

functional heads on Tang's (1990) theory.

2. a. wo kanjian yi ge pingguo cong louti shang gun le xiaqu. [Counting]
 I see one CL apple from stair on run Perf down 'I saw an apple rolling down the stairs.'
 b. wo zai dangao li fang le yi ge pingguo, ban ge zuotian-de, ban-ge shangwu-de.
 I at cake in put Perf one CL apple half CL yesterday-Mod half-CL morning-Mod
 'I put an apple into the cake, half of yesterday's leftover and half of morning's leftover.' [Meas]

Claim (2): Landman's and Rothstein's syntactic analysis is also applicable to the Chinese case, i.e. Chinese CIPs have two distinctive structures on the counting and measure readings.

Evidence (i): when the modifier *duo* 'more' follows the CI, it forces the CI and Num to be analysed as a single constituent and it is preferable to have a measure reading (3.a), when it follows the Num, the counting and the measure readings are equally available for the CIP (3.b). Note that when the verb *chang* 'taste' is used, it is a counting reading, and when the verb *he* 'drink' is used, it is measure.

3. a. ta jinwan he le san ping duo pijiu. [Measure]
 He tonight drink Perf three CL_{bottle} more beer 'Tonight, he drank more than three bottles of beer.'
 b. ta chang/he le shi duo ping pijiu. [Counting/Measure]
 He taste/drink Perf ten more CL_{bottle} beer. 'He tasted/drank more than ten bottles of beer.'

Evidence (ii): when the relative clause precedes the whole Num-CI phrase, it is preferable to have a counting reading, (4.a), but when it precedes the head noun (again separating Num +CL into a separate constituent, a measure reading is preferable in (4.b).

4. a. ta he le [RC mama zuo de] yi wan tang. [Counting]
 He drink Perf mum make Mod one CL_{bowl} soup
 b. ta he le yi wan [RC mama zuo de] tang. [Measure]
 He drink Perf one CL_{bowl} mum make Mod soup
 BOTH: 'He drank one bowl of soup that mum made.'

Evidence (iii): on the counting reading, the classifier can modify the noun alone, as in the form of "CI+N", while on the measure reading, the classifier must always be used with the numeral together.

5. a. ta-de bao li fang le ping jiu. [Counting]
 His bag in put Perf CL_{bottle} wine 'His bag lies in a bottle of wine.'
 b.* ta-de wei neng zhuangxia ping jiu. [Measure]
 His stomach can hold CL_{bottle} wine

Semantics of Chinese CIPs: we argue that on the counting reading, the function head of CI take NP as complement, which denotes a set of atomic entities (6), and that on the measure reading, the individual CI is shifted from a functional head to a modifier, as in (7). (7.b) means 'as much apple as one normal sized apple' in the context, where the individual classifier *ge* is embodied as a measure unit.

6. a. $\|ge\|(\|pingguo\|) = \|ge\|(\cup APPLE_k) = \lambda x. x \in \cup APPLE_k$ [Counting]
 7. a. $\|yi ge\| = \|ge\|(\|yi\|) = \lambda P \lambda x. P(x) \wedge MEAS(x) = \langle 1, unit \rangle$ [Measure]
 b. $\|yi ge pingguo\| = \|yi ge\|(\|pingguo\|) = \lambda x. x \in \cup APPLE_k \wedge MEAS(x) = \langle 1, unit \rangle$

IV. Counting/measure uses of classifiers vs. count/mass classifiers The ambiguity between counting and measure functions of classifiers is available for both individual and non-individual CIs. It cross-cuts the lexical distinction between 'sortal' and 'mensural' CIs (Lyons 1976) or between 'count' CIs and 'mass' CIs Cheng & Sybesma (1998). But indeed, there is a tendency for the sortal CIs to have a default counting reading and the true measure words have a default measure reading, while CIs like container and group CIs are equally open for counting and measure readings. We suggest using [\pm Counting, \pm Measure] as parameters to constrain the way how different types of classifiers can be interpreted in a default way.