

Different Constituency of Classifier Constructions in Japanese and Korean

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Synopsis: In this paper, we provide the hitherto unnoticed data on numeral classifier constructions in Japanese and Korean, revealing a cross-linguistic interpretational difference that can be attributed to the structural difference within nominal domains in these languages.

Interpretational Asymmetry: Both in Japanese [JP] and Korean [KR], numeral classifiers can either precede or follow their host nouns as in (1) and (2).

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| <p>(1) a. Go-nin-no otoko-ga kita.
 five-CL-GEN man-NOM came
 lit: ‘Five man came.’ [JP]</p> <p>(2) a. Otoko-ga go-nin kita.
 man-NOM five-CL came
 lit: ‘Man five came.’ [JP]</p> | <p>b. Tases-myeng-uy namca-ka wassta.
 five-CL-GEN man-NOM came
 lit: ‘Five man came.’ [KR]</p> <p>b. Namca-ka tases-myeng wassta.
 man-NOM five-CL came
 lit: ‘Man five came.’ [KR]</p> |
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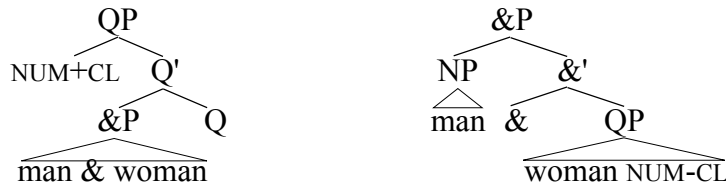
What has gone unnoticed in the literature is that numeral classifier constructions in Japanese and Korean exhibit an interpretational asymmetry when numeral classifiers follow their host nouns, cf. (2), and the host nouns in question are conjunction as in (4).

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| <p>(3) a. [Go-nin-no otoko-to onna]-ga kita.
 five-CL-GEN man-and woman-NOM came
 lit: ‘Five man and woman came.’ [JP] (✓ total; ✓ separate)</p> <p>b. [Tases-myeng-uy namca-wa yeca]-ka wassta.
 five-CL-GEN man-and woman-NOM came
 lit: ‘Five man and woman came.’ [KR] (✓ total; ✓ separate)</p> <p>(4) a. Otoko-to onna-ga go-nin kita.
 man-and woman-NOM five-CL came
 lit: ‘Man and woman five came.’ [JP] (✓ total; ✓ separate)</p> <p>b. Namca-wa yeca-ka tases-myeng wassta.
 man-and woman-NOM five-CL came
 lit: ‘Man and woman five came.’ [KR] (✓ total; ✗ separate)</p> | |
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In (3), where numeral classifiers precede their host conjoined nouns, there are two interpretations available: both (3a) and (3b) can mean either that the five of men and women came (total interpretation) or that five men and an indefinite number of women came (separate interpretation). By contrast, in (4), where numeral classifiers follow their host conjoined nouns, Japanese (4a) allows the separate interpretation, i.e. that an indefinite number of men and five women came, whereas Korean (4b) does not allow such a reading and only allows the total interpretation.

Structural Asymmetry: We argue that the total interpretation and the separate interpretation in (4) are derived from the base structures (5a) and (5b), respectively.

- (5) a. TOTAL INTERPRETATION b. SEPARATE INTERPRETATION



In (5a), QP is on the top of &P so the total interpretation is obtained. Specifically, &P undergoes movement out of QP, leaving numeral classifiers in-situ (the movement in question is allowed even if QP is a phase given Bošković’s (to appear) Phase Impenetrability Condition). In (5b), the numeral classifier only modifies the second noun, i.e. *woman*, so the separate interpretation is obtained. The current perspective predicts *yeka-ka tases-myeng* ‘woman-NOM five-CL’ in (4b), where the separate

interpretation is absent, not to form a constituent. This prediction is borne out as in (7).

- (6) Keisatu-to *doroboo-ga go-nin* kita no? Iie, yakuza-to **karera-ga** kimasita.
 police-and thief-NOM five-CL came Q no gangster-and they-NOM came
 lit: 'Did police and thief five come? No, gangster and they came.' [JP]
- (7) K.-kwa *totwuk-i tases-myeng* wass-ni? *Ani, kangto-wa **kutul-i** watta.
 police-and thief-NOM five-CL came-Q no gangster-and they-NOM came
 lit: 'Did police and thief five come? No, gangster and they came.' [KR]

In Japanese (6), *karera* 'they' can take *doroboo-ga go-nin* 'thief-NOM five-CL' as its antecedent; in Korean (7), *kutul* 'they' cannot take *totwuk-i tases-myeng* 'thief-NOM five-CL' as its antecedent and the second sentence is unacceptable. The idea that the constituency of QP is important for the separate interpretation, cf. (5b), is further supported by the fact that even Japanese disallows such an interpretation in the situation where *NOUN NUM-CL* cannot be a constituent as in (8a).

- (8) a. [Otoko-to onna]_i-o Taroo-ga *t_i* go-nin tataita.
 man-and woman-ACC Taro-NOM five-CL hit
 lit: 'Man and woman, Taro hit five.' [JP] (✓ total; ✗ separate)
- b. [Namca-wa yeca]_i-lul Minswu-ka *t_i* tases-myeng ttaylyessta.
 man-and woman-ACC Minsoo-NOM five-CL hit
 lit: 'Man and woman, Minsoo hit five.' [KR] (✓ total; ✗ separate)

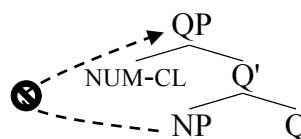
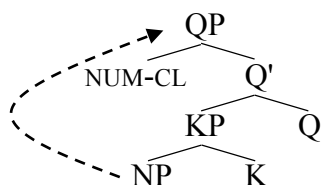
In (8a), the conjoined object *otoko-to onna* 'man and woman' is scrambled, which eliminates the possibility (5b), where *onna* 'woman' and *go-nin* 'five-CL' form a constituent under the base structure. Crucially, the separate interpretation is absent in (8a) as the current analysis predicts.

Presence/Absence of KP: The question to be answered is then why Korean disallows the structure (5b), unlike Japanese. We argue that the absence of the structure (5b) in Korean can be attributed to the absence of K(ase) P(rojection) within nominal domains. One of the distinctive differences between Japanese and Korean is that only the former allows particle-stranding ellipsis (Sato and Ginsberg 2007, Sato 2012, Bošković 2014) as in (9) and (10).

- (9) A: [_{NP} Taroo]-ga tukimasita ka? B: [_{NP} Δ]-ga mada tuiteimasen.
 Taro-NOM arrived Q -NOM yet arrived.not
 'Has Taro arrived?' [JP] lit: 'Δ-NOM has not arrived yet.' [JP]
- (10) A: [_{NP} Minswu]-ka tochakhaysssupnik-ka? B: *[_{NP} Δ]-ka acik tochakhacianhasssupnita.
 Minsoo-NOM arrived-Q -NOM yet arrived.not
 'Has Taro arrived?' [KR] lit: 'Δ-NOM has not arrived yet.' [KR]

Following Bošković (2014), we assume that particle-stranding ellipsis is an instance of ellipsis of an NP that is a complement of KP, taking the ungrammaticality of (10B) as an argument for the absence of KP in Korean. Assuming with Takahashi (2011) and Bošković (2014) that Japanese nominal domains with numeral classifiers involve tripartite structure i.e. QP-KP-NP, we then propose that Korean counterparts involve only QP and NP as in (11b).

- (11) a. JAPANESE NOMINAL STRUCTURE b. KOREAN NOMINAL STRUCTURE



(Movement of NP to [Spec, QP] violates anti-locality.)

In Japanese (11a), NP can move to [Spec, QP], yielding the surface string *woman NUM-CL*, cf. (5b), and the separate interpretation is obtained in (4a). By contrast, in Korean (11b), such movement is banned due to Abel's (2003) anti-locality, which prohibits a complement of a phrase from moving to its specifier. Therefore, the surface string *woman NUM-CL* cannot be derived within Korean nominal domains, so (4b) cannot yield the separate interpretation as desired.