Numeral Classifiers, Plural/Collective Elements, and Nominal Ellipsis in Chinese and Japanese
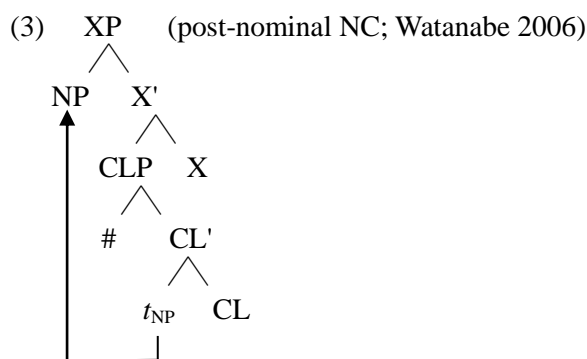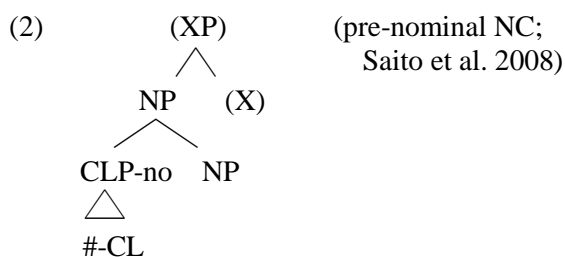
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1. Two types of adnominal classifiers in Japanese

(1) a. Taro-wa **hyaku-ko-no** gyooza-o   tabe-ta.   (pre-nominal NC)
        Taro-Top 100-CL-Gen   dumpling-Acc eat-Past
        'Taro ate 100 dumplings.'

    b. Taro-wa gyooza **hyaku-ko**-o   tabe-ta.   (post-nominal NC)
        Taro-Top dumpling 100-CL-Acc   eat-Past
        'Taro ate 100 dumplings.'

(2)   (XP)   (pre-nominal NC;   (3)   XP   (post-nominal NC; Watanabe 2006)
                                 Saito et al. 2008)
         NP   (X)   NP   X'
       CLP-no   NP   CLP   X
        △   #   CL'
       #-CL t_{NP} CL

(4) Huang and Ochi (2010)
    a. a non-uniform analysis of the numeral classifier (NC) construction[1]
    b. the post-nominal NC and the floating NC in Japanese are transformationally related.

(5) san   ben (*-de) shu   (Chinese)
     three CL   book
     'three books'

(6)   CLP
        #   CL'
           CL   NP   (cf. Tang 1990, Cheng and Sybesma 1999 etc.)
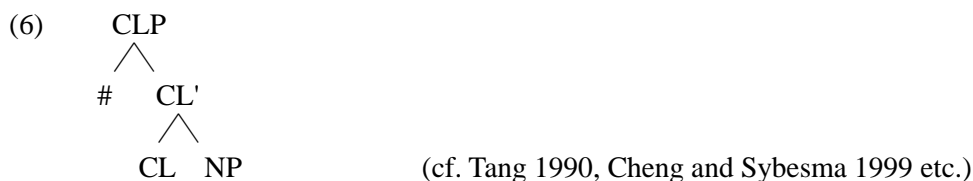
(7) The NC construction in Chinese and the post-nominal NC construction in Japanese essentially share the
     same structure, except that the latter involves overt movement of NP.

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[1] See Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2004) and Miyamoto (2009) for a non-uniform treatment of the NC constructions in Japanese. See also Shlonsky (2004) for a non-uniform treatment of prenominal and postnominal numerals in Hebrew.

1.1 Scope (see Huang and Ochi 2011)

(8) a. *Taro-wa **subete-no** gyooza **hyaku-ko**-o tabe-ta. (*∀-no N NC)
      Taro-Top ∀-Gen   dumpling 100-CL-Acc eat-Past

    b. Taro-wa **hyaku-ko-no** gyooza **subete**-o tabe-ta.
      Taro-Top 100-CL-Gen   dumpling ∀-Acc eat-Past

(9) all three books vs. *three all books

1.2 Specificity (see Huang and Ochi 2010)

(10) Specific indefinites have a larger structure than non-specific indefinites (see Hudson 1989, Ritter 1995, and especially Muromatsu 1998).

(11) Chinese indefinites (setting aside the definite vs. indefinite issue; see Cheng and Sybesma 1999)

	non-specific	specific
Bare N (e.g., *shu* 'book')	√	*
CL + N (e.g., *ben shu* 'CL book')	√	*
Num + CL + N (e.g., *san ben shu* 'three CL book)	√	√

(12) Japanese (see Downing 1994, Huang and Ochi 2010)

	non-specific	specific
Pre-nominal NC + N (e.g., *san-satsu-no hon ...*)	√	√
N + Post-nominal NC (e.g., *hon san-satsu-o ...*)	??	√
floating NC (e.g., *hon-o kinoo san-satsu ...*)	√	*

(13) <u>Non-specific context</u> (√ pre-nominal; *post-nominal NC; √ floating NC)
heikin-suru to, maishuu   kono byooin-de-wa, ...
average-do   every week this   hospital-at-Top
'On average, every week in this hospital, ... '

    san-nin-no   akanboo-ga/*akanboo **san-nin**-ga   umare-teiru.
    three-CL-no baby-Nom   baby   three-CL-Nom be born
    '... three babies are born.'

cf. akanboo-ga   **san-nin** umare-teiru.
    baby-Nom   three-CL be born

2. Classifiers and collective/plural elements

(14) a. xuesheng-men   b. gakusei-tachi   ('plural' reading)
     student-MEN   student-TACHI
     'the students'   '(the) students'

(15) a. Xiao Qiang-men   b. taro-tachi   ('collective' reading)
     Xiao Qiang-MEN   taro-TACHI
     'Xiao Qiang-men and others' 'Taro and others'

- Attachment of –*men*/-*tachi* turns the nominal phrase into a definite (or specific) expression (See Li 1999 and Kurafuji 2004 among others).[2]

(16) a. wo   qu   zhao   haizi.
   I   go   find   child
   'I will go find some/the child(ren).'

   b. wo   qu   zhao   haizi-men.
    I   go   find   child-MEN
    'I will go find the children.'

(17) a. Boku-wa   kodomo-o   sagashiteiru.
   I-Top   child-Acc   look for
   'I'm looking for some/the child(ren).'

   b. Boku-wa   kodomo-tachi-o   sagashiteiru.
    I-Top   child-TACHI-Acc   look for
    'I'm looking for the children.'

- -*men* and the classifier cannot co-occur when the former is attached to the common noun (Iljic 1994, Li 1999)[3]

(18) a. wo   qing   [san-ge   xuesheng(*-men)]   chifan.
   I   invite   three-CL   student-MEN   eat
   'I invited (the) three children for a meal'

   b. boku-wa   [san-nin-no   gakusei-tachi / gakusei-tachi san-nin]-o   maneita.
    I-Top   three-CL-Gen   student-TACHI   student-MEN three-CL-Acc invited
    'I invited (the) three students for a meal.'

- But -*men* and CL are compatible when the former is attached to the proper noun/pronoun occurring in the left periphery of the nominal phrase (Li 1999)

(19) a. wo   qing   [ta-men/Xiao Qiang-men   san-ge   (ren)]   chifan.
   I   invite   (s)he-MEN/Xiao Qiang-MEN three-CL   person   eat
   'I invited [them three children/the three people including Xiao Qiang] for a meal'

   b. boku-wa   [kanojyo-tachi/hanako-tachi   san-nin-no   jyosei]-o maneita.
    I-Top   she-TACHI/Hanako-TACHI   three-CL-Gen   lady-Acc invited
    'I invited [them three ladies/the three ladies including Hanako'

(20) Proposals (based on Li 1999)
    a. -*men* and -*tachi* are suffixes attached to the nominal head, and
    b. they bear some feature relevant for definiteness (or specificity), which needs to be checked against a higher functional head.

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[2] But see Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) for a different view. While they offer several arguments to the effect that -*tachi* is not inherently definite, what is crucial for me here is that these suffixes share some property P (be it definiteness or something else) and that P is tied to the syntactic dependency between N-*men*/-*tachi* and a higher functional head. It is therefore necessary to examine whether or not the points and observations made by Nakanishi and Tomioka for –*tachi* also hold for –*men*, a task that I have to leave for another occasion.
[3] Previous analyses of this phenomenon include Borer's (2005) morho-syntactic account and Bale & Khanjian's (2008) semantic account. The former works well for Chinese but fails to extend to Japanese. The latter discusses some interesting fact about Armenian vs. English; but it fails to capture the fact about Japanese.

(21) Li (1999): Head-movement of N to a higher functional head is blocked by the presence of the CL head.

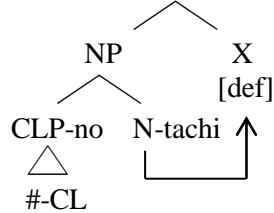(22)   XP   (HMC violation; see Li 1999)
       / \
      X   CLP
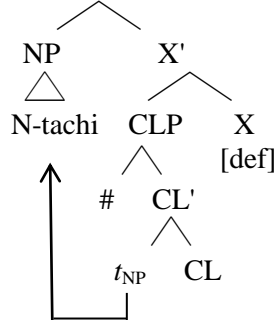   / \
          #   CL'
              / \
            CL   NP
                  /\
               N-men
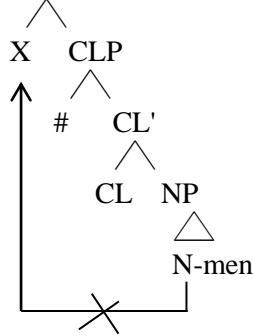
● This head movement cannot be overt (contrary to Li 1999)

(23) a. wo   zhaodao-le kaile-de   haizi-men   le.
        I   found-ASP   happy-DE   child-MEN
        'I found the happy children.'

    b. *wo zhaodao-le   haizi-men   kaile(-de) le.
        I   found   child-MEN   happy

(24)   XP   (pre-nominal NC in Japanese; see also Ueda and Haraguchi 2008)
                 / \
               NP   X
              / \   [def]
        CLP-no   N-tachi
          /\
        #-CL

(25)   XP   (postnominal NC)
           / \
         NP   X'
         /\   / \
    N-tachi CLP   X
            /\   [def]
           #   CL'
              / \
          t_NP   CL

(26) Pronouns and proper names are (or can be) base-generated 'high' in the nominal domain (Li 1999).

(27)   XP   (for (19b))
                 / \
        kanojyo-tachi   X'
                        / \
                      NP   X
                      /\   [def]
                3-nin-no N

4
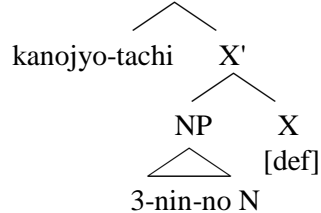
3. Universal Numeric Quantifiers (UNQs)

3.1 Dutch, Romanian, Italian etc. (see Cirillo 2010)

(28) a. Alle   drie   de   studenten   hebben   het   boek   gelezen.
       all   three   the   students   have   the   book   read
     b. De   studenten   hebben   alle   drie   het   boek   gelezen.
       the   students   have   all   three   the   book   read   (Cirillo 2010)

(29) a. Al   de   studenten   hebben   het   boek   gelezen.
       all   the   students   have   the   book   read

     b. De   studenten   hebben   allen/allemaal   het   boek   gelezen.
       the   students   have   all/all (adv.)   the   book   read

● Floating UNQ is not adverbial (Cirillo 2010)

(30) a. Alle   drie   de   studenten   hebben   het   boek   gelezen.
       all   three   the   students   have   the   book   read
     b. *De   studenten   hebben   alle /*allemaal   drie   het   boek   gelezen.
       the   students   have   all/ all (adv.)   three   the   book   read

3.2 Floating UNQs in Japanese?

(31) taro-ga   gyooza-o   sono toki **hyaku-ko   subete** tabe-ta   (koto)
     Taro-Nom   dumpling-ACC   that time 100-CL   ∀   eat-Past   fact
     '(the fact that) Taro ate all of the 100 dumplings at that time'
                                                          (see Kawashima 1994, 1998)

● The order of ∀ and the NC is fixed

(32) *taro-ga   gyooza-o   sono toki **subete hyaku-ko**   tabe-ta   (koto)
      Taro-Nom   dumpling-ACC   that   time   ∀   100-CL   eat-Past   fact
     '(the fact that) Taro ate all of the 100 dumplings at that time'

● Floating UNQ requires ∀

(33) a. taro-ga   tsukue-no   ue-no   gyooza-o   **takusan/hotondo**   tabeta   (koto)
        Taro-NOM   table-GEN   top-GEN   dumpling-ACC   many/most   ate   fact
        '(the fact that) Taro ate many/most of the dumplings on the table'

     b. taro-ga   tsukue-no   ue-no   gyooza-o   **hyaku-ko**
        Taro-NOM   table-GEN   top-GEN   dumpling-ACC   100-CL

        *takusan/*hotondo/subete   tabeta   (koto)
         many/most/∀   ate   fact
        '(intended) (the fact that) Taro ate many/most/all of the 100 dumplings on the table'

● Unlike the ordinary floating NC, the floating UNQ is incompatible with a partitive interpretation

(34) a. taro-ga   tsukue-no   ue-ni   aru **hyaku-ko-no** gyooza-o   **sanjyu-ko** tabeta   (koto)
        Taro-NOM   table-GEN   top-DAT   be   100-CL-GEN   dumpling-ACC   30-CL   ate   fact
        '(the fact that) Taro ate 30 of the 100 dumplings on the table'

b. taro-ga   tsukue-no   ue-ni   aru   **hyaku-ko-no** gyooza-o   **subete** tabeta   (koto)
   Taro-NOM table-DAT top-DAT be   100-CL-GEN dumpling-ACC ∀   ate   fact
   '(the fact that) Taro ate all of the 100 dumplings on the table'

c. *taro-ga   tsukue-no   ue-ni   aru   **hyaku-ko-no** gyooza-o
   Taro-NOM table-GEN top-DAT be   100-CL-GEN dumpling-ACC

   sanjyu-ko   subete tabeta   (koto)
   30-CL   ∀   ate   fact
   '(the fact that) Taro ate all of the 30 dumplings out of the 100 dumplings on the table'

3.3 Adnominal UNQs in Japanese

(35) a. *Taro-ga   **subete-no   hyaku-ko**-no gyooza-o   tabe-ta   (koto)[4]
   Taro-NOM   ∀-GEN   100-CL-GEN dumpling-ACC eat-Past fact
   '(the fact that) Taro ate all (of the) 100 dumplings'

  b. *Taro-ga   **hyaku-ko**-no   **subete-no** gyooza-o   tabe-ta (koto)
   Taro-NOM 100-CL-GEN   ∀-GEN   dumpling-ACC eat-Past fact

(36) a. *Taro-ga   **subete-no** gyooza   **hyaku-ko**-o   tabe-ta (koto)
   Taro-NOM   ∀-GEN   dumpling 100-CL-ACC eat-Past fact
   '(the fact that) Taro ate all (of the) 100 dumplings'

  b. Taro-ga   **hyaku-ko**-no gyooza   **subete**-o tabe-ta   (koto)
   Taro-NOM 100-CL-GEN dumpling   ∀-ACC eat-Past fact

(37) a. *Taro-ga   gyooza   **subete hyaku-ko**-o   tabe-ta   (koto)
   Taro-NOM   dumpling   ∀   100-CL-ACC eat-Past fact
   'Taro ate all (of the) 100 dumplings.'

  b. Taro-ga   gyooza   **hyaku-ko   subete**-o tabe-ta   (koto)
   Taro-NOM   dumpling   100-CL   ∀-ACC eat-Past fact

● I will focus on the pattern shown in (37b), leaving the pattern shown in (36b) out of consideration.

(38) a. Recent studies such as Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2004) and Miyamoto (2009) converge on the idea that prenominal NCs should be treated separately from postnominal NCs and floating NCs.

  b. Jenks' (2010) generalization states that only those classifier languages that have (or allow) the post-nominal NC allow the NC to float (head-final languages: Burmese, Japanese, and Korean; head-initial languages: Thai, Khmer).

  c. To the extent that we accept Saito et al.'s (2008) proposal, shown in (2), that prenominal NCs occur within NP (which is the lowest maximal projection within the extended nominal domain), we should not expect prenominal NCs to be available for stranding.

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[4] I will not discuss (35) in this presentation. See Huang and Ochi (2011) for discussion.

(39) a. * XP

∀P   X'

NP ∀   CLP   X

CL'

$t_{∀P}$ CL

b.   ∀P

XP   ∀

NP   X'

CLP   X

CL'

t_{NP} CL
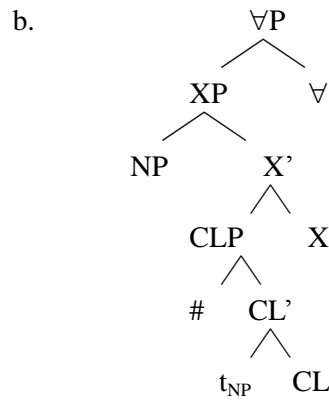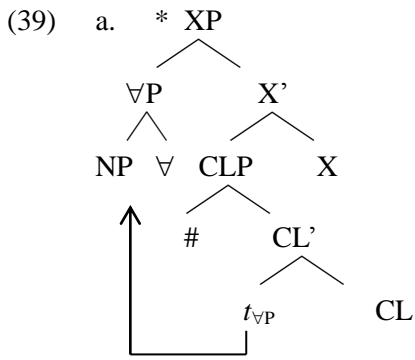
- Like the floating UNQ (see (34c)), the post-nominal NC(+∀) is incompatible with a partitive reading.

(40) *taro-ga   tsukue-no   ue-ni   aru **hyaku-ko-no** gyooza   **sanjyu-ko (subete)-o**
     Taro-NOM   table-GEN top-DAT be   100-CL-GEN dumpling   30-CL   ∀-ACC

tabeta (koto)
ate   fact
'(the fact that) Taro ate (all of the) 30 dumplings out of the 100 dumplings on the table'

3.4 Partitives in Japanese

(41) a. Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza-no (uchi-no) **san-ko**-o   tabe-ta.
        Taro-TOP   table-DAT be   dumpling   out-of   3-CL-ACC   eat-Past
        'Taro ate three of the dumplings on the table.'

   b. Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza-no   **subete**-o tabe-ta.
      Taro-TOP   table-DAT be   dumpling-GEN ∀-ACC   eat-Past
      'Taro ate three of the dumplings on the table.'

- Some variants in the post-nominal domain

(42) a. Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza   **hyaku-ko subete**-o tabe-ta.
        Taro-TOP   table-DAT be   dumpling   100-CL   ∀-ACC   eat-Past
        '(lit.) Taro ate all 100 dumplings on the table.'

   b. ?Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza-no   (uchi-no) **hyaku-ko   subete**-o tabe-ta.
       Taro-TOP   table-DAT be   dumpling-GEN out-of   100-CL   ∀-ACC   eat-Past
      '(lit.) Taro ate all 100 of the dumplings on the table.'

   c. Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza   **hyaku-ko-no subete**-o tabe-ta.
      Taro-TOP   table-DAT be   dumpling   100-CL-GEN   ∀-ACC   eat-Past
      '(lit.) Taro ate all of the 100 dumplings on the table.'

(43) The pre-stranding source of the floating UNQ should be the sequence shown in (42a) or (42b), but not the one in (42c).

- Universal quantifier required (cf. (33))

(44) a. *Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza   **hyaku-ko hotondo**-o tabe-ta.
        Taro-TOP   table-DAT be   dumpling   100-CL   most-ACC   eat-Past
        '(lit.) Taro ate most 100 dumplings on the table.'

b. *Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru   gyooza-no   (uchi-no) **hyaku-ko   hotondo**-o tabe-ta.
   Taro-TOP table-DAT be dumpling-GEN out-of   100-CL   most-ACC eat-Past
'(lit.) Taro ate most 100 of the dumplings on the table.'

c. Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza **hyaku-ko-no hotondo**-o tabe-ta.
   Taro-TOP table-DAT be dumpling 100-CL-GEN most-ACC eat-Past
'(lit.) Taro ate most of the 100 dumplings on the table.'

- the floating UNQ does not permit *-no (uchi-no)* between the NC and *subete* '∀'

(45) *Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza-o   sono toki **hyaku-ko-no** (uchi-no)
   Taro-TOP table-DAT be dumpling-ACC that time 100-CL-GEN out-of

subete   tabe-ta.
∀-ACC eat-Past

- Floating UNQ in Japanese cannot be analyzed as a base-generated adjunct containing a null nominal element (see Doetjes 1997, Fitzpatrick 2006). That is, (46b) is not the right way to go

(46) a. The students have [all *pro*] passed the exam.

b. Taro-ga   gyooza-o   sono toki [*pro*/~~sore ra~~ **hyaku-ko   subete**] tabe-ta   (koto)
   Taro-NOM dumpling-Acc that time pro/them 100-CL   ∀   eat-Past fact
'(the fact that) Taro ate all 100 of the dumplings'

(47) *Taro-wa   tsukue-ni   aru gyooza-o   sono toki [*pro*/~~sore ra~~ **hyaku-ko-no** (uchi-no)
   Taro-TOP table-DAT be dumpling-ACC that time pro/them   100-CL-GEN out-of

subete] tabe-ta.
∀-ACC eat-Past

- (43) is consistent with Cirillo's characterization of the UNQ in Romance/Germanic

(48) a. **Alle drie**   de studenten   hebben   het boek   gelezen.   (= (28))
       all   three   the students   have   the book   read
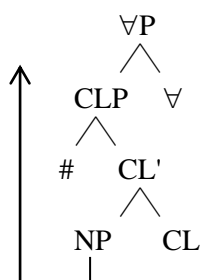   b. De   studenten hebben   **alle drie** het boek   gelezen.
       the   students   have   all   three   the book   read

(49) a. **Al** de   **drie**   studenten   hebben   het boek   gelezen.
       ∀   the   three   students   have   the book   read
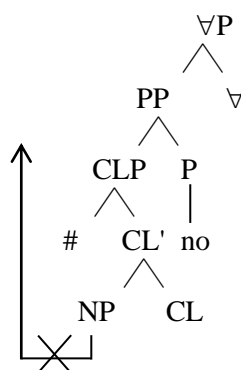   b. De **drie**   studenten hebben   **allen** het boek   gelezen
       the three   students   have   ∀   the book   read

- NP in (50b) is too deeply embedded; alternatively, it has no reason to move out (Last Resort).

(50) a.

8

4 Ellipsis

- The NC construction in Chinese allows NP ellipsis (Saito, Lin, and Murasugi 2008, Tsai 2011).

(51) Suiran Zhangsan   mai-le   [san -ben shu],   dan   Lisi mai-le   [wu-ben ~~shu~~].
    though Zhangsan   buy-Perf three-CL book   but   Lisi buy-Perf   five-CL book
    'Zhangsan bought three books, but Lisi bought five.'

- The pre-nominal NC nominal in Japanese does not allow ellipsis (Saito, Lin, and Murasugi 2008) whereas the post-nominal NC does (see Takahashi 2008).[5]

(52) *Taroo-wa [san-satu-no   hon]-o   katta ga,   Hanako-wa [go-satu-no   ~~hon~~]-o   katta.
    Taro-Top   three-CL-Gen book-Acc   bought though Hanako-Top five-CL-Gen book-Acc bought
    'Taroo bought three books, but Hanako bought five.'

(53) Bushu-wa   [jibun-ni kansuru hon] 2-satu-o   yonda. Obama-wa *e* 3-satu-o   yonda.
    Bush-top   self-dat related   book 2-CL-Acc   read   Obama-Top   3-CL-acc   read
    'Bush read two books about himself.   Obama read three *e*.'   (√ sloppy)

(54)   There is no maximal projection within the nominal domain to the exclusion of the pre-nominal NC if the latter always occurs inside NP, the lowest nominal projection.

- But things are not so simple ...

(55) Taroo-wa   san-satu-no   hon-o   katta   ga,   hanako-wa   go-satu katta.
    Taro-TOP   three-CL-GEN   book-ACC bought   though   Hanako-TOP five-CL   bought
    'Taroo bought three books, but Hanako bought five.'

                                                     (Watanabe 2010)

- Watanabe rejects the following line of analysis on the basis of the familiar parallelism requirement imposed on ellipsis.

(56) Taro-wa [$_{NP}$ san-satu-no [$_{NP}$ hon]]-o katta   ga,   hanako-wa [$_{NP}$ hon]-o   go-satu   katta

                           LF copy

- Ellipsis is sensitive to the presence/absence of an adjunct element associated with the elliptical site

(57) Taro-wa   jiro-ga   kaita hon-o   katta   ga,   hanako-wa   kawa-nak-atta.
    Taro-TOP   jiro-NOM   wrote book-ACC bought though Hanako-TOP   buy-NEG-PAST
    a. Taro bought a book that Jiro wrote but Hanako didn't buy a book that Jiro wrote.
    b. *Taro bought a book that Jiro wrote but Hanako didn't buy a book.

(58) John washed a car carefully, but Mary didn't.   (Oku 1998)
    a. John washed a car carefully but Mary didn't wash a car carefully.
    b. *John washed a car carefully but Mary didn't wash a car.

- Watanabe's (2010) analysis

(59) .... hanako-wa [go-satu ~~hon]-o~~   katta
    hanako-TOP five-CL   book-ACC bought

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[5] See Watanabe (2010) for the claim that the pre-nominal NC in fact licenses ellipsis. See Huang and Ochi (2010) for an argument against such a view.

9

- But there is evidence for (56)

(60) a. **san-nin**-no otoko-ga taro-o koroshita. (prenominal NC)
    3-CL-GEN man-NOM Taro-ACC killed
    'Three men killed Taro.'

    b. otoko **san-nin**-ga taro-o koroshita. (postnominal NC)
      man 3-CL-NOM Taro-ACC killed

    c. *otoko-ga **san-nin** taroo-o koroshita. (floating/stranded NC)
      man-Nom 3-CL Taro-acc killed

      (see Nakanishi 2006)

(61) kyonen **san-nin-no** otoko-ga jiroo-o koroshita.
    last year three-CL-GEN man-Nom Jiro-acc killed

    *Kotoshi **go-nin** taroo-o koroshita.
     this year five-CL Taro-acc killed

    'Last year three men killed Jiro. This year, five men killed Taro.'

cf. Kotoshi **go-nin-no** otoko-ga taroo-o koroshita.
    this year five-CL man-NOM Taro-acc killed

- But, then, we need to explain the difference between (55) (as analyzed in the manner shown in (56)), on the one hand, and (57) and (58) on the other.

(62) Oku's (1998) subset copy principle
    A (proper) subset of the antecedent can be copied and supplied as the content of an elided material under LF-copying operations.

(63) Mary will admire *John*$_i$, and *he*$_i$ thinks Susie will, too.

- Oku's idea: a pronoun is merely a collection of φ-features while an R-expression contains φ-features and some additional features (relevant for their intrinsic referential property) (see Burzio 1991)

(64) a. Mary will [$_{VP}$ admire *John*], and *he* thinks Susie will [$_{VP}$ admire *John*], too.
    b. Mary will [$_{VP}$ admire *John*], and *he* thinks Susie will [$_{VP}$ admire *him*], too.

- Oku's subset copy principle should allow (56). Although the same reasoning should apply to (57) and (58), I suspect that the parallelism constraint would interfere with ignoring the adjunct in such cases.

5. Conclusion

(65) a. The contrast between Chinese and Japanese with respect to the (in)compatibility of –*men*/-*tachi* and CL can be analyzed in syntactic terms.
    b. The floating UNQ involves stranding.
    c. Some asymmetries in the domain of ellipsis follow rather naturally from the postulated structures for Japanese/Chinese NC constructions.

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