

# *Grammaticalization, Renewal and Source Meaning<sup>1)</sup>*

語源や共存する形態素が文法化と意味の変遷に与える影響

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ある単語が歴史的変遷において徐々にその意味的、音声的、文法的独立性を失い、文法形態素に変わることを「文法化」と呼ぶ。Traugott(1986, 1988)、Sweetser(1988, 1990)の英語に関する文法化現象の研究を基に「より」と「から」の文法化の変遷をたどると、この二つの助詞は起点を表す助詞として優位を争い、その衝突において互いの変遷に影響を与えたことが窺える。具体的な意味の名詞から始まった「より」の意味の変遷にはメタファーが大きな役割を果たし、抽象的な意味の名詞から始まった「から」の変遷にはメトニミーが関わっており、「より」は文法化が進むにつれて起点を強調する力を失い、「から」に奪格の座を譲ることになる。しかし、逆に起点を強調しないために「より」は比較構文における比較の基準を示す助詞の地位を維持する。二つの助詞が互いにどのように絡み合って歴史的変遷を遂げたかを観察したこと、メタファー、メトニミーの概念を使って助詞の歴史的変遷を説明したこと、イメージ・スキーマを使って「より」の奪格の意味と、比較構文における比較基準の意味の違いを説明したところに本稿の新しい試みがある。

## キーワード

文法化 (grammaticalization)、助詞 (postpositions)、メタファー (metaphor)、メトニミー (metonymy)、イメージ・スキーマ (image-schema)

## Grammaticalization

The term 'grammaticalization' refers primarily to the historical development of a grammatical morpheme. Every language has what are called 'content words' which include major category words such as nouns and verbs. Such content words can appear together with 'function words' which include minor category words such as case markers, adpositions, suffixes, and conjunctions. 'Grammaticalization' refers to the process through which content words, in the course of time, acquire new status as function words. Recent research in grammaticalization has revealed that grammaticalization is not random in direction. Traugott (1982, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1991), Sweetser (1986, 1988, 1990) and others have strongly suggested that there are regular, often one-way historical directions in semantic change.

Two of the specific processes that take place in the course of grammaticalization are semantic bleaching and pragmatic strengthening.

Semantic bleaching refers to the process by which a content word gradually becomes impoverished of its full complex meaning and is reduced down to only part or the core of its meaning. In studying semantic bleaching, the question arises as to which meanings are lost and which remain and what motivates this change. Sweetser (1990) and others have argued that semantic change is motivated by metaphorical mappings across different domains and have claimed that the metaphorically structured image-schema is preserved while other aspects of the meaning are lost.

Pragmatic strengthening refers to the process of conventional inferences not overtly present in the context becoming part of the semantic content of a word. Traugott (1988) has argued that while metaphor is dominant in the development of, say, spatial markers into temporal markers, pragmatic strengthening through metonymy, is pervasive particularly in the early stages of grammaticalization. Metonymic change involves what used to be a conversational implicature or associated meaning becoming conventionalized as the overt meaning of a word.

These tendencies characterize aspects of change in general, and are not peculiar to grammaticalization. Traugott (1989) has summarized these processes and characterized them into one general tendency which she calls the Subjectification Hypothesis. The gist of this hypothesis states that, over time, meanings that originally referred to objective, external situations tend to come to refer more to subjective ones, including those meanings based in the discourse situation, or in the speaker's subjective belief, point of view, or attitude towards the situation. The main point of the hypothesis lies in the chronological order in which different meanings appear. While it is possible that a word can refer to both an objective situation and to a subjective belief at the same point in time, the claim is that the more subjective meaning cannot have existed prior to the meaning that refers to the objective situation. Traugott (1988) also points out that as a word loses its semantic complexity, loses its syntactic freedom, and loses some of its phonetic substance, the process of 'renewal' may take place whereby another morpheme that is fuller in semantic content will take over and then in turn gradually follow the same path of grammaticalization.

### ***-Kara and -Yori***

With the above research in grammaticalization in mind, we will be examining the history of two Japanese postpositions *-yori* and *-kara*. In Classical Japanese, *-yori* was used widely as both the ablative case marker and a marker of 'source' in general. However, from around the 14<sup>th</sup> century, *-kara* gained strength and eventually took over most of the functions of *-yori*. This resulted in a profile shift on the part of *-yori*: *-yori* lost all its functions to *-kara* in colloquial Japanese except for its role as a marker of the standard of a comparison. The present study reveals that by examining the historical development of more than one morpheme, one can see the influence two morphemes can have on each other in the extension, loss or shift in their meanings.

### **Source Marking in Modern Japanese**

Modern Japanese has three postpositions that mark the notion of source: *-kara*, *-yori* and *-ni*<sup>2)</sup>. In this paper, the postposition *-ni* will not be taken up and will be left for future study. The source, as defined by Gruber (1976), is the initial position of the theme. With a verb of motion, the theme is the entity undergoing the motion, and the source is the place from which the motion originates. With verbs of changes of state, there is no explicit motion, so the source would only indicate the initial state. There are a range of meanings of source: a starting point in space; a starting point in time; the initial state in a change of state; the cause of an outcome; the agent in a construction of receiving; the means in which something is done; and the constituents from which something is formed.

In Modern Japanese, *-kara* is used much more widely than *-yori*. *-Kara* marks a range of starting points: a starting point in space; a starting point in time; an initial state in a change of state; the cause of an outcome; the agent in a construction of receiving; the means by which something is done; and the constituents from which something is formed. In all these cases, *-kara* is used widely, while *-yori* is used only in the formal or written forms. In one further case, that of marking the standard of a comparison of inequality, *-yori* is always used, and *-kara* never<sup>3)</sup>. In short, *-kara* marks the ablative case, while *-yori* is used mainly to mark the standard of a comparison.

### Source Meanings of *-kara* and *-yori*

What kind of words can give rise to a grammatical marker of 'source'? Like many grammatical morphemes, *-kara* and *-yori* started off as nouns. *-Yori* started off as a noun meaning what is 'behind' or 'what is after'. It is not clear whether it originally referred to the body part 'back' and was used as a metaphorical vehicle to express a spatial and temporal concept as in many languages, because by the time it appears in written records of Japanese in the 7-8<sup>th</sup> century, its meaning has already evolved. On the other hand, *-kara*, which also appears in the 7-8<sup>th</sup> century texts, seems at that time to have still been very much a noun. The original meaning of *-kara* is often explained as '*manimani*' (cf. Ishigaki 1955, Konoshima 1988), a word that does not exist in present-day Japanese, and thus is difficult to conceptualize. Its meaning is variously described as 'the thing itself', 'a thing as it is', 'the outer shell of something', 'the essence of a thing; the essence of the way something is; the essence of the characteristics of something', or 'the common traits of a given group'. Not all of the meanings of *-kara* developed into a postposition<sup>4)</sup>. This is consistent with what has been termed 'divergence' (Hopper 1991). The idea of divergence is that a word used in a particular context may undergo grammaticalization, but in other contexts, it may remain an autonomous element and develop in another direction. The Modern Japanese noun *karada* 'body' is said to be related to *-kara*. And the noun *gara*, which is a phonological variant of *-kara*, is used in particular contexts in present-day Japanese to mean 'characteristic, or personality trait'<sup>5)</sup>.

Both *-kara* and *-yori* appear in the *Manyooshuu*, one of the earliest Japanese written documents. In this source, instances of *-yori* far exceed those of *-kara*. As mentioned above, at this stage, *-kara* still has both the syntactic and semantic characteristics of a noun, whereas *-yori* is used very much as a grammatical morpheme. Syntactically, *-kara* often follows a noun, but with a postposition intervening between *-kara* and the preceding noun, and *-kara* itself is also followed by another postposition. Semantically, the use of *-kara* in *Manyooshuu* points to a single meaning, though that meaning is abstract and general. On the other hand, *-yori* is widely used as a postposition to indicate that the noun preceding it is (a) the starting point in space<sup>6)</sup>, (b) the point in space through which something moves<sup>7)</sup>, (c) the starting point in time<sup>8)</sup>, (d) a cause or reason<sup>9)</sup>, (e) the means or instrument to accomplish something<sup>10)</sup>, or (f) the standard of measure in a comparison<sup>11)</sup>. Though examples of *-yori* used to mark the standard in a comparison of inequality can be found in the

*Manyooshuu*, these are but a few. A survey of the occurrences of *-yori* in the *Manyooshuu*, has found 184 instances of *-yori* as used in the ablative case, while only 17 instances as used to mark the standard of a comparison (cf. Morimoto 1977). While it is possible that the nature of the text did not require the use of many comparison structures, it is more likely that the use of *-yori* to mark the standard of a comparison was a later development.

We will now look at the history of *-kara* to see how these functions of *-yori* were slowly taken over by *-kara*, until, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *-yori* used as an ablative marker had become rare, though it still continued to mark the standard of measure.

### The Emergence of *-kara*

Examining the sentences in the *Manyooshuu* in which *-kara* is used, it appears initially that *-kara* has the function of marking cause. This is particularly the case in a passage such as this:

- (1) *Yononaka -no tsune -no kotowari kaku-sama -ni*  
 world -GEN norm -GEN way things are a way like that-PRT  
*nariki-ni-kerashi sueshi tane-KARA...* (*Manyooshuu* # 3761)  
 became sown seed  
 世の中の常の道理かく様になり来にけらし。据えし種から  
 ‘As is the way with how the world usually works, things turned out the way they did.  
 As a result of sowing seeds...’

Ishigaki (1955), however, argues that the first and the second clause in this passage are quite independent, and therefore that *-kara* should be interpreted here in the same way in which *-kara* is interpreted when used as a noun, i.e., ‘the way things are’.

- (2) ‘As is the way with how the world usually works, things turned out the way they did.  
 The way things are of sown seeds...’

He writes that in such cases, although the implication is that ‘things turned out the way they did because the seeds were sown’, that implied meaning has not yet become part of the overt meaning of *-kara* at this stage.

Similarly, when *-kara* is used after a place noun, it retains its general meaning of 'as it is', and the idea of the movement from or across the place is only implied by the context:

- (3) *Asagiri -no yaeyama koete hototogisu u -no hanabe -KARA*  
 morning mist -GEN Mt. Yae over cuckoo deutzia -GEN flower field

*nakite koekeri...* (Manyooshuu # 1945)

sing go over

'Over the fog covered Mt Yae, the fields of deutzia as they are, the cuckoo flies singing...'

朝霧の八重山越えてほととぎす卯の花辺から鳴きて越えけり

After the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the number of examples where *-kara* is used after a place noun decreases, though a new usage in which *-kara* is used after a time noun appears, though very few in number. This is where the use of *-kara* starts to cross paths with that of *-yori*, but both Yamada (1922) and Ishigaki (1955) point out that the two uses were in fact very different. *-Yori* was used simply to mark a starting point, and the focus of the sentence lay in the predicate. When, however, *-kara* was used, the focus was on the noun it was attached to. Thus when *kara* was used after a place noun, the implied meaning was 'of all places, it was this place'.

During the 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century, examples of *-kara* used after a VP start to appear. In such cases, it still retains its original meaning of 'that is the way it is', and the relationship between the *-kara* clause and the following clause is not overtly stated. However, this later developed into the interpretation of *-kara* as a temporal connective similar to English *as* or *while*. And just like English *as*, *-kara* later acquired the meaning of *because*. Since the *-kara* clause always received focus, the implication was 'of all reasons, this was the reason'. This eventually gave rise to *-kara* acquiring the concessive meaning of 'although'.

Both the VP + *-kara* and the NP + *-kara* constructions had their peak in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but subsequently, their use declined. However, it is believed that the use of a time noun plus *-kara* continues in colloquial Japanese. This usage starts to gain force around the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this century, instances of *-kara* increase dramatically. This may be due to an increased use of colloquial Japanese in texts. And it is also around this time that *-yori* first becomes more associated with written language. By this stage, the focus of *-kara* on the

preceding element starts to weaken. However, it has not yet become a full fledged cause marker in the sense that what it marked was characterized more as the trigger or starting point of the following action rather than its cause. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, *-kara* and *-yori* were both used to mark the means in which something is done, but during that time, examples of *-yori* significantly outnumbered those of *-kara* as used in this way. By the 14<sup>th</sup> century, *-kara* outnumbers *-yori*, and by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the use of *-yori* to perform this function becomes rare. Meanwhile, the use of *-yori* as marker of the standard of a comparison continues. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *-kara* replaces *-yori* as marker of the starting point. *-Kara* develops more towards a cause marker, but the cause is still restricted to uncontrollable events. Once into the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *-kara* starts to replace *-yori* as the ablative marker, and its use becomes very close to that found in Modern Japanese.

### The Image-schematic Structure of *-yori*

I will return now to the study of grammaticalization to discuss the brief histories of *-yori* and *-kara* that I have just presented. One of the major contributions of cognitive linguistics to the study of grammaticalization is that of having provided tools with which to explain what motivates semantic change. Scholars like Sweetser (1986, 1990), Lakoff (1987) and Brugman (1981) have argued that the process underlying grammaticalization is metaphorically structured and that in grammaticalization, metaphorically structured image-schemata are preserved, while other aspects of the meaning are lost. When we examine the different uses of *-yori* in Classical Japanese, we can see that in all of their uses, what *-yori* is marking is that which is metaphorically understood as being the starting point. Using Langacker's (1988) notations, the image-schematic structure of *-yori* that is preserved across its different uses can be represented as in Figure 1.

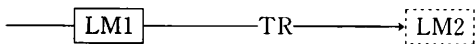


Figure 1: The Image-schematic Structure of *-yori*

In Figure 1, landmark 1 (LM1), which the postposition *-yori* singles out, is the point away from which there is movement. The trajector (TR) is that which is moving away from LM1. The solid line extending from LM1 is the path along which the trajector progresses in the direction indicated by the arrow head. Landmark 2 (LM2), which is not necessarily made explicit, is the point towards which the trajector is travelling.

The prototypical use of *-yori* is that in which LM1 is a location in physical space away from which there is movement. One extension of this prototype is that in which we perceive the notion of TIME as a linear path and LM1 becomes a location on the path of time from which an event, TR, starts. Another extension is that in which we perceive the notion of our thought process as a linear path, and the relation (TR) between reason and consequence is perceived as a configuration in which the reason (LM1) lies in a position preceding the consequence (LM2) on the linear path. If the cause of or the reason for a consequence is a concrete object rather than an event or a state, then the relationship (TR) between LM1 and LM2 is that between an instrument and the action performed using the instrument. The use of *-yori* as a marker of the standard of a comparison is where the standard of measure (LM1) is perceived as the point from which the position of the compared item (LM2) is characterized. The relationship between the standard and the compared item is measured by the movement of the trajector.

Although all the uses of *-yori* in Classical Japanese preserve the same image-schematic structure, there is a significant difference between the domain onto which the comparator *-yori* (i.e., the use of *-yori* to mark the standard of a comparison) maps the image-schema, and the domain onto which the other uses of *-yori* map the image-schema. In the other uses of *-yori*, the relation between the LM1 and LM2 is a temporal one where the trajector's movement away from LM1 takes place in time prior to the trajector reaching LM2. In other words, the linear path is a path along a time axis, and the arrow indicates the direction in which time progresses. On the other hand, in a comparison structure, the relation (TR) between LM1 and LM2 is an atemporal one. Here, the configuration in the image-schematic structure reveals the location of the LM2 (that which is compared to the standard) with regards to LM1 (the standard of measure). There is no movement along the time axis by the trajector. The line in the image-schematic structure traces a mental path used by the conceptualizer to characterize the position of LM2 on a linear scale. The arrow, in this case, stands for the direction in which the distance from LM1 extends. Thus, when one says,

- (4) *Meron -YORI ringo -no hoo -ga chiisai*  
 melon -than apple-GEN alternative-SUB small  
 'Apples are smaller than melons'



there is no temporal relation between melons (LM1) and apples (LM2). The landmark of melons is presented as the standard in a linear scale of smallness from which apples are located away.

I suggest that when *-kara* took over *-yori*'s function as an ablative marker, there was a profile shift in the image-schematic structure of *-yori* from a temporal one to an atemporal one<sup>12</sup>). In other words, *-yori* lost all its uses in which the relation between the LM1 and LM2 is a temporal one in which the trajector's movement away from LM1 takes place in time prior to the trajector reaching LM2. In doing so, its function shifted to that of profiling, or singling out the atemporal relation between LM1 and LM2.

### **Pragmatic Strengthening of *-kara***

While metaphorical processes seem to play a large role in the grammaticalization of *-yori*, *-kara* appears to have developed differently. Traugott (1988) has argued that bleaching is found in the later stages of grammaticalization and that in the early stages, the process that is more prevalent is pragmatic strengthening by metonymy. The development of the meanings of *-kara* is highly metonymic. *-Kara* starts off with a general meaning 'the way things are', and then, as it loses its noun-ness, it gains meanings that are contextually determined. While *-kara* still retained its characteristics as a noun, the *-kara* clause and the rest of the sentence had a paratactic arrangement, i.e., the *-kara* clause and the rest of the sentence were relatively independent of each other, the relationship between the two being only implied. Later on, the *-kara* clause started to develop a loose anaphora to the following clause and then developed into a hypotactic arrangement reflecting the language user's point of view with regard to the situation. This is consistent with Traugott's (1982) discussions of the development of hypotactic arrangements in other languages.

Though *-yori* and *-kara* co-existed during the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the data shows that at this stage, *-kara* was still at an early stage of grammaticalization, and that as a marker of source, *-yori* was much more dominant. It would appear that there had been a conflict between *-yori* and *-kara* during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, for when *-kara* began to be used after a place noun, this use put *-kara* in direct competition with *-yori*, and since at the time, *-yori* was still dominant, it led to *-kara*'s decline during the subsequent centuries. Yet at the same time, it created a potential for *-kara* to extend its functions through analogy, into areas hitherto

covered by *-yori*, such as marking a starting point in time. As *-yori* was reaching its full extent of grammaticalization, its focus on the source was dwindling. The focus was moving instead towards what followed the *-yori* clause. On the other hand, *-kara* was still at its earliest stage of grammaticalization and retained its independent meaning as a noun, with the result that focus still remained directed to the *-kara* phrase. It is perhaps this ability to focus on the source that eventually led to *-kara*'s taking over *-yori*'s original functions. As Traugott (1988) observes, in the process of 'renewal', a morpheme richer of semantic content can take over the function of another morpheme that has lost its original semantic strength. *-Kara*'s ability to keep the focus on the clause that it is attached to was perhaps due to its original meaning of 'as it is' or 'itself'. By attaching *-kara* to an NP, the whole meaning became 'NP as it is' or 'the NP itself'. This naturally placed emphasis on that preceding NP.

On the other hand, it is possibly the focus of *-yori* away from the source that allowed *-yori* to retain its function in a comparison structure; for in such a comparison structure, what is normally focused is not the standard itself, but rather what is being compared to that standard. So, in this sense, *-yori* was the more appropriate postposition more suited to this function, as opposed to the more strongly source-focused *-kara*.

## Conclusion

The respective histories of *-yori* and *-kara* show that the notion of source can have two very different origins. *-Yori* started off by indicating a physical location, which perhaps made it more prone to undergoing metaphorical changes. In many languages, metaphorical extensions are of concrete meanings, often referring to body parts. *-Kara*, on the other hand, started off as an abstract noun which is rarely used as a source of metaphorical extension. This may have made *-kara* more prone to undergoing metonymic changes. We have seen that semantic bleaching eventually eroded *-yori*'s ability to focus on the noun it was attached to and left this field open for *-kara* to replace *-yori* where focus was required. On the other hand, in a comparison construction where the standard of comparison does not need to be focused, *-yori* retained its status. This shows that even when there is renewal after a grammatical morpheme becomes significantly bleached, it may still retain some of its functions. And it may be possible to explain processes by which a morpheme loses or retains some of its functions.

注

- 1) An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> New Zealand Linguistics Society Conference in November 1999.
- 2) *-Ni* is a particle that marks an agent or a source in passive, causative, and receiving constructions. It is also a particle that marks the surface of something upon which some action directly takes place, a purpose when someone moves from one place to another, the location where someone or something exists, and also a place toward which someone or something moves. For a detailed study of *-ni*, see Sugai 2000.
- 3) The standard of a comparison is a source in the sense that a comparison requires a conceptual movement away from a standard towards the element that is being compared with the standard. (cf. Stassen 1985, Clark & Carpenter 1989).
- 4) *Shogakkan Kogo Dai-Jiten* relates the noun *kara* to the present day conjunction *-nagara* (*-no kara* → *-na gara*).
- 5) It is also used in noun compounds such as: *Hanako-san-wa hito-GARA-ga totemo ii*. 'Hanako has a real nice personality' *Yooki-na-no-wa itaria-jin-no kuni-GARA-yo*. 'Cheerfulness is an Italian trait'
- 6) *Kashima-YORI kumaki-o sashite kogu fune-no kaji toru ma*  
Kashima-from Kumaki-to head steer boat-GEN rudder take interval  
*naku miyako -shi omoyu*  
no capitol -PRT think of...  
'Just as frequently as I move the rudder of the boat from Kashima to Kumaki, I constantly think of the capitol...' (*Manyooshuu* # 4024)  
香島から熊来をさして漕ぐ舟の梶取る間なく都し思ほゆ
- 7) *Kuchi-YORI nomitama-eba, me-no naka-YORI dedenikeri*  
mouth-from swallow -if eye-GEN inside-from come out  
'When it was swallowed from the mouth, it came out from the eye...' (*Issunbooshi*)  
口より呑み給へば、目の中より出でにけり
- 8) *Kyoo-YORI kaerimi -nakute oogimi -no shiko -no mitate-to idetatsu*  
today-from look back -NEG monarch -GEN poor -GEN guard as depart  
*ware -wa*  
I -TOP  
'From today, as a clumsy guard of the monarch, I depart without looking back...' (*Manyooshuu* # 4373)  
今日よりは顧みなくて大君の醜の御楯といで立つ。我は
- 9) *Tootsu hito Matsuura Sayo hime tsuma -goi -ni hire furishi -YORI*  
past person Matsuura Sayo princess husband-longing-PRT scarf wave -from  
*oeru yama -no na*  
to get mountain-GEN name  
'This mountain got its name because in the past, Princess Matsuura Sayo waved her scarf in longing for her husband...' (*Manyooshuu* # 871)  
遠つ人松浦さよ姫夫恋ひに領布振りしより負へる山の名
- 10) *Yamashiromichi -o hitozuma -no uma-YORI ikuni,*  
road-to the mountain castle-DO other husband-GEN horse-by go

- onozumashi kachi* -YORI *ikeba...*  
 my husband foot -by go  
 'Other husbands go on horseback to the mountain castle, but my husband goes on foot... (*Manyooshuu* # 3314)  
 山城道を他夫の馬より行くに、己夫し徒歩より行けば
- 11) *Hitorinomi nagamuru*-YORI -wa *ominaeshi waga sumu yado* -ni  
 alone gaze -than -EMP *ominaeshi*-flower I live house-LOC  
*uetemimasiwo*  
 try and plant  
 'Rather than gazing at the Ominaeshi flower alone, I'd like to plant it in the house where I live...' (*Kokinshuu* # 236)  
 ひとりのみ眺むるよりは女郎花我が住む宿に植えてみましを
- 12) I am indebted to John Newman for bringing to my attention Langacker's (1990) use of the term 'profile shift'.

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