

Contents

Preface..... v

Abbreviations xv

Chapter 1

Introduction..... 1

1. Issues..... 1

1.1. Issue 1: the debate on a count/mass distinction in Mandarin 1

1.2. Issue 2: counting and measuring functions of classifiers 2

1.3. Issue 3: definiteness in classifier languages 3

2. Data and source..... 4

3. Structure of the book 6

Part I: The debate on a count/mass distinction in Chinese

Chapter 2

Defining classifiers 13

1. Chinese classifiers: an illustration 13

1.1. Identifying classifiers syntactically 13

1.2. Chinese classifiers: a heuristic classification 16

2. Classifiers as a closed class 21

3. Classifiers without “descriptive content” 23

3.1. Classifiers are not nominal 23

3.2. Classifiers have no ‘descriptive content’ 28

4. Classifiers are complement-taking..... 30

5. Classifiers as stressless 32

6. Classifiers in English: a contrastive look 33

7. Conclusions..... 41

Chapter 3

The count/mass distinction in Chinese revisited 42

1. Introduction..... 42

2. Syntactic distinction between count and mass classifiers 44

2.1. Introduction to count/mass classifiers 44

2.2. Lexical/functional distinction of classifiers 47

2.3. Two syntactic diagnostics..... 49

3.	Possibility of pre-classifier adjectival modification	55
3.1.	Adjectives before count and mass classifiers	55
3.2.	Two constraints on pre-classifier adjectives.....	59
4.	Optionality of post-classifier <i>de</i>	62
5.	Conclusions.....	67

Chapter 4

Natural atomicity	68
1. Introduction.....	68
2. Countability and individuation	69
3. A lexical distinction between mass and count nouns	73
4. Individual, stuff and partial-object readings	77
5. Natural atomicity as a grammatically relevant phenomenon.....	81
6. Conclusions.....	85

Chapter 5

Chinese bare nouns	86
1. Introduction.....	86
2. The Krifka-Chierchia hypothesis.....	87
3. Bare nouns as kinds	89
3.1. Strong kind-inducing contexts	89
3.2. Appositives	92
3.3. Scope with respect to opacity	93
3.4. Scope with respect to quantifiers.....	97
4. Semantics of bare nouns	101
5. Bare predication.....	103
5.1. Some analyses of copula clauses	104
5.1.1. Ambiguous BEs	104
5.1.2. Unambiguous BE.....	106
5.2. Post-copula bare nouns as predicates of individuals	108
5.3. Post-copula bare nouns as predicates of subkinds.....	112
5.4. Post-copula bare nouns as predicates of kinds	114
6. Definite bare nouns.....	116
6.1. Topic-hood and definiteness.....	116
6.2. Definite bare nouns in object positions	120
6.3. Semantics of definite bare nouns.....	121

Part II: Functions of classifiers: counting and measuring

Chapter 6

Counting and measure functions of classifiers.....	127
1. Introduction.....	127
2. Counting and measuring readings: a crosslinguistic perspective ..	129
2.1. Introducing counting and measuring readings.....	129
2.2. Structures for counting and measuring readings	133
3. Ambiguity of container classifiers in Chinese.....	135
3.1. Counting and measuring readings for Chinese container classifiers	135
3.2. The syntax of counting and measuring readings	140
4. A feature analysis of classifiers: [$\pm$ Counting, $\pm$ Measuring].....	143
4.1. Four types of classifiers	144
4.1.1. Type 1: [+C, -M] classifiers.....	144
4.1.2. Type 2: [-C, +M] classifiers.....	147
4.1.3. Type 3: [+C, +M] classifiers.....	148
4.1.4. Type 4: [-C, -M] classifiers.....	150
4.1.5. Concluding remarks	152
4.2. Syntactic support for the counting and measuring readings	153
4.3. Semantic shifting between counting and measuring readings	158
5. Semantics of classifiers: counting and measuring	161
5.1. Krifka's (1995) semantics for Chinese classifiers	162
5.2. Rothstein's (2010) semantics for English classifiers.....	164
5.3. Semantics of Chinese classifiers.....	167
5.3.1. Semantics of classifiers in counting readings	167
5.3.2. Semantics for classifiers on the measure reading	171
6. Conclusions.....	172

Chapter 7

Adjectival modification in classifier phrases: pre-classifier adjectives	174
1. Introduction.....	174
2. Licensing pre-classifier adjectives.....	176
2.1. Pre-classifier adjectives before counting classifiers.....	176
2.2. "Concrete portion" reading (Partee and Borschev 2012)	179
3. The modification relation of pre-classifier adjectives	181
3.1. Adjectival modification in pseudo-partitives.....	181
3.2. Pre-classifier adjectives in Mandarin	183
3.2.1. Rejecting pre-classifier adjectives modifying mass classifiers	184

3.2.2. Rejecting pre-classifier adjectives modifying nouns	186
4. Pre-classifier adjectives modifying “Cl+N”	189
4.1. Contexts of using pre-classifier adjectives	189
4.1.1. Consumption contexts.....	189
4.1.2. Contexts of significance	191
4.1.3. Contrastive contexts.....	192
4.2. Syntactic structure	193
5. Semantics of pre-classifier adjectives.....	195
5.1. Introduction to ‘expressives’	195
5.2. Pre-classifier adjectives as expressives	197
5.3. Pre-classifier adjectives and plurality.....	200
6. Conclusions.....	201

Chapter 8

Modification marker <i>de</i> in classifier phrases	202
1. Introduction.....	202
2. Licensing the post-classifier <i>de</i>	204
2.1. <i>De</i> with mass classifiers (Cheng and Sybesma 1998)	206
2.2. “Information weight” (Tang 2005).....	209
2.3. The ‘indeterminacy’ account (Hsieh 2008)	211
3. Unsolved problems (Li and Rothstein 2012).....	214
4. Semantics of Num-measure Cl- <i>de</i> -N: as much as.....	216
4.1. Measure classifiers and the particle <i>de</i>	216
4.2. Semantics of Num-Cl _{measure} - <i>de</i> -N	218
5. Num-count Cl- <i>de</i> -N: as many as	220
5.1. Counting classifiers in measure phrases	221
5.2. Semantics of Num-Cl _{count} - <i>de</i> -N	223
6. Conclusions: two puzzles about [+counting] classifiers.....	226

Part III: Definiteness in classifier languages

Chapter 9

Definite classifiers in southern Chinese languages	233
1. Introduction.....	233
2. “Cl+N” in three Chinese languages	236
2.1. “Cl+N” in Mandarin	237
2.2. “Cl+N” in Wu	240
2.2.1. Preverbal “Cl+N”	240
2.2.2. Postverbal Cl+N.....	242
2.3. “Cl+N” in Cantonese	243

3.	Information structure and (in)definite “Cl+N”	245
4.	Syntax of indefinite “Cl+N”	248
4.1.	Indefinite “Cl+N” as a reduced form of “one+Cl+N” (Lü 1944)..	248
4.2.	Indefinite “Cl+N” as NumPs	249
4.3.	Indefinite “Cl+N” as ClP	251
5.	Syntax of definite “Cl+N”	254
5.1.	From “Dem+Cl+N” to definite “Cl+N”	255
5.2.	Definite “Cl+N” as ClP	257
5.3.	Definite “Cl+N” as DP	259
6.	Semantic interpretation of “Cl+N”	262
6.1.	“Cl+N” with a counting reading	262
6.2.	Semantics of indefinite “Cl+N”	264
6.3.	Semantics of definite “Cl+N”: from counting to definiteness- marking	266
6.3.1.	A uniqueness-based approach of definiteness	266
6.3.2.	A familiarity-based approach of definiteness	269
6.3.3.	Semantics of definite “Cl+N”	273
7.	Summary	274

Chapter 10

Definite classifiers and their modifiers	275
1. Introduction to modified “Cl+N”	275
2. Syntax of modified “Cl+N” in Wu	277
2.1. Modified “Cl+N” as a definite expression	278
2.2. Modified “Cl+N” as DP	280
2.2.1. Definite classifiers as D head	280
2.2.2. Dems as [Spec DP]	282
2.2.3. Adjs/RCs as [Spec DP]	284
3. Semantics of non-bare “Cl+N”	285
3.1. Definite classifiers characterized with “familiarity”	285
3.2. Interpret modified “Cl-N” compositionally	287
4. Concluding remarks	290
References	291
Index	307