

# Prefixal *up* and its many functions from a Construction Morphology perspective

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This conference paper investigates prefixal *up* from a usage-based Construction Morphology perspective (Booij 2010). Locative prefixoids have only sporadically been studied in detail, and mainly in the context of prefix verbs (Scheible 2005; Schröder 2011; Kotowski 2021). By considering constructions of all syntactic categories like *upheaval*, *upstairs*, *upside*, and *uproot*, I demonstrate the systematic ways that prefixal *up* acquires different properties in relation to the following element. The aim of the study is to arrive at a comprehensive examination of the constraints of the construction and its subschemas located at different levels of abstraction as well as to illustrate the advantages of a constructional perspective on locative prefixoids.

Based on Booij's (2010: 57) proposal for the notation of constructional idioms with affixoids, I argue that positing the following schema for the construction under examination is merited:

$$(1) \quad [[up]_{Pi} [X]_{Yj}]_{Zk} \leftrightarrow [SEM_j \text{ with relation R to } up]_k$$

This schema can be considered a “mother schema” (Audring 2019) where *up* is given an abstract lexical category label P (prefixoid). Alongside the semantics of the schema, the lexical category label is specified in the daughter nodes based on findings by Marchand (1969: 109) that locative prefixoids function as different lexical categories in relation to the following element: They can have “adverbial force” (*upheaval*) and function as prepositions (*upstairs*) and adjectives (*upside*). My analysis shows that, in accordance with its lexical categories when used in isolation, *up* additionally behaves like a verb in complex words like *uproot* and *upend*, requiring words prototypically considered nouns for its open slot. I consequently also argue that the lexical category of the prefixoid determines the lexical category required of the following element.

I furthermore demonstrate that a constructional perspective on locative prefixoids has two distinct advantages over derivational accounts. First, such a perspective is capable of accounting for the different lexical categories of the locative prefixoid in the daughter schemas without relying on derivations such as *upstairs* from *up the stairs*, making these complex words a “syntactic problem” (Marchand 1969: 112). Second, it offers an answer to the ongoing question of category change caused by locative prefixoids in adjectival pre-modifiers like *extra-household activities* (Bauer, Lieber & Plag 2013: 338) or *upstairs bedroom*.

This study employs data from the BNC and involves both qualitative and quantitative components. The constraints of the construction and its subschemas are examined using simple collxeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003). The results of the collostructional analysis then enable the identification of a central sense and meaning extensions. The productivity of the subschemas is examined by means of the concept of coverage (Goldberg 2019: 51–73) as well as multiple quantitative measures. Based on the findings of the analysis, this conference paper presents a network model of the *up-x* construction and its subschemas.

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