

**Persistence and division of labor in
grammaticalization:
The case of *out of* and *from* in English***

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Rhee, Seongha. 2012. Persistence and division of labor in grammaticalization: The case of out of and from in English. *Linguistic Research* 29(3), 461-484. English preposition *from* and the secondary preposition *out-of* are essentially identical in terms of their functions of marking the point of departure, i.e. ablative. Despite the shared commonalities, however, the two prepositions exhibit a range of differences. Of intriguing relationship among polysemies of *out-of* is one of antonymy noted in Rhee (1996, 2000), where *out-of* can mark ‘association’ as well as ‘privation’ or ‘dissociation’. Unlike *out-of*, *from* does not exhibit such semantic versatility, and the usage closest to ‘dissociation’ of *from* is designating an object that needs to be separated for the sake of protection or prevention. This research is an endeavor to look into the factors that enable and limit the range of functions of these near-synonymous prepositions. The limiting factors are largely due to the fact that *out-of* developed from a periphrasis with the compositional meaning from the motional/directional adverbial *out* and directional preposition *of*, whereas the original adjectival/adverbial ‘forward’ meaning of *from* engendered ‘onward’, ‘on the way’, ‘away’, etc., and underwent categorial shift into a preposition. The fact that source constructions of grammatical markers not only affect the change but also determine the path and the result strongly supports the source determination hypothesis. A comparison of the two forms reveals interesting aspects with respect to principles and mechanisms in grammaticalization, including (i) semantic persistence, (ii) functional specialization, (iii) perspective shifts, (iv) subjectification, (v) categorial and semantic divergence, among others. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Keywords grammaticalization, persistence, division of labor, near-synonymous prepositions, ‘from’, ‘out of’

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1. Introduction

Prepositions (and adpositions, in general) grammaticalize from diverse sources through a variety of enabling mechanisms (Heine 1997, Heine et al. 1991, Svorou 1986, 1994, Kuteva & Sinha 1994, Rhee 2004a, 2004b). Prepositions as a grammatical category constitute an important element of grammar in English because they are one of the most exploited grammatical formants ever since the more extensively used case inflectional systems in Old and Middle English were largely replaced by them. It is for this reason that prepositions encode an array of grammatical notions specifying the semantic and grammatical functions played by the noun phrases they are affixed to (Rhee 2004b: 398).

The state of affairs of English prepositions shows that there are eight prepositions among the top twenty frequency items; that there are twenty prepositions (out of the total of 404 preposition entries in Oxford English Dictionary (OED)) among the top 100 frequency items; that there are about forty items in active use in contemporary English; that the top twenty prepositions account for 94% of entire prepositional uses; and that among the top twenty high-frequency prepositions with recognizable source lexemes, the spatial nouns are the primary source (e.g. *for*, *about*, *after*, *without*; Rhee 2004a). This is a direct reflection of the fact that prepositions are an important grammatical category in contemporary English.

The analysis of the two prepositions *from* and *out of* (the latter written as *out-of* hereafter for typographical clarity) begins with an aim to address the common misconception that the two are synonyms. This misconception is largely due to the simplistic characterization at the early stage of English education, but the differences are rarely investigated even at the advanced stages. An investigation of their detailed usage reveals a range of differences, which, from the light of grammaticalization theory, provide interesting implications as to the persisting effect of the source meanings.

The objectives of this paper is three-fold: to compare the grammaticalization processes of *for* and *out-of* to ascertain the extent of commonalities; to identify the subtleties that lie beyond the abstractions in lexicography; and to identify the causes of the semantic subtleties with respect to grammaticalization sources.

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 presents preliminaries for the analysis; Section 3 presents semantic designations of the two prepositions

including the semantic extension patterns and semantic networks; Section 4 presents comparisons of the two prepositions focusing on their differences; Section 5 discusses diverse theoretical issues, such as their sources, the persistence principle, the specialization principle, subjectification, and grammaticalization mechanisms; and Section 6 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. Preliminaries: *from* and *out-of*

English preposition *from* and the secondary preposition *out-of* are essentially identical in terms of their functions of marking the point of departure, i.e. ablative, as shown in (1):

- (1) a. He fell *from* the throne. ('point of departure')
- b. He fell *out of* the throne. ('point of departure')

Despite the shared commonalities, however, the two prepositions have a range of differences. Of intriguing relationship among polysemies of *out-of* is one of antonymy noted in Rhee (1996, 2000), where *out-of* can mark 'association' as well as 'privation' or 'dissociation' as shown in (2):

- (2) a. I asked *out of* curiosity. ('with curiosity' 'association')
- b. His behavior was *out of* decorum. ('without decorum' 'dissociation')

Unlike *out-of*, *from* does not exhibit such semantic versatility, and the usage closest to (2b), i.e. 'dissociation', is the usage of designating an object that needs to be separated for the sake of protection or prevention as exemplified in (3):

- (3) a. This jacket will keep you *from* the cold. ('protection against')
- b. You need a break *from* your work occasionally. ('stay away from')

A historical investigation reveals interesting aspects of the two prepositions that merit discussion from the grammaticalization perspective.

3. Semantic designations: Extensions and networks

3.1 Semantic extension

Since linguistic forms are incessantly exposed to meaning negotiation, word meanings are inevitably subject to constant, albeit gradual, change. And since the gradual change does not involve discrete leaps where the newly created meanings replace the former meanings, the meanings of a linguistic form tend to retain the old and new meanings. The cumulative nature of semantic change is responsible for the formation of closely related extension patterns and networks. In this respect semantic networks are fundamentally metonymic.

The two prepositions *from* and *out-of* originated from very different sources, i.e. *from* from “forward” and *out-of* from “exit and away” and “outside and away”. The semantic designations of *from* and *out-of* as listed in OED are diverse, yet show a close metonymic relation among them. Based on the semantic labels in OED, a hypothetical semantic extension pattern of the two prepositions may be represented as Figure 1, in which the bold-faced designations are the labels shared by the two prepositions.

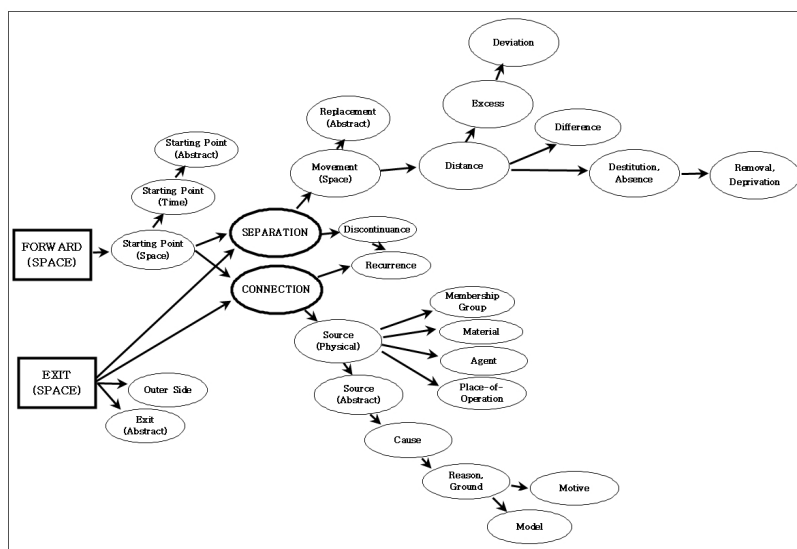


Figure 1. General metonymy-based extension pattern (Hypothesized) for *from* and *out-of* (consolidated)

3.2 Semantic networks

Despite the fact that the effect of semantic change is cumulative, not all former meanings are retained and certain meanings do disappear. A diagrammatic representation of extension patterns largely based on intuitive reconstruction of the available semantic designations of *from* is as shown in Figure 2, superimposed on Figure 1, with the attested labels in shaded circles.

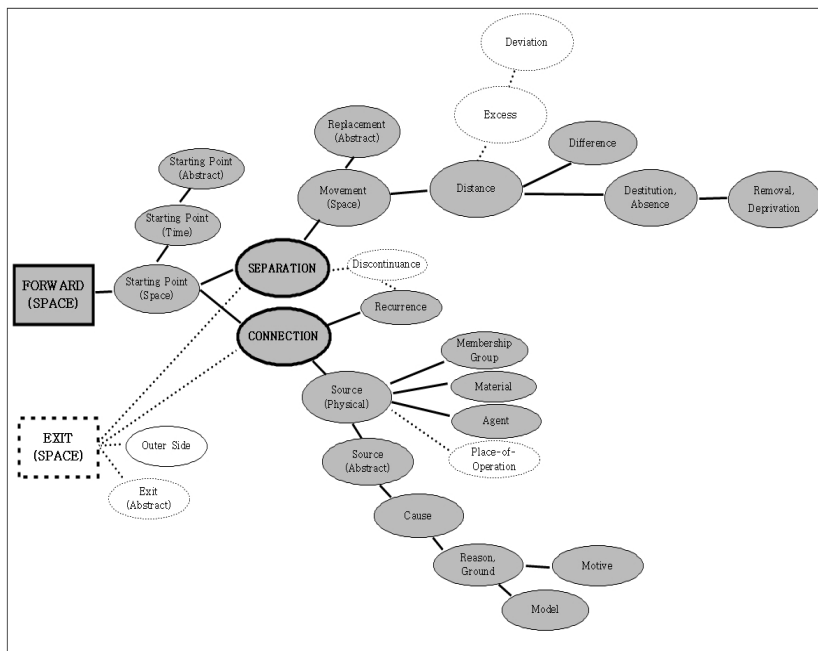


Figure 2. A synchronic network of semantic designations of *from*

As shown in Figure 2, most of the semantic labels are covered by the semantic designations of *from*, visually demonstrating that there exists a considerable overlap between the meanings of *from* and *out-of*.

Similarly, a diagrammatic presentation of extension patterns of the meanings of *out-of* can be shown as Figure 3, following the same manner of presentation as *from* in Figure 2.

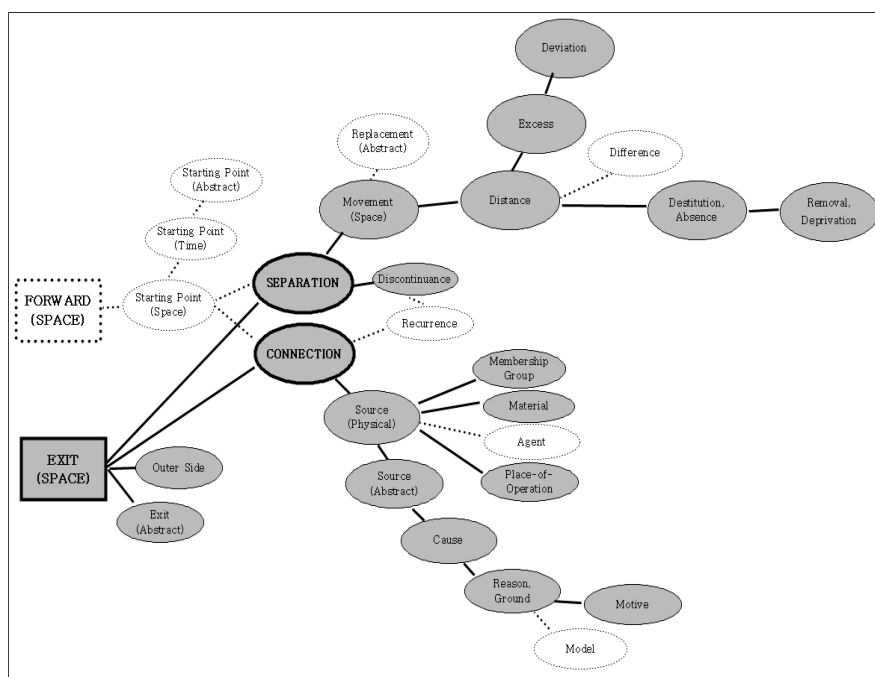


Figure 3. A synchronic network of semantic designations of *out-of*

As shown in Figure 3, *out-of* also exhibits a considerable degree of semantic overlap, which again demonstrates the close relationship between *from* and *out-of* to the point of (near-)synonymy. However, as is also obvious from the diagram, the two prepositions are not synonymous in that there are semantic designations that are not covered by both prepositions. As shall be discussed more in detail in 4.2, even those shared labels do show subtle differences between the two prepositions.

3.3 Diachronic development of semantic designations

A historical investigation of semantic designations for the two prepositions reveals that the emergence of semantic designations does not follow the intuitively-appealing reconstructed pattern in Figures 2 and 3. The designations, following the labels as indicated in the June 2012 web-accessible OED edition, can be summarized as in Table 1.

Table 1. Chronological Order of Emergence of Semantic Designations of *From* and *Out-of*

	etymology	800	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
<i>from</i>	OS OHG, MHG, ON, Goth forward forward > onward > on the way > away	1a. departur e point, away	2a. starting point(space) 4a. place left behind 5a. distance, absence 6a. removal (concrete ðb) 7b. privation, separation, abstention, freedom, deliverance 11. person as source of action (giver, sender)	2b. starting point(series, limits) 3a. starting point (time) 8b. qualitative remoteness, unlikeness, 14b. ground of judgment, belief			3b. succession, recurrence at interval 7. abandoned state, condition 8a. difference 12a. derivation, source, descent (material)		1b. succession, change of place 10. origin anchored 12b. derivation, source, descent (immaterial)	9a. origin 13. model, rule, copy 14a. ground, reason, cause, motive			
<i>out of</i>	"out" outside "of" away, away from		8a. not within, outside, beyond confines of	1a. from inside (motion, direction) (space) 9a. outside situation, out of bounds, wedlock,,,	2a. no longer in (state)	3a. source, origin (space, thing) 4a. cause, motive 5. from within range, limit, scope 10. not in condition, without quality 11. outside limits of power, reach,,	1b. from within (direction) 1c. membership group 6. deprived of 9b. outside/ beyond usual limits 9c. derivation, error	4b. material 8b. away from (distance) 8c. taken among (member- ship) 12a. source, origin	2b. leave 8b. away office, position 4c. succession among 13. lacking/ deprived of (commodity) 14. no longer in use, employment		8d. no longer (wearing garment)	3b. mother (animal) 12b. mother (animal) 8e. on the outer side of	3c. from center of operations

When the diachronic emergence patterns of semantic designations of *from* and *out-of* are diagrammatically presented, where the approximate time of the first attested usage is inserted onto the previously presented diagrams, the resultant diagrams are as shown in Figures 4 and 5, respectively.

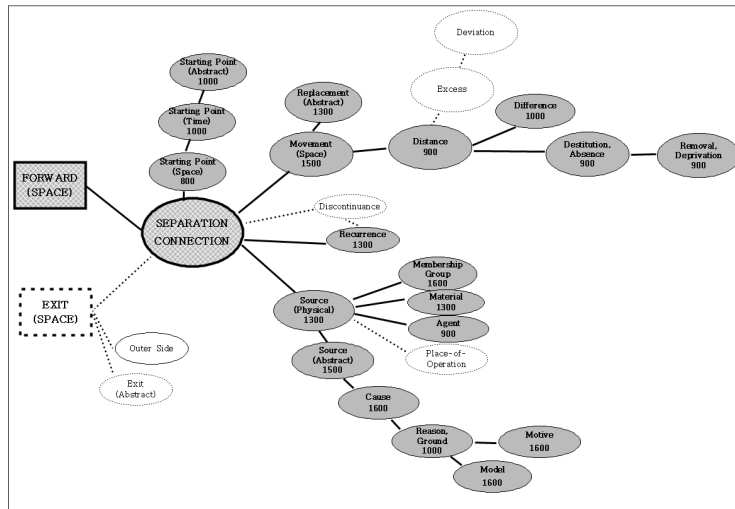


Figure 4. A diachronic emergence pattern of semantic designations of *from*

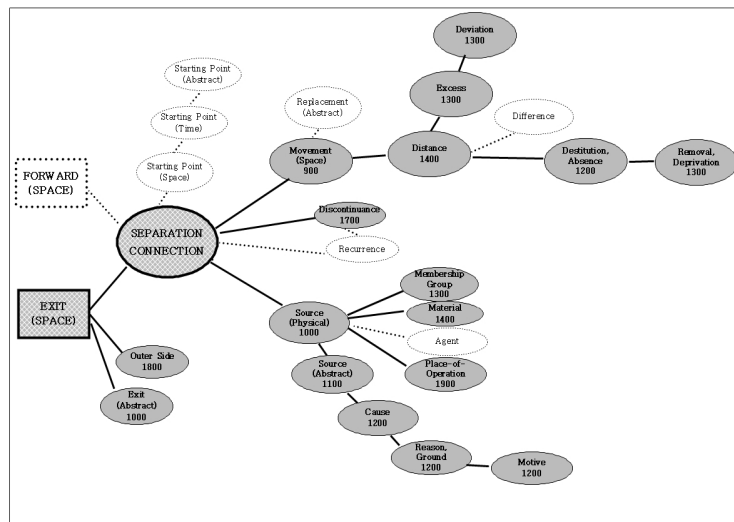


Figure 5. A diachronic emergence pattern of semantic designations of *out-of*

4. Comparisons of *from* and *out-of*

4.1 Differences in designations

When we compare the semantic labels and semantic domains that show differences between the two prepositions, two general categories can be set up: one consisting of those that are attested in *from* only, and the other consisting of those that are attested in *out-of* only. The following examples are those that belong to the first category (hereafter, emphasis added for improved prominence):

(4) a. Starting Point (Spatial)

During the voyage of the sacred ship to and **from** Delos. 1875 B.
Jowett tr. Plato Dialogues (ed. 2) I.399

b. Starting Point (Temporal)

The appellant maintains that the gate was erected in 1846, and that the public were effectually excluded **from** that year. 1885 Law Rep.:
Appeal Cases 10 379

c. Starting Point (Abstract)

The whole alphabet...is not unfrequently met with as an inscription, **from** the fourteenth, or fifteenth, to the seventeenth century. 1872 H.
T. Ellacombe Church Bells Devon ix. 269

d. Replacement

From villains they became prosperous and independent yeomen. 1870
J. E. T. Rogers Hist. Gleanings 2nd Ser. 51

e. Recurrence

The...examination is in special books set **from** time to time. 1895 A.
F. Warr in Law Times 99 547/1

f. Difference

A very hard thing sir, and **from** my power. a1625 F. Beaumont & J.
Fletcher Knight of Malta iii. iv, in Comedies & Trag. (1647) sig.
Llll3v/1.

g. Agent

Virulent abuse **from** that class of men. 1883 Daily News 22 Sept. 4/6

h. Model

She sketched objects; she colored **from** nature. 1811 L. M. Hawkins
Countess & Gertrude III. lviii. 259.

As shown in (4), the meanings relating to starting points (spatial, temporal and abstract), replacement, recurrence, difference, agent and model are all currently in use associated with *from*. It is obvious that replacement of *from* with *out-of* in these examples renders them either ungrammatical or awkward with the intended meaning.

On the other hand, the second category is exemplified in the following examples:

(5) a. Exit (Abstract)

The question remains, how far, if at all, English law recognizes the legitimacy of a person born **out of** wedlock. 1911 Encycl. Brit. XVI. 379/2

b. Outer Side

The bough-pots **out of** the window. a1816 R. B. Sheridan School for Scandal (rev. ed.) iii. iii, in Wks. (1821) II. 83

c. Excess

The study of all these records indicates that nothing **out of** the ordinary was taking place ... on board the submarine. 2002 Chicago Tribune 3 Mar. ii. 5/2

d. Deviation

You become susceptible to disease when your constitution is **out of** balance. 1994 Nat. Health Nov. - Dec. 96/1

e. Place of Operation

Goodall had now started to work **out of** Devon Concrete to all parts of the South West. 1993 Vintage Roadscene Sept. - Nov. 149/3

f. Discontinuance

Only in her bedroom had I ever seen her **out of** stockings and high heels. 1993 House Beautiful Feb. 10/2

As shown in (5), the meanings relating to exit, outer side, excess, deviation, place of operation, discontinuance are all currently in use associated with *out-of*. As was the case with *from*, the replacement of *out-of* with *from* in the examples in (5) will result in ungrammaticality or awkwardness.

4.2 Common labels with semantic subtleties

There are semantic labels and domains that are shared between *from* and *out-of* which, however, upon closer look, reveals delicate semantic subtleties. The usages in this category are largely responsible for the common misconception that the two prepositions form a synonymy relation. They are illustrated in the following:

(6) Movement (Space)

- a. How often the body of Saint Augustine was tost from porch to pillar.
1631 J. Weever Anc. Funerall Monuments 262
- b. We stepped out of the car into a fierce pungent stink of mules. 1985
F. Tuohy Coll. Stories 4

The two examples illustrate the use of *from* and *out-of* with reference to movement. However, the difference is obvious in that *from* makes reference to the point (i.e. 'porch'), whereas *out-of* the contained space (i.e. 'the car'). Furthermore, the use of *from* is more idiomatized in the form of 'from x to y' as shown in the absence of articles in the NPs represented by x and y; whereas the phrasal construction 'out of x into y' involves x and y in the form of full NP with articles. This shows that the human conceptualization of traversal involves 'from point A to point B', rather than 'out of space A into space B'.

(7) Distance

- a. The Ocean being far distant from these mountains. 1653 H. Holcroft
tr. Procopius Gothick Warre iv. 124 in tr. Procopius Hist. Warres
Justinian,
- b. A little way out of Las Cruces...a passenger car coming the other
way drove them off the road. 1992 D. Morgan Rising in West ii. vi.
102

The two examples illustrate the use of *from* and *out-of* with reference to distance. This is closely related to the previously discussed case of spatial movement. Further, the similarity lies in the fact that *from* points to a point (a location of 'mountains'), whereas *out-of* points to a bounded space (a city named 'Las Cruces').

(8) Destitution/Absence

- a. I did not attempt to dissuade Milverton **from** his purpose. 1847 A. Helps Friends in Council I. xi. 196
- b. Sandor sat and smoldered, **out of** appetite with the temper that was boiling in him. 1984 C. J. Cherryh Merchanter's Luck ix. 107

The examples in (8) denote destitution or absence of something from an object designated by *from* and *out-of*. In an exact parallelism with the previous cases, *from* makes reference to an abstract entity as a point ('purpose'), which contrasts with *out-of* that refers to a state as a space ('appetite').

(9) Removal/Deprivation

- a. The narrow tract...separated **from** Mékrán...by the range of hills which form Cape Arboo. 1841 M. Elphinstone Hist. India I. App. iii. 439
- b. I know they're the products of their conditioning and they've been done **out of** their emotional birthrights and all that stuff. 1994 J. Galloway Foreign Parts xi. 171

The examples in (9) are similar to those in (8) in that they both make reference to absence, but are different in that these examples carry more dynamic senses, i.e. 'removal' which involves causative force. The use of *from* in 'separated from' and that of *out-of* in 'out of their emotional birthrights' seem to be partly lexical idiosyncrasies. Further, in the case of *from*, it refers to the outer surface or circumference (i.e. that of a location named Mékrán), whereas in the case of *out-of*, it refers to an abstract entity with contents in it ('emotional birthrights').

(10) Material

- a. Bequeath'd to missions, money **from** the stocks. 1807 G. Crabbe Parish Reg. i, in Poems 63
- b. Uuyot brought the big ceremonial pipe which he had made **out of** rock. 1901 G. W. James Indian Basketry xiii. 219

The examples in (10) show the function of marking the material. While *from*

marks the source point of derivational process (i.e. money acquired from the sale of 'stocks'), *out-of* marks the source material itself (i.e. 'rock'). The difference can be characterized as the absence (*from*) vs. preservation (*out-of*) of the source material at the stage in which the involved processes are completed.

(11) Source (Physical)

- a. Clio and Beroe, **from** one Father both. 1697 Dryden tr. Virgil Georgics iv, in tr. Virgil Wks. 136
- b. On the day of the match the competitors each draw a number **out of** a hat. 1927 'Float & Fly' Fishing Matches iii. 11

The examples in (11) refer to the physical sources. While *from* designates the source point of reproductive generation, *out-of* designates the pure source location. As long as physical reproduction does not involve the direct physical preservation (i.e. bones and flesh) of the parent (though it involves transmission of genes), the use resembles the use of *from* in 'material' exemplified in (10).

(12) Source (Abstract)

- a. Let us try to draw a Conclusion **from** the two Premisses. 1887 'L. Carroll' Game of Logic i. §2. 21
- b. The boke of Eneydos...whiche hathe be translated **oute of** latyne in to frenshe, And **oute of** frenshe reduced in to Englysshe by me wylliam Caxton. 1490 Caxton tr. Eneydos (Colophon)

The function of marking the abstract source by the two prepositions, exemplified in (12), may have been considerably neutralized. In other words, the two examples seem to allow replacement of the preposition without any perceivable loss of their semantics. It is suspected that the expressions 'draw a conclusion from/out-of premises' and 'translate out-of/from A into B' seem to be lexical idiosyncrasies associated with 'draw conclusion' and 'translate'.

(13) Membership

- a. The following, extracted respectively **from** The World and Truth. 1885 Law Times 80 37/2

- b. The woman would respond with a nervous smile ... looking as if she'd been picked **out of** the audience by a unicyclist in Covent Garden. 2001 M. Steel Reasons to be Cheerful xi. 124

A very close relationship between the two prepositions is also shown with the 'membership' meaning exemplified in (13). Though not perfectly synonymous, the two prepositions in this function seem to be interchangeable. The meaning of *out-of* in (13b) is close to that of *from among*. This suggests that *out-of* is typically used with the internal visibility of the source object.

(14) Cause

- a. A person suffering **from** senile dementia is not a lunatic. 1885 T. Raleigh in Law Q. Rev. Apr. 151
- b. My master charg'd me to deliuer a ring to Madam Siluia: wc (**out of** my neglect) was neuer done. a1616 Shakespeare Two Gentlemen of Verona (1623) v. iv. 87

The examples in (14) illustrate the function of marking the cause by *from* and *out-of*. Despite this apparent functional similarity, the two prepositions show a difference as evidenced by the fact that they are not interchangeable. This strongly suggests that the expressions 'suffer from' and 'out of neglect' are instances of lexical idiosyncrasies.

(15) Reason/Ground

- a. **From** such a picture of nature in primeval simplicity...are you in love with fatigue and solitude? 1762 O. Goldsmith Citizen of World I. 34
- b. The crowds go for the most part **out of** curiosity. 1880 J. McCarthy Hist. our Own Times III. xxxvii. 138

The reason/ground-marking function of the two prepositions is exemplified in (15). However, the two prepositions do not seem to be interchangeable. The use of *from* in (15a) resembles the 'speech act' usage of causals (Sweetser 1990) and cannot be replaced with *out-of*. The use of *out-of* in 'out of curiosity' seems to be a lexical idiosyncrasy. The differences of the two may be characterized as: *from*

refers to the point of departure for reasoning, whereas *out-of* refers to the carryover from the source space.

(16) Motive

- a. The censure had been made injuriously and **from** motives of private malice. 1883 Law Rep.: Queen's Bench Div. 11 597
- b. As you come only **out of** compliment to me. 1800 Duke of Wellington Let. to Lieut. Col. Close in Dispatches (1837) I. 80

The final category relates to the function of motive-marking. Despite their apparent similarity, there is an asymmetry in that in (16a) *from* may be replaced with *out-of* without any substantial change in meaning, whereas *out-of* in (16b) cannot be replaced with *from*. It is also suspected that the expressions 'from motives' or 'out of compliment' are lexical idiosyncrasies.

The foregoing illustration points to two things: that the similarities in label assignment are often superficial and at a deeper level there are considerable differences; and that there are many instances of lexical idiosyncrasy, i.e. certain expressions are entrenched and are often fossilized. The first point is related to the limitation that is inherent in using category labels, which, by nature, need to be comprehensive enough to encompass dissimilar cases. The second point is related to the fact that grammatical items in their developmental stages tend to have strong tendencies to form constructions with particular lexical items.

5. Discussion

We have looked at the diverse semantic aspects of *from* and *out-of* by closely comparing them. We now turn to the discussion of some issues that have bearings on the grammaticalization theory.

5.1 Grammaticalization sources

According to the illustrations as provided by OED and elsewhere, the two prepositions show that they originated from very different sources. For instance, *from*

is among the oldest grams in English. The lexemes related to OE (*vram*, *vrom*, *fromme*, *frome*, *from*) are in Old Saxon (*fram*), Old High German (*fram*), Gothic (*fram*), and Old Norse (*frá*) (OED; e-version 06/2012). The primary meaning of these cognate lexemes was “forward” (also related to adjective *forme* ‘former, early’). OED states: “From the sense ‘forward’ were developed those of ‘onward’, ‘on the way’, ‘away’, whence the transition to the prepositional use is easy.” (OED; e-version 06/2012).

The earliest example denotes “departure or moving away, governing a noun which indicates a point of departure or place whence motion takes place” (OED). This is well exemplified in the following:

- (17) Her for se here **from** Lindesse to Hreopedune.

“Then the army journeyed from Lindsee to Reptow” (Anglo-Saxon Chron. ann. 874, OED)

On the other hand, the preposition *out-of* is, without doubt, a periphrastic form consisting of *out* and *of*. According to OED, *out* is a merge of two distinct words OE *ūt* and *ūte* (“up, out”, “outside”) in late Middle English, and the primary meaning of *of* is “from” and “away from”. Some of the earliest examples of *out-of* are exemplified in the following (both taken from OED):

- (18) a. [Not within (a space or containing thing); beyond the confines of; outside]

Gif hwilc gegilda **ut of** lande forðfere, oððe beo gesycled, gefeccan hine his gegildan.

- b. [Of motion or direction; **from** inside (a containing space or thing)]

Hie aforan ut of þære byrig. Orosius Hist. (BL Add.) vi. xxxviii. 156

“They marched out of the city.” (c.1025)

5.2 On persistence and the source determination hypothesis

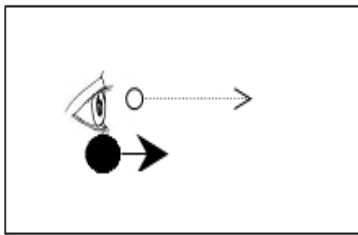
It is noteworthy that the two prepositions exhibit a range of differences which may be the result of their having originated from different sources. The differences

in source semantics are well illustrated in the fact that their semantic developments, and consequently in the synchronic semantic distribution patterns, are based on the image schemata from the source semantics.

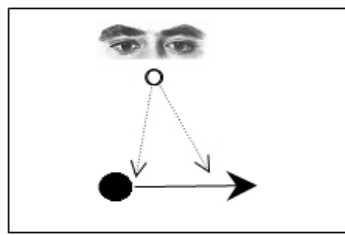
For instance, the development of *from* shows viewpoint changes as diagrammatically presented in (19):

(19) Image Schemata of *from*

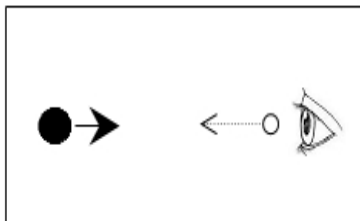
a. “forward”



b. “from” (objective observer)



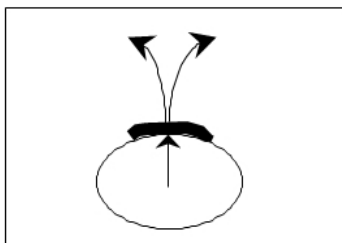
c. “from” (subjective observer)



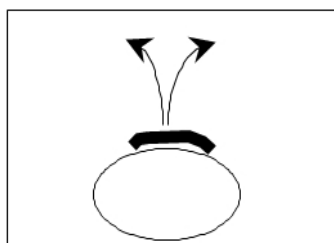
On the other hand, the development of *out-of* from a compositional source, i.e. *out* and *of*, is well illustrated in the fact that they have two basic meanings: “up and away” and “outside and away”. The two image schemata are as shown in (20a) and (20b), and the contemporary use of *out-of* is in fact based on the consolidated schema (20c):

(20) Image Schemata of *Out-of*

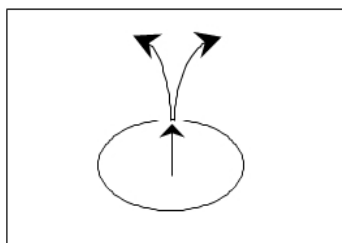
a. “up and away”



b. “outside and away”



c. “out of” (consolidated)



From the foregoing illustration, it is obvious that the two prepositions have one fundamental difference: *from* is conceptualized with reference to “a point”, whereas *out-of*, “a contained space”. This is well illustrated in an 18th century example, in which the two prepositions occur simultaneously, as in (21):

- (21) Peter starting **from** his seat, and snatching up the lamp, rushed **out of** the dungeon. 1790 A. W. Radcliffe *Sicilian Romance* I. vi. 229

The limiting factors are largely due to the fact that *out-of* developed from a periphrasis with the compositional meaning from the motional/directional adverbial *out* and directional preposition *of*, whereas the original adjectival/adverbial ‘forward’ meaning of *from* engendered ‘onward’, ‘on the way’, ‘away’, etc., and underwent categorial shift into a preposition.

It is noteworthy in this context that, since *out* in *out-of* has the traversal meaning, *out-of* is not suitable with an aperture landmark (cf. Bolinger 1971, Lindstromberg 1998: 33-34), as shown in (22):

- (22) a. He walked out the door.
 a'. ?He walked out of the door.
 b. ?He walked out the house.
 b'. He walked out of the house.

Incidentally, Tyler & Evans (2003) classify *out-of* as a 'bounded marks' preposition, but proposes the schema where a trajector is located outside a bounded space as the source schema. This analysis based on 'dissociation' is obviously problematic for the emergence of 'association' senses.

Since the semantics of the source lexeme persists even long after the forms have advanced in grammaticalization, this is an excellent exemplar of the 'persistence' principle (Hopper 1991). Furthermore, the fact that source constructions of grammatical markers not only affect the change but also determine the path and the result strongly supports the source determination hypothesis (Bybee et al. 1994).

5.3 On specialization

As was illustrated in the foregoing discussion, *out-of* has mixed uses of two merged source schemata. Bennet (1975) states that *out-of* contrasts with *into* (contra *in*), a position that contrasts with the characterization of 'negative locative interior' (Leech 1969: 163). However, any characterization of *out-of*, if not considering its double-faced nature, is bound to fail. The "absence" or "privation" meaning associated with *out-of* is the vestige of Source schema (20b), whereas the strong "association" meaning of *out-of* is the vestige of Source schema (20a). In terms of the function, the "absence" or "privation" marking is largely 'specialized' (Hopper 1991) by *out-of*, since such function is not developed in *from*.

The two prepositions exhibit differences in terms of use frequency as well, a straightforward indicator of the level of specialization. According to the MICASE Corpus, developed by the University of Michigan, the token frequency of *from* is 4,742, whereas that of *out-of* is 757. This is in consonance with the prediction that as the grammaticalization process proceeds the form becomes shorter ('phonological attrition'; Lehmann 2002[1982]) and the use frequency increases ('high textual frequency of target'; Heine 1994). At the global level, the preposition *from* is more specialized than *out-of*.

At a more local level, specialization shows different aspects. For instance, for use as a temporal departure-point marker only *from* is used (for durative) (contra *out-of*). For use as a marker of cause, *out-of* is more common than *from*. This has to do with the fact that, as Lindstromberg (1998) points out, emotion is conceptualized as space than as a point. In addition, for use as a marker of material (constituent/ingredient), *out-of* is more vivid than *from*, as shown in (23) (Lindstromberg 1998: 282):

- (23) a. Cheese is made *from* milk.
b. Cheese is made *out of* milk.

5.4 On subjectification

Since the now-classic Traugott's (1982) exposition on semantic-pragmatic tendencies, which dealt with speaker involvement in semantic change, the notion of 'subjectification' has been widely resorted to for explaining the semantic change accompanying grammaticalization. The notion can be summarized as: "Meanings based in the external described situation become meanings based in the internal (evaluative/ perceptual/cognitive) situations" (Traugott & König 1991: 208). Traugott (1982, 1988) and Traugott & König (1991) further claim that the subjectification process is unidirectional. Rhee (2004b, 2007) suggests that in grammaticalization of English prepositions, subjectification as a mechanism occurs most frequently in projecting the speaker's attitude, evaluative judgment, and epistemic causality relation to linguistic forms, e.g., *for* originally referred to a place or location in front of something, but it later became a marker of benefit. It means that an entity in front of someone is viewed as if it is there for the benefit of the person, a clear instance of subjective judgment on a state.

Likewise, in terms of the two prepositions under the current discussion, subjectification is apparent in the individual cases of development as shown in (24):

- (24) Subjectification of *from* and *out-of*
a. origin > agent (*from*)
b. origin > cause, motive (*from* and *out-of*)
c. origin > reason, evidence, logical ground (*from* and *out-of*)

5.5 On mechanisms

As was noted with reference to semantic networks, semantic extension is non-linear. This is a natural consequence of the state of affairs of language that emergence of a new meaning does not occur at the cost of the preexisting meaning but it enriches the meaning by being added to it. Therefore, when diverse meanings are simultaneously available, there is nothing that compels a newly emerging meaning to be based on the meaning that developed latest. Multi-linearity enables synchronic coexistence of near-antonymous meanings ('association' vs. 'separation') with the lexical support from the cooccurring words.

Also notable in this context is that metaphorical extension does not occur in a linear manner. For instance, considering that the extension patterns that seemingly can be best analyzed as instances metaphorization, i.e. the senses "spatial starting point" (SPACE), "temporal starting point" (TIME), and "abstract starting point" (QUALITY or other) of *from*, are all attested in the earliest OE period. Furthermore, there are instances where supposedly later meaning in terms of the metaphorical extension directionality actually occurs earlier. For instance, the "cause" meaning of *from* is fundamentally more concrete as it refers to more mechanical and/or tangible relations, whereas the "reason, ground" meaning is more abstract as it refers to a process involving human's subjective reasoning. However, the earliest attestation of the "cause" meaning dates from 1600, whereas that of the "reason, ground" meaning dates from 1000.

All this points to the fact that semantic networks may well represent the synchronic states of affairs of the mental lexicon where all associated meanings, regardless of the historical depth of each, form a cognitively well-motivated structure, which, however, may not be representations of chronological emergence patterns.

6. Conclusion

This paper looked into the semantic structures of the near-synonymous preposition pair, *from* and *out-of*. It showed that despite superficial similarities of their semantic designations, the two prepositions exhibit differences, clearly from

semantic categories and subtly from detailed focus differences and nuances. It also argued that the semantic/functional differences are largely due to the differences in their sources. According to their differences, they show different levels of specialization in and across sub-functions. The paper also suggests that the grammaticalization paths show subjectification (*from* & *out-of*), perspective shifts (*from*), subjectification (*from* & *out-of*), and categorial and semantic divergence (albeit, superficial) between the two prepositions.

An in-depth analysis of near-synonymous pairs provides valuable insights as to their ‘divergence’ and ‘convergence’ patterns (Lee 2012), where seemingly synonymous pairs in fact form elegant networks of division of labor, termed specialization. Convergence, for its neutralizing effect (‘levelling’ ‘paradigmatic integration’ ‘paradigmaticization’; Lehmann 2002[1982]: 120), may obliterate the differences and make the pair appear more identical in function. However, its counter-force of divergence may constantly look for functional niches in which each form may assume supremacy in subfunctions.

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