

## A Prosodic Analysis of Mandarin Classifiers

Shuyan Wang

*University of Connecticut*

This paper discusses the distribution of Mandarin classifiers and proposes the Verb Proximity Condition (VPC), which requires NP-initial classifiers in Mandarin to stay within the same intonational phrase as the verb. That is why Mandarin CI-N phrases are restricted in terms of their distribution. Finally, the VPC can explain why CI-N phrases are banned from the subject/topic positions in Mandarin. Mandarin subject/topic positions generally disallow non-specific expressions, so that non-specific CI-N phrases cannot appear in these positions (cf. Chao 1968; Huang et al. 2009; Li & Thompson 1981). Additionally, elements in subject/topic positions generally form separate I-phrases by themselves, so that in these positions, a CI-N phrase with a NP-initial classifier cannot stay within the same I-phrase with the verb, violating the VPC. This also explains why CI-N phrases as subjects are even worse than numeral expressions with overt numerals other than *yi* 'one'. The former involves a double violation (the specificity requirement on subjects and the VPC), while the latter only violates one requirement (the specificity requirement on subjects).

### 1. Introduction

Numerals phrases in Mandarin usually refer to Numeral (Num)-Classifier (CI)-Noun (N) expressions. A classifier in Mandarin usually requires the presence of a numeral, as shown in (1). However, there are some exceptions. When the numeral is *yi* 'one', it may be covert, resulting in CI-N phrases (e.g., Lü 1944; Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Cheng & Sybesma 1999; Li & Bisang 2012; Jiang 2012). As in (2), a classifier sometimes can appear at the initial position of a noun phrase (NP), without any numerals.

(1). \*(san)-ben shu  
three-CI book  
'three books'

(2). Wo mai-le ben shu.  
I buy-ASP CI book  
'I bought a/one book.'

Since CI-N phrases are interpreted as singular, some works argue that they contain a deleted numeral *yi* 'one'. In other words, CI-N phrases are derived from *yi*-CI-N phrases by deleting the numeral (e.g., Lü 1944; Wang 1989; Yang 2001; Zhu 1982). However, interpretational and distributional differences between *yi*-CI-N phrases and CI-

N phrases have been observed and thus some works have argued against the deletion analysis (e.g., Cheng & Sybesma 1999; Li & Bisang 2012; Wang 2019; Zhang 2013, 2019). For example, CI-N phrases are prohibited from the sentence-initial position. As in (3), a *yi*-CI-N phrase can occur in the sentence-initial position, while CI-N cannot.<sup>1</sup> This paper will present some new observations of the distribution of Mandarin classifiers and propose that Mandarin classifiers are prosodically deficient in the sense that the classifiers in NP-initial positions have to be parsed within the same intonational phrase (I-phrase) as the verb.

- (3). \*(Yi)-ge xuesheng jinlai-le.  
 a-CI student enter-ASP  
 ‘A student came in.’

The outline of this paper is as follows. Section 2 will summarize some previous analyses and discuss the remaining questions. Section 3 will propose a new analysis. Section 4 will conclude the paper.

## 2. Previous analyses

Regarding the distributional restrictions of CI-N phrases in Mandarin, some works have argued for a lexical government condition (Cheng & Sybesma 1999; Li & Bisang 2012; Li & Feng 2015). According to the government condition, CI-N phrases must be c-commanded by a head element without any intervening clausal or nominal node (see Li & Feng 2015). For example, the CI-N phrase in (4a) is c-commanded by the verb *song* ‘give’, and the CI-N phrase in (4b) is c-commanded by the focus phrase head *lian* ‘even’.

- (4). a. Wo hui song tamen ge liwu. (Li & Feng 2015)  
 I will give they CI gift  
 ‘I will give them a gift.’  
 b. Ta lian zhang zhi dou bu gei xuesheng. (Li & Feng 2015)  
 he even CI paper even not give students  
 ‘He did not give the students even a piece of paper.’

---

<sup>1</sup> Note that Individual-denoting numeral expressions in Mandarin are generally considered to be indefinite non-specific expressions (e.g., Huang et al. 2009). They usually do not appear in subject or topic positions, since these positions in Mandarin do not allow non-specific readings (e.g., Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Lee 1986; Li 1996). However, *yi* ‘one’-CI-N phrases are different in this respect. They can be either specific or non-specific. Thus, Tsai (1996) noted that numeral expressions with *yi* ‘one’, but not other numerals like ‘two’ or ‘three’, can be specific (see also Huang 1987). As a result, *yi*-CI-N phrases, unlike other numeral expressions, can occur in subject positions, as in (3). More discussion will be given below.

On the contrary, the CI-N phrase in (3), as the subject, is not c-commanded by any element, violating the government condition. Hence it is prohibited in Mandarin. The CI-N phrase in (5) does have a c-commanding head element (i.e., *ruguo* ‘if’), but there is a clausal node intervening between the c-commanding head and CI-N phrase. Therefore, it is again prohibited in Mandarin.

- (5). *Ruguo* [<sub>IP</sub> [\**(yi)* *ge* *xuesheng*] *bing-le*] (Zhang 2019)  
 if one CI student ill-ASP  
 ‘If a student gets ill’

However, as noted by Zhang (2019), the government condition cannot explain the whole picture (see also Li & Feng 2015). As in (6), the CI-N phrase is c-commanded by the post-modifier element *de*, but it is still unacceptable.

- (6). *Houhou de \*(yi)-ben shu* (Zhang 2019)  
 Thick DE one-CI book  
 ‘a thick book’

Zhang (2019) argues that in addition to the lexical government condition, the c-commanding head and the CI-N phrase have to be able to form an interpretable semantic complex. The examples in (4) are compatible with this semantic requirement. In (4a), the head *song* ‘give’ and the CI-N phrase *ge liwu* ‘a gift’ form a meaningful complex ‘send a gift’, and in (4b), the focus phrase *lian zhang zhi* ‘even a piece of paper’ is interpretable. In contrast, *de ben shu* in (6) does not form a semantic complex and is not interpretable (Zhang 2019). Thus, it violates the semantic requirement and is disallowed in Mandarin.

Another analysis is proposed by Yang (2001). Yang (2001) proposes that a classifier in Mandarin is either a lexical suffix directly attached to a numeral forming the Num+CI complex or an enclitic cliticizing onto the preceding host word in the absence of a numeral.<sup>2</sup> Yang (2001) suggests that in the absence of a numeral, demonstratives, quantifiers, and verbs can be the host for a classifier. Thus, a classifier is still licit without a numeral in the examples of (7). But the sentence in (8) shows that adjectives do not qualify as a host for a classifier.

- (7). a. *Na (yi)-ben shu hen gui.* (Yang 2001)  
 that one-CI book very expensive  
 ‘That book is very expensive.’

---

<sup>2</sup> Yang (2001) proposes that a numeral and a classifier together form a morphological complex which is a D head. As shown in (i), Num+CI is a single head for Yang, rather than two separate syntactic heads.

i. [<sub>DP</sub> every [<sub>D</sub> Num-CI [<sub>NP</sub> book]]]

- b. Mei (yi)-ben shu dou yao san-kuai qian. (Yang 2001)  
 every one-Cl book all cost three-dollar money  
 ‘Every book costs three dollars.’
- c. Yuehan mai-le (yi)-ben shu. (Yang 2001)  
 John buy-PAST one-Cl book  
 ‘John bought a book.’
- (8). Na houhou-de \*(yi)-ben shu hen gui. (Yang 2001)  
 that thick-DE one-Cl book very expensive  
 ‘That very thick book is expensive.’

Nevertheless, there are both conceptual and empirical issues with Yang’s analysis (2001). The conceptual question is that clitics usually either are very picky about their hosts, or allow anything to be their hosts. Compare here the common distinctions between verbal clitics, whose host must be a verb (as in e.g. Romance languages) and ‘second position’ clitics as in Serbo-Croatian, whose host can be anything. From this perspective, it is unclear why Mandarin classifiers, as clitics, can cliticize onto verbs, demonstratives, and quantifiers, but not adjectives, relative clauses, possessives, or other elements. Verbs, demonstratives, and quantifiers do not form a natural class. This is a strange situation which is otherwise not found with clitics.

Furthermore, a clitic and its host cannot be separated by any non-clitic elements. Therefore, the only way (9) can be grammatical is if the pronominal indirect object (i.e., *tamen* ‘them’) is also a clitic which has already cliticized onto the verb. Only this way can the classifier *ben* in the direct object be able to cliticize onto the verb. However, there is evidence that a pronominal indirect object is not a clitic in Mandarin. Consider (10), which contains a proper name as the indirect object. The element intervening between the verb and the *yi*-Cl-N phrase is clearly not a clitic, but *yi* ‘one’ can still be covert here.

- (9). Yuehan song-le tamen ?(yi)-ben shu.  
 John give-PAST them one-Cl book  
 ‘John gave them a book.’
- (10). Yuehan song-le Zhangsan (yi)-ben shu.  
 John give-PAST Zhangsan one-Cl book  
 ‘John gave Zhangsan a/one book.’

In addition, the example in (11) shows that the intervening element can be quite long. With a relative clause between the verb and the *yi*-Cl-N phrase, *yi* still can be covert. These facts are not expected under Yang’s (2001) clitic analysis.

- (11). Yuehan song-le biao-xian zui-hao de xue-sheng (yi)-ben shu.  
 John give-PAST perform best DE student one-Cl book  
 ‘John gave the student who performed the best a/one book.’

More interestingly, if the relative clause in (11) is replaced with an appositive, *yi* ‘one’ cannot be covert, as shown by (12). Apparently, the acceptability difference between (10), (11), and (12) cannot be explained by the clitic analysis proposed by Yang (2001) or the semantic analysis by Zhang (2019).

- (12). Yuehan song-le      Zhangsan, biao-xian zuihao de xuesheng, \*(yi)-ben shu.  
 John      give-PAST Zhangsan perform bes      DE student      one-CI book  
 ‘John gave Zhangsan, the student who performed the best, a/one book.’

### 3. A New Analysis: Verb Proximity Condition

There is an obvious prosodic difference between a relative clause and an appositive which distinguishes (11) and (12). Appositives form separate intonational phrase (I-phrases). This means that a distinct I-phrases intervenes between the verb and *(yi)-ben shu* in (12), but not in (11). Nespor and Vogel (1986), Selkirk (1986), and Hayes (1989), among many others, have proposed a hierarchical structure for the prosody of utterances, which is partially determined by the syntactic structure of the sentences. This prosodic hierarchy includes: syllable, foot, prosodic word ( $\omega$ ), phonological phrase ( $\varphi$ ), and intonational phrase ( $\iota$ ) (Selkirk 1986). In this paper, following standard assumptions, I assume that each clause corresponds to a single intonational phrases (I-phrase), unless the clause is interrupted by elements that form separate I-phrases.<sup>3</sup> Such elements include appositives and heavy fronted elements. They form separate I-phrases and are usually followed by pauses (Bošković 2001).

Capitalizing on this, I propose that classifiers are prosodically deficient in the sense that when they occur in NP-initial positions, they have to be parsed within the same intonational phrase as the verb. I will refer to this constraint as the Verb Proximity Condition (VPC), as in (13).<sup>4</sup>

(13). *Verb Proximity Condition (VPC)*

In Mandarin, when a classifier occurs in the initial position of a traditional nominal phrase, it has to be parsed within the same I-phrase as the verb.

According to the VPC, elements that form separate I-phrases cannot be inserted between a NP-initial classifier and the verb, because these elements will prevent the NP-initial classifier from staying within the same I-phrase as the verb.<sup>5</sup> In (12), the

<sup>3</sup> There are some exceptions but they need not concern us here.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar prosodic condition, see Sener (2006), who proposes a prosodic condition regarding focused *wh*/focused phrases and the verb in Turkish.

<sup>5</sup> Note that I focus on NP-initial classifiers in this section. A potential analysis for classifier that are not NP-initial is that they are also phonologically deficient and phonologically depend on the word that immediately precedes them within the nominal phrase. Under this analysis, Num-CI-N

appositive, which has to be followed by a pause, forms a separate I-phrase, and thus the classifier in the direct object is not parsed in the same I-phrase as the verb. Therefore, without *yi* ‘one’, the sentence violates the VPC, since the NP-initial classifier (i.e., *-ben*) does not stay with the same I-phrase as the verb.

Also, when a pause is inserted after the indirect object in (10) and (11), *yi* ‘one’ must surface. In (14), a pause, indicated by the double hash mark, is inserted between the indirect object and the direct object. In this case, *yi* ‘one’ cannot be null. Following the VPC, the unacceptability of a CI-N phrase in (14a) and (14b) is expected. The NP-initial classifier needs to stay within the same I-phrase as the verb, but the inserted pause disrupts the prosodic phrasing (since it introduces an additional I-phrase). Therefore, with an inserted pause, *yi* ‘one’ has to surface in (14).

- (14). a. Yuehan song-le Zhangsan ## \*(yi)-ben shu.  
 John give-PAST Zhangsan one-CI book  
 ‘John gave Zhangsan a/one book.’  
 b. Yuehan song-le biao xian zui hao de xue sheng ## \*(yi)-ben shu.  
 John give-PAST perform best DE student one-CI book  
 ‘John gave the student who performed the best a/one book.’

Recall now that CI-N phrases cannot occur in subject or topic positions, as in (15). This can also follow from the Verb Proximity Condition, given that subjects and topics are generally assumed to form separate I-phrases, which means that a NP-initial classifier within a topic or a subject could not be parsed in the same I-phrase as the verb.

- (15). \*ge nan hai chi-le dang gao.  
 CI boy eat-PAST cake  
 Intended: ‘A boy ate the cake.’

---

phrases, Dem-CI-N phrases, and *mei* ‘every’-CI-N phrases are allowed because the phonologically deficient classifiers within them have a word preceding them within the same nominal phrase. However, a classifier cannot directly follow a possessor or an adjective, as in (i) and (ii).

- |    |   |     |  |
|----|---|-----|--|
| i. | Zhangsan de *(yi)-ben shu<br>Zhangsan DE one-CI book<br>‘Zhangsan’s book’ | ii. | hongse de *(yi)-ben shu<br>red DE one-CI book<br>‘a/one book which is red’ |
|----|---|-----|--|

The issue here could be that the element immediately preceding the classifier in (i) and (ii) is *de*. It is possible that *de* cannot support phonologically deficient classifiers within nominal phrases. I will leave this issue open for future research.

However, such cases may also be ruled out independently, given that subject and topic positions in Mandarin disallow non-specific expressions (cf. Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981), and that numeral expressions in Mandarin are generally interpreted as non-specific (cf. Huang et al. 2009). In (16), a non-specific numeral expression occurs in the subject position, so the sentence is degraded.

- (16). *??san-ge xuesheng chi-le dangao.*  
 three-CI student eat-PAST cake  
 ‘Three students ate the cake.’ (Huang et al. 2009)

Importantly, note that (15), with a CI-N phrase as the subject, is even worse than (16), with a non-specific numeral expression as the subject. This contrast can be explained under the current analysis. The example in (16) violates the ‘specificity’ requirement on the subject position, while (15) violates both the ‘specificity’ requirement on the subject position and the Verb Proximity Condition on NP-initial classifiers. According to Wang (2019), a CI-N phrase, which involves a covert numeral *yi* ‘one’, is interpreted as non-specific. The Verb Proximity Condition requires the NP-initial classifier in a CI-N phrase to be parsed within the same I-phrase as the verb. However, as noted above, a subject forms a separate I-phrase. Then, the NP-initial classifier in (15), which is in the subject position, cannot be parsed in the same I-phrase as the verb. Therefore, (15), which has a non-specific CI-N phrase as the subject, involves a double violation and is worse than (16), which involves only one violation.

#### 4. Conclusion

To sum up, this paper has discussed the distribution of Mandarin classifiers. I have proposed the Verb Proximity Condition (VPC), which requires NP-initial classifiers in Mandarin to stay within the same intonational phrase as the verb. That is why Mandarin CI-N phrases are restricted in terms of their distribution. Regarding the distribution of CI-N phrases, the Verb Proximity Condition (VPC) displays advantages, compared with the government condition (Cheng & Sybesma 1999; Li & Bisang 2012; Li & Feng 2015), the semantic analysis by Zhang (2019), and the clitic analysis by Yang (2001). Finally, the VPC, together with the observations that CI-N phrases lack specific readings, explains why CI-N phrases are banned from the subject/topic positions in Mandarin. Mandarin subject/topic positions generally disallow non-specific expressions, so that non-specific CI-N phrases cannot appear in these positions. Additionally, elements in subject/topic positions generally form separate I-phrases by themselves, so that in these positions, a CI-N phrase with a NP-initial classifier cannot stay within the same I-phrase with the verb, violating the VPC. This also explains why CI-N phrases as subjects are even worse than numeral expressions with overt numerals other than *yi* ‘one’. The former involves a double violation (both the specificity requirement on subjects and the

VPC), while the latter only violates one requirement (i.e., the specificity requirement on subjects).

## REFERENCES

- BOŠKOVIĆ, ŽELJKO. 2001. *On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface: Cliticization and related phenomena*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- CHAO, YUEN-REN. 1968. *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- CHENG, LISA LAI-SHEN and RINT SYBESMA 1999. Bare and not so bare nouns and the structure of NP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30(4): 509–542.
- HAYES, BRUCE. 1989. The prosodic hierarchy in meter. *Phonetics and phonology*, edited by Paul Kiparsky and Gilbert Youmans, vol. 1: Rhythm and meter, 201–260, San Diego: Academic Press.
- HUANG, C.T. JAMES; Y.H. AUDREY LI and YAFEI LI. 2009. *The Syntax of Chinese*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.
- JIANG, LI JULIE. 2012. Nominal arguments and language variation. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.
- LI, CHARLES and SANDRA THOMPSON. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- LÜ, SHUXIANG. 1990 [1944]. Ge-zi de yingyong fanwei, fulun danweici qian yi-zi de tuoluo [the uses of *ge* and omission of *yi* before classifiers]. In *Lü Shuxiang Wenji* [Collected works of Lü Shuxiang] 2, 144–175. Beijing: Shangwu Press.
- LI, XUPING and WALTER BISANG. 2012. Classifiers in Sinitic languages: From individuation to definiteness marking. *Lingua* 122: 335–355.
- LI, Y.H. AUDREY and SHENGLI FENG. 2015. ‘*yi*’ zi shenglüe de yunlü tiaojian [The prosodic conditions on “*yi*”-deletion]. *Yuyan Kexue* [Linguistic Sciences] 14 (1), 1–12.
- NESPOR, MARINA and IRENE VOGEL. 1986. *Prosodic phonology*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- SELKIRK ELISABETH. 1986. Derived domains in sentence phonology. *Phonology Yearbook* 3. 371–405.
- SENER, SERKAN. 2006. Multiple *Wh*-Questions in Turkish: An Investigation of *In-Situness*. *University of Connecticut Working Papers in Linguistics: Vol.14*. 2006. 131-170. Simona Herdan and Miguel Rodriguez-Mondonedo (eds).
- WANG, SHAOXIN. 1989. Liangci *ge* zai Tangdai qianhou de fazhan [the development of the classifier *ge* around the Tang Dynasty]. *Yuyan Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu* 2: 98–119.
- WANG, SHUYAN. 2019. An intermediate stage of spec-to-head reanalysis: Evidence from Mandarin and Cantonese. *Proceedings of the 12<sup>th</sup> Generative Linguistics in the Old World & the 21<sup>st</sup> Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar*, edited by Sae-Youn Cho (eds), 555-564.



- YANG, RONG. 2001. *Common Nouns, Classifiers, and Quantification in Chinese*. Doctoral Dissertation, Rutgers University, USA.
- ZHANG, NIINA NING. 2013. *Classifier Structures in Mandarin Chinese*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- ZHANG, NIINA NING. 2019. Complex Indefinites and the Projection of DP in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*.
- ZHU, DEXI. 1982. *Yufa Jiangyi* [Lectures on grammar], Beijing, Shangwu Press.