

Over-characterized Constructions of Double Prefixal Verbs in Old English*

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Park, Sujin. “Over-characterized Constructions of Double Prefixal Verbs in Old English.” *Studies in English Language & Literature* 47.4 (2021): 265-286. This study aims to look closely into the over-characterized double prefixal verbs with eight Prefix2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/þ-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) and with two Prefix1s (*ā-*, *ge-*) in Old English (OE). It is observed that semantic pleonasm is displayed in the double prefixal verbs when one of the eight Prefix2s denoting ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’ is attached to the single prefixal verbs with one of the two Prefix1s that already hold the (same) semantic feature of ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’. The phenomenon of OE prefix pleonasm is shown in the descriptive analysis of OE double prefixation by Kim (2013), where he views that the prefixes at the right position are meaningless and semantically faded by grammaticalization, while the prefixes at the left position maintain their (lexical) meanings. From the perspective of Construction Morphology (CxM) (Booij 2010), this article suggests that the pleonastic OE double prefixal verbs can be seen as special constructions with the phenomenon of overcharacterization, and that these over-characterized double prefixal verbs can be accounted for (and assumed to be made) by the morphological operation of schema imposition or unification (Booij 2005, 2010; Booij & Audring 2018). Different from Kim (2013), the present study argues that both the Prefix2s and Prefix1s bear the lexical and grammatical meanings, of which the meanings of the Prefix2s are expressed twice in the unified constructions of the double prefixal verbs in OE. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Key Words: Old English prefixation, complex words, semantic pleonasm, overcharacterization, schema imposition

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I. Introduction

The process of double (as well as single) prefixation is actively carried out in Old English (henceforth, OE) word-formation. OE prefixes in double prefixal (hereafter, DP)¹ derivatives (or single prefixal (hereafter, SP) derivatives) are semantically expected to be transparent (e.g., *un-ā-mānsumod* ‘not excommunicated’ (*ā-mānsumod* ‘excommunicated’); *full-wearm* ‘fully warm’ (*wearm* ‘warm’); *fram-a-tēon/tīhan* ‘to draw away from’ (*a-tēon* ‘to draw away’); etc.). However, there is another case, which is very noticeable and interesting, where the prefixes in DP or SP derivatives are pleonastic (e.g., *forþ-a-sendan* ‘to send forth’ (*ā-/a-sendan* ‘to send forth’); *ge-niman* ‘to take away’ (*niman* ‘to take away’); etc.).

By concentrating on the phenomenon of prefix pleonasm, this article aims to investigate 55 types of OE DP verbs, comprising 11 combinations: [*aweg-* *ā-* V], [*aweg-* *ge-* V], [*eft-* *ā-* V], [*eft-* *ge-* V], [*fore-* *ge-* V], [*forð/þ-* *ā-* V], [*forð/þ-* *ge-* V], [*fram-* *ā-* V], [*of-* *ā-* V], [*ūp-* *ā-* V], [*ūt-* *ā-* V]. The ten types of prefixes involved in prefix pleonasm in this study are as follows: i) eight types of prefixes (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/þ-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, and *ūt-*) on the left in DP verbs (hereafter, Pfx2s); ii) two types of prefixes (*ā-* and *ge-*) on the right (hereafter, Pfx1s).

When it comes to pleonastic behavior of the Pfx2s occurring in OE DP verbs, it seems that there is no meaning addition when one of the eight Pfx2s is attached to an SP verb with one of the two Pfx1s (e.g., *āweg-ā-drīfan* ‘to drive away’ (*a-drīfan* ‘to drive away’); *forþ-ge-leoran* ‘to pass away’ (*ge-leoran* ‘to pass away’); etc.). Therefore, the meaning(s) of a DP verb with a Pfx2 and the meaning(s) of an SP verb with Pfx1 are turned out to be the same.

¹ The abbreviations used in this article are as follows: OE = Old English; DP = Double prefixal; SP = Single prefixal; Pfx1 = the first prefix combined firstly (and directly) with its simple base; Pfx2 = the second prefix attached to Pfx1 (Pfx2 is combined secondly (and lastly) with its simple base); OCN = Overcharacterization; CxM = Construction Morphology.

As to the meaninglessness (and also meaningfulness) of OE prefixes in DP (or SP) derivatives, Kim (2013) is the first study that intensively investigated OE prefixes with 843 types of DP derivatives. Since the main focus of Kim (2013) is to explicate the relation between the ordering of OE prefixes and their semantic changes (grammaticalization), the cases where which prefixes are meaningful or meaningless in DP derivatives are well described. According to the conclusion of Kim (2013:80), there are semantic restrictions on OE double prefixation, where more grammaticalized and hence semantically faded prefixes occur as the Pfx1, while semantically transparent prefixes occur as the Pfx2; [Pfx2_{SEM-Transparent} Pfx1_{Grammaticalized(SEM-Faded)} BASE]. That is to say, Kim (2013) views that the meanings of Pfx1s tend to be meaningless (since Pfx1s are grammaticalized gradually), while the meanings of Pfx2s tend to be meaningful since Pfx2s maintain their own (lexical) meanings in DP derivatives (e.g., *up-a-hon* ‘to hang up’_(Meaningful) < *a-hon* ‘to hang’_(Meaningless) < *hon* ‘to hang’ (Kim 2013:59)).

Kim (2013)’s analysis is insightful in that it gives us the way to consider from a diachronic perspective how and in what order OE prefixes in DP derivatives can be stacked up. However, from a synchronic perspective, it can be hard to say that the meaning(s) of a Pfx1 in an SP verb disappear(s) when a Pfx2 is attached to it. According to my data (although it is much fewer than Kim (2013)’s), it is observed that the meaning(s) of every Pfx2 (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) occurring in 55 types of DP verbs, and the meaning(s) of the two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*) in 55 types of SP verbs are all represented. Especially in the case (of prefix pleonasm) where the meanings of a Pfx1 in an SP verb and those of a Pfx2 in a DP verbs are the same, it cannot be easily decided which one is making a meaning contribution in a DP verb (e.g., *āweg-ā-drīfan* ‘to drive away’ (*a-drīfan* ‘to drive away’); is it *aweg-* or *ā-* that expresses ‘away’? is the meaning ‘away’ of *ā-* lost when *āweg-* is attached to in *ā-drīfan*?

Synchronically in OE, it is plausible to say that both Pfx1s and Pfx2s are simultaneously making meaning contributions in DP verbs, as the meanings of Pfx1s

are apparently expressed in SP verbs. Then, the question is how can the simultaneous meaning contribution of both Pfx1s and Pfx2s be nicely accounted for from a synchronic view? The present paper suggests based on Construction Morphology (henceforth, CxM) (Booij 2010) that ‘Construction’ is the key to explain prefix pleonasm in OE.

This study assumes that a prefix (a morpheme) itself does not ‘possess’ or ‘add’ its meaning(s), but a verb with a prefix (a word) as a whole represents a specific meaning; a prefixal verb is a construction with form and meaning. Hence, in the case of OE DP verbs showing prefix pleonasm, it can be accounted for as follows: i) an OE SP verb with one of the ten prefixes is a construction with a specific form and meaning (e.g., [*a-* [X]_V]_V ↔ [to X away], [*āweg-* [X]_V]_V ↔ [to X away]); ii) the construction of a verb with one of the eight prefixes is imposed onto the construction of a verb with one of the two prefixes; iii) ultimately, it is seen that the semantic feature of the construction with one of the eight prefixes is ‘Over-characterized’ in a DP verb for safety or systematization; the Pfx2s seem to show the effect of ‘Overcharacterization’ (hereafter, OCN)² in DP verbs (e.g., {*āweg-*_{Pfx2} [*a-*_{Pfx1} [X]_V]_V}_{V(OCN)} ↔ {to X away}_{3(OCN)}).

This article is structured as follows: Section 2 offers CxM-based analysis of OE DP verbs with eight Pfx2s showing OCN, while introducing the phenomenon; i) Section 2.1 provides the data of OE DP and SP verbs analyzed; ii) Section 2.2 offers the definition and examples of OCN, and presents over-characterized constructions and abstract schemas for OE DP verbs with eight Pfx2s. At last, Section 3 gives a summarization and concludes this study.

² The phenomenon of ‘Overcharacterization’ (OCN) (Booij 2005, Booij & Audring 2018), ‘Hypercharacterization’ (Lehmann 2005) or ‘Affix Pleonasm’ (Gardani 2015) is introduced and explained in detail in Section 2.2.1.

³ The curly brackets {} are employed in this study so that the peculiar feature of OCN is clearly indicated in a schema.

II. Construction Morphology Analysis of Over-characterized Double Prefixal Verbs in Old English

2.1 Data Collection and Statistics

In order to identify the OE Pfx2s that bring on OCN (overcharacterization) in DP verbs, and the [Pfx2- Pfx1-] combinations that comprise the over-characterized DP verbs, I conducted research as follows. Firstly, I made a list of various types of OE prefixes⁴ with their meanings by consulting OE handbooks of word-formation and affixation (Wright & Wright 1908; Kastovsky 1992; Quirk & Wrenn 1994; and primarily Kim 2020), where the forms and meanings of a number of OE prefixes are described in detail. As a result, it was noticeable that eight types of prefixes (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, and *ūt-*) evidently express their meanings regarding ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’ (e.g., ‘away’, ‘out’, ‘before’, ‘up’, etc.) in DP derivatives.

Therefore, secondly, I have searched for OE DP derivatives to which the eight types of prefixes are attached as Pfx2s, by using (not one but) two online-based OE dictionaries, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Bosworth and Toller (2010) and *Old English Dictionary* by Johnson (2004) that is on the basis of *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Hall (1916). As a result, I could retrieve a total of 151 types of DP derivatives with the eight Pfx2s, and gather a wide variety of meanings of them as well as SP derivatives and simple base words. It is important for this study to obtain as many meanings of the prefixal or simple base words as possible because the more varied meanings I got, the more DP derivatives bearing OCN I could figure out. After conducting morphological and semantic analysis of the DP derivatives, I collected a total of 55 types of over-characterized DP verbs, where it

⁴ The OE prefixes that this study researched before selecting 10 types of the prefixes for this study were 23 types in total (*ā*, *æf*, *æfter-*, *æt-*, *be-/bī-*, *efen-*, *eft-*, *for-/fer-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *ge-*, *in(n)-*, *of-*, *ofer-*, *on-/an-*, *tō-*, *þurh-*, *under-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*, *wið-*, *ymb(e)-*).

is discovered that the aforementioned eight types of Pfx2s deliver the effect of OCN by occurring in the DP verbs. Furthermore, it is found out that the Pfx1s combined with the eight Pfx2s are *ā-* and *ge-*, which are attached to the simple base verbs that mostly indicate ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’ (e.g., *rāsan* ‘to rush’ *drīfan* ‘to drive’ *leoran* ‘to pass’, *delfan* ‘to dig, *niman* ‘to take, *ceorfan* ‘to cut’, *weorpan* ‘to throw, etc.).

Table 1 below presents some of the statistics of the over-characterized DP verbs with eight Pfx2s and two Pfx1s.

(Table 1) Over-characterized Double Prefixal Verbs in OE (55 Types in Total)

[Pfx2s (8 Types) - Pfx1s (2 Types)]	No. of Types	11 Combinations	No. of Types
[<i>aweg-</i> <i>ā-/ge-</i>] ‘away, out’	6	[<i>aweg-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	4
		[<i>aweg-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	2
[<i>eft-</i> <i>ā-/ge-</i>] ‘back, again’	2	[<i>eft-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	1
		[<i>eft-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	1
[<i>fore-</i> <i>ge-</i>] ‘fore-, pre-, beforehand’	2	[<i>fore-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	2
[<i>forð/þ-</i> <i>ā-/ge-</i>] ‘forth’	8	[<i>forð/þ-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	2
		[<i>forð/þ-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	6
[<i>fram-</i> <i>ā-</i>] ‘from, away, off’	9	[<i>fram-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	9
[<i>of-</i> <i>ā-</i>] ‘off, away, out’	10	[<i>of-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	10
[<i>ūp-</i> <i>ā-</i>] ‘up’	8	[<i>ūp-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	8
[<i>ūt-</i> <i>ā-</i>] ‘out, forth, away’	10	[<i>ūt-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	10
Total	55	Total	55

In Table 1, it can be seen that 11 combinations of [Pfx2- Pfx1-] comprise the 55 types of DP verbs. Of the eight types of Pfx2s, *aweg-*, *eft-*, and *forð/þ-* are combined with the Pfx1s of either *ā-* or *ge-*, while *fore-* is combined only with *ge-*.

The other four Pfx2s, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, and *ūt-* are linked only to *ā-*. Regarding the number of types, it is seen that each of the five types of combinations, [*forð/þ- ge-*], [*fram- ā-*], [*of- ā-*], [*ūp- ā-*], and [*ūt- ā-*] retains over six types of DP verbs, while each of the other six types of combinations from [*aweg- ā-*] to [*forð/þ- ā-*] has less than five types of DP verbs.

When it comes to analyzing the forms and meanings of the DP verbs, it is necessary to track down the forms and meanings of the simple verbs that are paradigmatically connected with the DP verbs, and that can be the bases of the two Pfx1s and the eight Pfx2s. By doing so, it is possible to figure out two things; i) first, what meaning contributions the Pfx2s and Pfx1s make in DP verbs; second, the (close) semantic relationship between the simple base verbs and the Pfx2s (and Pfx1s). As a result of the analysis, I have discovered 47 types of simple base verbs, of which 44 types (except only three)⁵ denote ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’. Considering that the eight Pfx2s and two Pfx1s indicate mainly ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’, it seems natural for the Pfx2s and Pfx1s to attach to the simple base verbs of ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’.

The following (1) presents 44 types of simple base verbs of ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’ are categorized into four (1a~1d) according to the semantic sub-units of ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’ that are carried by the Pfx2s and Pfx1s within DP verbs.

(1) Simple Base Verbs of ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’ (44 Types in Total)

a. Combined with the Meanings, ‘away, from, off, out’

of the Pfx2s, *aweg-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūt-* and the Pfx1s, *ā-*, *ge-* (27 Types in Total)
berstan ‘to break, burst, fall’; *cēapian* ‘to buy, purchase, trade’;
ceorfan ‘to cut, slay’; *cnyssan* ‘to press, trouble, oppress’;
cyrran ‘to turn, go’; *delfan* ‘to dig, delve, burrow’;

⁵ Of 47 types of simple base verbs, only three verbs are stative verbs, not motion verbs. The three stative verbs are *hātan* ‘to bid, order, promise, call’ and *teohhian* ‘to suppose, consider, think, determine, intend’, and *myndgian* ‘to remember’.

dōn ‘to do, make, perform, keep’; *drīfan* ‘to drive, force, move’;
drīgan/drygan ‘to dry, wipe’; *hēawan* ‘to hew, cut (down)’;
hyldan/hieldan ‘to bend, incline’; *lādan* ‘to lead, bring’;
lēoran ‘to go, depart’; *lūcan* ‘to lock, close’;
faran ‘to set forth, go, travel, sail’; *niman* ‘to take, receive’;
sceacan/scacan ‘to shake, flee, hurry off, pass’;
scieran/sciran/sceran ‘to cut, shear’; *scūfan* ‘to shove, thrust, push’;
snīðan ‘to cut, slay’; *tēon* (< *tēohan*) ‘to pull, tug, draw (to)’;
styrian ‘to move, stir’; *tīnan* ‘to hedge in, to close, shut a door’
wendan ‘to turn, direct, go, change’; *weorpan* ‘to throw, cast, hit’;
wītan ‘to see to, go’; *wyltan/wiltan* ‘to roll’; *wyrtrumian* ‘to take root’

b. Combined with the Meaning, ‘forth’ of the Pfx2 *forð/p-*
 and the Pfx1s, *ā-*, *ge-* (8 Types in Total)

cīgan/cīgan ‘to call, name’; *fēran/feran* ‘to go, come, depart’;
lādan ‘to lead, bring’; *lēoran* ‘to go, depart’; *lūcan* ‘to lock, close’;
sendan ‘to send, move’; *settan* ‘to set (up), put’;
stīgan ‘to ascend, descend’; *wītan* ‘to go, see to’

c. Combined with the Meaning, ‘up’ of the Pfx2 *ūp-* and the Pfx1, *ā-*
 (8 Types in Total)

hebban ‘to heave, raise, lift’; *rāeran* ‘to raise, build’;
reccan ‘to stretch, extend, go, give’; *springan* ‘to spring, leap’;
stīgan ‘to ascend, mount, go’; *tēon* (< *tēohan*) ‘to pull, tug, draw (to)’
weallan ‘to well, flow with, bubble’; *wegan* ‘to move, bear, carry’

d. Combined with the Meaning, ‘back, again’ of the Pfx2 *eft-*
 and the Pfx1 *ā-* (1 Type in Total)

gyfan/gifan ‘to give, grant, deliver’

In (1), the division of the four semantic sub-groups of ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’ from (1a) to (1d) is made by the result of observation as follows: in (1a), possessing the largest verb types (27), the four types of Pfx2s, *aweg-*, *fram-*, *of-*, and *ūt-* are grouped together because their meanings ‘away, from, off, out’ are often overlapped; in (1b, 1c, 1d) the Pfx2 *forð/p-* ‘forth’, *ūp-* ‘up’, and *eft-* ‘back, again’ respectively is attached to the simple base verbs with which the Pfx2s make a strong semantic relation (e.g., *forð/p-* with *wītan* ‘to go’ (*forþ-ge-wītan* ‘to go forth’); *ūp-* with *hebban* ‘to raise, lift’ (*ūp-ā-hebban* ‘to lift up, raise up’); *eft-* with *gyfan/gifan* ‘to give’ (*eft-a-gyfan* ‘to give back’).

As stated earlier, all of these simple base verbs in (1) have paradigmatic relationship with the DP verbs morphologically and semantically. Hence, the forms and meanings of these simple base verbs can be the morphological and semantic bases of the DP verbs with Pfx2s and Pfx1s. For instance, the formal and semantic base of a DP verb, *āweg-ā-drīfan* ‘to drive away’ (and also an SP verb *a-drīfan* ‘to drive away’) can be the simple verb, *drīfan* ‘to drive, force, move’ in (1a). In this case, each of the Pfx2 *āweg-* and the Pfx1 *ā-* contributes the meaning of ‘away’ to the simple verb *drīfan* ‘to drive’. Given that the simple verb *drīfan* ‘to drive’ is a motion verb, meaning ‘to control movement or direction of something’, it matches semantically well with the Pfx2 *āweg-* and the Pfx1 *ā-* of ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’.

2.2 Analysis: Over-characterized Constructions of OE Double Prefixal Verbs

The current Section 2.2 introduces the concept of ‘Overcharacterization’ (‘Hypercharacterisation’, ‘Affix Pleonasm’), and then conducts CxM-based analysis of OE double prefixal (DP) verbs, where the eight Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, and *ūt-*) cause overcharacterization (OCN) when they are combined with the two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*) and simple base verbs of motion.

2.2.1 ‘Overcharacterization’, ‘Hypercharacterisation’, and ‘Affix Pleonasm’

Before starting the analysis, let me briefly introduce the phenomenon of OCN dealt with by Lehmann (2005), Booij (2005), and Booij & Audring (2018), and Gardani (2015).

Lehmann (2005) details OCN by naming distinctively as ‘Hypercharacterisation’⁶, which is viewed as a kind of pleonasm concerning both inflectional and derivational morphology at the level of grammar. According to Lehmann (2005:121, 125, 135), hypercharacterization⁷ is the phenomenon where an inflectional or derivational morpheme express the ‘focal component’ (the shared meaning(s) in a pleonastic words or phrases). Let me present some examples of derivational hypercharacterization given by Lehmann (2005:145-146). The first example is the German applicative prefix *be-* that transitivizes a transitive verb into a transitive verb. for example, the prefix *be-* is attached to the (already) transitive verbs *füllen* ‘to fill’, *jagen* ‘to hunt’, and *füttern* ‘to feed’, resulting in the (new) transitive verbs *befüllen* ‘to fill’, *bejagen* ‘to hunt’, and *befüttern* ‘to feed’, respectively. Lehmann (2005:145-146) suggests that this is phatic pleonasm whose motivation is to impress the sounds of the pleonastic expressions.

Other examples of derivational hypercharacterization can be seen in diminution and the pleonastic superlative in Italian. In the case of diminution, two diminutive suffixes are stacked (e.g., *libr-ettino* ‘little booklet’ = [*libro* ‘book’] + [*-etto* (diminutive suffix) + *-ino* (diminutive suffix)]. As to the pleonastic superlative, a prefix having a similar meaning to superlative is added to a superlative form (e.g., *ultra-bell-issimo* ‘most hyperbeautiful’ [*ultra-* (prefix ‘hyper’) [*bello* + *-issimo* (superlative suffix)]] (cf. Gardani (2015:544)).

From the view of CxM, Booij (2005:273-274), and Booij & Audring (2018:78)

⁶ Lehmann (2005) takes the term ‘Hypercharacterization’, as Lehmann (2005:119, 150) insists that ‘Overcharacterisation’ is not a proper linguistic term because it means ‘exaggeration, caricature’.

⁷ In Lehmann (2005:119), it is stated that the phenomenon of hypercharacterisation is ubiquitous in discourse, morphology, syntax, and phonology.

handle the phenomenon of overcharacterization (OCN) (not taking the term hypercharacterization) occurring in some morphological patterns by suggesting schema imposition. The examples of OCN offered by the two previous studies (Booij 2005:273-274; Booij & Audring 2018:78) are pleonastic affixation in Dutch acronyms denoting ‘person’. In the case of Dutch acronyms denoting ‘person’, the suffix *-er* is attached, resulting in the person-denoting nouns, where the meaning of ‘person’ is expressed once again (or two times) by *-er*. For instance, the acronym of *Bekende Nederlander* ‘famous Dutchman’ is BN, to which *-er* is attached. Therefore, BN-*er* is yielded (the same example: KVV (*Kort Verband Vrijwilliger* ‘short-term volunteer’) > KVV-*er*). In CxM, this linguistic change counts as OCN, which is accounted for by assuming that the [X -*er*]_N schema is imposed on the schema of person-denoting acronyms.

According to Booij (2005:273-274) and Booij & Audring (2018:78), the motivation of OCN is ‘Systematization’, a morphological and semantic change, whereby the words with pleonastic affixation have shared forms and meanings that are expressed ‘in a uniform way’. The examples of systematization is nicely observed in the person-denoting nouns ending in *-er* in present-day Dutch. In this case, the schwa *-e* attached to the person-denoting nouns in Middle Dutch is replaced by *-er* (e.g., *schenk-e* ‘cupbearer, giver’ > *schenk-er*; *scutt-e* ‘shooter, rifleman’ > *scutt-er*). Since there is an extension of the [X -*er*]_N construction where all person-denoting nouns are ended uniformly in *-er*, it is seen that the Dutch person-denoting nouns in *-er* underwent systematization.

Gardani (2015), who adopts the term ‘Affix Pleonasm’ instead of OCN or hypercharacterization, is notable in that it elaborates this phenomenon by concentrating on how affix pleonasm is realized. Accordingly, Gardani (2015) divides affix pleonasm into two sub-categories: i) explicit (overt) pleonasm; ii) implicit (lexical) pleonasm. According to Gardani (2015:539-540), explicit (overt) pleonasm can be seen as the realization of explicit addition of double or multiple marking (morphological or syntactic) having a functional or semantic value ‘V’ that

is explicitly realized in a lexeme. For example, in the noun phrase in Italian *tre can-i* ‘three dogs’, the value ‘V’ of plural is explicitly realized by the addition of both the plural suffix *-i* and the numeral *tre*. Another example of explicit pleonasm can be seen in the superlative in Modern Greek, where the value ‘V’ of superlative is realized by the addition of two comparative suffixes (e.g., *o kali-tero-ter(os)* [good- COMP- COMP] ‘bestest’).

On the other hand, implicit pleonasm occurs when one element overtly expressing the functional or semantic value ‘V’ is combined with a lexeme that already (inherently) holds the same value ‘V’. For instance, in Spanish iterative verbs such as *interrogu-ear* ‘to interrogate’ or *tergivers-ear* ‘to twist’, the verbs *interrogar* and *tergiversar* without *-ear* that inherently hold the iterative value ‘V’ are combined with the iterative suffix *-ear* having the same value ‘V’ (Gardani 2015:544). This kind of implicit (lexical) pleonasm corresponds to the case of over-characterized OE DP verbs (e.g., *āweg-ā-drīfan* ‘to drive away’ (*a-drīfan* ‘to drive away’): *āweg-* is attached to *a-drīfan* that already bears the value ‘away’) for the current study.

2.2.2 Over-characterized Constructions of OE Double Prefixal Verbs:

{*aweg-/eft-/fore-/forð/p-/fram-/of-/ūp-/ūt-* PFX2 [*ā-/ge-* PFX1 [X-*an*]_V]_V}

Now, let me detail how OCN occurs in the 55 types of OE DP verbs. As described earlier, the effect of OCN is seen in the DP verbs when one of the eight Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) are attached to the SP verbs with one of the two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*).

Let us first see <Table 2> below that presents the 11 combinations of double prefixation displaying OCN and their examples of DP verbs with the SP verbs as bases.

<Table 2> 11 Combinations of Over-characterized Double Prefixation in OE

	11 Combinations	Over-characterized DP Verbs (SP Verbs as Bases)
1	[<i>aweg-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>āweg-ā-drīfan</i> ‘to drive away’ (<i>a-drīfan</i> ‘to drive away’)
2	[<i>aweg-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	<i>aweg-ge-wītan</i> ‘to go away’ (<i>ge-wītan</i> ‘to go away’)
3	[<i>eft-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>eft-a-gyfan</i> ‘to give back’ (<i>a-gyfan/gifan</i> ‘to give back’)
4	[<i>eft-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	<i>eft-ge-myndgian/myndigian</i> ‘to remember’ (<i>ge-myndgian/myndigian</i> ‘to remember’)
5	[<i>fore-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	<i>fore-ge-hātan</i> ‘to promise’ (<i>ge-hātan</i> ‘to promise’) <i>fore-ge-teohhian</i> ‘to destine’ (<i>ge-teohhian</i> ‘to destine’)
6	[<i>forð/b-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>forþ-a-sendan</i> ‘to send forth’ (<i>ā-/a-sendan</i> ‘to send forth’)
7	[<i>forð/b-</i> <i>ge-</i>]	<i>forþ-ge-cýgan</i> ‘to call forth’ (<i>ge-cýgan/cýgan</i> ‘to call forth’)
8	[<i>fram-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>fram-a-weorpan</i> ‘throw away, to cast from/away’ (<i>a-weorpan</i> ‘throw away, to cast from/away’)
9	[<i>of-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>of-ā-scacan/sceacan</i> ‘to shake off’ (<i>ā-/a-scacan/a-sceacan</i> ‘to shake off’)
10	[<i>ūp-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>ūp-ā-springan</i> ‘to spring up, arise’ (<i>ā-springan</i> ‘to spring up, arise’)
11	[<i>ūt-</i> <i>ā-</i>]	<i>ūt-ā-drīfan</i> ‘to drive out’ (<i>a-drīfan</i> ‘to drive out’)

In <Table 2>, it is seen that the DP verbs comprising 11 combinations of [Pfx2s-Pfx1s-], in which the Pfx2s are eight types, while the Pfx1s are restricted to two types. When one of the eight Pfx2s are attached to the SP verbs prefixed with one of the two Pfx1s, the resulting DP verbs are over-characterized. For instance, in the first combination of [*āweg-* *ā-*], the meaning of ‘away’ is over-characterized in the DP verb *āweg-ā-drīfan* ‘to drive away’ by the addition of the Pfx2 *āweg-* to the SP verb *a-drīfan* ‘to drive away’. Hence, the meaning of ‘away’ is expressed twice in the DP verb *āweg-ā-drīfan*.

As to the meaning contributions made by the two Pfx1s, *ā-* and *ge-* in SP verbs, Kim (2013:59, 74) and Kim (2020: 69-70, 72-75, 113-124) offer detailed morphological and semantic descriptions of the prefixes *ā-* and *ge-*, in which the two prefixes both carry grammatical meanings such as perfectivity or resultativity

(e.g., *a-heawan* ‘to cut off’ (< *heawan* ‘to cut’); *ge-acisian* ‘to find out by asking’ (< *acsian* ‘to ask’). In addition to the grammatical meanings, the present study suggests that the two Pfx1s, *ā-* and *ge-* also bear the lexical meanings of ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’ as most of the Pfx2s do. For example, in the ninth combination of [*of- ā-*], the DP (*of-ā-scacan/sceacan* ‘to shake off’) and SP (*ā-/a-scacan/a-sceacan* ‘to shake off’) verbs show that both the Pfx1 *ā-* and the Pfx2 *of-* are able to express the meaning ‘off’ (‘away from a place/position’) both as the grammatical meanings of perfectivity or resultativity, and as the lexical meanings of direction or movement. Therefore, this article views that OCN occurs when a Pfx2 carrying certain grammatical and lexical meanings is attached to an SP verb with a Pfx1 holding the same grammatical and lexical meanings.⁸

The current study based on CxM argues that the peculiar and quite complex (morphological and semantic) features of the over-characterized DP verbs can be generalized into and represented simply by abstract schemas. According to Booij (2010:5), the concept of ‘Schema’ is very general in cognitive science. An abstract schema plays important roles to express a generalization about existing complex words with certain forms and meanings, and also to motivate to produce new words of the same types (Booij 2019:386). For example, the formal and semantic features of the English deverbal nouns ending in *-er* can be abstracted away and generalized to be represented simply by the schema like $[[X]_V \text{er}]_N \leftrightarrow [\text{one who Vs}]$ (cf. Booij 2010:2). In this case, the feature of agentivity is not expressed by the morpheme *-er* itself; the meaning of *-er* can only be expressed in the construction $[X\text{-er}]$, which as a whole holds the feature of agentivity.

In dealing with the construction of the over-characterized DP verbs, this article adopts the notion of schema imposition or unification in CxM (Booij 2010; Booij &

⁸ The meanings expressed in the construction of $[\bar{a}/\text{ge-} [X\text{-an}]_V]_V$ SP verbs are as follows: i) the meanings expressed in the construction of $[\bar{a}- [X\text{-an}]_V]_V$ SP verbs: ‘away, out, up, off, forth, forward, from, back, down, aside, upside down, into’; ii) the meanings expressed in the construction of $[\text{ge-} [X\text{-an}]_V]_V$ SP verbs: ‘away, out, forth, up, upon, again, fore-/pre-’.

Audring 2018) that previously introduced in Section 2.2.1. Schema imposition is a morphological operation whereby a schema is imposed on or unified with a lexical item, resulting in the coinage of new complex words. In this study, I assume that the over-characterized DP verbs in OE are coined by the process of schema imposition, in which the schema for prefixal verbs with the prefixes of eight Pfx2s is imposed on the schema for prefixal verbs with the prefixes of two Pfx1s.

Now from (2) to (6) below, let us see the unified abstract schemas for the over-characterized OE DP verbs with the eight Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/þ-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) that are combined with the SP verbs with two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*). The four types of schemas from (2) to (6) are organized in accordance with the four semantic sub-groups of simple base verbs denoting ‘Motion’ or ‘Action’ with the Pfx2s and Pfx1s of ‘Direction’ or ‘Movement’ in (1a)~(1d).

(2) Abstract Schemas for Over-characterized OE DP Verbs

With Four Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūt-*) and Two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*)

a. Schema for [*ā-ge* [*X⁹-an*]] SP Verbs as Bases:

[*ā-ge* [*X-an*]_{v_i}]_{v_j} ↔ [SEM_i Away/From/Off/Out _{Movement/Direction/Source/Removal/Perfection}]_j

b. Unified Schema for the Over-characterized DP Verbs [*aweg-/fram-/of-/ūt-*

[*ā-ge* *X-an*]]:

{*aweg-/fram-/of-/ūt-* [*ā-ge* [*X-an*]_{v_i}]_{v_k}} ↔
 {SEM_j Away/From/Off/Out _{Movement/Direction/Source/Removal/Perfection} }_k

In (2), there are two schemas, in which there are formal features on the left and semantic features on the right with the double arrow (↔)¹⁰ at the center. The

⁹ The ‘X’ in the slot [*X-an*] denotes a variable that can be filled with an OE verbal stem.

¹⁰ The double arrow (↔) in schema indicates that there is a correspondence between Form and Meaning.

schema in (2a) is for the SP verbs prefixed with one of the two Pfx1s (*ā-* or *ge-*), which clearly specifies that the [*ā-/ge* [X-*an*]_V]_V SP verbs express both the lexical and grammatical meanings.

In (2b), there is a curly bracketed {}, unified schema for the over-characterized DP verbs, where the peculiar formal and semantic features are generalized into and specified. The unified schema in (2b) is assumed to be constructed by the imposition of the schema for [*aweg-/fram-/of-/ūt-* [X-*an*]_V]_V SP verbs, meaning *aweg-*, *fram-*, *of-*, or *ūt-* onto the schema for [*ā-/ge* [X-*an*]_V]_V SP verbs bearing the same meanings. In summary, the unified schema in (2b) nicely evinces that the effect of OCN in the DP verbs. In addition, the unified schema in (2b) can also be used to coin the over-characterized DP verbs with the four Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūt-*) and the two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*) in OE.

(3) Abstract Schemas for Over-characterized OE DP Verbs

With the Pfx2 (*forð/p-*) and Two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*)

a. Schema for [*ā-/ge* [X-*an*]] SP Verbs as Bases:

[*ā-/ge* [X-*an*]_{V_i}]_{V_j} ↔ [SEM_i Forth/Forwards Movement/Direction/Perfektivity]_j

b. Unified Schema for the Over-characterized DP Verbs [*forð/p-* [*ā-/ge* X-*an*]]:

{*forð/p-* [*ā-/ge* [X-*an*]_{V_i}]_{V_j}]_{V_k} ↔ {SEM_j Forth/Forwards Movement/Direction/Perfektivity}_k

In the case of the unified schema for the over-characterized DP verbs having the combinations of [*forð/p-* *ā-*] and [*forð/p-* *ge-*] in (3b), it is seen that the [*forð/p-* [X-*an*]_V]_V schema expressing ‘forth’ or ‘forwards’ is imposed onto the schema for the SP verbs with *ā-* or *ge-* carrying already the meanings of ‘forth’ or ‘forwards’. By enclosing the unified schema with the curly brackets {}, this study shows that the DP verbs display OCN; the meanings of ‘forth’ or ‘forwards’ occur twice by the addition of the Pfx2 *forð/p-*.

(4) Abstract Schemas for Over-characterized OE DP Verbs

With the Pfx2 (*ūp-*) and the Pfx1 (*ā-*)

a. Schema for [*ā-* [*X-an*]] SP Verbs as Bases:
$$[\bar{a}- [X-an]_{vi}]_{vj} \leftrightarrow [SEM_i \text{ Up}_{\text{Movement/Direction/Perfactivity}}]_j$$
b. Unified Schema for the Over-characterized DP Verbs [*ūp-* [*ā-* *X-an*]]:
$$\{\bar{u}p- [\bar{a}- [X-an]_{vi}]_{vj}\}_{vk} \leftrightarrow \{SEM_j \text{ Up}_{\text{Movement/Direction/Perfactivity}}\}_k$$

In (4b), there is also the operation of schema imposition or unification in the DP verbs with the Pfx2 *ūp-* and the Pfx1 *ā-*; the schema for [*ūp-* [*X-an*]_v]_v verbs is unified with the schema for the SP verbs with Pfx1 *ā-*. In both schemas in (4a) and (4b), it can be seen that they share the same (lexical and grammatical) meaning ‘up’.

(5) Abstract Schemas for Over-characterized OE DP Verbs

With the Pfx2 (*eft-*) and Two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*)

a. Schema for [*ā-/ge-* [*X-an*]] SP Verbs as Bases:
$$[\bar{a}/ge- [X-an]_{vi}]_{vj} \leftrightarrow [SEM_i \text{ Back/Again}_{\text{Movement/Direction/State/Perfactivity}}]_j$$
b. Unified Schema for the Over-characterized DP Verbs [*eft-* [*ā-/ge-* *X-an*]]:
$$\{eft- [\bar{a}/ge- [X-an]_{vi}]_{vj}\}_{vk} \leftrightarrow \{SEM_j \text{ Back/Again}_{\text{Movement/Direction/State/Perfactivity}}\}_k$$

As shown in (5b), the Pfx2 *eft-* causes OCN when it is attached to the SP verbs with the prefixes *ā-* or *ge-*, whose formal and semantic features are specified in the unified schema in (5b). This unified schema represents firstly that there can be a schema for the SP verbs with the prefix *eft-* expressing the semantic feature ‘back, again’, and secondly that the schema is imposed onto or unified with the schema for the SP verbs with the prefixes *ā-* or *ge-* that inherently bearing the (same) semantic

feature ‘back, again’.

Given that in one DP verb with *eft-* and *ge-* (*eft-ge-myndgian* ‘to remember’ (*ge-myndgian* ‘to remember’)),¹¹ the simple base verb denotes ‘State’, the semantic feature is added and represented in the two schemas in (5a) and (5b).

(6) Abstract Schemas for Over-characterized OE DP Verbs

With the Pfx2 (*fore-*) and the Pfx1 (*ge-*)

a. Schema for [*ge-* [*X-an*]] SP Verbs as Bases:

$[ge- [X-an]_{V_i} V_j] \leftrightarrow [Fore-/Pre- SEM_i \text{ Direction/Temporal/Resultativity}]_j$

b. Unified Schema for the Over-characterized DP Verbs [*fore-* [*ge-* *X-an*]]:

$\{fore- [ge- [X-an]_{V_i} V_j]\}_{V_k} \leftrightarrow \{Fore-/Pre- SEM_j \text{ Direction/Temporal/Resultativity}\}_k$

As the unified schema in (6b) shows, the schema for the SP verbs with the prefix (*fore-*) expressing ‘fore-, pre-’ goes through unification with the schema for the SP verbs with the prefix *ge-* having the semantic features of ‘fore-, pre-’. As a result, one unified schema has been made, where it is assumed that the semantic features of ‘fore-, pre-’ is over-characterized.

In terms of the lexical meanings, ‘Temporal’ regarding time is added in (6) because the semantic features of ‘fore-, pre-’ indicate not only direction but also temporal, when considering the meanings of the DP and SP verbs *fore-ge-hātan* = *ge-hātan* ‘to promise’ (< *hātan* ‘to bid, order, call’) and *fore-ge-teohhian* = *ge-teohhian* ‘to destine’ (< *teohhian* ‘to consider, think, determine’) as given in <Table 2>.

¹¹ In the case of *eft-ge-myndgian* ‘to remember’ and *ge-myndgian* ‘to remember’, I assume that the semantic feature of ‘back, again’ is expressed by *re-* in ‘to remember’. Since the simple base verb *myndgian* has the meaning of ‘be mindful of’, it seems reasonable to view that the feature ‘back, again’ is expressed when *ge-* is attached to *myndgian* (*ge-myndgian*), and then *eft-* is attached to *ge-myndgian* (*eft-ge-myndgian*).

The following (7) below presents the schema for over-characterized OE DP verbs with eight Pfx2s and two Pfx1s, where the formal and semantic features are generalized and abstracted away the most.

(7) The Most Abstract Schema for Over-characterized OE DP Verbs

- a. {Pfx2- [Pfx1- [V]_{vi}]_{vj}}_{Vk(OCN)} ↔ {SEM_j Lexical/Grammatical}_{k(OCN)}
- b. {Pfx2- *aweg-/fram-/of-/ūt-/forð/p-/ūp-/eft-/fore-* [Pfx1- *ā-/ge* [V]_{vi}]_{vj}}_{Vk(OCN)} ↔
 {SEM_j Lexical Movement/Direction/Source/State/Temporal/Grammatical Perfection/Resultativity}_{k(OCN)}

As illustrated in (7), a schema has a fascinating strength to represent the most generalized formal and semantic features of a complex word; a schema can be made very simple while it contains a lot of important information. The schema in (7a) is the most general and abstract schema for over-characterized OE DP verbs with eight Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) and two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*). (The schema in (7b) is a detailed version of (7a), which shows all the formal and semantic features of over-characterized OE DP verbs in more detail.)

As previously stated, this schema in (7a) is made by the morphological process of schema unification or imposition; the schema for OE SP verbs with one of the eight prefixes expressing certain lexical or grammatical meanings is unified with or imposed onto the schema for OE SP verbs with one of the two prefixes already holding the same lexical or grammatical meanings. The outermost, curly brackets {}, designed in this study, specify that the DP verbs have the effect of OCN, which is also indexed as (OCN) at the end of Form and Meaning.

By assuming schema unification or imposition based on CxM, the present study shows that the two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*) cannot be seen as meaningless, but they do make a meaning contribution as specific constructions of SP verbs, and also that the eight Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) cannot be treated as redundant

anymore because the unified schema for OE DP verbs is able to represent that the Pfx2s are expressing their own meanings once again in the unified constructions.

III. Summary and Conclusion

In this study, firstly, I have identified 55 types of over-characterized OE DP verbs with eight Pfx2s (*aweg-*, *eft-*, *fore-*, *forð/p-*, *fram-*, *of-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*) and two Pfx1s (*ā-*, *ge-*), comprising 11 combinations of double prefixation. Secondly, I suggested that both types of prefixes (Pfx1s and Pfx2s) can be seen to make meaning contributions by means of schematization and schema imposition or unification within the theoretical framework of a Construction Morphology (CxM) (Booij 2010).

According to the previous (descriptive) study of Kim (2013) from a diachronic perspective, the Pfx1s *ā-* or *ge-* in DP derivatives tend to be meaningless, as they underwent grammaticalization, while the Pfx2s such as *eft-* or *forð/p-* maintain their own lexical meanings in DP derivatives. Having different analysis and view from Kim (2013), the present article conducted a CxM analysis, which focused not on the gradual process of grammaticalization occurring in OE DP derivatives, but on the DP verbs' special property of 'Overcharacterization' (OCN) (Booij 2005, Booij & Audring 2018), which is understood or named also as 'Hypercharacterization' (Lehmann 2005) or 'Affix Pleonasm' (Gardani 2015).

By assuming that an OE DP verb revealing OCN (or hypercharacterization, affix pleonasm) with one of the eight Pfx2s and one of the two Pfx1s is a construction with specific form and meaning, this study suggested that the construction can be schematized and the schema undergoes the morphological process of schema unification or imposition (Booij 2005, 2010; Booij & Audring 2018). Through this process, the schema for OE SP verbs with one of the eight prefixes having certain lexical (Movement, Direction, Source, State, Temporal) or grammatical (Perfectivity, Resultativity) meanings is unified with or imposed on the schema for OE SP verbs

with one of the two prefixes that already bear the same lexical or grammatical meanings. In this way, this study clearly shows that the eight Pfx2s that give rise to the phenomenon of OCN in DP verbs cannot be seen as redundant, but as over-characterized.

In terms of the motivation for this phenomenon of OCN occurring in OE DP verbs, I consider all the motivations such as phatic pleonasm (*'the sheer desire to make words sound more impressive'*) proposed by Lehmann (2005:145), or systematization (a linguistic change that affects all the words having certain meanings to have the same marking in a uniform way) by Booij (2005:273-274) and Booij & Audring (2018:78). From the perspective of CxM, however, I adopt the latter motivation, because, I agree with what is stated in Booij (2005:273) that a morphological pattern in (natural) language tends to conform to the principle of 'one Form - one Meaning'. By accepting this view, this study argues that the OE Pfx2s or Pfx1s that are once regarded as redundant or meaningless in DP verbs (or derivatives) do make semantic contribution, which can be nicely seen in a unified schema; the arbitrariness between Form and Meaning of over-characterized OE DP verbs can be reduced in CxM.

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