Object Mass Nouns in Japanese

Kurt Erbach, Hana Filip, Kathrin Byrdeck, based on joint work with Peter Sutton

Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf

erbach@hhu.de, peter.r.sutton@icloud.com, filip@hhu.de, byrdeck@hhu.de

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Classifier languages (CLLs), like Japanese, are commonly taken to have no grammaticized lexical mass/count distinction. Chierchia (1998, 2010) argues all Ns in CLLs uniformly denote kinds, and the mass/count distinction is encoded through the syntax and semantics of classifiers. CLLs, therefore have a one-to-one mapping from syntax to semantics, whereby Ns are uniformly mapped to kinds. We contest this view and show that Japanese has a mass/count distinction grammaticized in classifier-less constructions with quantifiers like nan-byaku to iu 'hundreds of', which are felicitous with Ns like hon 'book' but infelicitous with Ns like doro 'mud' or yūbinbutsu (partly based on Sudo 2016). Our acceptability judgment study, with 50 native speakers, shows that such quantifiers are not sensitive to atomicity alone as a bi-partite split between nouns denoting objects and nouns denoting stuff could suggest: the quantifier nan-byaku to iu 'hundreds of' is not acceptable with some collective artifacts like $y\bar{u}binbutsu$ 'mail', despite the fact that such nouns have sets of individuable units in their denotations. Building on Sutton & Filip (2016), Japanese Ns are analyzed as having lexical entries consisting of tuples: $\langle qualities, c base_p, presuppositions \rangle$ with qualities as the number neutral predicate P, representing the perceptual/functional properties of the relevant N. The counting base, \mathbf{c} base_p, is the (possibly overlapping) set of entities that count as 'one' with respect to P. The **presuppositions** slot is used to track conditions of compositions with, e.g., classifiers. We therefore reject the one-to-one mapping between syntactic categories and semantic types of Ns in CLLs, and instead propose a one-to-many mapping, based on our conclusion that Japanese has a grammaticized lexical mass/count distinction.

References: • Chierchia, G. (1998): Reference to Kinds Across Languages. Natural Language Semantics 6, 339–405. • Chierchia, G. (2010): Mass Nouns, Vagueness and Semantic. Synthese 174, 99–149. • Sudo, Y. (2016): The Semantic Role of Classifiers in Japanese. Baltic International Yearbook of Cognition, Logic, Communication, 11. • Sutton, P. and Hana Filip (2016): Counting in Context. In: Moroney, M. et al. (eds.) Semantics and Linguistics Theory (SALT) 26, 350–370. LSA and CLC Publications.