

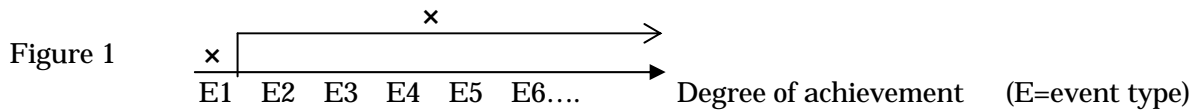
From classifier construction to scalar construction: the case of Japanese “N *hitotu* V *nai*” and “N 1-classifier V *nai*”

There are some constructions that involve numeral classifiers whose behavior exhibits unexpected properties. This paper clarifies the process of grammaticalization, from classifier to scalar construction, in the “N *hitotu* V *nai*” and “N 1-classifier V *nai*” constructions in Japanese.

First, I will argue for the following four points (A)-(D), based on the assumption that the “N *hitotu* V *nai*”(=1) and the “N 1-claifier V *nai*” (=2) constructions are independent grammatical “constructions” (Fillmore et al.1988) that are essentially different from the ordinary classifier expressions:

- (A) In these constructions, the number is limited to one, as in (3a)-(3b).
- (B) These constructions can only appear in a negative environment, as in (4). This means that ‘*hitotu*’ and ‘1-classifier’ are NPIs.
- (C) The ‘N’ in these constructions does not denote “instance” but “type” in the sense of Langacker (1991:55ff.). This semantic constraint is corroborated by facts such as () ‘N’ in the constructions cannot be ‘NP’, as in (5)-(6), and () ‘N’ cannot be referred to by the pronoun ‘*sore*’, as in (7).
- (D) These constructions belong to scalar constructions which express a pragmatic scale.

The above four properties lead to the following generalization, as shown in Figure 1: The essence of the two constructions is to show that even the lowest event (=E1) is not realized among various events which are ordered on the same scale. According to scalar entailment, if the lowest event is not realized, all the events that are higher than the E1 are not realized.



Next, I will argue for the following point (E) from the perspective of grammaticalization:

- (E) Although the “N 1-classifier V *nai*” construction is grammaticalized to some extent to be a scalar construction, the function of classifier partially remains. The “N *hitotu* V *nai*” construction, on the other hand, are “de-classified” to become an independent scalar construction. There is no morphological boundary between ‘*hitō*’ and ‘*tu*’ and the word ‘*hitotu*’ becomes a single scalar adverb.

Notice that, in the “N 1-classifier V *nai*” construction, there is still a semantic agreement relation between N and the classifier, as shown in (2), although the classifier does not function as counting plural numbers any more. In the “N *hitotu* V *nai*” construction, however, there is no semantic agreement relation between N and ‘*tu*’, as in (8).

The point (E) is also supported by the fact that the “N 1-classifier V *nai*” construction not only can have an “even reading” but also an “at all reading,” as in (9). The “N *hitotu* V *nai*” construction, on the other hand, only has an “even reading” as in (8).

Notice that there is a case of the “N 1-classifier V *nai*” construction whose classifier is ‘*tu*,’ as in (10). They are the instances of the “N 1-classifier V *nai*” construction because there is a semantic agreement relation between N and ‘*tu*,’ and the sentence has both an “even reading” and an “at all reading.” This implies that the process of grammaticalization must be captured as a cline (Hopper and Traugott 2003).

- (1) Taro wa otya hitotu dasa-nai.
Taro Top tea Scalar particle serve not
'Taro does not even serve tea.'
- (2) Taro wa otya i- ppai dasa-nai.
Taro Top tea one classifier(cup) serve not
'Taro does not even serve tea.'
- (3) a. *Hanako wa syatu ni-mai kaenai.
Hanako Top shirt two classifier(thin flat) cannot buy
'*Hanako cannot even buy two shirt'
b. *Hanako wa syatu futa-tu kaenai.
T shirt Top shirt two classifier cannot buy
'*Hanako cannot even buy two shirts.'
- (4) *Anata wa otya {hitotu /i- ppai } dasu.
You Top Tea scalar particle one classifier (cup) serve
'* (lit.)You serve a cup of tea.'
- (5) Jiro wa okyaku ni [N otya] {i- ppai / hitotu} dasa nai.
Jiro top customer to tea one classifier (cup) scalar particle serve not
'Jiro does not even serve green tea.'
- (6) *Jiro wa okyaku ni [NP Shizuoka no otya] {i- ppai / hitotu} dasa nai.
Jiro top customer to Shizuoka Gen tea one classifier(cup)/ scalar particle serve not
'Jiro does not even serve Shizuoka's tea.'
- (7) A: Hanako wa otya {i- ppai / hitotu} dasimasen.
Hanako top tea one classifier (cup) / scalar particle serve not
'Hanako does not even serve green tea.'
B: soone. *sore {i- ppai / hitotu} dasimasen.
Yes. it one classifier (cup) scalar particle serve not
'Yes. *She does not even serve it'
- (8) Kare wa aisatu hitotu sinai.
He Top greeting scalar particle do not
'He does not even bow to him.'
- (9) Taro wa biiru i- ppai nome-nai.
Taro Top Beer one classifier(cup) drink cannot
'reading a: Taro cannot even drink beer.' ('even' reading)
'reading b: Taro cannot drink beer at all.' ('at all' reading)
- (10) Kanojo no kao ni wa simi hito- tu nai.
She Gen face in Top pigmented spot one classifier (point) no
'There is not even pigmented spot in her face.'
'There is no pigmented spots in her face at all.'

Selected References

- Fillmore, C.J., P. Kay, and M.C. O'Connor. 1988. Regularity and Idiomaticity in Grammatical Constructions: The Case of 'Let Alone'. *Language* 64:501-538.
- Hopper P.J. and E.C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (second edition). Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker,R.W. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. 2, Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Matsumoto, Y.1993. Japanese Numeral Classifiers: A Study on Semantic Categories and Lexical Organization. *Linguistics* 31,pp.667-713.