The Multifunctionality of Numeral Classifiers and Determination

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Numeral classifiers are generally associated with quantification (counting) and with the lack of obligatory plural marking (Greenberg, 1974). Data on a number of classifier languages show that this is not the whole story. There are numeral-classifier languages with obligatory plural marking and there are languages in which numeral classifiers take on additional functions. This situation leads to various questions. Three of them will be addressed in this paper.

The first question is based on evidence against the incompatibility of numeral classifiers and obligatory plural markers. Numeral classifiers occur in languages with obligatory singular/plural distinction (e.g. Ejagham: Bantoid: Niger-Congo; Watters, 1981) and there are numeral-classifier systems in which the classifier itself is marked for singular vs. plural (e.g. Weining Ahmao: Hmong-Mien; Gerner & Bisang, 2009). Findings like these lead to the first question of whether and to what extent generalizations on the lexical status of nouns (all nouns are mass nouns (Chierchia, 1998), lack of the count/mass distinction, etc) are possible. Is the count/mass distinction a grammatical rather than a lexical distinction and what does type-shift mean in such a context?

The other two questions have to do with the multifunctionality of numeral classifiers. In many languages, numeral classifiers mark (in)definiteness and they occur with possession and relative clauses. Thus, processes of grammaticalization do not necessarily end with numeral classifiers, they may move on to other domains of grammar. This leads to the second question concerning the function of these markers and to the third question concerning the compatibility of these markers with the semantics of the nouns they mark:

- In what ways may the function of individuation or atomization affect the functions of the classifier if it is used in the domains of (in)definiteness, possession or modification by a relative clause? (On (in)definiteness, cf. Li & Bisang, 2012).
- In what ways is the use of numeral classifiers in the above domains affected by the four basic types of nouns distinguished by Löbner (2011), i.e., sortal, individual, relational and functional?

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