The Structure of Numeral Classifier Constructions in Japanese
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1. Synopsis
This paper focuses on the structure of numeral classifier constructions in Japanese. As a background, Watanabe (2006) assumes that Japanese count and mass nouns are distinguished by the different structure. Against Watanabe’s assumption, I would like to explore another direction: the possibility that count and measure readings can be divided by the structure in Japanese (Li 2013 for Chinese). In the end, based on Li’s assumption for Chinese, I may suggest that Japanese classifiers should be classified by count and measure readings.

2. Watanabe (2006)
Watanabe (2006) mentions that pseudopartitive constructions such as (1a) can co-occur with bun, but Numeral Classifier (NC) constructions such as (2a) cannot. Moreover, Watanabe argues that the observation can extend to the difference between mass and count nouns with classifiers as in (3a) and (2a). First, to deal with (1a) and (2a), Watanabe assumes the different structure shown in (1b) and (2b). In (1b), bun is possible to occupy in the head, but in (2b), bun is not possible because the head of (2b) is already occupied by satsu. Second, to account for (3a) and (2a), Watanabe offers the same structural account in (3b) and (2b). Thus, Watanabe’s analysis enables us to reach the conclusion that mass and count nouns with classifiers should be distinguished by the syntactic structure.

3. Discussion
However, Watanabe points out some facts as demonstrated in (4) which are counterexamples against his assumption. (4a) shows that the ordinary classifier like hon is compatible with pseudopartitive constructions and (4b) indicates that the count noun such as hon is available in pseudopartitive constructions. Then, (4c), which has two properties described in (4a) and (4b), is grammatical. To solve these problems, I assume that (1b) and (3b) are structures for measure readings and (2b) is the structure of count readings. That is to say, count and measure readings can be distinguished by the structure in Japanese (Li 2013 for Chinese). If the analysis is on the right track, these problems are gone. Furthermore, Watanabe claims that bun forces the measure reading (Watanabe 2006: 267). Then, I provide the additional evidence in (5) to support the claim. From the discussion, I claim that bun can co-occur with both count and mass nouns with classifiers in the structure of measure readings.

4. Consequence
As a result, I may suggest that Japanese classifiers should be classified by count and measure readings. Li classifies Chinese classifiers by using counting and measure features (i.e., [±C, ±M]). Following the assumption, mg is classified in [-C, +M] because it has only the measure reading and hon is in [+C, +M] since it has both count and measure readings.
Thus, if my argument is on the right track, Japanese classifiers should be distinguished by not the difference between count and mass nouns but count and measure readings.

**Data and Structures**

(1) a. Roger-wa donburi(-ni) yon-hai-bun-no gohan-o tabeta.
   Roger-Top big.bowl-Dat 4-Cl-amount-Gen rice-Acc ate
   ‘Roger ate four big bowls of rice.’ (Watanabe 2006: 265)

   b. [sp [DP donburi(-ni) yon-hai] [NP gohan] bun]

(2) a. *John-wa san-satsu-bun-no hon-o katta.
   John-Top 3-Cl-amount-Gen book-Acc bought
   ‘John bought three books.’ (Watanabe 2006: 266)

   b. [sp san [NP hon] satsu]

(3) a. kenkou-no-tame-ni-wa mainichi 600mg-bun-no vitamin C-o
   health-Gen-sake-Dat-Top everyday 600mg-amount-Gen vitamin C-Acc
tora-nakerebanaranai.
   ‘One must take 600mg of vitamin C everyday for the sake of good health.’

   b. [sp [XP 600mg] [NP vitamin C] bun]

   John-Top bottle-Dat 4-Cl-amount-Gen wine-Acc drank.up
   ‘John drank up four bottles of wine.’ (Watanabe 2006: 260)

   b. Danbooru-bako(-ni) yon-hako-bun-no hon-o ofisu-ni hakobikonda.
   cardboard-box-Dat 4-Cl-amount-Gen book-Acc office-Dat brought.in
   ‘I brought four cardboard boxes of books into my office.’

   (Watanabe 2006: 262)

   c. suitcase(-ni) yon-ko-bun-no hon-o ofisu-ni hakobikonda.
   suitcase-Dat 4-Cl-amount-Gen book-Acc office-Dat brought.in
   ‘I brought four suitcases of books into my office.’

(5) a. Zyugyoin-wa Tokyo-dome(-ni) 4-ko-bun-no gomi-o syokyakushita.
   worker-Top Tokyo-dome-Dat 4-Cl-amount-Gen garbage-Acc incinerated
   ‘The worker incinerated four Tokyo domes of garbage.’

   b. #Zyugyoin-wa Tokyo-dome(-ni) 4-ko-no gomi-o syokyakushita.

**Selected References**
