

THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF "ONE" PLUS CLASSIFIERS IN MALAYIC LANGUAGES
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In various Malayic languages, there is a bewildering variety of forms for the numeral "one"; for example Pattani *sɔ*, Siak *satu*, Palembang *sikɔʔ*, Besemah *suteʔ*, Lintang *sijat*, Minangkabau *ciek*, and others. In yet other Malayic languages, for example Ketapang, there is no single form for the numeral "one"; rather, different forms exist involving the combination of a proclitic numeral with an obligatory numeral classifier, for example *səbutiʔ*, *sekɔʔ*, and so forth. This paper traces the development of forms for "one" in Malayic from the reconstructed proto-Malayic **əsaʔ* (Adelaar 1992:117), showing how they arise from various processes of grammaticalization involving the interaction of the numeral "one" with different numeral classifiers. The following ten diachronic developments are posited:

- (1) (a) *Development A*: Numeral classifiers are introduced and are optional in the numeral - noun environment.
- (b) *Development B* [must follow A]: Numeral classifiers become obligatory in the numeral - noun environment.
- (c) *Development C* [must follow A]: A proclitic form of the numeral "one" is introduced for use with numeral classifiers.
- (d) *Development D* [must follow A]: One particular numeral classifier becomes the semantically general default, for example **batu* "stone", **ekor* "tail", **butir* "grain".
- (e) *Development E* [must follow B and C]: Because the combination of proclitic "one" plus numeral classifier is obligatory, the original free form for "one" is lost.
- (f) *Development F* [must follow C and D, cannot follow B]: Because "one" is high frequency, because the proclitic form of "one" is phonologically small, and because the numeral classifier is optional, the combination of proclitic "one" plus the default numeral classifier is reanalyzed as a simple numeral "one".
- (g) *Development G* [must follow C and D, cannot follow B]: Because "one" is high frequency; because the proclitic form of "one" is phonologically small, and because the numeral classifier is optional, the combination of proclitic "one" plus the default numeral classifier undergoes optional proclitic-"one"-deletion, and the remaining classifier is reanalyzed as a simple numeral "one".
- (h) *Development H* [must follow F or G]: Because a new simple numeral "one" is introduced, the old free form "one" is lost.
- (i) *Development I* [must follow F or G]: The new numeral "one" may in turn occur with a numeral classifier.
- (j) *Development J* [must follow F and G]: Because there are now two competing simple numerals "one", the one derived from the combination of proclitic "one" plus the default numeral classifier is lost, while the one derived from the classifier alone is retained.

The above ten developments are mutually dependent in various ways, indicated in square brackets. No one form is the product of all ten developments; rather, different forms (in the same or in different languages) reflect different paths of grammaticalization involving different subsets of the above ten developments. Some examples of different paths of grammaticalization are the following:

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| (2) | (a) | Pattani <i>sɔ</i> | Developments AD |
| | (b) | Siak <i>satu</i> | Developments ACDFHI |
| | (c) | Minangkabau <i>ciek</i> | Developments ACDFGHJ |
| | (d) | Ketapang <i>səbuti?</i> , <i>səkər</i> , etc. | Developments ABCDE |

Whereas some of the developments proposed in (1) above are well-attested from other language families (Aikhenvald 2000), others would seem to have no known parallels elsewhere. In particular, the path of grammaticalization illustrated by Minangkabau *ciek* in (2c), whereby a numeral classifier comes to be reinterpreted as the numeral "one", presents a scenario of a novel and hitherto unattested kind.

- Adelaar, K. Alexander (1992) *Proto Malayic: The Reconstruction of Its Phonology and Parts of Its Lexicon and Morphology*, Pacific Linguistics Series C - 119, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2000) *Classifiers, A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.