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## THE GENESIS OF THE JAPANESE GRAMMATICAL MARKER *NAI*

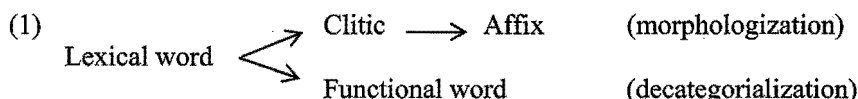
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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Japanese has two prominent uses of the grammatical marker *nai* ‘not’.<sup>1</sup> Typically, *nai* is used as a functional word to express sentential negation. But *nai* can also serve as an affix included in ‘negative adjectives’, which express a negative meaning with the morphological sequence of a verb plus *nai* ‘not’ (as in *simara-nai* ‘loose (=shut-NEG)’ and *suma-nai* ‘sorry (=finish-NEG)’). The negative *nai* used as a functional word does not create an adjective. This gives rise to the following paradoxical situation: the addition of *nai* to a verb does not give rise to a single-word adjective—negated verbs do not fall into the category of adjectives, but we can nevertheless find a fairly large number of negative adjectives consisting of a verb+*nai* morphologically. Since both types of *nai*’s are semantically serve as negators in the same morphological form, there arises a question as to how these two uses have been made available.

In this paper, I suggest that the apparent paradoxical situation arises because the two instances of *nai* have developed out of a single word, by going through two distinct pathways, as depicted in (1).



I suggest that the derivational affix *nai* has been developed via morphologization, while retaining the original adjectival status. On the other hand, the functional word *nai* is argued to have emerged via decategorialization, by a functional shift from a lexical to a functional category, without losing the original word status.<sup>2</sup> Even though both kinds of *nai*’s originate from the same lexical word, to which their morphological affinity is attributed, they come to possess different functions by developing along two distinct paths: the affixal *nai* under morphologization (without phonological/morphological reductions), and the functional negative word *nai* under decategorialization.<sup>3</sup> The affixal use has lost productivity now; this explains why negative adjectives are not created simply by adding *nai* to verbs.

The processes of grammaticalization taking place on negative *nai* might not be visible in ordinary, non-idiomatic expressions, but the hypothesis that *nai* has developed along the paths outlined in (1) gains support from idiomatic expressions that must appear in the negative form (i.e. negative idioms), since some of the characteristics of

various stages of *nai* (i.e. the negative element serving as a lexical word, a clitic, an affix, or a functional word) are preserved there, by virtue of idiomaticization. The idiom data provide us with evidence suggesting that *nai* has acquired two distinct uses (as a derivational affix and a functional word) by virtue of evolving along the two pathways of grammaticalization.

## 2. TWO TYPES OF GRAMMATICALIZATION

The negative *nai* falls into the adjectival class in terms of its morphological inflection. Thus, the assumption that the ordinary negator *nai* originates as an adjective is plausible (see Yamanashi 2000, Givón 1979, Croft 1991). The ordinary negative marker cannot turn a verb into an adjective, and thus, the formation of negative adjectives must involve the use of affixal negator *nai*. One issue is how the two uses of *nai* arise. I argue that the two uses of *nai* are related only remotely, by its common lexical source, and that the negative affix *nai* has evolved via morphologization, independently of the development of the functional negator *nai*, i.e. no direct connection is made between the functional word *nai* and the derivational negative affix *nai* (Hopper 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Norde 2002, and others).

Since lexical words often undergo grammaticalization while retaining their morphological property (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993 and others), I claim that the adjective *nai*, conveying the meaning of 'non-existence', comes to be used as a functional word or an affix via grammaticalization.

### 2.1. Morphologization: Evolution of Negative Affix

In this section, by looking at idiomatic expressions, I suggest that the derivational affix *nai* appearing in complex adjectives should be construed as an affix derived from a full lexical word via morphologization (Hopper 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Klausenber 2002).

A fairly large number of compound adjectives have morphologically complex forms consisting of a verb plus *nai*, which are referred to as 'negative adjectives' in this paper. The following is a sample list of such compound adjectives (and their first appearance, i.e. the year that the word was first documented, is based on *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2000-2002)).<sup>4</sup>

- (2) *ikesuka-nai* (like-NEG) 'dislike' [1763-69], *suma-nai* (finish-NEG) 'sorry' [1802-09], *tumara-nai* (clog-NEG) 'boring' [1804], *kue-nai* (eat-NEG) 'untrustworthy' [1804], *kudara-nai* (bear-NEG) 'unbearable' [1827], *yarikire-nai* (can.finish-NEG) 'unbearable' [1901], *arasoe-nai* (compete-NEG) 'can tell' [1907], *uka-nai* (float-NEG) 'look depressed' [1911] *hakarisire-nai* (can.measure-NEG) 'unmeasurable' [1951]

The adjectival expressions in (2) have complex forms morphologically, but they are inventorized as single-word adjectives in the lexicon of the language. These expressions do not have affirmative forms (as adjectives).<sup>5</sup>

As will be discussed below, there is in fact no evidence for the transparency of their morphological constituents. In the following discussion, I suggest that the lexical word *nai* has been reduced to an affix *nai* via grammaticalization, so that negative

adjectives have been inventorized in the lexicon, with the help of the affix *nai* (cf. Lehman 2002). Note that morphologization involves the creation of an affix out of an independent word, by way of cliticization, as illustrated in (3).

(3) lexical item > clitic > affix

As Hopper and Traugott (1993) remark, the loss of lexical autonomy represented at the final stage presupposes an intermediate clitic stage of the affix. Some residues of the processes of morphologization are found among idiomatic expressions, since certain idioms preserve the characteristics of earlier stages of negative *nai*. All types of negative *nai*'s appear in exactly the same form, regardless of their developmental stages (with no morphological changes involved), but the differences can be detected by applying some heuristics to negative idioms.

Broadly speaking, negative idioms are formed when a negated verb is combined with a nominal—most typically, a body-part nominal (e.g. *te-ni oe-nai* (hand-DAT carry-NEG) 'cannot control'). Many of them are categorized as adjectival. They are further divided into three sub-classes.

(4) Stage I                      Stage II                      Stage III  
       V + A<sub>NEG</sub>        >        V-A<sub>NEG</sub>        >        A

If idiomatic negative expressions are coined throughout this morphologization process, where a lexical word should first be reduced to a clitic attached to the verb, and then reach the final stage of the affix, three distinct types of negative expressions should be available, as illustrated in (4).

To be concrete, at the initial stage of morphologization (Stage I), *nai* is a syntactically independent lexical word, and thus, both the verb and *nai* are syntactically independent of each other. At the next stage (Stage II) *nai* serves as a clitic, which must be attached to its host verb; in this case, *nai* forms a tight unit with the verb, but the constituent is still visible to the syntax. At the last stage (Stage III) *nai* serves as a (derivational) suffix, which does not mark a word boundary, so the components of the negative expression formed at this stage are not visible any more.

We can indeed find three different types of negative idioms identified as adjectival expressions. The idiomatic expressions, listed in (5), represent the 'Stage I', at which the verb and negative *nai* should serve as syntactically independent words.<sup>6</sup>

(5) *rati-ga aka-nai* (fence-NOM open-NEG) 'get nowhere' [1603-04]<sup>7</sup>, *te-ni oe-nai* (hand-DAT carry-NEG) 'cannot control' [1711], *menmoku-ga tata-nai* (face-NOM stand-NEG) 'cannot save face' [1891]

At the Stage II, negative *nai* is reduced to a clitic while retaining its adjectival status. Here, the components of the idioms still retain syntactic transparency. Some of Stage II idioms include those negative expressions listed in (6).

(6) *ki-ni kuwa-nai* (mind-DAT eat-NEG) 'not like' [1671], *roretu-ga mawara-nai* (articulation-NOM turn-NEG) 'be inarticulate' [1693], *hu-ni oti-nai* (gut-DAT drop-NEG) 'suspect' [1730], *udatu-ga agara-nai* (roofed.wall-NOM rise-NEG) 'not get

an important position' [1827], *hara-no musu-ga osamara-nai* (stomach-GEN insect-NOM hold-NEG) 'resent' [1830-44], *atama-ga agara-nai* (head-NOM rise-NEG) 'cannot stand up to' [1834-48]

At the Stage III, the sequence of a verb+*nai* is lexicalized as a single-word adjective, and hence does not have a transparent structure, despite its morphological make-up. There are many idioms of this type. Some of such idioms are listed in (7).

- (7) *ai-ta kuti-ga husagara-nai* (opened mouth-NOM shut-NEG) 'be amazed' [1700], *toru-ni tari-nai* (take-DAT suffice-NEG) 'insignificant' [1707], *kazakami-ni oke-nai* (windward-DAT can.put-NEG) 'unworthy' [1766], *masyaku-ni awa-nai* (measure-DAT fit-NEG) 'not pay' [1776-1801] *kubi-ga mawara-nai* (neck-NOM turn-NEG) 'be in financial trouble' [1792], *etai-ga sire-nai* (identity-NOM know-NEG) 'mysterious' [1804], *simatu-ni oe-nai* (disposal-DAT carry-NEG) 'cannot be handled' [1830-44], *kurabemono-ni nara-nai* (comparison-DAT become-NEG) 'not comparable' [1882]

Although native speakers tend to take the idioms in (7) as phrasal idioms, a closer inspection of the data will reveal that their predicative sequences function as simple adjective forms with no internal structure analyzable in the syntax.

The first appearance of a Stage I idiom attested dates back as far as the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which is about the same time where the first use of *nai* as a grammatical marker combined with verbs is attested (1604-1608). The Stage II idioms are also relatively old, and the earliest idiom attested goes back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1671). In contrast, most of the Stage III idioms, are fairly new, and some old ones date back only to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1700). This suggests that the process of morphologization going from Stage I to Stage III involves a diachronic change which takes place over time. A comparison of the examples in (3) and (7) shows that the negative adjectives inventorized in the lexicon are formed, approximately, during the period when we find the attested Stage III idioms.

The types of negative markers displaying the Stage I and II characteristics are not found in non-idiomatic expressions. In idiomatic expressions, on the other hand, the retention of earlier stages of *nai* is possible, since older characteristics that have otherwise disappeared often become fixed at the time when idiom formation takes place. To some extent, that idioms often preserve older characteristics is reflected by the choice of nominals; that is, even if idioms are used colloquially, they sometimes include archaic or obsolete nominal expressions, such as *hu* 'gut' and *udatu* 'roofed wall', which are not normally used in colloquial speech.

The idioms listed above appear in the negative form and lack their affirmative analogues. For instance, the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* 'cannot control' cannot have an affirmative form (except when a rhetorical question is formed, which is to be discussed below).

- (8) Mary-ni-wa      musuko-ga      te-ni      oe-na-i/\*oe-ru.  
      Mary-DAT-TOP   son-NOM      hand-DAT      carry-NEG-PRES/carry-PRES  
      'Mary cannot control her son.'

In the same vein, *ki-ni kuwa-nai* 'do not like' and *simatu-ni oe-nai* 'cannot be handled',

which represent the Stages II and III, lack affirmative forms, as seen in (11).

- (9) a. John-ni-wa      sono-koto-ga      ki-ni      kuwa-na-i/\*ku-u.  
       John-DAT-TOP    that-fact-NOM    mind-DAT    eat-NEG-PRES/eat-PRES  
       ‘John does not like that fact.’  
       b. Kare-wa      simatu-ni      oe-na-i/\*oe-ru.  
       he-TOP      disposal-DAT    carry-NEG-PRES/carry-PRES  
       ‘He cannot be handled.’

As we will discuss below, the negative idioms at the Stages II and III display different behavior from the Stage I idioms, in not allowing the formation of rhetorical questions, but the important fact is that all the types of negative idioms must convey negative meanings semantically.

A remark is in order at this moment. Japanese is an agglutinative language, where auxiliary elements are morphologically glued to verbs. The negative elements I am discussing here also have agglutinative characters (serving as bound morphemes), and thus, they are morphologically joined to verbs regardless of whether they are categorized as independent words, clitics, or affixes in structural terms.<sup>8</sup> This fact suggests that the morphological distinction of ‘bound’ versus ‘free’ forms is not tightly correlated with their syntactic status, or that even a structurally independent word could be morphologically bound to another element. Since all types of negative *nai* look exactly the same (with no morphological/phonological reduction induced at any stage), it is necessary to make use of some heuristics in order to check whether or not any grammaticalization is under way. The degree of morphologization can be readily assessed by looking at whether or not certain syntactic operations apply to the sequence of a verb plus *nai*.

Let us now discuss the categorical status of the idioms. Here, I show that the negative *nai* appearing in some idioms is identified as a lexical adjective, while an ordinary negator is a functional category, which, of course, does not function as a lexical adjective. Japanese makes a grammatical distinction between verbal and adjectival clauses under certain syntactic contexts, and this helps us determine the categorical status of *nai*. For this purpose, I will make use of two grammatical constructions. First, consider the example in (10), where a negative adjective is embedded under *omou* ‘think’.

- (10) Watasi-wa    [sore-o      tumara-naku/kawaiku]    omot-ta.  
       I-TOP          it-ACC      clog-NEG/cute            think-PAST  
       ‘I thought it boring/cute.’

When *omou* ‘think’ introduces a non-finite clause as its complement, it selects an adjectival clause, but not a verbal one. Thus, if the complement clause contains a negated verb like *oti-nai* ‘not drop’, unacceptability results.<sup>9</sup>

- (11) \*Watasi-wa    [sore-o      oti-naku]      omot-ta.  
       I-TOP          it-ACC      drop-NEG      want-PAST  
       (Lit.) ‘I thought it not dropping.’

The data illustrate that *tumara-nai* ‘boring’, just like *kawaii* ‘cute’, counts as an adjectival expression categorically.

Second, the desiderative predicate *hosii* ‘want’ can take a verbal clause, but not an adjectival one, as its complement (Kishimoto 2007, 2008).

- (12) a. \**Watasi-wa* [*sore-ga tumara-nai-de/kawaiku-te*] *hosikat-ta*.  
 I-TOP it-NOM clog-NEG-PTCP/cute-PTCP want-PAST  
 ‘I want it to be boring/cute.’  
 b. *Watasi-wa* [*sore-ga oti-nai-de/oti-te*] *hosikat-ta*.  
 I-TOP it-NOM drop-NEG-PTCP/drop-PTCP want-PAST  
 ‘I wanted it (not) to drop.’

The difference in acceptability between (12a) and (12b) shows that verbal clauses can be embedded under *hosii*, but adjectival clauses cannot. According to the two diagnostics distinguishing between verbal and adjective clauses, the clauses comprising negated verbs—where the negative *nai* construed as a functional element appears to the right of the verb—are identified as verbal, but not adjectival.

When the verb is embedded under the adjective, it is the adjective, but not the preceding verb, that determines the class of the complex predicate.<sup>10</sup> Thus, an expression like *yomi-nikui* (read-difficult) ‘difficult to read’ serves as an adjective as the whole, as confirmed by (13).

- (13) a. *Watasi-wa sono-hon-o yomi-nikuku omo-u*.  
 I-TOP that-book-ACC read-difficult think-PRES  
 ‘I think that book difficult to read.’  
 b. \**Watasi-wa* [*sono-hon-ga yomi-nikuku-te*] *hosikat-ta*.  
 I-TOP that-book-NOM read-difficult-PTCP want-PAST  
 ‘I want that book to be difficult to read.’

Since *yomi-nikui* can be embedded under *omou* ‘think’, but not *hosii* ‘want’, it must function as an adjective.

If Stage I idioms have a fully analyzable constituent structure with the sequence [V+A<sub>NEG</sub>], the idiomatic predicate should count as adjectival. This is indeed the case, since the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* cannot be embedded under *hosii* ‘want’.

- (14) \**Watasi-wa* [*kanozyo-ni kodomo-ga te-ni oe-nai-de*] *hosikat-ta*.  
 I-TOP she-DAT child-NOM hand-DAT carry-NEG want-PAST  
 ‘I wanted her to be unable to control children.’

Moreover, the negative predicate *te-ni oe-nai* can be placed in the non-finite clause selected by *omou* ‘think’, in which an adjectival, but not a verbal, predicate can occur.

- (15) *Kare-wa* [*sono-ko-o te-ni oe-naku*] *omot-ta* (*koto-ga ar-u*).  
 he-TOP that-child-ACC hand-DAT carry-NEG think-PAST fact-NOM be-PRES  
 ‘(There was a time when) he thought that child to be out of control.’

The idiom *te-ni oe-nai* cannot appear in the lower clause of *hosii*, as (14), but can occur in the non-finite clause selected by *omou* 'think', as (15). Thus, the negative predicate *te-ni oe-nai* should fall into the adjectival class.

Taking *ki-ni kuwa-nai* 'not like' as an example, let us next consider the status of Stage II idioms. The negative expression *ki-ni kuwa-nai* cannot be embedded under *hosii* 'want', as seen in (16).

- (16) \**Watasi-wa* [*kodomo-ni* *ryoori-ga* *ki-ni* *kuwa-nai-de*] *hosikat-ta*.  
 I-TOP child-DAT dish-NOM mind-DAT eat-NEG want-PAST  
 'I wanted children not to like the dishes.'

The following example, where *ki-ni kuwa-nai* appears in the non-finite clause introduced by *omou* 'think', is acceptable.

- (17) *Watasi-wa* *sono-ryoori-o* *ki-ni* *kuwa-naku* *omot-ta*.  
 I-TOP that-dish-ACC mind-DAT eat-NEG think-PAST  
 'I thought I did not like that dish.'

Since *ki-ni kuwa-nai* can be embedded under *omou*, but not *hosii*, it must count as adjectival. This group of idioms as well falls into the adjectival class.

The adjectival status of the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* can also be assessed easily. On the one hand, (18) is deviant, where *simatu-ni oe-nai* appears in the complement clause selected by *hosii*.

- (18) \**John-wa* [*kare-ga* *simatu-ni* *oe-nai-de*] *hosikat-ta*.  
 John-TOP he-NOM disposal-DAT carry-NEG-PTCP want-PAST  
 'John wanted him to be out of control.'

On the other hand, this idiom is allowed to appear in the non-finite clause introduced by *omou*, as in (19).

- (19) *John-wa* [*sono* *ko-o* *simatu-ni* *oe-naku*] *omot-ta*.  
 John-TOP that kid-ACC disposal-DAT carry-NEG think-PAST  
 'John thought that kid out of control.'

Since this is precisely the context where an adjectival, but not a verbal, expression may appear, the idiom must count as adjectival.

As I have seen above the basis of the two diagnostics to check the categorical identity of predicates, it is possible to confirm that the negative idioms representing the Stages I, II, and III (i.e. *te-ni oe-nai* 'cannot control', *ki-ni kuwa-nai* 'not like', and *simatu-ni oe-nai* 'cannot be handled') all fall into the adjectival class. Given that the negative *nai* has an adjectival origin, the existence of adjectival idioms would be expected: if a verb is combined with the negative *nai* retaining its original lexical status, the entire complex expression should count as adjectival. On the other hand, in regular negation, the clause headed by the negated verb is judged verbal, since the negator is a functional word devoid of its adjectival category. It must be stressed that the two types of *nai*'s display exactly the same inflection (with no phonological/morphological

changes), so it is not possible to make the functional distinction of 'lexical' versus 'functional' categories by looking at their morphology in isolation.

Let us now proceed to address the question of how the structural independence of negative idioms can be measured in Japanese. All the three classes of negative idioms have the negative *nai* morphologically joined to the component verb on its left. Despite their surface similarity with the morphological form, the negative idioms do show a difference in the extent of the structural (in)dependence of constituents.

It has often been noted in the literature (see e.g. Di Sciullo and Williams 1987, Bresnan and Mchombo 1995, Hathpelmath 2002) that syntactic operations (in particular, those affecting word order or constituency) do not apply to parts of words, due to the Lexical Integrity Principle. The structural independence can therefore be evaluated by looking at whether or not syntactic operations are applicable on the verbal constituents. In the following discussion, I will present three different ways of assessing the structural (in)dependence of morphological constituents of negative idioms—namely, particle insertion, Neg-detachment, and rhetorical question formation.

To begin, I will show how a particle can be inserted into an ordinary negative verb like *ko-nai* (come-NEG). Superficially, a negated verb has the negative *nai* attached to the predicate, but the morphological complex allows a particle like *mo* to intervene between the verb and *nai*, as shown in (20).

- (20) Mary-wa    koko-ni    ki-mo    si-na-i    daroo.  
       Mary-TOP   here-at   come-also   do-NEG-PRES   will  
       'Mary will not come here as well.'

When negative *nai*, which is a bound morpheme, is separated from the host verb by a particle, as (20), the supportive verb *suru* 'do' is inserted to the left of it, for morphological support. Particle insertion should be possible only if there is a structural break. Accordingly, an adverbial particle cannot intrude inside a complex noun like *kaigai-ryokoo* 'overseas travel', which constitutes a single lexical word.

- (21) \**kaigai-mo-ryokoo*  
       overseas-also-travel  
       'traveling also abroad'

Example (21), which is derived by placing *mo* inside the complex noun, is excluded, owing to the structural constraint preventing an adverbial particle from appearing inside a single lexical item.

Bearing in mind the structural constraint on particle insertion, let us consider the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* 'cannot control'. As seen in (22), the negative idiom *te-ni oe-nai* allows an adverbial particle like *mo* 'also' to intervene between the verb and its associated negator.

- (22) Mary-ni-wa    musuko-ga    te-ni    oe-mo    si-nakat-ta.  
       Mary-DAT-TOP   son-NOM   hand-DAT-TOP   carry-also   do-NEG-PAST  
       'Mary was unable to control her son.'

Since the predicative constituents of *te-ni oe-nai* can be separated by inserting a particle,

*te-ni oe-nai* should therefore constitute a phrasal idiom, comprising two syntactically independent words as their components.

A clitic is a dependent element bound to its host 'syntactically', so syntactic rules affecting the predicative sequence are not applicable to the Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai*. Thus, the addition of *mo* to the right of the verb results in unacceptability.

- (23) ?\*John-ni-wa      sono-koto-ga      ki-ni      kui-**mo**      si-nakat-ta.  
          John-DAT-TOP    that-fact-NOM    mind-DAT    eat-ALSO    do-NEG-PAST  
          'John also did not like that fact.'

The Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* stands in contrast with the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* 'cannot control', since the former, but not the latter, comprises the negative *nai* that counts as a clitic.

The predicate sequence of the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* 'cannot be handled' counts as a single-word lexical adjective whose morphological constituency is invisible syntactically. Thus, particle insertion, affecting the morphological sequence of the predicate, is not applicable.

- (24) a. \*Kare-wa      simatu-ni      oe-**mo**      si-nakat-ta.  
          he-TOP      disposal-DAT    carry-also    do-NEG-PAST  
          'He was also out of control.'  
       b. \*Sono-eiga-wa      tumari-**mo**      si-nakat-ta.  
          that-movie-TOP    clog-also      do-NEG-PAST  
          'That movie was uninteresting.'

As shown in (24), neither the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* nor a negative adjective like *tumara-nai* 'boring' allows *mo* to be inserted into the verbal constituency. This suggests that there is no actual structural break between the negative *nai* and the verb.

Neg-detachment, which affects verbal sequences, provides another test for the independency of the constituency of negative idioms. First of all, an ordinary negator can be separated from the verb.

- (25) a. Sore-wa      Mary-ga      yoma-**na**-i      hon-dat-ta.  
          that-TOP    Mary-NOM    read-NEG-PRES    book-COP-PAST  
          'That was a book which Mary would not read.'  
       b. Sore-wa      Mary-ga      yom-u      hon-de-**nakat**-ta.  
          that-TOP    Mary-NOM    read-PRES    book-COP-NEG-PAST  
          'That was not a book which Mary would read.'

In (25), *nai* is a negative word, which stands independently of the verb in structural terms.

The Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* contains *and nai* which is syntactically independent of the verb. Accordingly, the adjectival negative *nai* can be easily detached from the verb.

- (26) a. Sono-ko-wa      kare-ni      te-ni      oe-na-i      kodomo-dat-ta.  
          that-child-TOP   he-DAT   hand-DAT   carry-NEG-PRES   child-COP-PAST  
          'That kid was a child that he could not control.'
- b. Sono-ko-wa      kare-ni      te-ni      oe-ru      kodomo-de-nakat-ta  
          that-child-TOP   he-DAT   hand-DAT   carry-PRES   child-COP-NEG-PAS  
          'That kid was not a child that he could not control.'

This state of affairs is naturally expected if the verb and *nai* constitute independent words in syntactic terms. The fact that Neg-detachment can operate on the idiom *te-ni oe-nai* suggests that the Stage I idiom should constitute a phrasal idiom.

The idioms representing the Stages II and III do not have syntactically independent negative words, and thus, they do not undergo Neg-detachment affecting the verbal constituents. The examples in (27) show that the negative *nai* in the Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* cannot be separated from the verb.

- (27) a. Sore-wa      kare-no      ki-ni      kuwa-na-i      koodoo-dat-ta.  
          that-TOP   he-GEN   mind-DAT   eat-NEG-PRES   action-COP-PAST  
          'That was an action that he did not like.'
- b. \*Sore-wa      kare-no      ki-ni      ku-u      koodoo-de-nakat-ta.  
          that-TOP   he-GEN   mind-DAT   eat-PRES   action-COP-NEG-PAST  
          'That was not an action that he liked.'

Both the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* and the Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* should contain the negative *nai* which serves as a lexical rather than a functional category, but as can be seen in (26) and (27), they show a difference in regard to their syntactic coherence.

The examples in (28) show that when the negative element of the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* is separated from the verb, unacceptability results.

- (28) a. Kare-wa      simatu-ni      oe-na-i      zinbutu-dat-ta.  
          he-TOP   disposal-DAT   carry-NEG-PRES   person-COP-PAST  
          'He was a person that cannot be handled.'
- b. \*Kare-wa      simatu-ni      oe-ru      zinbutu-de-nakat-ta.  
          he-TOP   disposal-DAT   carry-PRES   person-COP-NEG-PAST  
          'He was not a person that can be handled.'

In the same vein, the examples in (29) show that a completely lexicalized negative adjective like *tumara-nai* 'boring' does not comprise separable *nai*.

- (29) a. Sore-wa      tumara-na-i      eiga-dat-ta.  
          that-TOP   clog-NEG-PRES   movie-COP-PAST  
          'That was an uninteresting movie.'
- b. \*Sore-wa      tumar-u      eiga-de-nakat-ta.  
          that-TOP   clog-PRES   movie-COP-NEG-PAST  
          'That was not an interesting movie.'

The Stage III idiomatic predicate *simatu-ni oe-nai* behaves on a par with *tumara-nai* in regard to the detachment of *nai* from the verb, since, in both cases, *nai* is counted as a

derivational affix.

Yet another piece of evidence for the present claim may be adduced from rhetorical questions. A rhetorical question conveys a negative meaning without overt negation, and can be formed from an ordinary verbal predicate, as seen in (30).

- (30) Mary-ga      hon-o      yom-u      daroo      ka?  
       Mary-NOM    book-ACC    read-PRES    will      Q  
       ‘Will Mary read books?’

A rhetorical question is constructed out of a negative sentence by removing a negative maker from the verb. A rhetorical question without an overt negator can be derived from the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai*.

- (31) Kare-ni    sono-ko-ga      te-ni      oe-ru      daroo    ka?  
       he-DAT    that-child-NOM    hand-DAT    carry-PRES    will      Q  
       ‘Will he be able to control that child?’

In (31), the negative *nai*, which constitutes part of the idiom, is removed, but the idiom is acceptable since a negative meaning is expressed. This suggests that *te-ni oe-nai* has constituent structure where the verb and *nai* constitute syntactically independent words.

In contradistinction, the Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* is not allowed to form a rhetorical question.

- (32) \*Kare-ni    sono-koodoo-ga    ki-ni      ku-u      daroo    ka?  
       he-DAT    that-action-NOM    mind-DAT    eat-PRES    will      Q  
       ‘Will he like that action?’

The inapplicability of rhetorical question formation on *ki-ni kuwa-nai* in (32) shows that the negative *nai* is not separable from the verb.

The examples in (33) indicate that neither the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* nor the negative adjective *tumara-nai* allows the formation of a rhetorical question.

- (33) a. \*Kare-wa    simatu-ni      oe-ru      daroo    ka?  
       he-TOP    disposal-DAT    carry-PRES    will      Q  
       ‘Can he be handled?’  
       b. \*Sono-eiga-wa    tumar-u      daroo    ka?  
       that-movie-TOP    clog-PRES    will      Q  
       ‘Will that movie be interesting.’

Rhetorical questions cannot be formed with these negative expressions, since the negative markers do not stand as elements structurally independent of the verbs.

The negative element *nai* in the Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* serves as a clitic, and the components of the idiom should be visible to the syntax. One way of measuring it is to see whether a simple negative form *nai* can be replaced with a complex negative form *nai-de iru* ‘be not to’. With a verbal predicate involving regular negation, *nai* can be readily replaced with *nai-de iru*.

- (34) Mary-wa imadani hon-o yoma-nai-de i-ru.  
 Mary-TOP still book-ACC read-NEG-PTCP be-PRES  
 'Mary still has not been reading books.'

As discussed by Kuno (1973), Masuoka and Takubo (1989), Kishimoto (2008), *nai-de iru* is a special negative form that attaches to the verb immediately preceding it. For *nai-de iru* replacement to take place, a verb needs to appear to the left of *nai*. Therefore, (35) is not acceptable, since *nai-de iru* appears with the adjective *isogasi* 'busy'.

- (35) \*Mary-wa imadani isogasiku-nai-de i-ru.  
 Mary-TOP still busy-NEG-PTCP be-PRES  
 'Mary still has not been reading books.'

Note that *nai-de iru* replacement is possible with the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* 'cannot control', as in (36), which counts as a phrasal idiom.

- (36) Kare-wa imadani sono-ko-ga te-ni oe-nai-de i-ru.  
 he-TOP still that-child-NOM hand-DAT carry-NEG-PTCP be-PRES  
 'He is still unable to handle that child.'

This would be naturally expected, since the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* has analyzable constituent structure consisting of the verb *ou* 'carry' and *nai*. Second, *ki-ni kuwa-nai* 'not like', which is counted as a Stage II idiom comprising a clitic negative, allows the negative *nai* to be replaced with the complex negative form *nai-de iru*.

- (37) Kodomo-wa imadani sono-koto-ga ki-ni kuwa-nai-de i-ru.  
 child-TOP still that-fact-NOM mind-DAT eat-NEG-PTCP be-PRES  
 'The child still does not like that fact.'

The components of *ki-ni kuwa-nai* are not separable syntactically. Nevertheless, the constituents are transparent structurally. Consequently, *nai-de iru* replacement can apply to the Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai*.

The Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* and the negative adjective *tumara-nai* 'boring' do not have transparent internal structure, since the constituents are fused as one word. Therefore, these expressions are not consonant with *nai-de iru* replacement.

- (38) a. \*Kare-wa imadani simatu-ni oe-nai-de i-ru.  
 he-TOP still disposal -DAT carry-NEG-PTCP be-PRES  
 'He has still been out of control.'  
 b. \*Sono-bangumi-wa imadani tumara-nai-de i-ru.  
 that-program-TOP still clog-NEG-PTCP be-PRES  
 'That program has still been boring.'

The fact shows that the Stage III idiom, as well as a completely lexicalized negative adjective like *tumara-nai*, does not include a verb syntactically even though it has a morphological sequence of verb+*nai*.

Additional evidence for the transparency of the verbal components in the Stage II

idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* may be adduced from the fact that the negative *nai* projects negative scope. To begin with, adverbs like *sappari* ‘at all’, *tittomo* ‘at all’, *amari* ‘much’, and the like are negative polarity items (NPIs).

- (39) Mary-wa      *sappari*      hon-o      {yoma-na-i/\*yom-u}.  
       Mary-TOP    at.all      book-ACC    read-NEG-PRES/read-PRES  
       ‘Mary {does not read/read} books at all.’

NPI adverbs such as *sappari* are licensed under negation. Since they are allowed to appear only in negative context, it is easy to see that the negative *nai* in (39) serves a negative operator that licenses the NPIs.

Note that the Stage I idiom *te-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot control’ can license the NPI *sappari*, as shown in (40).

- (40) Mary-ni-wa      musuko-ga      *sappari*      te-ni      oe-na-i.  
       Mary-DAT-TOP    son-NOM      at.all      hand-DAT    carry-NEG-PRES  
       ‘Mary cannot control her son at all.’

The same NPI is allowed to occur in the clauses headed by Stage II idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai* ‘not like’ as well, as (41) illustrates.

- (41) John-ni-wa      sono-koto-ga      *sappari*      ki-ni      kuwa-na-i.  
       John-DAT-TOP    that-fact-NOM    at.all      mind-DAT    eat-NEG-PRES  
       ‘John does not like that fact at all.’

It is clear then that both the Stage I idiom *ki-ni te-ni oe-nai* and the Stage II idiom *kuwa-nai* contains a negative element that projects negative scope.

With the idioms *ki-ni kuwa-nai* and *te-ni oe-nai*, lexical negative *nai* projects negative scope. On the other hand, ordinary negative *nai*, which also bears negative scope, is a functional category. This suggests that the ‘lexical’ versus ‘functional’ distinction of negative elements is not directly related to the question of whether or not they project negative scope. In effect, it is not too surprising that negative *nai* retaining adjectival status serves as a negative operator, since lexical as well as functional items can potentially be scope-bearing elements; for instance, scope-bearing expressions could be a nominal like *minna* ‘all’ or an indefinite pronoun (identified as a functional category) like *dore-mo* ‘every’.

The predicative sequence of the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot be handled’ is opaque; a complex adjective is created with the affixal negative *nai*. In Japanese (and possibly in other languages as well), a lexical affix does not project scope, even if it expresses a negative meaning.

- (42) \*Sore-wa      *sappari*      mu-imi-da.  
       that-TOP    at.all      non-meaning-COP  
       ‘That is meaningless at all.’

In (42), the lexical affix *mu-* ‘non-’ does not license an NPI adverb like *sappari* ‘at all’, showing that it does not generate negative scope.

With the Stage III idiom *simatu-ni oe-nai*, the negative *nai* is counted as a lexical affix, which does not project negative scope, hence fails to license the NPI *sappari*.

- (43) \*John-wa      *sappari*      *simatu-ni*      *oe-na-i*.  
       John-TOP    at.all       disposal-DAT    carry-NEG-PRES  
       ‘John is uncontrollable at all.’

The NPI *sappari* is not licensed by an adjectival expression like *tumara-nai* ‘boring’, which counts as a frozen single word despite its morphological complexity.

- (44) \*Sono-eiga-wa    *sappari*    *tumara-na-i*.  
       that-movie-TOP at.all       clog-NEG-PRES  
       ‘That movie is boring at all.’

In essence, since NPI licensing should be possible if the negative *nai* appearing in the idiomatic predicate is construed as either a word or a clitic, the negative *nai*’s failure of licensing NPIs in (43) suggests that the components of *simatu-ni oe-nai* have lost their analyticity, and counts as one word syntactically.

To sum up, I have argued that the affixal negative *nai* has developed under morphologization, by looking at three classes of idiomatic expressions (*te-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot control’, *ki-ni kuwa-nai* ‘not like’ and *simatu-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot be handled’). All the idioms are classified as adjectives, and further divided into the following: (a) the Stage I idiom (*te-ni oe-nai*), where *nai* is a syntactically independent lexical word; (b) the Stage II idiom (*ki-ni kuwa-nai*), where *nai* behaves as a clitic, which needs to be attached to its host; (c) the Stage III idiom (*simatu-ni oe-nai*), where *nai* serves as a (derivational) suffix.

## 2.2. Decategorialization: Idioms with Regular Negation

In Japanese, the ordinary negative marker *nai* now serves as a functional element, because it has undergone decategorialization—another type of grammaticalization (see Hopper and Traugott 1993, Hopper 1991). The process of decategorialization that gives rise to a grammatical negator instantiates a functional shift from a lexical to a functional category, and the relevant shift is characterized as: [+Adj] > [-Adj]. Since the negative *nai* associated with ordinary verbs undergoes decategorialization, negated verbs do not fall into the class of adjectives even if the negator occurs to the right of the verb, unlike adjectival negative idioms. Needless to say, this does not preclude the possibility that idiomatic predicates are formed with this functional word. In effect, some idiomatic predicates such as those in (45) contain negative *nai* identified as a functional category, showing that the sequence of a verb plus ordinary negation may be idiomatized.

- (45) *teko-demo ugoka-nai* (lever-even move-NEG) ‘stay immobile’ [1678],  
       *manziri-to-mo si-nai* (blink-also do) ‘never sleep’ [1719], *hitosuzi-nawa-de ika-nai*  
       (one.string.rope-with go-NEG) ‘hard to deal with’ [1767], *kane-ni itome-o tuke-nai*  
       (money-DAT string-ACC attach-NEG) ‘spend money lavishly’ [1873],  
       *narihuri-kamawa-nai* (behavior-care-NEG) ‘jockey’ [1920], *syudan-o eraba-nai*  
       (measure-ACC choose-NEG) ‘resort to any measure’

Let us confirm the status of the idioms in (45). First, the verbal idioms in (45), just like adjectival idioms, do not have affirmative counterparts, as illustrated in (46).

- (46) Kare-wa narihuri-{kamawa-nakat-ta/\*kamat-ta}.  
 he-TOP appearance-care-NEG-PAST/care-PAST  
 'He does not care about appearances.'

We can confirm that the idioms in (45), including *narihuri-kamawa-nai*, count as verbal predicates by way of embedding them under *hosii* 'want' and *omou* 'think'.

- (47) a. Watasi-wa [Mary-ni narihuri-kamawa-nai-de] hosikat-ta.  
 I-TOP Mary-DATA appearance-care-NEG want-PAST  
 'I wanted Mary to be indifferent to appearances.'  
 b. \*Watasi-wa Mary-o narihuri-kamawa-naku omot-ta.  
 I-TOP Mary-ACC appearance-care-NEG think-PAST  
 'I thought Mary indifferent to appearances.'

The data regarding the embedding under *hosii* and *omou* show that the negative *nai* appearing in the idiom *narihuri-kamawa-nai*, just like negators with non-idiomatic expressions, serves as a grammatical element devoid of adjective characteristics.

The idioms (45) should include negative *nai* functioning as a syntactically independent functional word, so a verbal idiom like *narihuri-kamawa-nai* allows a particle (e.g. contrastive *wa*) to appear inside the predicative sequence.

- (48) Kare-wa narihuri-kamai-wa si-na-i daroo.  
 he-TOP appearance-care-TOP do-NEG-PRES will  
 'He will be indifferent to his appearance.'

The negative element with this idiom can also be easily detached from the verb.

- (49) a. Kare-wa narihuri-kamawa-na-i hito-da.  
 he-TOP appearance-care-NEG-PRES person-COP  
 'He is a person indifferent to his appearance.'  
 b. Kare-wa narihuri-kama-u hito-de-na-i.  
 he-TOP appearance-care-PRES person-COP-NEG-PRES  
 'He is a person indifferent to his appearance.'

Further, a rhetorical question, which involves the omission of the negative *nai*, can be formed with this idiom, as shown in (50).

- (50) Kare-wa narihuri-kama-u daroo ka?  
 he-TOP appearance-care-PRES will Q  
 'Will he be indifferent to his appearance?'

The data indicate that the idiom *narihuri-kamawa-nai*, which contains regular negation, has constituent structure where both the verb and *nai* serve as structurally independent words. Of course, this entails that they are transparent to the syntax as well. In effect,

since this idiom has transparent constituent structure, *nai-de iru* replacement is possible, and *nai* projects negative scope, as confirmed in (51).

- (51) a. Imadani    kare-wa    narihuri-kamawa-**nai-de**    **i-ru.**  
          still        he-TOP    appearance-care-NEG-PTCP    be-PRES  
          ‘He has still been indifferent to his appearance.’  
       b. Kare-wa    zenzen    narihuri-kamawa-nakat-ta.  
          he-TOP       at.all    appearance-care-NEG-PAST  
          ‘He was indifferent to his appearance at all.’

The existence of idioms like *narihuri-kamawa-nai* shows that negative *nai* identified as a functional category may be combined with a verb to give an idiomatic expression.

In essence, the negative *nai* associated with *narihuri-kamawa-nai* serves as a functional word, just in the same way as an ordinary negator. Thus, negative idioms are bifurcated into adjective and verbal classes, depending on whether the negative *nai* retains the lexical adjectival status or identified as a functional word lacking the categorial status of an adjective.<sup>11</sup>

### 2. 3. How the Missing Pieces Fall into Place

In the discussion of morphologization, we have seen that the three classes of idioms, i.e. *te-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot control’, *ki-ni kuwa-nai* ‘not like’ and *simatu-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot be handled’) fall into the adjective class, but show different degrees of tightness for their predicative sequences, as summarized in (52).

| (52) |                         | Category | Independence | Transparency |
|------|-------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| a.   | <i>te-ni oe-nai</i>     | [+Adj]   | √            | √            |
| b.   | <i>ki-ni kuwa-nai</i>   | [+Adj]   | *            | √            |
| c.   | <i>simatu-ni oe-nai</i> | [+Adj]   | *            | *            |

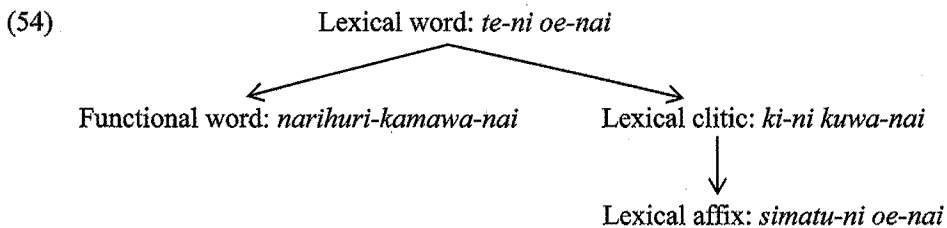
The idiom *te-ni oe-nai* includes a lexical negative word (that retains its original adjectival property). The negative *nai* in *simatu-ni oe-nai* is an affix, which has developed out of the lexical *nai*, via the clitic stage. The clitic type of *nai* is found in the idiom *ki-ni kuwa-nai*. Note that the negative *nai* here preserves the category of [+Adj] throughout the grammaticalization process, which means that the morphologization of the affix out of the lexical word via cliticization proceeds without decategorialization. Completely lexicalized negative adjectives like *tumara-nai* ‘boring’, which are registered in the lexicon, should be derived via the suffixation of the affix *nai*.

The negative *nai* appearing in *narihuri-kamawa-nai* ‘be indifferent to appearance’ behaves in the same way as an ordinary negator (associated with non-idiomatic expressions). The negative *nai* here is a functional element, and retains its syntactic autonomy as a word. Provided the lexical negative word *nai* appearing in *te-ni oe-nai* ‘cannot control’ is identified as the source of a functional negator, we can have the following table.

| (53) |                            | Category | Independence | Transparency |
|------|----------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| a.   | <i>te-ni oe-nai</i>        | [+Adj]   | √            | √            |
| b.   | <i>narihuri-kamawa-nai</i> | [-Adj]   | √            | √            |

From (53), we can see that the grammatical marker *nai* which has developed out of the lexical *nai* via decategorialization retains syntactic independence as a word with no reduction of its word status, i.e. morphologization—reduction of a word to a clitic or an affix—has not taken place in the process of decategorialization.

A number of heuristic tests reveal that the negative *nai* displays distinct syntactic behavior, according to whether it is categorized as an affix, a clitic or an independent word. It should be apparent then that the chain of the grammaticalization of the lexical negative word *nai* has branched off into two pathways (see Craig 1991). One pathway of grammaticalization involves decategorialization (i.e. a change of *nai* from a lexical to a functional category), and the other morphologization creating an affix out of the lexical word *nai* via cliticization, as illustrated in (54).



These two kinds of grammaticalization processes apply to the same lexical word *nai* in different contexts with no overlap, which may be regarded as an instance of polygrammaticalization (see Craig 1991). This view is reasonable, since the first idiom containing the decategorized negative marker is attested in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which is about the same time where the first Stage II idiom is attested.

The negative idioms provide us with a window into the nature of grammaticalization. In ordinary expressions, only the instances of *nai* categorized as a functional word or a lexical affix are found. Among the negative idioms, however, we can find the negative *nai* serving as a lexical word or a lexical clitic, which do not appear in ordinary non-idiomatic expressions. Various instances of idiomatic negative predicates fill the gap between the functional word *nai* and the affix *nai*, both of which have descended from the common lexical adjective *nai*. The chain of grammaticalization depicted in (54) gains empirical support from the existence of the idiomatic expressions supplementing the missing pieces of the chains of the grammaticalization.

In Japanese, the word-formation rule of creating negative adjectives by adding the affixal *nai* now has lost its productivity, and only the functional word of *nai* can be used productively. These two types of *nai*'s are not directly connected, as seen in (54), due to the fact that they emerged, developing along the two distinct grammaticalization paths (without overlap). Our discussion suggests that the negative adjectives are not directly derived from negated verbs, but rather they are formed with the suffixation of the affixal *nai*, which has its origin in the lexical negative word *nai*. An overall conclusion is that the two uses of *nai* are linked only indirectly by way of its common source.

### 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The negative marker *nai* is used as either a sentential negator or a derivational affix. The

sentential negator serves as a syntactically independent word, separable from the verb, but devoid of its adjectival property despite its inflection. On the other hand, the derivational affix *nai* is used to derive negative adjectives in combination with a verb. The affixal *nai* is derived from the lexical word *nai* going through a clitic stage via morphologization, while retaining its status as an adjectival expression. The functional negator *nai* has been developed from the lexical word via decategorialization with no morphologization, simply involving a shift from a lexical to a functional category. While only the two prominent uses of *nai* (as the sentential negator and the derivational affix) are found in the ordinary, non-idiomatic expressions, other types of negative markers are found in idiomatic expressions, which can be seen as fixed while preserving the earlier characteristics of negative *nai*.

The affixal use of *nai* is no longer productive, and only the functional word *nai* can be used productively. This gives rise to the paradoxical situation in which it is not possible to create a complex negative adjective by adding the functional negator *nai*—i.e. the addition of *nai* to verbs only give rise to negated verbs (but not adjectives)—despite a fairly large inventory of negative adjectives registered in the lexicon. I have suggested that this situation emerges from the fact that the relation between affixal and the functional-word uses of negative *nai* is established indirectly, along the two distinct grammaticalization paths, which start out from the common source of the lexical adjective *nai*.

The analysis taking the two uses of *nai* to trace back to the common source of the lexical negative word *nai* can provide a natural account for the facts about the existence of the two types of negative *nai*. The two negative markers look exactly the same morphologically, because they share a common source. However, their grammatical functions as well as their categorial status are totally different, due to the fact that they have come into existence by going through the two distinct grammaticalization paths of morphologization and decategorialization.

## NOTES

1. The negative form *nai*, which replaces the older form *zu*, started to be popularly used in the Edo period, according to the *Daizirin* dictionary, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1988) but the replacement process has not been completed yet.

2. Different terms, such as ‘delexicalization’ and ‘functionalization’, might be used to characterize the two distinct processes of grammaticalization. The definitions might differ from one proposal to another, but the crucial point is that the term ‘decategorialization’ refers to the process which involves a shift from a lexical to a functional category (see Hopper and Traugott 1993, Hopper 1991, Brinton and Traugott 2005, Blank 2001, Traugott 1994).

3. It is not easy to find the ‘morphologization’ process in an agglutinative language like Japanese, since even independent words are often glued to another element due to the morphological nature of the language. But, by making use of some heuristics, we can confirm that ‘morphologization’ takes place among bound verbal elements

4. Since negative adjectives are single-word adjectives, their sequences are normally not segmented, but for the sake of discussion, their constituents are represented by segmenting them into the verb and the negative parts: the glosses are assigned according to the morphological make up of a word even though some adjectives have lost their analyticity.

5. The adjective *tumara-nai/zu* (bear-NEG/-NEG) ‘unbearable’ is excluded from the discussion here. This expression is first documented in 1485, which is significantly earlier than other examples. There is, however, evidence that the expression has not been a single word at first, since their analytic counterparts are found as well, as in *tamai-ta koto-de nai* (bear-PAST fact-COP NEG) [1688] and *tama-ru mono-de nai*

(bear-PRES thing-COP NEG) [1700]. Unlike other negative adjectives, we can also find an affirmative expression like *make-te tamaru-ka!* (lose-TE bear-Q) 'I won't lose!' (The affirmative expression *tamaru mono ka* (bear-PRES thing Q) 'I cannot leave it' is attested in 1759). The fact can also be taken as a reflection of the fact that *tamara-nai* is lexicalized as an adjective later than its first appearance. Some colloquial negative adjectives (e.g. *kakase-nai* (lack-NEG) 'necessary', *anadore-nai* (despise-NEG) 'not negligible', *simara-nai* (shut-NEG) 'loose') are not recorded in *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten*.

6. The dates in square brackets indicate when the idioms are first documented with the relevant meanings. The attested examples have V-Neg form, but the negative does not have to contain the negative *nai*, since the older forms more often than have another negative marker *zu*.

7. The first attested example of this idiom appears in the affirmative form.

8. There are instances of *nai*, which serves as a free rather than a bound form. The free-form variant is used when an adjective is negated or when the negation of an existential/possessive meaning is expressed.

- (i) a. Sono-hon-wa omosiroku(-mo) na-i.  
that-book-TOP interesting-also NEG-PRES  
'The book is not (also) interesting.'  
b. Soko-ni hon-ga na-i.  
there-at book-NOM NEG-PRES  
'The book was not there.'

For this surface morphological shape, the free form *nai* is often categorized as an adjective or a quasi-adjective in traditional Japanese linguistics (see, e.g. Hashimoto 1969). But the morphological status of *nai* as a free form does not guarantee that it serves as a lexical word. That the distinction of 'lexical' versus 'grammatical' words is not correlated with the status of 'bound' and 'free' forms can be seen by the fact that the free morpheme *nai* cannot be embedded under *omou* 'think', as in (ii).

- (ii) \*Watasi-wa (soko-ni) sono-hon-o naku omot-ta.  
I-TOP there-at that-book-ACC NEG think-PAST  
'I thought that book not to be (there).'

In order for the negative *nai* acting as a free morpheme to appear in the non-finite clause selected by *omou*, it is necessary to accompany an adjective, as illustrated in (iii).

- (iii) ?Watasi-wa sono-koto-o omosiroku-naku omot-ta.  
I-TOP that-fact-ACC interesting-NEG think-PAST  
'I thought that matter not to be interesting'

Since only adjectival predicates can be embedded under *omou*, the examples indicate that the free-standing *nai* does not serve as a lexical adjective, but as a grammatical word. It follows from this that the lexical/grammatical distinction of the negative *nai* is independent of its free/bound division.

9. When a predicate is embedded in the small clause selected by *omou*, the embedded predicate is required to have adjectival inflection. Thus, non-negated verbs are not qualified to appear in the embedded clause. On the other hand, in the presence of *nai*, which shows adjectival inflection, a negated verb can occur in the embedded clause, at least potentially. Nevertheless, its embedding is not allowed because it is not categorized as an adjective.

10. This type of embedding takes place regardless of whether *nai* serves as a word, a clitic, or an affix.

11. Negative idioms are sometimes ambiguous in their category, depending on the meaning they express. For instance, *te-ga tuckerare-nai* (hand-NOM attach.can-NEG) 'cannot handle, cannot even start' can be ambivalent in its category, as shown in (i).

- (i) a. ?Watasi-wa kono ko-o te-ga tuckerare-naku omot-ta.  
I-TOP this child-ACC hand-NOM attach.can-NEG think-PAST  
'I thought this child to be out of control.'  
b. ?\*Watasi-wa kono syukudai-o te-ga tuckerare-naku omot-ta.  
I-TOP this homework-ACC hand-NOM attach.can-NEG think-PAST  
'I thought that this homework cannot be even started.'

The idiom here seems to be either adjectival or verbal, depending on whether it refers to the intrinsic attribute of an human individual or the property associated with an inanimate entity. The idiom is judged as adjectival in the former case, presumably because a permanent attribute is described.

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