

Chapter 6

Number in Chinese: a diachronic study of *zhū* 諸 From Han to Wei Jin Nanbeichao Chinese

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Abstract: In this paper the syntactic and semantic constraints of the plural word *zhū* 諸 are at issue. It will be hypothesized that semantically the basic function of *zhū* 諸 is to refer to a well defined plural set of items, that the *zhū*-NP is definite and referential, and that syntactically, *zhū* 諸 rather has to be analysed as an adjective than as a determiner (definite article). The analysis of the diachronic development of *zhū* 諸 is presented within the framework of the Animacy Hierarchy and it shows a considerable extension of the employment of *zhū* 諸 from [+ANIMATE] [+HUMAN] to [-ANIMATE] nouns, whereas nouns at the top of the Animacy Hierarchy, i.e. personal pronouns, are excluded from a selection by *zhū* 諸. In a separate section on the syntactic constraints of *zhū* 諸 it will be shown that, although the basic syntax within the *zhū*-NP remains the same, a number of changes and extensions can be observed in its syntactic constraints, too. In a last section the semantic constraints of *zhū* 諸 in a Buddhist text, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, from the beginning of the 5th century, will be at issue with particular regard to its referentiality and its relation to other plural constructions in this text.

Keywords: number words, plural, referentiality, definiteness, Animacy Hierarchy, Han period Chinese, Wei Jin Nanbeichao Chinese

1. Introduction

Number marking is one of the most widespread – and at the same time underestimated – inflectional categories of the noun; it is “most commonly represented by a morpheme indicating plural number, but occasionally in addition by morphemes indicating either singular number or dual number” (Dreyer 1989: 865), or even higher number such as trial etc. However, there are also languages which do not have any obligatory or regular marking of number as e.g. Classical Chinese where the category number is neither marked for the noun nor for the verb: “the meaning of a noun can be expressed without reference to number”, it is “outside the number system” and nouns express a “general number” (see Corbett 2000: 10). There are

even some languages that lack the category number for personal pronouns, the lexical items most likely to be marked by it (Corbett 2000: 50). For instance, Kawi (Old Japanese) is reported to be lacking plural nouns or pronouns, although there are certain quantifiers to indicate plural meanings such as ‘many’ and ‘all’. (ibidem). Since languages of this kind are not widespread, linguists have claimed that all languages have number despite the evident counterexamples. Usually languages lacking number are characterised by a *general number* to the effect that a distinction between singular and plural can be made “when it matters” (Corbett 2000: 14); this usually implies a distinction between singular/general and plural. Several syntacto–semantic characteristics may induce an explicit distinction of the plural in languages with *general number*. They can be of different kinds, e.g. topic versus non–topic, referential versus non–referential, human versus non–human, definite versus indefinite (Corbett 2000: 14f). The marking of number under particular constraints can lead to a quasi–obligatory employment of number marking for particular kinds of nouns, frequently for [+HUMAN] nouns. Within these constraints, the ‘Animacy Hierarchy’ is one of the most important criteria for the employment of plural marking.¹ According to this theory, personal pronouns are the most likely nominal items to show a distinction between singular and plural, followed by kinship terms, which are followed by nouns which have the semantic characteristics [+HUMAN], [+ANIMATE], and with [–ANIMATE] nouns at the lowest point of this hierarchy. This hierarchy also proves to be relevant in the employment of plural markers in Classical and pre–Tang Chinese and accordingly it will be one of the criteria applied in the following discussion.

1.1. Number in Classical and pre–Medieval Chinese

According to Norman (1988: 120) Classical Chinese belongs to those languages which are characterised by the “lack of a number distinction” for personal pronouns, i.e. the nominal items most likely to be marked in this respect (Corbett 2000: 56).² However, according to Pulleyblank (1995: 76) and many others,³ there was a lexical distinction between singular and plural personal pronouns in Pre–Classical Chinese. In the earliest extant literature, the oracle bone inscriptions, for the first person two morphologically distinct groups of pronouns are attested: a singular form characterised by the approximant initial *j*– in Middle Chinese, referring almost exclusively to the king:⁴ *yú* 余 (EMC *jiǎ*), *yǔ* 予 (EMC *jiǎ*’) and Pre–Classical *yí* 台 (EMC *ji*), together with *zhèn* 朕 (EMC *drim*’),⁵ and a plural form represent-

ed by pronouns with the nasal initial η - in Middle Chinese, referring to the Shang collectively, including *wú* 吾 (EMC $\eta\omega$), *wǒ* 我 (EMC $\eta a'$), and Pre-Classical *áng* 印 (EMC $\eta a\eta$).⁶ In Classical Chinese, this clear distinction vanishes: While pronouns with the approximant (or dental) initial do not change their number, the pronouns with a nasal initial start to be employed as general pronouns indifferent of number. Accordingly, in Classical Chinese there is a distinction between general (singular and plural) number and the singular, in the first person pronoun (Unger 1987, I: 14, see also Harbsmeier, this volume), i.e. the singular and not the plural is particularly marked. A similar, although less obvious distinction can also be assumed for the second person pronoun: *ěr* 爾 (EMC ni') and *ruò* 若 (EMC $niak$) indicate general number (singular and plural) in Classical Chinese, and *rǔ* 汝, 女 (EMC $niǎ'$) seems to be confined to the singular (Unger 1987, III: 150f, Zhang 2001: 26f).⁷ Apart from the personal pronouns of the first and the second person, no morphological or lexical distinction of number can be assumed for Pre-Classical and Classical Chinese.

However different kinds of plural in Classical Chinese can be marked by different lexical items, i.e. the category number can be marked if pragmatically required, i.e. “when it matters”. These lexical items are adverbial quantifiers marking plural number, i.e. completeness of a set of items with regard to the subject or the object, such as *jiē* 皆 ‘all’, usually a subject quantifier, but not confined to it (Harbsmeier 1981: 78f), *jìn* 盡 ‘all, exclusively’ predominantly quantifying the object (Harbsmeier 1981: 67f),⁸ and a few others.⁹ Additionally, already in Classical Chinese there exist the adjectival, definite quantifiers *zhū* 諸, *qún* 群, and *zhòng* 眾, expressing the plural of the noun they modify. Furthermore, after the Classical period some plural markers which attach to nouns and pronouns appear more regularly (see also Norman 1988: 120); these are mainly *děng* 等, *cáo* 曹, and *bèi* 輩, or a combination of two of them, e.g. *děng bèi* 等輩.¹⁰ Their employment is not obligatory yet during the periods between Han and Tang, and when they first appear they do not express a simple, but rather an associative plural, i.e. *wǒ děng* 我等 does not mean ‘we’, but ‘me and others’.¹¹ This can be evidenced by the fact that they often attach to names, and they actually have to be analysed as nouns which form a coordinative construction with the first noun.¹² These markers are not at issue in the following discussion which focuses on a diachronic analysis of the number word *zhū* 諸. *Zhū* 諸 is confined to the modifier position, i.e. it precedes a head noun, and thus differs syntactically from the above mentioned plural words, which all follow the noun they pluralise. The main part of the discussion

consists of three sections: In section three the diachronic development of *zhū* 諸 with respect to the ‘Animacy Hierarchy’ is of particular interest; in section four the syntactic constraints of *zhū* 諸 and their changes are analysed; and in section five the semantic constraints of *zhū* 諸 in a text from the beginning of the 5th century, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (*Faxian*), are at issue. This text is a genuine Chinese text, a travel report, and not a translation text, although it certainly contains elements that ultimately derive from or are patterned on original Buddhist texts in a Middle Indian language. The data for the diachronic study is mainly taken from the *Shiji* 史記 (around 100 BC) as representative for the Classical and Han period literature and from the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 compiled in the 3rd century CE as an example of a non-Buddhist text from the Wei Jin Nanbeichao period, but regular reference will be made to earlier instances of *zhū* 諸 e.g. in the Pre-Classical and Classical texts collected in the *Shisanjing*, and in the Classical philosophical literature. Occasionally, particularly in the section on the syntax of *zhū* 諸, data from other texts from the same period as the *Făxiăn*, in particular the *Mioofa lianhua jing*, translated by Kumarajiva into Chinese, will also be taken into account.

In languages such as Classical Chinese in which general number is expressed by a bare NP, the analysis of the bare NP as referring to a kind or to a specimen, an individual item, has to be supported by additional syntactic evidence.¹³ A number of syntactic tests have been proposed in Harbsmeier (1991) to distinguish between different kinds of nouns, i.e. mass nouns on the one hand, and generic and count nouns on the other (see also Harbsmeier, this volume). Nevertheless, the exact constraints which favour an analysis of a bare NP as being specific and plural and not generic in Classical Chinese still deserve some more investigation. Additionally the question arises under which circumstances a specification of number is pragmatically required, i.e. “when it matter(s)”. An unmarked NP with a plural meaning can refer to an indefinite, but also to a definite set of items as will be shown in section five. However, it can be expected that, if the marking of the plural of a particular set of specimens is required pragmatically, the plural marker must be definite. In generic uses as e.g. *The lion is a noble beast*, referring to a kind and not to a specimen, the distinction between singular and plural is not relevant, the same proposition in the plural *Lions are noble beasts* does not differ semantically, the plural noun still refers to a kind. In Classical Chinese many bare NPs can refer to a kind (the number is irrelevant), but also to a singular item or a set, a plurality of items. Unless the NP is particularly marked for plural, apparently only contextual devices

or additional syntactic evidence can induce an interpretation of the NP as generic, i.e. as referring to a kind, or as specific, referring to individual items in the real world.¹⁴

2. The number word *zhū* 諸

In the following discussion the diachronic development of the number word *zhū* 諸, its syntactic constraints, and its semantic function in a Buddhist text from the early 5th century will be at issue. According to Corbett (2000: 133) languages can have special ‘number words’, just for the purpose of indicating number. He quotes Tagalog as an example in which almost any constituent can be pluralised by the clitic word *mga*. But according to the examples he presents, the plural NPs are not definite; this would distinguish *mga* from the always definite plural marker at issue in this paper. Dreyer (1989) discusses different kinds of number or plural words, e.g. plural words as numerals, as articles etc. As the following discussion reveals, it is difficult to assign one of the more general categories established by Dreyer to the plural word *zhū* 諸. Possibly adjectival plural words in Pre–Tang Chinese establish a category of their own according to what Dreyer labels “Plural words as a multiword minor category of their own” (Dreyer 1989: 877) and for which he quotes Vietnamese as one example.

In Classical and Pre–Classical Chinese the character *zhū* 諸 mainly writes two (or three) different words: 1, the adjectival plural marker ‘all, members of the class of’ (Pulleyblank 1995), and 2, a fusion of the object pronoun *zhī* 之 and either the final particles *hū* 乎 or *yú* 與, or the preposition *yú* 於 (when followed by another noun) (e.g. Pulleyblank 1995: 9, Kennedy 1964: 63). The latter function is not at issue in this paper. However, it has to be conceded that, corresponding to the decrease of *zhū* 諸 as a fusion word referring to *zhī* 之 + preposition in Han period and Pre–Medieval Chinese, an increase of the number of object NPs marked for plural by *zhū* 諸 can be observed, although the object position was always available for the *zhū*–NP.

According to Pulleyblank (1995: 126) the number word *zhū* 諸 “is a derivative of the same pronominal root as *zhī* 之 and *zhě* 者” expressing “membership of a class rather than a numerical totality”.¹⁵ The syntactic and the semantic constraints of *zhū* 諸 are more comprehensively discussed in Harbsmeier (1981: 166f).¹⁶ According to him *zhū* 諸 “refers to the members of a well defined set” (Harbsmeier 1981: 167) which is often subclass-

sified (ibidem: 168), and it never serves to simply “quantify what it precedes” (ibidem: 169). Although *zhū* 諸 predominantly modifies animate nouns (ibidem), it is neither restricted to them nor to “nobles, feudal lords and the like”, contradicting Dobson’s claim (Dobson 1959: 32).¹⁷ Harbsmeier implicitly claims that *zhū* 諸 is referential in contrast to *wàn* 萬 which can refer “to an infinite, unclassified ‘open’ set of things”. Most of what Harbsmeier claims for *zhū* 諸 will be confirmed in the following discussion for the Classical period and also partly for later periods (see also Wei 2004: 297). In the Chinese linguistic literature pluralic *zhū* 諸 is either labelled as a pronoun, *dàicí* 代詞 (*Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* 2000: 858), or as an adjective (*Wenyan wen xuci da cidian*).¹⁸ According to a commentary of the *Shuowen jiezi* (*Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* 2000: 858) *zhū* 諸 indicates plural in a sense of ‘more than one’.

In the linguistic literature on the development of plural markers, *zhū* 諸 is usually just mentioned and discussed in passing in analyses of the development of plural markers, particularly the plural marker *mén* 們 and the syntactically closely related other post-nominal plural words such as *děng* 等 etc.¹⁹ This is due to the fact that *zhū* 諸 differs syntactically from the latter and thus does not follow the same path of grammaticalisation. Plural words such as *děng* 等 start as independent nouns in coordinative constructions usually expressing associative plurals and they develop into plural markers which can attach to personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and different kinds of nouns losing their associative meaning according to their degree of grammaticalisation.

3. The diachronic development of *zhū* 諸 according to the Animacy Hierarchy

In the following discussion on the diachronic development of *zhū* 諸 particular focus will be on the semantic features of the modified noun according to the Animacy Hierarchy. It will be hypothesized that in Classical times *zhū* 諸 mostly modifies [+ANIMATE], and in particular [+HUMAN] nouns, despite the occasional occurrence of [−ANIMATE] nouns, and that these constraints are less strictly applied in later periods, although [+HUMAN] nouns remain predominant also in the Buddhist literature. Additional emphasis will be on the semantic function of *zhū* 諸 and it will be shown that NPs modified by *zhū* 諸 are always definite and evidently referential; in most cases they do not merely refer to objects in the real

world, but they exhibit an explicit reference to a set of items previously mentioned in the narrative, i.e. they serve to create textual or discourse reference. The distance between the object of reference and the referential NP with *zhū* 諸 can be considerable. Although in Classical Chinese it is not always easy to draw a formal line between count nouns and mass nouns,²⁰ the nouns selected by *zhū* 諸 usually seem to be equivalent to count nouns, including plural count nouns referring to groups.²¹ This has already been stated briefly in Harbsmeier (1991: 55) who classifies *zhū* 諸 as a modifier selecting count (and generic) nouns, but not mass nouns. This hypothesis is supported by the later development of the *zhū*-NP. However, the semantics of *zhū* 諸 do not provide unambiguous evidence for a distinction between count and mass: according to an analysis of *zhū* 諸 as a quantifier ‘all’, proposed in the linguistic literature, the determination of the selected nouns as mass nouns would not be excluded theoretically (according to Chierchia’s (1998: 56) definition): the quantifier ‘all’ can refer to both plurals and mass nouns. Contrastingly, according to an analysis of *zhū* 諸 as a definite, referential plural marker, the modification of mass nouns would be excluded: mass nouns cannot take plural morphology, because they are already plural (Chierchia 1998: 70).²²

3.1. The number word *zhū* 諸 with [+ANIMATE] nouns

In this section representative occurrences of nouns which have the feature [+ANIMATE] will be discussed. *Zhū* 諸 predominantly modifies [+HUMAN] nouns; however, it apparently does not pluralise personal pronouns and accordingly it does not serve to pluralise nouns at the top of the Animacy Hierarchy. Although during its development it extends its function considerably to the pluralisation of [–ANIMATE] nouns, i.e. down the Animacy Hierarchy, the modification of personal pronouns remains excluded from its functions.²³

In Pre-Classical and in Classical Chinese *zhū* 諸 is most frequently attested in combination with the noun *hóu* 侯 ‘marquis’: *zhūhóu* 諸侯 ‘the feudal lords’. This composition is regularly attested in the texts collected in the *Shisanjing* and from quite early on it can be regarded as a term, a compound with the meaning “members of that class of people, not necessarily every single one of them” (Pulleyblank 1995: 126), also occasionally employed in the singular. A few examples for its singular reference are presented in Harbsmeier (1981: 170). As a fixed expression, the term *zhūhóu* 諸侯 will be left out of the following discussion. Besides this title, other

titles appear modified by *zhū* 諸 on a regular basis some of which will be presented below. In all examples the *zhū*-NP is definite and referential.

3.1.1. *Zhū* 諸 modifies kinship terms, [+HUMAN] [+KIN] nouns

Although in most instances *zhū* 諸 modifies titles and denominations, it also regularly, if only occasionally, selects kinship terms such as *fù* 父 ‘father’, *xiōng* 兄 ‘older brother’ and *dì* 弟 ‘younger brother’ etc., which in the Animacy Hierarchy follow personal pronouns; these are already attested in the *Shisanjing* collection, i.e. in the Pre-Classical and Classical literature. The frequency of kinship terms does not increase considerably in the Han period text *Shiji*, additionally in the following two examples the terms rather serve as a general reference to older people than to a concrete kinship relation.

In all of the following examples (1) to (5) the *zhū*-NP refers evidently to the preceding narrative, but there is not always – e.g. in examples (1) and (5) – a concrete point of reference. In example (2) the first *zhū*-NP is followed by the adverbial all-operator *jiē* 皆 ‘all’. Existential and all-operators frequently combine with *zhū*-NPs and they usually refer to all or a sub-set of individual items of a well-defined set. In examples (2) and (3) the *zhū*-NP has an overt point of reference: in (2) to ‘elders’ mentioned earlier in the narrative; the NP selected by *zhū* 諸 usually refers to a plurality of objects, even if unmarked for number.²⁴ In example (3) the referential character of the *zhū*-NP is even more obvious; the overt point of reference *jī* 姬 ‘lady’ appears in the first clause of example (3) immediately preceding the clause in which the *zhū*-NP surfaces. Although not always occurring as a kinship term, *jī* 姬 as a term respectfully referring to a ‘wife’, is discussed in this section. In example (5), the noun is doubly modified for plural by *qún* 羣 ‘flock’ and *zhū* 諸, i.e. *zhū* 諸 selects an NP which is already marked for plural. Additionally the NP is preceded by a verbal modifier which functions as an adjective; the set of items determined by *zhū* 諸 is – due to the presence of an adjectival modifier – well defined.

- (1) 沛父兄諸母故人日樂飲極驩， (Shiji: 8,389)
Pèi fù xiōng zhū mǔ gù rén rì lè
 Pei father older.brother PL mother old man day happy
yǐn jí huān, ...
 drink utmost joy
 ‘Fathers and older brother and (all) the mothers of Pei, the old acquaintances, daily drank happily wine and enjoyed themselves extremely ...’
- (2) 諸父老皆曰：「平生所聞劉季諸珍怪，當貴，... Shiji: 8,350
Zhū fù lǎo jiē yuē: píngshēng suǒ wén Liú Jì zhū
 PL elder all say: always REL hear Liu Ji PL
zhēn guài, dāng guì, ...
 valuable extraordinary, should honour, ...
 All the elders said: “According to what we always have heard about the marvellous and extraordinary things of Liu Ji he should be honoured, ...”
- (3) 厲公多外嬖姬，歸，欲盡去群大夫而立諸姬兄弟。
 (Shiji: 39,1680)
Lì gōng duō wài bì jī, guī, yù
 Li marquis many outside favourite lady, return, wish
jìn qù qún dàifū
 completely remove flock dignitary
ér lì zhū jī xiōng dì
 CON establish PL 1 ady older.brother younger.brother
 ‘Marquis Li had many favourites abroad, and when he returned he wanted to remove all the dignitaries and establish the brothers of (all) the ladies.’
- (4) 「孤欲令諸兒各據一州也。」 (Sanguo zhi: 6,194)
Gū yù líng zhū ér gè jù yī zhōu yě
 I wish order PL son each occupy one province FIN
 ‘I want each of the sons to occupy one of the provinces.’

- (5) 諸羣從子弟，其未有侯者皆封亭侯， (*Sanguo zhi*: 4,147)
Zhū qún cóng zǐ dì, qí wèi
 PL PL follow son younger.brother, those NEG_{ASP}
yǒu hóu zhě jiē fēng tíng hóu
 have marquis ZHE all enfeoff neighbourhood.marquis
 ‘Of all the sons and younger brothers who followed [him] those
 who did not have a marquisate yet were enfeoffed as ‘neighbour-
 hood marquis’.’

3.1.2. *Zhū* 諸 modifies [+HUMAN] [+TITLE], nouns which refer to positions, titles etc.

In the Classical and Han period literature titles are the most frequently attested nouns in a *zhū*-NP. In the following examples (6) and (7) no concrete point of reference is provided in the immediately preceding narrative. In example (6) *zhū* 諸 precedes the title *chén* ‘subject, minister’, a combination which is already attested in the *Shisanjing*.²⁵ Although they are not mentioned explicitly, *zhū chén* 諸臣 evidently refers to the defined group of personal ministers of duke Huai. The denomination *gōngzǐ* 公子 in example (7) is not infrequently attested in the *Shiji*.²⁶ A point of reference is implied by the comparison ‘like the set of noble scions who live as commoners’.

- (6) 諸臣圍懷公，懷公自殺。 (*Shiji*: 6,287)
Zhū chén wéi Huái gōng, Huái gōng zì shā
 PL vassal enclose Huai duke, Huai duke self kill
 ‘(All) the ministers surrounded duke Huai and he killed himself’.
- (7) 「願與妻子為黔首，比諸公子。 (*Shiji*: 6,274)
Yuàn yǔ qī zǐ wéi qiánshǒu, bǐ zhū gōngzǐ
 Wish with wife child be commoner, like PL noble.scion
 ‘I wish to be a commoner with my wife and children like all the noble scions.’

Quite frequently *zhū* 諸 modifies the title *jiàng* 將 ‘general’ and variants of it. This combination is not attested in the *Shisanjing* yet, but occurs frequently in the *Sanguo zhi*. As in example (2), in example (8) the *zhū*-NP is followed by the all-operator *jiē* 皆; contrastingly, in example (10) it is followed by the existential operator *huò* 或 ‘one, some’. In example (8) the *zhū*-NP refers to a definite group of generals partly referred to in the pre-

ceding narrative; in example (9) the reference is contextually determined, and in example (10) only one of the well-defined set of generals is referred to.

- (8) 諸別將皆屬宋義，號為卿子冠軍。 (Shiji: 7,304)
Zhū biéjiàng jiē shǔ Sòng Yǐ, hào wéi qīngzǐ
 PL general all be.attached.to Song Yi, call make Honourable
guān jūn
 Scion cap army
 ‘All the generals were attached completely to Song Yi, and he (the king) called him ‘Honourable Scion, Head of the Army.’’
- (9) 將北征三郡烏丸，諸將皆曰： (Sanguo zhi: 1,29)
Jiāng běi zhēng sān jùn Wūwán,
 FUT north make.expedition.against three prefecture Wuwan,
zhū jiàng jiē yuē:
 PL general all say
 ‘When he was going to launch an expedition against the Wuwan of the Three Prefectures, the generals all said: ...’
- (10) 諸將或問： (Sanguo zhi: 1,29)
Zhū jiàng huò wèn
 PL general someone ask:
 ‘One of the generals asked:’

In the following examples, titles are employed to refer to the addressee in a speech part. In cases like this, the *zhū*-NP is evidently referential and definite, whether there is direct reference back to the preceding narrative or not. However, this *zhū*-NP has an overt point of reference, *zhū jiàng* 諸將, in the introduction to the speech part.

- (11) 諸卿觀之，自今已後不復敗矣。 (Sanguo zhi: 1,16)
Zhū qīng guān zhī, zì jīn yǐ hòu bù
 PL minister consider OBJ, from now CON later NEG
fù bài yǐ
 again defeat FIN
 ‘If [you] the ministers consider this, then from now on we will not be defeated again.’

Example (12) is one of a series of instances of *zhū jūn* 諸君 ‘gentlemen’ occurring as a term of address. This term is already occasionally attested in

the *Zuozhuan* and appears quite regularly from the *Shiji* on. Since *jūn* 君 is regularly attested as a polite substitute for a 2nd person pronoun, *zhū* 諸 serves to pluralise a quasi-pronoun; however, it never extends to the pluralisation of genuine personal pronouns. The function referring to a plurality of addressees increases considerably in the Buddhist literature, where e.g. the term *bīqiū* 比丘 ‘monk’ regularly appears in a *zhū*-NP.

- (12) 弟為諸君所困，故來救之。 (*Sanguo zhi*: 7,222)
Dì wéi zhū jūn suǒ kùn,
 Younger.brother PASS PL gentleman PASS distress,
gù lái jiù zhī
 therefore come rescue OBJ
 ‘My younger brother has been distressed by you, gentlemen, therefore I came to rescue him.’

In example (13) the head noun *kè* 客 ‘retainer’ is modified by *zhū* 諸 referring to a point of reference in the preceding narrative, quoted here in example (14); in example (14) even the number and one member of the group are defined explicitly, and to this group the *zhū*-NP in example (13) refers back.²⁷ The NP in example (14) is followed by *děng* 等 evidently expressing an associative plural. Although *kè* 客 is not a genuine title, it is employed as the denomination of an officially acknowledged function at court, and is accordingly listed in this section.

- (13) 於是上賢張王諸客，以鉗奴從張王入關， (*Shiji*: 89,2585)
Yúshì shàng xián Zhāng wáng zhū kè, yǐ
 Thereupon emperor value Zhang king PL retainer, with
qián nú cóng Zhāng wáng rù guān
 collar slave follow Zhang king enter gate
 ‘Thereupon the emperor valued those retainers of king Zhang who with slaves’ collars followed him to enter the gate ...’
- (14) 客孟舒等十餘人 (*Shiji*: 89,2584)
Kè Mèng Shū děng shí yú rén
 Retainer Meng Shu PL_{ASSOC} ten more man
 ‘the retainer Meng Shu and his associates, more than ten men’.

3.1.3. *Zhū* 諸 modifies names, [+HUMAN] [+NAME] nouns

From very early on *zhū* 諸 is attested in combination with the collective or group name *xià* 夏 as in *zhū Xià* 諸夏, which – as a term – can also refer to ‘China’ or the ‘Chinese’ in general (see TLS: <http://tls.uni-hd.de/procSearch/procSearchLex.lasso>, 04.02.2010). But, particularly from the Han period on, it can also select proper names referring to individuals. These proper names are confined to family and clan names, i.e. names which can be pluralised; individual proper names referring to ONE particular individual are excluded from it, since they usually cannot refer to a plurality. This is an obvious extension of the employment of *zhū* 諸 in comparison to the Classical period. Since proper names are by definition referential, the NP selected by *zhū* 諸 is evidently referential, too, referring to a set of individuals sharing this proper name at a particular time and place, i.e. in a contextually defined world, but not to all possible members of this family at all times and places.²⁸ A comparison between *zhū* 諸 and *děng* 等 in combination with proper names reveals the basic difference between both plural markers. In example (14) the proper name is followed by the noun *děng* 等 meaning ‘Meng Shu and the others’, which does not imply that the ‘others’ belong to the set of people identified by a common proper name,²⁹ whereas in examples (15) to (17) the *zhū*-NP refers to a well-defined set of people identified by their common proper name.

- (15) 太后稱制，議欲立諸呂為王，問右丞相王陵。 (Shiji: 9,400)
Tàihòu chēng zhì, yì yù lì zhū Lyǔ wéi
 Taihou call decree, discuss wish establish PL Lü be
wáng, wèn yòu chéngxiàng Wáng Líng
 king, ask right chancellor Wang Ling
 ‘The Taihou had [her orders] all called decrees, she discussed whether she wanted to enthrone the Lüs as kings and asked the Chancellor of the Right Wang Ling.’
- (16) 田單者，齊諸田疏屬也。 (Shiji: 82,2453)
Tián Dān zhě, Qí zhū Tián shū shǔ yě
 Tian Dan ZHE, Qi PL Tian distant relative FIN
 ‘Tian Dan was a distant relative of the Tians of Qi.’

- (17) 「諸袁事漢，四世五公，可謂受恩。 (Sanguo zhi: 7,236)
Zhū Yuán shì Hàn, sì shì wǔ gōng, kě
 PLYuan serve Han, four generations five duke, can
wèi shòu ēn
 call receive benevolence
 ‘The Yuans served Han for four generations and five dukes, one
 can say that they received benevolence.’

3.1.4. *Zhū 諸 modifies nouns referring to superhuman beings,
 [+SUPERHUMAN] nouns*

Zhū-NPs with nouns referring to superhuman beings as in the following example with the noun *shén* 神 ‘spirit, god’ are already attested in the *Shiji*, but become more frequent in the Buddhist texts at issue here. The noun *shén* 神 is not yet attested in the texts collected in the *Shisanjing*, and there is only one instance in *Mozi*.³⁰

- (18) 朕親郊祀上帝諸神。 (Shiji: 10,430)
Zhèn qīn jiāo sì shàng dì zhū shén
 We personally suburban sacrifice Supreme Deity PL spirit
 ‘We will personally perform the suburban sacrifice to the Shangdi
 and the spirits.’

3.1.5. *Zhū 諸 modifies nouns which have the characteristic [+HUMAN]*

In contrast to all the nouns listed above which have the characteristic [+HUMAN]³¹, but which refer to human beings in particular relationships, i.e., their relations in kin or state and which all have a positive notion, in the following example *zhū* 諸 modifies a [+HUMAN] noun which refers to a human being in rather unpleasant circumstances.

- (19) 諸囚皆叩頭，願自效， (Sanguo zhi: 26,727)
Zhū qiú jiē kòu tóu, yuàn zì xiào
 PL prisoner all bow head, wish self hand.over
 ‘The prisoners all bowed their heads to the ground and wished to
 hand themselves over, ...’

The frequency of a *zhū*-NP with the prototypical [+HUMAN] noun *rén* 人 ‘man, human being’, without any additional relations implied, increases

only in the Buddhist literature.³² In the following quite singular example from the *Shiji* the noun is additionally marked for plural by the plural word *zhòng* 眾; the entire NP is followed by the all-operator *jiē* 皆. In the Buddhist literature *zhòng* 眾 regularly appears e.g. in a *zhū*-NP with the noun *shēng* 生: *zhòngshēng* 眾生 ‘the living beings, humans’. The point of reference of the *zhū*-NP is defined by the *zhě*-phrase preceding it.

- (20) 市行者諸眾人皆曰： (*Shiji*: 86,2525)
Shì *xíng zhě zhū zhòng rén jiē yuē*
 Marketplace walk ZHE PL crowdman all say:
 ‘Those walking in the marketplace, the many people, all said.’

3.1.6. *Zhū* 諸 modifies a complex nominalised VP

Not infrequently *zhū* 諸 is attested modifying a complex nominalised VP, a headless relative clause marked by the determiner *zhě* 者.³³ In a relative clause *zhě* 者 functions as a relative operator which binds the head position inside the clause (Aldridge 2009: 243). As a relative operator, *zhě* 者 “does not add any semantic or pragmatic import like definiteness” (Aldridge 2009: 243); the definiteness of the NP in the examples presented is induced by the plural word *zhū* 諸. Examples like these are already occasionally attested in the Classical literature, e.g. in the *Zuo* *zhuan*. These NPs refer to a set of specific items defined by the relative clause. In general, different kinds of modifiers including relative clauses can occur between the plural word *zhū* 諸 and the head of the NP, here represented by the relative operator *zhě* 者. Accordingly, relative clauses can be considered an extension of a complex *zhū*-NP with an additional modifier besides the plural word *zhū* 諸: [_{zhu}-NP *zhu* [_{NP} MOD N]]; as any *zhū*-NP they can be followed by the all-operator *jiē* 皆 (see examples [22] and [23]). Usually, but not exclusively, the head which is not overtly present has the characteristic feature [+HUMAN].

- (21) 諸喪邑者 (*Zuo, Xiang* 27)
Zhū sàng yì zhě
 PL loose city ZHE
 ‘Those who lost their cities’ (cf. Unger 1987: 182)

- (22) 當是時，詔捕諸時在旁者，皆殺之。 (*Shiji*: 6,257)
Dāng shì shí, zhào bǔ zhū shí zài páng zhě,
 At this time, edict arrest PL time be.at side ZHE,
jiē shā zhī
 all kill OBJ
 ‘At this time, he issued an edict to arrest those who had been near him at the time, and kill them all.’
- (23) 長安士庶咸相慶賀，諸阿附卓者皆下獄死。 (*Sanguo zhi*: 6,179)
Cháng'ān shì shù xián xiāng qìng hè,
 Chang'an noble normal.people all each luck congratulate,
zhū ē fù Zhuō zhě jiē xià yù sǐ
 PL show.partiality attach Zhuo ZHE all submit trial die
 ‘The nobility and the normal people of Chang’an congratulated each other, and those who had been attached to Zhuo were all convicted and died.’

The relative operator *zhě* 者 of the nominalised VP can also be deleted, resulting in an unmarked relative clause; the non-overt head is pluralised by *zhū* 諸 as in the following example from the *Shiji*.

- (24) 秦王之邯鄲，諸嘗與王生趙時母家有仇怨，皆阬之。
 (*Shiji*:6,233)
Qín wáng zhī Hándān, zhū chángyǔ wáng sheng Zhao
 Qin king go Handan, PL once with king live Zhao
shí mǔ jiā yǒu qiú yuàn, jiē kēng zhī
 time mother family have grudge resentment, all trap OBJ
 ‘The king of Qin went to Handan, and all those who bore a grudge and resentment against his mother’s family when the king was born in Zhao, he trapped (and buried them alive).’

3.1.7. *Zhū* 諸 modifies [+ANIMATE] [-HUMAN] nouns

Occasionally, *zhū* 諸 also modifies non-human animate nouns, animals, or the noun *wù* 物 ‘creature, thing’, mostly referring to living beings. The extension of *zhū*-NPs to [-HUMAN] nouns seems to start with the Han period.³⁴ In example (25) two different analyses seem to be possible: first, the *zhū*-NP is the last of several generic NPs thus providing some evidence for Harbsmeier’s assumption that *zhū* 諸 selects generic nouns (Harbsmeier 1991: 55) besides count nouns.³⁵ The second analysis would be: the *zhū*-

NP is the head of a complex modifier structure: ‘the living beings from distant quarters such as’. According to this analysis, the *zhū*-NP is referential and definite in contrast to the modifying NPs which all refer to kinds. This analysis also seems to account for example (26) where the *zhū*-NP evidently refers to a predefined set of objects although no point of reference can be traced in the preceding narrative.³⁶ The compound *niǎoshòu* 鳥獸 always seems to be employed in the plural, whether marked by *zhū* 諸 or not, similar to e.g. the NP *fùlǎo* 父老 ‘elders’ in example (2).

- (25) 縱遠方奇獸蜚禽及白雉諸物，頗以加祠。 (*Shiji*: 12,475)
Zòng yuǎn fāng qí shòu fēi qín jí bái zhì
 Release far region strange animal fly bird and white pheasant
zhū wù pō yǐ jiā sī
 PL creature, quite take add sacrifice
 ‘One released strange quadrupeds, flying birds, and white pheasants, all these living beings from distant quarters to take them to add to the sacrifices.’
- (26) 「諸鳥獸無用之物， (*Sanguo zhi*: 13,417)
Zhū niǎo shòu wú yòng zhī wù
 PL bird quadruped not.have use SUB thing
 ‘(All the various) animals and useless things, ...’

3.2. The number word *zhū* 諸 with [-ANIMATE] nouns

The number of instances of *zhū* 諸 selecting [-ANIMATE] nouns increases during the Han, and considerably during the Wei Jin Nanbeichao period. However, most of the nouns still retain the feature [+ANIMATE] and even [+HUMAN].³⁷ The [-ANIMATE] nouns in this section include locative nouns, abstract nouns, and nouns referring to concrete [-ANIMATE] items. Additionally they contain collective nouns such as *jūn* 軍 ‘army’, referring to an abstract group in which [+HUMAN] members are included. Since group nouns can be equated to singular count nouns, a noun such as *jūn* 軍 ‘army’ can be listed as an abstract term for an institution, thus referring to a concrete singularity, a [+ABSTRACT] singular noun.³⁸

3.2.1. *Zhū* 諸 modifies collective, group nouns referring to institutions
 [+COLLECTIVE] [+INSTITUTION]

In the first *zhū*-NP in this section the group noun *jūn* 軍 ‘army’ is additionally modified by the adjective *bài* 敗 ‘defeated’. Instances of *zhū jūn* 軍 without an additional modifier are attested in the *Hanshu*, and, frequently, in the *Sanguo zhi*.³⁹ In example (28), the *zhū*-NP is followed by the existential operator *huò* 或 ‘some, someone’.

- (27) 至滎陽，諸敗軍皆會， (Shiji: 7,324)
Zhì Xíngyáng, zhū bài jūn jiē huì
 Arrive Xingyang, PL defeat army all meet
 ‘When they arrived in Xingyang, their defeated armies had all met again.’
- (28) 諸軍或從斜谷道，或從武威入。 (Sanguo zhi: 9,281)
Zhū jūn huò cóng Xiégǔ dào, huò cóng Wǔwēi rù
 PL army some follow Xiegu road, some from Wuwei enter
 ‘Some of the armies followed the Xiegu road, some entered from Wuwei.’

3.2.2. *Zhū* 諸 modifies [+LOCAL] nouns, nouns referring to places

Similarly to the number of nouns referring to institutions, the frequency of locative nouns only starts to increase during the Wei Jin Nanbeichao period. In example (30) the locative NP is additionally modified by the adjective *pàn* 叛 ‘rebellious’ which defines the range of commanderies and districts

- (29) 諸廟及章臺、上林皆在渭南。 (Shiji: 6,239)
Zhū miào jí Zhāng tái, Shànglín jiē zài
 PL royal.temple and Zhang-Terrace, Shanglin all be.at
Wèi nán
 Wei south
 ‘The royal temples and the Zhang-Terrace and Shanglin, they all were situated to the south of the Wei.’

- (30) 紹歸，復收散卒，攻定諸叛郡縣。 (*Sanguo zhi*: 1,22)
Shào guī, fù shōu sàn zú, gōng dìng
 Shao return, again collect scatter soldier, attack settle
zhū pàn jùn xiàn
 PL rebel commandary district
 ‘Shao returned and collected the scattered soldiers, and he attacked and pacified (all) the rebellious commandaries and districts.’
- (31) 淵到，諸縣皆已降。 (*Sanguo zhi*: 9,271)
Yuān dào, zhū xiàn jiē yǐ xiáng
 Yuan arrive, PL district all already surrender
 ‘When Yuan arrived, the districts had all already surrendered.’

3.2.3. *Zhū* 諸 modifies abstract, [-ANIMATE] [+ABSTRACT] nouns

Abstract nouns are already very occasionally attested in the Classical literature. In example (32) the plural word *zhū* 諸 indicates that the ‘canon (of laws)’ at issue belongs to a well-defined definite set, the modified noun *lyùlìng* 律令 apparently has to be analysed as a group noun. In example (33), the *zhū*-NP is additionally modified by the short-distance demonstrative pronoun *cǐ* 此 ‘this’ which reinforces the definite reading of the *zhū*-NP. The frequency of a combination of *zhū* 諸 with a demonstrative pronoun only increases during the Wei Jin Nanbeichao period.

- (32) 與趙禹共定諸律令，務在深文， (*Shiji*: 122,3138)
Yǔ Zhào Yǔ gòng dìng zhū lyùlìng, wù
 With Zhao Yu together establish PL statutes, work.on
zài shēnwén
 be.at strict.application.of.law
 ‘Together with Zhao Yu he established the canons and he worked on being very strict in the application of the law.’
- (33) 凡此諸事，皆法之所不取， (*Sanguo zhi*: 14,442)
Fán cǐ zhū shì, jiē fǎ zhī suǒ bù qǔ
 Altogether this PL affair, all law SUB REL NEG take
 ‘Altogether these affairs are all [of a kind] which the law does not grasp, ...’

3.2.4. Zhū 諸 modifies concrete, [-ANIMATE] [+CONCRETE] nouns

In examples (34) to (36) the *zhū*-NP refers to a well-defined set of concrete items respectively; in example (35) the set of ‘commentaries’ is defined by several modifying NPs preceding it, *zhū* 諸 immediately precedes the head of the complex NP.

- (34) 豐等欲因御臨軒，諸門有陞兵，誅大將軍，以玄代之，
(*Sanguo zhi*: 9,299)
Fēng děng yù yīn yù lín xuān, zhū
Feng other wish rely.on driver approach carriage, PL
mén yǒu bìbīng zhū dà jiàngjūn, yǐ
gate have imperial.guard, execute great general, with
Xuan dài zhī
Xuán replace OBJ
‘Feng and the others wanted to approach the high carriage with the help of the driver, but (all) the gates had imperial guards, and they executed the great general and replaced him with Xuan.’
- (35) 及作周易、春秋例，毛詩、禮記、春秋三傳、國語、爾雅諸
注，又注書十餘篇。 (*Sanguo zhi*: 13,420)
Jī zuò Zhōuyì, Chūnqiū lì, Máo shī, Lǐjì, Chūnqiū
and make Zhouyi, Chunqiu example, Mao shi, Liji, Chunqiu
sān zhuàn, Guóyǔ, Ēryǎ zhū zhù, yòu
three tradition, Guoyu Erya PL annotation, and
zhù shū shí yú piān
annotate book ten more section
‘and he made (all) the annotations of the *Zhouyi*, of the examples of the *Chunqiu*, The Songs of Mao, the *Liji*, the three traditions of the *Chunqiu*, the *Guoyu*, and the *Erya*, and he also annotated more than ten books.’
- (36) 值天大風，諸船綆繼斷絕，漂沒著岸， (*Sanguo zhi*: 57,1339)
Zhì tiān dà fēng, zhū chuán gěng xiè duàn jué,
Meet heaven greatwind, PL boat rope cord cut.off break,
piāo mò zhù àn
float disappear arrive shore
‘They met with a bad wind, and the ropes of the boats were cut off and broke, they floated and disappeared from the shore.’

With regard to the Animacy Hierarchy an obvious extension from [+ANIMATE] to [-ANIMATE] nouns selected by *zhū* 諸 can be observed. In the Classical literature, *zhū* 諸 most frequently appears in the compound *zhūhóu* 諸侯. Additionally, a considerable range of other titles and occupational denominations appears in a *zhū*-NP, these are the most common nouns attested in the Classical period.⁴⁰ New titles and denominations are added during the Han and the Wei Jin Nanbeichao periods. Kinship terms are already early attested in *zhū*-NPs, but are in general not very frequent, and are additionally often employed metaphorically. Genuine personal pronouns are never selected by *zhū* 諸, and since kinship terms are only infrequently selected, *zhū* 諸 predominantly selects nouns on the lower levels of the Animacy Hierarchy. During the Han and the Wei Jin Nanbeichao periods the employment of *zhū* 諸 is obviously less confined, and it regularly selects [-ANIMATE] nouns, such as e.g. group nouns referring to institutions, abstract and concrete nouns, and locative nouns. It usually selects singular count nouns which are pluralised by *zhū* 諸, but also some nouns which already refer to a plurality. It cannot be entirely excluded that it also very occasionally selects generic nouns, referring to a plurality of kinds rather than of individual items in the real world. The *zhū*-NP is always definite and referential independently from an overt point of reference in the preceding narrative.

Table 5. Plurals with *zhū* 諸 and the Animacy Hierarchy

Grade of Animacy	Pronouns (1,2,3)	Kinship terms	Human	Animate, non-human	Non-Animate
Classical period	No	Yes	Yes	Almost non-existent	Almost non-existent
Han period	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Post-Han periods	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

4. The syntax of *zhū* 諸

As with regard to the Animacy Hierarchy, extensions of employment can also be observed in the syntax of the *zhū*-NP, although its basic structure remains unaltered. One of the syntactic characteristics prevailing from Classical to Wei Jin Nanbeichao Chinese is the combination of a *zhū*-NP with an adverbial quantifier following it. The quantifiers attested are: the

all-operator *jiē* 皆 ‘all’ in examples (2), (8), (9), (19), (20), (22) – (24), (27), (29), (31), (33), and more; the existential operator *huò* 或 ‘some, one’ in examples (10) and (28), the distributive all-operator *gè* 各 ‘each’ in examples (4), and (45), and the negative operator *mò* 莫 ‘none’.⁴¹ Of these quantifiers the all-operator *jiē* 皆 ‘all’ is most frequently attested.⁴² A *zhū*-NP quantified by one of these operators can be of varying complexity; it can be:

- a) a simple *zhū*-NP [諸 N];
- b) an NP explicitly marked for plural, e.g. by the plural word *zhòng* 眾, see example (20);
- c) a relative clause modified by *zhū* 諸;
- d) a *zhū*-NP in combination with a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. example [33]); or
- e) several coordinated NPs including a *zhū*-NP (e.g. example [29]).

The all-operator includes the totality of items of the well-defined set referred to by the *zhū*-NP in the predication, whereas the existential operator selects one or several items of this well-defined set. This structure increases in number during the Wei Jin Nanbeichao period.

Within the *zhū*-NP, the plural word *zhū* 諸 behaves like a regular modifier such as a demonstrative pronoun, an adjectival, nominal or verbal modifier. In complex NPs consisting of two independent nouns [_{NP} [_{NP_{mod}} NP_{head}]] there seems to be a fixed word order with regard to *zhū* 諸 and other nominal modifiers: i.e. *zhū* 諸 always modifies the noun it immediately precedes (see also Harbsmeier 1981: 166) as in the contrasting examples (3) = (37) and (13) = (38) and (64) and (65). Example (37) has the structure [_{NP} [_{zhu-NP} *zhū* N [_{NP} N]]], and example (38) has the structure [_{zhu-NP} [_{NP} N [_{zhu-NP} *zhū* N]]]. NPs of this kind are attested from the Classical literature on. In example (39) the pluralised head noun is preceded by a complex NP with a pronoun pluralised by *děng* 等 which in these instances is already fully grammaticalised as a plural marker.⁴³ The modifier *zhǒngzhǒng* 種種 qualifies the *zhū*-NP as generic.

- (37) = (3) 厲公多外嬖姬，歸，欲盡去群大夫而立諸姬兄弟。
(*Shiji*: 39,1680)

Lì gōng duō wài bì jī, guī, yù
Li marquis many outside favourite lady, return, wish
jìn qù qún dàifū
completely remove flock dignitary
ér lì zhū jī xiōng dì
CON establish PL 1 ady older.brother younger.brother
'Marquis Li had many favourites abroad, and when he returned he
wanted to remove all the dignitaries and establish the brothers of
(all) the ladies.'

- (38) = (13) 於是上賢張王諸客，以鉗奴從張王入關，(*Shiji*: 89,2585)

Yúshì shàng xián Zhāng wáng zhū kè, yǐ
Thereupon emperor value Zhang king PL retainer, with
qián nú cóng Zhāng wáng rù guān
collar slave follow Zhang king enter gate
'Thereupon the emperor valued those retainers of king Zhang who
with slaves' collars followed him to enter the gate ...'

- (39) 如是等種種諸苦。 (T09n0262_p0013a23)

Rú shì děng zhǒng zhǒng zhū kǔ
Like this PL kind kind PL bitterness
'all kinds of bitterness like these'

If the nominal head is modified by an adjective, one of the plural words *qún* 羣 and *zhòng* 眾, a verb employed as an adjectival modifier, or a relative clause, these modifiers always follow *zhū* 諸 and precede the head noun (example [5] = [40]), or the relative operator *zhě* 者 which binds the overt or non-overt head of the relative clause as in examples (22) to (24). In example (40) the NP is additionally modified by the verbal modifier *cóng* 從 'following, those who follow'.⁴⁴

- (40) (5=) 諸羣從子弟，其未有侯者皆封亭侯， (*Sanguo zhi*: 4,147)
Zhū qún cóng zǐ dì, qí wèi
 PL PL follow son younger.brother, those NEG_{Asp}
yǒu hóu zhě jiē fēng tíng hóu
 have marquis ZHE all enfeoff neighbourhood.marquis
 ‘Of all the sons and younger brothers who followed [him] those
 who did not have a marquisate yet were enfeoffed as ‘neighbour-
 hood marquis’.’

The position of a demonstrative pronoun in relation to *zhū* 諸 seems to be less regular: both orders DEM *zhū* / *zhū* DEM occur. In the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* the order *zhū* DEM is attested (example 41); this word order corresponds to the general syntactic constraints of *zhū* 諸 with regard to additional (non-nominal) modifiers of the NP.⁴⁵ However, in the only genuine example in the Pre-Han literature from the *Shijing*,⁴⁶ the (long-distance) demonstrative pronoun *bǐ* 彼 precedes *zhū* 諸 (DEM *zhū*), similar to *cǐ* 此 ‘this’ in example (33) and (43) below.⁴⁷ According to the frequency of instances with the order DEM *zhū* 諸 in the post Han literature a change of word order can be assumed for the later periods. This is particularly evident in the frequent examples in the *Miaofa lianhua jing*.⁴⁸

- (41) 諸此國頗置吏焉。 (*Shiji*: 116; 2993)
Zhū cǐ guó pǒ zhì lì yán
 PL this country MOD establish official FIN
 ‘And all these countries established officials there.’
- (42) 變彼諸姬， (*Mao Shi, Guo feng SSJZS*: 309 上)
luán bǐ zhū jī
 beautiful that PL lady
 ‘beautiful are those Ji(–family) ladies (my relatives)’⁴⁹
- (43) = (33) 凡此諸事，皆法之所不取， (*Sanguo zhi*: 14,442)
Fán cǐ zhū shì, jiē fǎ zhī suǒ bù qǔ
 Altogether this PL affair, all law SUB REL NEG take
 ‘Altogether these affairs are all [of a kind] which the law does not
 grasp, ...’

- (44) 為此諸佛子，說是大乘經， (T09n0262_p0008a10)
Wèi cǐ fó zǐ, shuō shì dàshèng jīng
 For this Buddha child, tell this Mahayana sutra
 ‘For (all) these sons of the Buddha I preach this sutra of the Mahayana’

Besides the innovative employment of demonstrative pronouns in combination with a *zhū*-NP another innovation from the same period, i.e. the combination of a *zhū*-NP with a numeral can be observed. The occurrence with numeral determiners argues for the analysis of the *zhū*-NP as indicating genuine plurality of individual count nouns; mass nouns always require an additional measure word or classifier.⁵⁰ In the following example, *zhū* 諸 is followed by a complex number, and the *zhū*-NP is quantified by the distributive quantifier *gè* 各 ‘each’, one of the syntactic diagnostics presented in Harbsmeier (1991: 52) for count nouns. In example (46) *zhū* 諸 is additionally preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *shì* 是, in example (47) the number is indefinite. In example (48), the *zhū*-NP is additionally marked by the plural marker *děng* 等.

- (45) 諸二十四長亦各自置千長、百長、什長、 (Shiji: 110,2891)
Zhū èr shí sì zhǎng yì gè zì zhì qiān
 PL two ten four chief also each self establish thousand
zhǎng, bǎi zhǎng, shí zhǎng,
 chief, hundred chief, ten chief
 ‘Each of the twenty-four chiefs respectively establishes himself the ‘chiefs of thousands’, ‘chiefs of hundreds’, ‘chiefs of ten’, ...’

- (46) 是諸八王子，妙光所開化， (T09n0262_p0005a27)
Shì zhū bā wángzǐ, miào guāng suǒ kāi
 This PL eight prince, Wonderfully Bright REL open
huà
 change
 ‘These eight princes whom Wonderfully Bright converted ...’
- (47) 是諸無量千萬億大德聲聞，皆已成就。 (T09n0262_p0025a22)
Shì zhū wú liàng qiān wàn
 This PL not.have measure thousand ten.thousand
yì dà dé shēngwèn, jiē yǐ
 hundred.thousand great virtue voice.hearer, all already
chéng jiù
 complete perfection
 ‘These immeasurable thousand, ten thousand, a hundred thousand
 virtuous voice–hearers have all already completed perfection.’
- (48) 『汝諸人等，皆是吾子，我則是父。 (T09n0262_p0015a16)
Rǔ zhū rén děng, jiē shì wú zǐ, wǒ zé shì fù
 You all people PL, all be I son, I then be father
 ‘You and (all) the people, you are all my children, and I am the fa-
 ther, ...’

Syntactically, the *zhū* 諸 NP is more versatile during and after the Han than during the Classical period, although the basic word order remains unaltered. In complex NPs [NP_{mod} NP_{head}] *zhū* 諸 always directly attaches to the noun it modifies. In all other cases, with the exception of demonstrative pronouns, the modifier appears between *zhū* 諸 and the head noun, and *zhū* 諸 thus has scope over the entire complex NP. With regard to demonstrative pronouns, a change of word order from *zhū* DEM to DEM *zhū* can be observed from the Han period on to the effect that the post Han literature displays the same word order as the only Pre–Han literature example from the *Shijing*. Numerals hardly ever attach to the *zhū*–NP in the Classical literature; however, they appear on a regular basis in the position following *zhū* 諸 from the *Shiji* on, arguing for the fact that the modified noun is a count noun. According to the evidence presented no syntactic tendency for a grammaticalisation of *zhū* 諸 as a plural prefix can be observed during the time at issue in this paper:⁵¹ It never attaches directly to the modified head, but remains an independent plural word separable from the head noun by a considerable number of syntactic elements. For the Classical literature an

analysis of *zhū* 諸 as a determiner, i.e. as a definite article, seems in most instances syntactically possible. However, since the number of determiners within an NP is confined to one, the few instances with additional pronouns (demonstrative or personal) preceding *zhū* 諸 in the Pre-Classical and Classical literature, together with the later development of the *zhū*-NP, argue against this analysis; a combination of *zhū* 諸 with a demonstrative or personal pronoun would violate this constraint. Accordingly, the adjectival analysis of *zhū* 諸 seems syntactically more appropriate, since the number of modifying adjectives within one NP is not limited.⁵²

5. The plural word *zhū* 諸 in the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*

In the present section the syntactic and semantic constraints of the plural word *zhū* 諸 in one particular text, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (short *Faxian*), will be at issue. This text can – at least for the most part – be considered a genuine narrative and is accordingly structurally closer to a text such as the *Shiji* than many parts of the *Miaofa lianhua jing*.⁵³ In the following discussion NPs marked by *zhū* 諸 will be contrasted to NPs with identical nouns in different plural constructions, e.g. in unmarked plurals, explicitly marked plurals, reduplications, etc. in order to reveal the semantic differences between the different realisations of the plural in this text. For this purpose, a selection of representative nouns has been chosen. In contrast to the majority of examples discussed in section 3, where a *zhū* 諸-NP refers back to an overt point of reference in the preceding narrative, this is not necessarily the case in the *Faxian*; however, the *zhū*-NP almost always seems to be definite and referential. The examples are again listed according to their animacy features.

5.1. *Zhū* 諸 modifies [+ANIMATE] nouns in the *Faxian*

In this section, nouns referring to human and superhuman beings will be discussed. The latter are particularly frequent in Buddhist literature. In example (49), the noun *wáng* 王 and in (50) the NP *guówáng* 國王 is modified by the plural word *zhū* 諸. In (49) the NP refers to the well-defined set of ‘the kings at the time of the Buddha’. The NP *guówáng* 國王 in (50) is analysed as a compound due to the fact that it is frequently attested in the *Faxian* in the singular and in marked and unmarked plurals, and accordingly *zhū* 諸 modifies the entire NP.

- (49) 佛在世時諸王供養法式相傳至今。 (T51n2085_859a29)
Fó zài shì shí zhū wáng gōngyǎng fǎshì
 Buddhabe.at world time PL king offer.sacrifice method
xiāng chuán zhì jīn
 each transmit arrive today
 ‘The rule during the time when the Buddha was still alive that the kings made their offerings has been transmitted up to now.’
- (50) 諸國王長者居士為眾僧起精舍。 (T51n2085_p0859b12)
Zhū guówáng zhǎng zhě jūshì wèi zhòng sēng
 PL king eldest ZHE layman for PL monk
qǐ qīngshè
 erect vihāra
 ‘The kings and the chiefs and layman erected vihāras for the monks.’

In example (51) the noun *wáng* 王 is pluralised by reduplication referring to the kings as separate objects in space and time and not as a set of items in its entirety. Contrary to simple pluralisation, reduplication is distributive, it expresses “rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular, than plurality” (Boas 1911b: 444, quoted after Corbett 2000: 112). In example (52) the compound *tiānwáng* 天王 is preceded by a numeral and marked for plural by the obviously fully grammaticalised *děng* 等.⁵⁴

- (51) 後王王相傳無敢廢者。 (T51n2085_p0859b13)
Hòu wáng wáng xiāng chuán wú gǎn fèi
 Afterwards king kingeach pass.on NEG dare abolish
zhě
 ZHE
 ‘Afterwards the kings have passed it on from one to the other and have not dared to abolish it.’
- (52) 佛為諸天說法四天王等守四門父王不得入處。
 (T51n2085_p0861b02)
Fó wèi zhū tiān shuō fǎ sì tiānwáng
 Buddha for PL deva explain dharma four devarāja
děng shòu sì mén fù wáng bù dé rù chǔ
 PL guard four gate father king NEG can enter place
 ‘the place where the Buddha explained the law to the devas and

where the four *devarājas* guarded the four gates and where the fatherly king could not enter?

The plural can also be unmarked in nouns such as *wáng* 王, although in most of the instances in *Faxian* an unmarked noun *wáng* 王 is singular. This tendency is apparently not valid for all NPs, e.g. not for the noun *shāngrén* 商人 ‘merchant’ in example (58). In example (54) – in the narrative preceding example (50) – the NP *guówáng* 國王 is bare, but it is marked as well-defined by the quantifier *jiē* 皆 which selects all items from a well-defined set.⁵⁵ The NP preceding *jiē* 皆 predominantly seems to refer to a set of individual items which induces an analysis of the NP as definite ‘the Ns, all’.

(53) 凡沙河已西天竺諸國。國王皆篤信佛法供養眾僧。

(T51n2085_p0859a26)

Fán shāhé yǐ xī Tiānzhū zhū guó, guówáng
 Altogether desert and west India PL country, king
jiē dǔ xìn fó fǎ gòngyǎng zhòng shēng
 all firm believe Buddha dharma offer PL monk
 ‘Altogether in the countries west of the desert and in India, the kings all firmly believe in the Buddha’s dharma, and when they make offerings to the monks’

In example (54) the personal pronoun *wǒ* 我 ‘I, we’, marked for plural by *děng* 等, appears in the modifier position of a *zhū* 諸 NP; *zhū* 諸 seems to have scope over both the nouns *shī* 師 ‘teacher’ and *héshàng* 和上 (for *héshàng* 和尚) ‘monk’.⁵⁶ A *zhū*-NP additionally marked by a pronoun already expresses definiteness and referentiality, and the function of *zhū* 諸 is thus reduced to the marking of plurality, its function of expressing definiteness and referentiality being redundant.⁵⁷

(54) 我等諸師和上相承以來未見漢道人來到此也。

(T51n2085_p0860c08)

Wǒ děng zhū shī héshàng xiāng chéng yǐ lái
 I PL PL teacher monk mutually receive CO come
wèi jiàn Hàn dào rén lái dào cǐ yě
 NEG_{Asp} see Han religious man come arrive here FIN
 ‘According to what (all) our teachers and monks transmitted from one to the other until now they have never seen a religious man from the Han coming here.’

In example (55) the noun *shāngrén* 商人 ‘merchant’ is pluralised by *zhū* 諸. The overt point of reference is represented here in example (56); in this example the noun refers to an unmarked plural. Although the NP is (56) is bare, it is not indefinite. An unmarked plural can be quantified by the all-operator *jiē* 皆 ‘all’ as in example (57).

- (55) 諸商人躊躇不敢便下。 (T51n2085_p0866a26)
Zhū shāngrén chóuchú bù gǎn biàn xià
 PL merchant hesitate NEG dare easy let.down
 ‘The merchants hesitated and did not dare to leave [him] behind.’
- (56) 商人荒據不知那向。 (T51n2085_p0866a11)
Shāngrén huāng jù bù zhī nà xiàng
 Merchant frightened terrified NEG k now which direction
 ‘The merchants were frightened and did not know in which direction they went.’
- (57) 商人賈客皆悉惶怖。 (T51n2085_p0866a18)
Shāngrén gǔkè jiē xī huángpù
 Merchant merchant all completely scared
 ‘The merchants were all scared.’

In example (58) two different *zhū*-NPs appear, one referring to a complex [-ANIMATE] noun phrase, and the second to a [+ANIMATE] NP which is already marked for plurality by the plural word *qún* 群. Double plural marking is in general quite infrequent and particularly rare with *qún chén* 群臣. The noun *chén* 臣 is also attested in the unmarked plural and marked by *děng* 等; both cases are exemplified in (59). Apparently identical to a *zhū*-NP, the NP + *děng* 等 in example (59) is definite and referential.

- (58) 并諸白氎種種珍寶沙門所須之物。共諸群臣發願布施眾僧。
 (T51n2085_p0857c15)
Bìng zhū dié zhǒngzhǒng zhēn bǎo
 Take PL white.cotton.cloth all.kinds.of precious jewel
shāmén suǒ xū zhī wù, gōng zhū qún
 Shramana REL need SUB thing, together PL flock
chén fāyuàn bùshī zhòng sēng
 minister Buddhist.vow distributePL monk
 ‘He (the king) takes white cotton cloth and all kinds of precious

things the monks could need and together with (all) his ministers he distributes them among the monks professing the Buddhist vows.’

- (59) 即問臣等誰能為我作地獄主治罪人者。臣答言。

(T51n2085_p0863c02)

Jí wèn chén děng shuí néng wèi wǒ zuò dìyù
Then ask minister PL who can for I make hell
zhǔ zhì zuì rén zhě. Chén dá yán
master govern guilt man ZHE. Minister answer say
‘Then he asked the ministers: “Who can be master of the hell for me and govern the guilty people?” The ministers said: ...’

Identical to the texts already discussed in section 3, in the *Faxian* the *zhū*-NP can include other modifiers; in example (60) the adjectival modifier consists of a complex NP.

- (60) 國內大德沙門諸大乘比丘皆宗仰焉。(T51n2085_p0862b12)

Guó nèi dà dé shāmén zhū dàshèng bīqiū
State within great virtue Shramana PL Mahayana bhiksu
jiē zōngyǎng yán
all esteem FIN
‘The Shramanas of great virtue and the bhiksus of the Mahayana in this state all show him their esteem.’

In the following example an indefinite numeral follows the *zhū*-NP as an appositional measure phrase. The *zhū*-NP is assumed to be definite,⁵⁸ referring to a closed set of items consisting of numberless individual members. The noun *tiān* 天 ‘deva’ usually appears in the marked plural, unmarked plurals are not attested, and it only rarely has a singular reading. The noun *fó* 佛 ‘Buddha’ in example (62) has, at least in the *Faxian*, to be marked for plurality, either by *zhū* 諸 or by a numeral; all unmarked instances of *fó* 佛 in this text refer to the Buddha in the singular.

- (61) 諸天無數從佛來下。(T51n2085_p0859c19)

Zhū tiān wú shù cóng fó lái xià
PL deva not.have number follow Buddha come down
‘The numberless Devas followed the Buddha down [to the earth].’

- (62) 凡諸佛有四處常定。 (T51n2085_p0861b10)
Fán zhū fó yǒu sì chǔ cháng dìng
 Altogether PL Buddha have four place regularly established
 ‘Altogether the Buddhas have four places which are established for them all.’

5.2. *Zhū* 諸 modifies [-ANIMATE] nouns in the *Faxian*

Not infrequently *zhū* 諸 modifies [-ANIMATE] noun phrases, in particular locative nouns. In example (63) a compound of the modifier head structure similar to *guówáng* 國王, but with an [-ANIMATE] head, is modified by *zhū* 諸, the NP is followed by the postposition *zhōng* 中 ‘middle’. The analysis of *sēngshì* 僧室 as a compound is supported by the distributive adverbial *chǔ chǔ* 處處 ‘place by place’ following the NP, which clearly quantifies a plurality of locative nouns. Additionally, it accounts for the fact that the noun *sēng* 僧 is usually pluralised by *zhōng* 眾 and not by *zhū* 諸; there is no instance of *zhū sēng* 諸僧 in the entire *Faxian*. Contrastingly, in example (64) *zhū* 諸 has scope only over the [-ANIMATE] modifier *guó* 國 of a complex NP with the [+ANIMATE] head *shāngrén* 商人. The same *zhū*-NP *zhū guó* 諸國 appears as the head of a complex NP in example (65). In example (66) the locative *zhū*-NP is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun.

- (63) 諸僧室中處處穿石作窗牖通明。 (T51n2085_p0864b04)
Zhū sēngshì zhōng chǔ chǔ chuān shí
 PL monk.house middle place place bore.through stone
zuò chuāngyǔ tōng míng
 make window penetrate light
 ‘Everywhere in the monks’ houses one drilled the stone to make windows and let the light come in.’
- (64) 其國本無人民。正有鬼神及龍居之。諸國商人共市易。
 (T51n2085_p0864c16)
Qí guó běn wú rén mín, zhèng yǒu
 That country originally not.have manp eople, just have
guǐ shén jí lóng jū zhī, zhū guó shāngrén
 ghost spirit and dragon live OBJ, PL country merchant
gong shì yì
 together trade exchange

‘Originally that country did not have any people, there were only ghosts and spirits and dragons living there, and the merchants from all the countries together exchanged trade there.’

- (65) 法顯本求戒律。而北天竺諸國。皆師師口傳無本可寫。
(T51n2085_p0864b17)

Fǎxiǎn běn qiú jièlǜ, ér běi Tiānzhū zhū guó,
jiē shī shī kǒu chuán wú běn kě xiě
Faxian originally search vinaya, but north India PL country,
all teacher teacher mouth transmit not.have originally can write
‘Originally, Faxian was looking for the vinaya scriptures, but in all
the countries of Northern India, the teachers transmitted [them]
orally from one to the other, and there were no originals which
could be copied.’

- (66) 自上苦行六年處。及此諸處。(T51n2085_p0863b12)

Zì shàng kǔ xíng liù nián chǔ, jí cǐ zhū guó
From high suffering do six year place, arrive this PL place
‘From the place where he executed ascetism for six year up to these
places ...’

Identically to [+ANIMATE] nouns, [-ANIMATE] (here: locative) nouns can be pluralised by reduplication with the same effect in example (51) with the [+ANIMATE] *wáng* 王. The completeness of the set of items expressed by reduplication is indicated by the all-operator *jiē* 皆 and not – as could be expected – by the distributive all-operator *gè* 各.

- (67) 眾僧住止房舍。床蓐飲食衣服都無闕乏。處處皆爾。
(T51n2085_p0859b14)

Zhòng sēng zhù zhǐ fángshè, chuáng rù yǐn shí
PL monk live stop house, bed mat drink eat
yīfú dōu wú quē fá, chǔ chǔ jiē ěr
clothes all NEG defect lack, place place all be.like
‘In the houses where the monks lived, beds and beddings, food and
drink, and clothes, all were never lacking, and all places were like
this.’

According to the examples presented, the basic semantic constraints of *zhū* 諸 remain the same as they were during the Classical and Han periods. However, its employment has extended considerably with regard to the Animacy Hierarchy; this development starts during the Han period and is

more or less fully advanced in the 3rd century CE. The syntactic development of the *zhū*-NP in the *Faxian* is less advanced than in the *Miaofa lianhua jing*. This is certainly due to the fact that the *Faxian* is a comparatively short text and that it is for the most part a genuine Chinese text and not a translation from a language with morphological plural marking. Most, but not all of the nouns selected by *zhū* 諸 can also appear in other plural constructions, including the unmarked plural. Some of the nouns discussed have to be analysed as singular, unless they are explicitly marked for plural by *zhū* 諸 or other plural markers. The latter fact might reveal a tendency for an obligatory marking of the plural at least for some nouns in Buddhist literature. This tendency is not unique in languages, since number marking can become “as good as obligatory” for certain nouns whereas general number still exists elsewhere in the system (Corbett 2000: 15). The most remarkable tendency in the *Faxian* seems to be a decrease of textual or discourse referentiality of the *zhū*-NP. Whereas in the earlier non-Buddhist texts in most of the instances the *zhū*-NP refers back to an overt point of reference in the preceding narrative and evidently serves to create textual reference, this is much less the case in the *Faxian*. Additionally, this decrease of referentiality seems to lead to the impression that the *zhū*-NP is not always definite.⁵⁹ However, the overwhelming majority of examples of the *zhū*-NP refer to well-defined items in the real world. If the *zhū*-NP has to be analysed as generic, it refers to a set of different kinds and accordingly differs semantically from a bare NP referring to a kind. Additionally, according to the more grammaticalised employment of plural words such as *děng* 等, the differences between a NP marked for plural by *zhū* 諸 and one marked by *děng* 等 seem to diminish.

6. Conclusion

According to the data presented above the following analysis of *zhū* 諸 will be proposed. Since the overwhelming number of nouns selected by *zhū* 諸 are count nouns, both analyses of *zhū* 諸, i.e. as a quantifier ‘all’, and as a definite referential plural marker, are possible. However, an occasional employment of *zhū* 諸 in combination with generic nouns cannot be excluded, although in most of the examples presented, the generic does not seem to be the only possible analysis. The plural word *zhū* 諸 cannot only select singular count nouns, but also unmarked plural NPs, NPs which are already marked for plural, or NPs which usually have a plural reading such

as *niǎoshòu* 鳥獸 ‘animals’, or *fùlǎo* 父老 ‘elders’. Very occasionally some of the latter NPs, but not all of them, seem to induce a generic reading referring to a plurality, a set of kinds ‘all the (different) kinds of’, thus contrasting to a bare NP referring merely to ONE particular kind: ‘all kinds of animals’ versus e.g. ‘bear (as a kind)’. These nouns behave differently from group nouns which are pluralised identically to singular count nouns: *zhū jūn* 諸軍 has the meaning ‘all the armies’, the plural is identical to a plural of a count noun as in ‘all the generals’, it does not mean ‘all the members of the army’. Whereas a *zhū*-NP with a group noun refers to a plurality of the respective group in the same way as to the plurality of singular items (atoms), which “have sets of atoms as their extension”,⁶⁰ the *zhū*-NP with one of the above mentioned plural NPs refers to the individual members (or possibly various kinds) within this plural set: i.e. *zhū fùlǎo* 諸父老 refers to ‘all the members of the union of ‘elders’’.⁶¹ When selected by *zhū* 諸 all the items of the plural set, whether individuals or kinds, are identified as singular items (or kinds) within a plural set; the function of *zhū* 諸 to include the different members of the set (or union) remains the same whether it selects a singular count noun and pluralises it or an already pluralised noun; they only differ in perspective.

Syntactically, *zhū* 諸 has to be analysed as an adjectival modifier, not a determiner, i.e. a definite article, since it can combine with determiners such as demonstrative and personal pronouns. The word order within the *zhū*-NP is subject to strict constraints which – with one exception – do not change during the time at issue here, although a considerable development in the syntax of the *zhū*-NP can be observed. Since *zhū* 諸 can always be separated from the head noun it selects by additional modifiers, no tendency to grammaticalise into a plural prefix can be observed in the texts at issue.

The basic semantics of *zhū* 諸 are: It is **definite**, **referential**, and **quantifying**. Its quantifying notion, i.e. the notion of inclusion, is stronger than that of a definite article, but *zhū* 諸 is not confined to this notion; as Harbsmeier already assumed, *zhū* 諸 “can *never* simply quantify what it precedes” (Harbsmeier 1981: 169). As a quantifier it does not entirely correspond either to the adjectival quantifier ‘all’ in English – sometimes translations by ‘all’ seem odd –, or to the quantifier *jiē* 皆 ‘all’ in Classical and pre-Medieval Chinese. However, similar to the all-operator *jiē* 皆 it almost always quantifies over a well-defined set, a plurality, including all members of the set, but contrary to *jiē* 皆 it does not focus on the inclusion. Although the *zhū*-NP is always plural, the function of *zhū* 諸 cannot be

reduced to pluralisation; this is made most evident by the fact that the noun selected by *zhū* 諸 can already refer to a plurality. Historically, and as some of the examples from the *Faxian*, particularly with the noun *shāngrén* 商人, have demonstrated, neither definiteness nor plurality depend on the presence of *zhū* 諸, it is employed pragmatically, i.e. ‘when it matters’. However, besides the marking of the plural ‘when it matters’ the presence of *zhū* 諸 obviously adds some semantic content to the selected NP, which according to the data presented can be designated as referentiality. The predominant function of the *zhū*-NP in the Han period literature, but also in the *Sanguo zhi*, is to refer back to a set of objects already defined in the preceding narrative by – frequently – bare NPs which can already be definite and plural; i.e. its basic function is to create textual or discourse reference. This basic function of *zhū* 諸 seems to become less predominant during its history, although the *zhū*-NP remains definite and referential in the texts at issue in this paper. The extension of the syntactic and semantic constraints in the employment of *zhū* 諸 pave the way for its development into a more generally employed plural marker in the Buddhist literature. Although *zhū* 諸 can certainly be labelled as a plural word, pluralisation most obviously is not its only function, at least not in Han period and genuine Chinese Wei Jin Nanbeichao period literature.

Notes

1. Corbett (2000: 56f) presents tables on the ‘Animacy Hierarchy’ where he discusses different possibilities of plural marking on the following line: “speaker > addressee > 3rd person > kin > human > animate > inanimate”.
2. However, Norman notes that during and after the Han period different markers of plurality appear in combination with pronouns, but they are very likely not yet obligatory during these periods. Norman supports this hypothesis with the fact that Modern Chinese dialects display a variety of different plural forms which according to him argues for a late occurrence of an obligatory number distinction with pronouns. This can also be supported by the fact that apparently, dialects show different stages of grammaticalisation in marking the plural (Yue 2003: 85f).
3. See also for instance Wang (1980, 2004), Zhou (1980), Tang (2001), Zhang (2001).
4. The reconstructions of Middle Chinese are taken from Pulleyblank (1991).
5. In Wang (1980, 2004: 302) all first person pronouns of this category are reconstructed with the voiced dental initial *d-*.

6. For a comprehensive discussion on personal pronouns see also Zhou (1959) among many others.
7. This paper does not intend to join the comprehensive discussion on personal pronouns in Chinese; the hypotheses represented above concerning the system of personal pronouns are merely intended to show that the morphological situation of Chinese is more complicated than Norman's remark suggests.
8. For a comprehensive discussion of Harbsmeier's analyses see Wei (2004: 291f).
9. For the purpose of this paper these quantifiers are all regarded as adverbial quantifiers, although they are obviously subject to different syntacto-semantic constraints the exact nature of which still has to be established.
10. This combination is attested e.g. in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (Taisho 262; 33c) as a plural marker of the 1st person pronoun *wǒ* 我.
11. See Corbett (2000: 101) "Many languages have what have been called 'associative plurals', or 'group plurals' ... These forms consist of a nominal plus a marker, and denote a set comprised of the referent of the nominal (the main member) plus one or more associated members."
12. A number of articles have been devoted to these plural words, since they structurally resemble the plural marker *mén* 們 in Modern Chinese and as its predecessors have probably paved the way for *mén* 們.
13. See Krifka (1995: 399) "It seems that every language which allows for bare NPs at all uses them as expressions referring to kinds. Furthermore, kinds seem to be ontologically prior to specimens ..." If a real object is to be named, this object has to be related to a kind, whereas talking about a kind does not necessitate having a real object in mind. According to Krifka (1995: 406) nouns in Chinese (Modern Chinese) are on a par with mass nouns and mass noun constructions in English. This analogy is based on the fact that mass nouns require classifier and measure phrases to become countable (see also Chierchia 1998: 55). Nevertheless, the situation of nouns in Classical Chinese differs considerably from that in Modern Chinese.
14. However, in Harbsmeier (this volume) a number of nouns is listed which have a predictable generic, singular, or plural reading.
15. See also Harbsmeier (1981: 166) : "... *zhu* which even etymologically contains an element *zhi* 之 that can mean 'this'."
16. A list of examples (34 entries) is presented in the Thesaurus Linguae Sericae (TLS), where as a plural word it is glossed by 'all', 'many', and by 'plural prefix'. (<http://tls.uni-hd.de/procSearch/procSearchLex.lasso>, 04.02.2010).
17. In his study on 'Late Han Chinese', Dobson does not discuss *zhū* 諸 as a plural word, he only refers to *zhū* 諸 in its function as a fusion word (allegro word in his terminology) stating that in Late Han Chinese these were often not correctly understood anymore (Dobson 1964: 61f).
18. In both reference works it is glossed by several syntactically and semantically quite diverse quantifiers.

19. See, for instance, Yang (2001). A short paragraph is devoted to *zhū* 諸 in Wei (2004: 297).
20. The employment of classifiers and measure phrases which according to many linguistic studies argues for an analysis of Modern Chinese nouns as mass nouns is not obligatory yet in Classical Chinese (for a very interesting analysis of the system of classifiers in Classical Chinese see Feng, this volume). However, measure phrases appear already in Classical Chinese and belong to the diagnostics introduced by Harbsmeier to distinguish between mass and count nouns in Classical Chinese (1991: 52f). In his analysis, Harbsmeier clearly shows that there are syntactic tests to determine if a noun is a count noun and he thus refutes Graham's arguments in favour of the mass noun hypothesis for Classical Chinese (Graham 1986: 196f). (See also Harbsmeier this volume.)
21. Groups are equated to singular count nouns in Chierchia (1998: 67).
22. According to Chierchia's definition (1998: 91f), the definite article applies to a set and returns its greatest element, which does not exclude a definition of *zhū* 諸 as a definite article semantically, but as will be demonstrated below, its syntactic constraints argue against an analysis as a definite article.
23. According to an anonymous reviewer this might be due to the fact that *zhū* 諸 seems to be anaphoric. However, as some of the examples demonstrate *zhū* 諸 can appear in the scope of a demonstrative pronoun which itself is anaphoric.
24. In the speech part of example (2) a second *zhū*-NP is attested which has the semantic characteristic [-ANIMATE].
25. This combination is listed in the TLS as referring to a speaker's group 'WE'. (<http://tls.uni-hd.de/procSearch/procSearchLex.lasso>, 04.02.2010) which would be the counterpart to *zhū jūn* 諸君 in example (12) which refers to a plural addressee. But this does not seem to be the case in the Classical literature yet. In *Shiji* it is one of two instances, both referring to the ministers as a group and not serving as substitutes for a first person pronoun. In the *Hanshu* it is not attested at all.
26. There is only one instance in the *Shisanjing*.
27. The structural differences between the complex NP in (13) and that in (3) where *zhū* 諸 refers to the modifier *jī* 姬 'honourable wife' will be discussed in section 4.
28. See a similar analysis for *zhūhóu* 諸侯 in Harbsmeier (1981: 169) who claims that it can never mean "all feudal lords, past, present and future."
29. The same employment of *děng* 等 is still attested in the *Faxian*, where it often attaches to names, meaning 'X and the others'.
30. In all three instances of the combination *zhū guǐ shén* 諸鬼神 in the *Shisanjing* (Li, *SSJZS*: 1301 上; 1634 上), *zhū* 諸 is not a number word.
31. With the exception of the category d) [+SUPERHUMAN].
32. No instances are attested in the *Faxian*, but it appears regularly in the *Miaofa lianhua jing*.

33. A new analysis of *zhě* 者 has been proposed in Aldridge (2009: 240): “*Zhe* is a functional category *n* positioned between D and NP. It functions as a determiner in the sense that it semantically binds the variable introduced by the predicate NP and projects a phrase which can appear in argument position.” In the above presented examples *zhě* 者 always takes a clause (a TP) as its complement. The constituent as a whole expresses given information (Aldridge 2009: 242).
34. These *zhū*-NPs are very rare before the Han period; there is only one instance in the *Zhuangzi* of *zhū wù* 諸物.
35. Harbsmeier (1991: 57) suspects that the noun *wù* 物 is rather a generic than a count noun and that *wàn wù* 萬物 refers to ‘the ten thousand kinds of things’ rather than to ‘the ten thousand individual things’, but he concedes that more evidence is needed to support either of the two possibilities. This analysis is also supported by the translation by Nienhauser *et al.* (2002: 244).
36. The fact that *niǎoshòu* 鳥獸 can be modified by the quantifying adjective *duō* 多, even if only one instance in the *Shanhai jing* (*Shanhaijing* 4 東山經) is attested, argues according to Harbsmeier (1991: 52) for a count noun reading.
37. In the Classical literature NPs with a [-ANIMATE] noun are extremely infrequent; one example with the abstract noun *hài* 害 from *Han Fei* is quoted in Harbsmeier (1981: 168).
38. See note 21. These nouns evidently differ from nouns usually referring to a plurality such as *fùlǎo* 父老 ‘elders’ and *niǎoshòu* 鳥獸 ‘quadrupeds and birds = animals’ which also seem to be collective terms.
39. There are no instances either in the *Shisanjing* or in the collections of Classical philosophical texts in the Academia Sinica database.
40. In the *Shisanjing* collections titles such as *gōng* 公 ‘duke’, *dàfū* 大夫 ‘dignitary’, *chén* 臣 ‘minister’, *bó* 伯 ‘count’ etc. are not infrequently attested.
41. Corbett (2000: 111) “Distributive and collective meaning may be specified by independent words in analytic constructions, particularly determiners (equivalents of ‘each’, ‘every’) and adverbials (distributive ‘here and there’, ‘one at a time’; collective ‘together’, ‘jointly’).” In Classical Chinese these distributive and collective quantifiers frequently combine with the plural word *zhū* 諸 which accords well with Corbett’s claim (Corbett 2000: 114) that “distributives should not be considered additional values comparable with the basic number values like singular, dual, and plural, nor as subdivisions of these.”
42. According to Chierchia (1998: 56) determiners – which correspond semantically to the above summarised quantifiers – interact with the mass/count distinction. The above mentioned quantifiers in Chinese occur either only with count nouns (*gè* 各 ‘each’), with plurals and mass nouns (*jiē* 皆 ‘all’), or are unrestricted (*huò* 或 ‘some’). Since the system of quantifiers in Classical and Pre-Tang Chinese still requires further analysis, the equation of the Chinese quantifiers with the determiners according to Chierchia must remain tentative at present and is not at issue in this paper.

43. Many examples of demonstrative, personal, and interrogative pronouns pluralized by *děng* 等 are attested in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* and in other Buddhist texts.
44. For *zhòng* 眾 see example (20).
45. Two more examples with this structure are attested in the *Shiji* (27,1337 and 28,1377). The same examples as in *Shiji* also appear in the *Hanshu* (25A, 11209; 26,1297; 95,3838).
46. In the *Shijing* there are also a few instances of the *zhū*-NP preceded by the personal pronoun *wǒ* 我, always in the order [personal pronoun *zhū*-NP].
47. There are more examples in the *Sanguo zhi* which exhibit this word order. In the Classical literature, there are additionally several instances of a demonstrative pronoun preceding the compound *zhūhóu* 諸侯, excluded from this discussion.
48. This text has been chosen in particular for the syntactic discussion, since it shows a much greater variety of *zhū*-NPs than the *Faxian* text. This is due to the fact that it is much longer, but also to the fact that it is a translation text where plural marking certainly frequently simply mirrors a plural ending in the original text.
49. The translation which is based on Karlgren's translation is quoted from the TLS (<http://tls.uni-hd.de/procSearch/procSearchTxt.lasso>, 08.02.2010).
50. See Chierchia (1998: 55, 83f) who resumes and explains the basic facts on count and mass nouns. See also Harbsmeier (1991: 57).
51. See Haspelmath (1995: 363) who summarises the syntactic effects of grammaticalisation as follows: "syntactically it means a loss of freedom of position and often eventually cliticization and affixation".
52. See Radford (1997: 39).
53. The *Miaofa lianhua jing* also contains narrative parts, but these are always translated and were not originally written in Chinese.
54. The combination of an NP with a numeral in combination with the plural word *děng* 等 is already attested in the *Shiji* (e.g. *SJ*: 5,181), but there *děng* 等 evidently expresses an associative plural.
55. According to Harbsmeier (1981: 80) *jiē* 皆 does not quantify mass nouns, but regularly "quantifies over individual items".
56. This analysis contradicts Deeg's rather free translation (2005: 538) according to which the *zhū*-NP seems to be indefinite.
57. Redundancy in quantification seems to be quite common if one assumes that *zhū* 諸 predominantly functions as a quantifier, expressing all-quantification. Only a comprehensive study of the different quantifiers and their combination can reveal their exact syntactic and semantic constraints respectively. However, it can be assumed that quantifiers such as *jiē* 皆 quantify over the predicate whereas the quantificational force of *zhū* 諸 is confined to the *zhū*-NP. Additionally, quantification is apparently not the only function of *zhū* 諸.

58. Against Deeg's (2005: 532) translation according to which it is analysed as indefinite.
59. Maybe this assumption exaggerates the fact that Deeg occasionally translates *zhū*-NPs as indefinite plurals. It certainly has to be checked against more data from e.g. Buddhist translation texts where pluralisation with *zhū* 諸 seems to be ubiquitous.
60. See Chiercha (1998: 67, 62) who distinguishes between two different sets of atoms, i.e. "collectives and ordinary individuals".
61. A plural noun such as 'elders' has the *U*-closure (the *union*) of its singular counterparts as extension (minus the atoms) (see Chierchia 1998: 67).

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