton & Traugott 2005: 117–120 [3]]. Since English is a language of the analytical type and reanalysis can be described as a change of the underlying sentence structure with the surface structure remaining unaltered, this outcome is not too surprising.

In the examples (1) and (2), the status of regarding in the underlying structure differs: in (1) regarding is head of the VP regarding him closely, whereas in (2) it forms part of the PP regarding him. However, since the analytical structure of English does not allow for a differentiation of the casus obliqui, the surface structure of (1) and (2) must be considered the same, which makes it possible to interpret the development of the English deconverbal prepositions as a case of reanalysis.

The same might be taken for true for Russian – a language of the synthetic type, if there existed converb-derived prepositions only of the type (4), which differs from sentences with converb clause (example (3) only in the underlying structure.

However, for Russian there is attested at least one case of a preposition taking another government than the verb it is derived from, thus differing from its derivational basis not only in its underlying, but also in its surface structure. The preposition благода́ря governs the dative (cf. (6), whereas the verb благодарить governs the accusative (cf. (5), and has always done so, as shows (7) from the Codex Suprasliensis. Thus the PP благода́ря сво́их родите́лей differs from the VP благодаря своим родителям not only in the underlying, but also in the surface structure, which is clear evidence that no reanalysis has taken place.

The situation in Turkish – an agglutinative language - is similar to Russian apart from the fact that in Turkish all converb-derived postpositions differ from their derivational bases in both underlying and surface structure. For example, the verb görmek governs the accusative (8), whereas the deconverbal postposition gore governs the dative (9) [also cf. the deconverbal prepositions in Кононов [Kononov] 1956: §674–676, §679 [4]]. Thus no evidence for reanalysis in the development of Turkish converb-derived postpositions can be found. This leads to the following conclusions:

1. The fact that in Turkish all deconverbal postpositions show the same behaviour allows to assume that all members of the same subclass, i. e., all converb-derived prepositions, develop in the same way. Therefore, it can be concluded that even such deconverbal Russian prepositions as вклю́чая, which differ from their derivational basis only in underlying structure, cannot be considered as instances of reanalysis, since they belong to the same subclass as благо́даря, a preposition giving counterevidence against reanalysis.

2. Considering the evidence from Russian and Turkish, reanalysis must be regarded as only one possible explanation for the development of English deconverbal prepositions, since such changes in the surface structure of adpositions as observed for Russian and Turkish cannot be proven in English due to the analytical structure of English.

3. The development of adpositions from converbs is a process of grammaticalization. Reanalysis is not necessarily involved in this process, but if it is involved, “reanalysis may occur [merely] as a component of a grammaticalization process” [Lehmann 2002: 9 [5]].

Examples
(1) She said nothing, regarding him closely.
(2) She said nothing regarding him.

(3) Но, включая в себя и тёмную и сложность, она даже непонятное делает кри-
сталльно гласным. [Александр Генис. Довлатов и окрестности. (1998)]

(4) Всего на аукционе будет представлено 35 работ, включая раскрашенные тарелки,
кубки, кувшины и изразцы. [Пикассо тоже обжигал горшки. // «Культура»,
2002.04.08]

(5) Благодаря своих родителей, он принимал нобелевскую премию.

(6) Благодаря родителям, он принял нобелевскую премию.

(7) благодаря ( Codex Suprasliensis 541, 28)

(8) Kardeşini göre geldim. [Yüce 1973: 6 [6]]

brother:my:ACC see:CON come:PAST:1P.SG.
‘I came to see my brother.’

(9) Owen’a göre Bret biraz kendini zorlasaydı.

Owen:DAT according to:PREP Bret: NOM a bit: ADV himself:ACC force:IRR:PAST:3P.SG.
‘According to Owen, Bret should have tried a bit harder.’

Abbreviations: ACC = accusative, ADV = adverb, AP = adjective phrase, CON = converb, DAT =
dative, IP = inflection phrase, NOM = nominative, NP = noun phrase, PAST = past, 1P = 1st per-
sion, PP = preposition phrase, PREP = preposition, SG = singular, VP = verb phrase.

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