

- b. Taroo-wa gaikokujin-o mikake-naka-tta
 Taro-TOP foreigner-ACC see-NEG-PAST
 ‘Taro saw no foreigner.’

(Nemoto (2005:390))

Sentence (1a) conveys the information that there is more than one bench outside, but in sentence (1b), the singular form ‘sono benchi’ is used to refer to the benches in question. On the other hand, sentence (2a) says that the benches outside are different from each other in shape. In this case, as shown in (2b, c), they must be referred to not by the singular form ‘sono benchi’ but by the plural form ‘sore-ra-no benchi.’ In the sentences of (3) and (4), the quantifier ‘daremo’ and the negation have wide scope over the objects, but not vice versa, respectively. The behavior of Japanese NPs presented above is quite parallel to that of mass NPs in English, and thus constitutes corroborating evidence for Chierchia’s claim.

The mass-like behavior of Japanese NPs is also illustrated by the following example:

- (5) Bill-wa ip-pun-kan pan / ringo-o tabe-ta.
 Bill-TOP one-minute-for bread / apple-ACC eat-PAST
 ‘Bill ate bread / apple for one minute.’

(Yoshida (2008:422))

The presence of the adverbial *ip-pun-kan* ‘for one minute’ in sentence (5) proves clearly that it is interpreted as atelic. This indicates that the amount of bread or apples has no upper limit. The NPs in question are similar to mass NPs in that both NPs do not identify the exact amount of their referents. This example hence provides a piece of evidence for the masshood of Japanese NPs.

It is, however, unnecessary to consider the sentences in (1-5) indicative of the mass-like characteristics of Japanese NPs. Consider the following sentences:

- (6) a. soto-ni benchi-ga mittsu arimasu
 outside-at bench-NOM 3-CL exist-PRES
 ‘There are three benches outside.’

(= (1a))

- b. sore-ra-no benchi-wa sobo-kara-no okurimono desu
 that-PL-GEN bench-TOP grandmother-from-GEN gift COP
 ‘The benches are the gift from my grandmother.’

(= (2c))

- (7) a. There are three pieces of furniture outside.
 b. * These furnitures are gifts from my grandmother.
 (Nemoto (2005:396))
- (8) a. daremo-ga san-satsu-no hon-o yon-da
 everyone-NOM 3-CL-GEN book-ACC read-PAST
 ‘Everyone read three books.’
 b. daremo-ga hon-o san-satsu yon-da
 everyone-NOM book-ACC 3-CL read-PAST
 ‘Everyone read three books.’
 (cf. Nemoto (2005:409))
- (9) a. Hanako-wa is-satsu-no hon-o kawa-naka-tta
 Hanako-TOP 1-CL-GEN book-ACC buy-NEG-PAST
 ‘Hanako didn’t buy a book.’
 b. Hanako-wa hon-o is-satsu kawa-naka-tta
 Hanako-TOP book-ACC 1-CL buy-NEG-PAST
 ‘Hanako bought no book.’
- (10) Bill-wa ip-pun-de pan / ringo-o tabe-ta.
 Bill-TOP one-minute-in bread / apple-ACC eat-PAST
 ‘Bill ate bread / apple in one minute.’
 (Yoshida (2008:422))

Instead of ‘sono benchi’ in (1b), the plural form ‘sore-ra-no benchi’ is used with the same function as the former in the acceptable sentence in (6b). Notice that if Chierchia’s claim, according to which Japanese NPs are all mass, is on the right track, sentence (6b) should not be allowed. In fact, sentence (7b), in which the NP *furniture* is pluralized, is unacceptable, whereas the phrase *three pieces of furniture* in (7a) is perfectly legitimate. In sentence (8a), the NP *san-satsu-no hon*, which is regarded as countable via a classifier expression, takes scope over the quantifier ‘daremo’ and vice versa. More interestingly, in sentence (8b), the quantifier has wide scope over the NP *hon-o san-satsu*, which is the same as the NP *san-satsu-no hon* in (8a) in the relevant respect, but the opposite scope relation is impossible. It is therefore reasonable to argue that the scope issue does not support Chierchia’s claim. This conclusion is strengthened by the scope interpretation observed in (9). While in sentence (9a), the count NP *is-satsu-no hon* has wide scope over the negation and vice versa, sentence (9b) only allows the interpretation in which the negation has wide scope over the count NP *hon-o is-satsu*. The scope of the latter is shared with the sentences in (4), and thus leads us to the above conclusion. In sentence (10), which is minimally different from that of (5), the adverbial *ip-pun-de*

'in one minute' is used. The adverbial shows that the event denoted by the sentence is telic and implies that the amount of bread or apples is certainly finite. This property of the referents is incompatible with the so-called unbounded extension of a mass NP. It is worth remarking that Yoshida (2008) observes that sentence (5) is less natural than sentence (10). To the extent that her observation is correct, it follows that the former does not yield any evidence for Chierchia's claim, and, more importantly, that the latter encourages the view that Japanese has the mass/count distinction as English does.

Watanabe (2006) adduces further evidence for the existence of the mass/count distinction in Japanese and states that "Japanese is not a NP[+arg, -pred] language" in Chierchia's sense (p. 279). Naturally, our conclusion conforms to his statement. The rejection of Chierchia's characterization, however, poses the question of how to account for the fact that Japanese, unlike English, allows the bare argument. As a solution, the present paper proposes that Japanese bare arguments are semantically licensed by a type-shifting operation. According to Chierchia's (1998) Blocking Principle, a type-shifting operation is dependent on whether a functional category D exists in a language or not. It is argued in Fukui (1986) that while Japanese lacks functional categories, English does not. If his assumption is true, it follows that a type-shifting operation is applicable in Japanese and its bare arguments semantically correspond to either a definite or an indefinite NP. In contrast, in English, due to the inapplicability of type-shifting, no NP([+pred]) occurs in the argument position without the aid of the determiner. Thus, the proposed account successfully captures the difference between the two languages.

In sum, we argue (i) that the mass/count distinction is detectable in Japanese as well as in English and (ii) that the application of a type-shifting operation enables Japanese bare NPs to occur in the argument position. A typological implication of our analysis is that Japanese belongs to NP[+arg, +pred] languages with no article in Chierchia's typology. This implies that Japanese forms the same natural class with Slavic languages.

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