

Possible interpretations for suffix *men* in Mandarin Chinese

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Master Thesis for Linguistics: The Study of the Language Faculty

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August 2010

Abstract

The identity of the suffix *men* in Mandarin Chinese has long been debated but is still controversial. Chinese grammars usually introduce it as a plural marker and/or a collectivity marker without distinguishing the two. The issue was not addressed until Iljic (1994) and Li (1999) offered a unified analysis for *men* as a pure collectivity marker and a pure plural marker respectively. However, their argumentation is not flawless or very convincing. What's more, linguists working on *men* are prone to give it other interpretations, one of which is definiteness. Such an interpretation is beyond the realm of number morphology, yet there is no systematic or satisfactory account for it.

Looking into languages with optional plural marking, I find that those plural markers often play more than one role. Not only they are claimed to be definite markers, but they could also be specificity marker, collectivity marker and maybe are more comparable with a large/imprecise number quantifier. In addition, *men* shares some other features with these optional markers; they usually attach to common human nouns and proper names, they cannot co-occur with *number* (+ *CL*), etc. These similarities motivate me to do a typological study among languages with optional plural marking and compare *men* with other plural markers.

In the paper I selected Japanese, Indonesian and Papiamentu and analyzed some alleged interpretations for their optional plural markers/marking morphemes. For each of the arguments I tried to apply it to *men* in Mandarin. I also conducted some corpus study, web search and a survey to gain enough empirical data supporting my intuitions and findings.

The results show that although *men* seems to have some optional interpretations other than a plural marker, none of them is significantly strong enough or can be theoretically accounted for. The definite reading of most men-plurals is not brought about by *men* but possibly by the topic status of the nominal or by the nature of a human noun to which *men* attaches. *Men* can co-occur with expressions indicating distributivity such as *yi ge jie yi ge* 'one by one' and *ge* 'each', implying that it is not inherently collective. Native speakers sometimes are more tolerant towards *men* with a larger/ imprecise number, but the difference is not significantly large. And there is evidence arguing against a specificity analysis for men-plurals.

With all these data and argumentation, I conclude eventually that *men* in Mandarin Chinese is no more than a plural marker.

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Introduction

Mandarin Chinese has bare nouns with general/neutral number and it lacks a productive plural morpheme as *s* in English. However, this does not mean that Mandarin is a language without number, nor is it a language without any number morphology. In this paper I will discuss the suffix *men* in Mandarin whose identity has been controversial for decades.

There have been several interpretations for the semantics of *men*. I agree that the main function of *men* is a plural marker; to indicate the plurality of a personal pronoun, *men* is an obligatory suffix. *Men* also attaches to a human common noun optionally at least in circumstances where sum reference is enforced. In the typological survey that underlies this thesis, I found that in some languages the semantics of optional plural marker for nouns with general numbers can actually have other semantic effects as well. Thus it is inferred that *men* might express more than plurality, especially when it optionally attaches to human common nouns, non-human nouns and even inanimate nouns. What exactly is *men*? What could be its other possible semantics then? In this paper I will summarize some properties /interpretations of optional plural morphology in other languages and see whether they apply to *men* as well.

The thesis will be organized as follows: in Chapter one I summarize some properties of *men* on its distribution and usage restrictions and introduce a corpus study I made in my term paper (Lan 2010b) where I tested the co-occurrence restrictions imposed by *men* on other expressions and which is the foundation of this thesis. In Chapter two I compare tati-plurals in Japanese with men-plurals in Mandarin, together with relevant data collected from corpus, internet and a survey, to challenge the traditional men-as-definite analysis. In Chapter three the collectivity status of men is discussed. In this chapter I compare and evaluate two extreme points of view: one according to which men is a simple plural marker (Li 1999) and one according to which men is a collectivity marker (Iljic 1994). In particular I will test the compatibility of men with other expressions with their own collectivity/distributivity such as *ge* 'each' and *yiqi* 'together'. In Chapter four, I explore whether Mandarin users are more tolerant towards *CN-men* (common noun-men) when it combines with a comparatively large or imprecise number, which seems to be the case in Indonesian and Japanese. In Chapter five, the specificity status of men-plural is discussed inspired by nan-plurals in Papiamentu which is claimed to be interpreted as specific. In Chapter six I turn back to the definiteness of men-plurals and try to account tentatively for the majority of men-plurals frequently interpreted as definite. Finally I give a conclusion for the whole thesis.

Chapter one: *men* in Mandarin

1.1 Distribution of *men* and restrictions on its usage

1. In the pronominal system of Mandarin Chinese, plurality is expressed transparently by suffixing the singular personal pronoun with *men*, as shown in the following paradigm:

(1)		Singular	Plural
	1 st person	wo I/me	wo- men we/us
	2 nd person	ni you	ni- men you
	3 rd person	ta (s)he/him,her/it	ta- men they/them

This plural marking is compulsory for personal pronouns without other options whereas when *men* attaches to other kinds of nominals it is optional, for in Mandarin nouns are number-neutral.

2. *Men* also extensively attaches to common human nouns to mark plurality¹. This usage is entirely optional because bare nouns in Mandarin can also be interpreted as plural.

(2) Marked plural human nouns		bare nouns ²	
Laoshi- men	‘teachers’	laoshi	‘a teacher; teachers’
Xuesheng- men	‘students’	xuesheng	‘a student; students’
Pengyou- men	‘friends’	pengyou	‘a friend; friends’
Zhanshi- men	‘soldiers’	zhanshi	‘a soldier; soldiers’

3. Sometimes *men* could be used after more than one noun referring to human beings, for example:

(3) a.	Di	xiong	men
	Younger brother	older brothers	MEN

¹ Li & Thompson (1981) came up with another restriction that monosyllabic human noun does not take this plural suffix. Thus the following examples are unacceptable:

*zei-men ‘thieves’

*guan-men ‘officials’

As a native speaker, I think while such examples are not common in oral expression they are not completely rejected, especially in literature works.

² Bare nominals in Mandarin are unspecified not only for numbers, but also for case, definiteness and specificity. Given this fact the bare nouns in (2) can have more interpretations which will not be specified here.

‘brothers’³

b. Baba mama men
Father mother MEN
‘fathers and mothers’

This feature makes Mandarin distinctive from languages with a compulsory plural marker. (3b) in English must be ‘fathers and mothers’ but in Mandarin *men* attaches only to the last noun as *mama* ‘mother’ in this example.

4. When *men* is used after a person’s name (proper name), it means “etc.”, that is, the group consisting of the person denoted by the proper name and others. An example given in Iljic (1994) is *XiaoQiang-men*, which can mean the person XiaoQiang and others in his group, as in (4):

(4) XiaoQiang-men shenme shihou lai?
XiaoQiang-MEN what time come
‘When are XiaoQiang and the others coming?’

This interpretation is actually a collective reading of *men*. Alternatively a proper name denoting a person can be suffixed with *men* to mean a group of people with the same name or characteristics as that person which is the plural reading of *men*. So *XiaoQiang-men* can be several persons coincidentally having the same name *XiaoQiang* or the same characteristics as *XiaoQiang*.

5. (a) When *men* follows a noun which refers to non human kind, it is usually regarded as personification, mostly seen in literature works, for example:

(5) Hou wang yi dao, houzi-men dou huoyuele qilai.
Money king once arrive, monkey-MEN all active LE up
‘When the Money King comes, all the monkeys become active.’

(b) Non human nouns with *men* can be used as a metaphor⁴, for example:

(6) Nainai guan women jiao Xiaoyanzi-men.
Grandmother GUAN us call small swallow-MEN
‘Grandmother calls us “small swallows”’.

6. When a noun is followed by *men*, there will be no numeral or classifier before the noun generally. This incompatibility of *number* + *classifier* with *men* is illustrated in

³ Although the monosyllabic noun ‘di’(younger brother) and ‘xiong’ (older brother) are two words, they are no longer used independently in speaking Modern Chinese in which they, as many other content words, have evolved from classic Chinese into disyllabic words as ‘didi’ and ‘gege/xiongzhang’. Furthermore, when ‘di’ and ‘xiong’ are used together they seem to infuse a new meaning as very good male friends.

⁴ If the non human being could not be personified, there cannot be such kind of metaphor. So to me, 5 (b) can also be categorized as personification.

(7):

(7) * san ge xuesheng-men
three-CL student-MEN
'three student-men'

It is suggested, however, that sometimes it is possible to add other quantifiers such as 'Xuduo/Haoxie' (a lot) before the noun. This will be further tested in my survey:

(8) Hao xie haizi-men zai kongdi shang wan.
Very XIE child-MEN ASP empty ground on play
'Quite some children are playing on the (play) ground.'

7. Even though *men* can be suffixed to a definite expression such as a proper name and a pronoun, it cannot be suffixed to definite expressions consisting of a demonstrative:

(9) a. * zhege/nage ren-men
this-CL/that-CL person-MEN
'this/that person and the others'

b. *nide nage pengyou-men
your that-CL friend-MEN
'that friend of yours and the others'

8. However, when the demonstrative is followed by *xie*, men-plurals and demonstratives are compatible and may occur in the same noun phrase, as in (10):

(10) Wo he zhexie xiao xuesheng-men ba kao'an yi zai yi ge shizhuang.
I and this XIE little pupil-MEN PREP exam desk move loc. one CL stone stake
'With these schoolboys I moved the tabletop of an examination desk on a boundary stone.'

The identity of *xie* is controversial. Li (1999) introduced it as a quantity suffix attached to the demonstrative *zhe* 'this' or *na* 'that' to express a larger quantity of something. It seems to be one of the rare quantity expressions that do not require the presence of a classifier as opposed to the traditional opinion that *xie* itself is a quantifier. Iljic (1994) offered some arguments in detail against *xie* as a classifier. Firstly, *xie* cannot be preceded by any numeral but *yi* 'one' (*san xie <three-XIE>), which shows that it is not really used as a counting unit as a real classifier is. Secondly, *xie* does not occupy the place of the classifier; it may be followed by *ge*, which is itself a classifier:

(11) Ni mai-le (yi) xie ge mei yong de dongxi.
You buy-LE a few CL NEG use DE thing

‘You have bought some useless things.’

The fact that *xie* may be followed by *ge*, or even by other classifiers, is enough to demonstrate that *xie* is not a classifier, for a classifier cannot possibly be followed by another (a different) classifier.

With *xie* not being a classifier, there is little wonder that a demonstrative suffixed with *xie* is compatible with *men* and may occur in the same noun phrase.

1.2 Previous corpus study on *men*

In my term paper (Lan 2010b), I did a corpus study with a Chinese corpus⁵ in order to have a better insight into the contexts where *men* appears and its co-occurrence restrictions on other elements such as the quantity expression *number + classifier* mentioned in the previous section. What I basically did is to design a condition, restrict a context and if necessary, manually check some occurrences from the results.

1.2.1 The contexts

In this sub-section I will explain the 8 contexts I designed in this study one by one.

1. **men~0(ge|jie|ye)**⁶ : N-men excluding *gemen* and *jiemen*

Although most Chinese dictionaries and grammars interpreted *men* as no more than a suffix to indicate plurality, when searching *men* by itself I realized that this is not without exceptions. In Mandarin when the words *ge* ‘older brother’, *jie* ‘older sister’ or *ye* ‘grandfather’ are suffixed with *men*, they are bare nouns indicating a male/female with a similar age as the speaker (*gemen/jiemen*) or a male adult (*yemen*), usually used to informally address someone. Evidence from the corpus also supports that these three words are bare nouns with general number. On the one hand, they can be suffixed with *men* to indicate plurality. On the other hand, quantity expression *jige* ‘several +CL’ can precede them which would be unacceptable if they are men-plurals.

As a result, I excluded the occurrences of *men* in *gemen*, *jiemen* and *yemen* where it is not a plural marker. So the first condition is designed to search for the occurrences of *men* not immediately following *ge*, *jie* or *ye*; in other words, the occurrence of *men* as a suffix.

2. **men~0(wo|ni|nin|ta1|ta2|ta3|zan|ge|jie|ye)**: N-men excluding pronoun-men

As I have mentioned, a class of words *men* attaches to is that of personal pronoun. This is confirmed by the searching results of the first context. In order to estimate the

⁵ The corpus I selected is the CCL corpus maintained by Center for Chinese Linguistics Peking University.

⁶ In practice I put in Chinese characters rather than Pinyin which is used here purely for the sake of clarity.

percentage of *men* attached to a pronoun, I designed the second context in which not only *ge*, *jie* and *ye* but all the singular personal pronouns will not immediately precede *men*. These personal pronouns include:

First person pronouns: *wo* (I/me) and *zan* (I/me in some dialects),

Second person pronouns: *ni* (you) and *nin* (honorific ‘you’)

Third person pronouns: *ta* (he/him; she/her; it) which is realized with three characters.

3. **men~0(wo|ni|nin|ta1|ta2|ta3|zan|ge|jie|ye|ren)**: N-men excluding pronoun-men and *renmen*

Context 3 is different from 2 in that it also filters out the cases where *men* attaches to common human noun *ren* ‘person’, i.e. *ren-men*. I designed this context because when I scanned through results of Context 2 which are ‘non-pronoun-men’, I found a good number of occurrences of *ren-men*. This implies that *ren* ‘person’ may be the mostly frequently used common human noun suffixed with *men*. To test this, and to see what other nominals N-men consist of, I searched the corpus with this context and scanned through the first 500 occurrences.

4. **(zhege|nage) \$3 men**: this/that + CL + N-men

To test the incompatibility of definite expressions with demonstratives with *N-men*, I adopted this condition. I restricted the classifier to *ge*, the general classifier in Mandarin, for if I do not select a classifier then it is likely that the elements between *zhe/ na* ‘this/that’ and *men* do not involve classifier + N, thus there are fewer occurrences of the matched constructions. As for the characters between this / that and *men*, I originally set it to 2 for the mean number of characters per word in Mandarin is less than 1.5⁷. The results are not satisfactory in that there are lots of occurrences where *men* attaches to a (monosyllabic) personal pronoun. This situation is expected because a major class of nominals preceding *men* is personal pronouns as shown in the next sub-sections. In this case the two characters in between cannot stand for a single noun.

Consequently I adjusted the number of characters in between and set it to 3, so that the frequency of *this/that CL + plural personal pronoun* is expected to be lower and chances of *this/that CL + N-men* will accordingly be higher.

5. **(zhexie|naxie) \$3 men**: this/that + xie-men

As illustrated in the previous section, demonstrative with *xie* can occur with N-men in the same noun phrase. So I made the context [zhexie / naxie + N-men] to see its occurrences in the corpus. With the same reason as Context 4, the number of characters reserved for N is 3. Contrary to 4, I expected a certain amount of matched occurrences in this context.

6. **x ge \$3 men (x=2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10...)**: number+ CL (ge) + N-men

⁷ This number is reached by myself in my internship report (Lan 2010a). On checking 500 characters and calculating the number of words, I estimated an average of 1.44 characters per word. Another result is 1.47 characters per word based on a dictionary of word usage frequency.

This context is designed to examine the incompatibility of the quantity expression *number* + *CL* with *N-men*. Again I adopted the general classifier *ge* here. X stands for a numeral and ranges from *er* ‘two’ to *shiji* ‘ten several’ (ten or more) in Mandarin. So there are actually ten sub-contexts being searched for.

7. **you ren-men**: have person-men

It is argued that since plural noun phrases with *men* are all definite, it is impossible to use *men* in an existential construction where the existence of N-men is posited (Iljic 1994). In line with this argument, no occurrence of *you ren-men* ‘have person-men’ is expected from the corpus. I restricted N to common human noun *ren* ‘person’ because previous searching showed that *ren* is the common human noun *men* most frequently attaches to.

8. **mei you ren-men**: not have person-men

In the same vein, it is impossible to negate the existence of N-men in an existential construction. So no occurrence of *mei you ren-men* ‘not have person-men’ is expected from the corpus, either. I explored the behavior of *men* in this construction with Context 8.

1.2.2 Results and discussion

1. **men~0(ge|jie|ye)**: N-men excluding *gemen* and *jiemen*

There are **801,107** results where *men* functions as a suffix.

2. **men~0(wo|ni|nin|ta1|ta2|ta3|zan|ge|jie|ye)**: N-men excluding pronoun-men

There are **148,538** results where *mens* are not attached to a personal pronoun. In other words, **652,569**, that is, **81%** of the occurrences from Context 1 are cases where *men* is a plural suffix of a personal pronoun. Therefore we conclude that the majority of the occurrences of *men* appear immediately after a singular personal pronoun as a plural marker.

3. **men~0(wo|ni|nin|ta1|ta2|ta3|zan|ge|jie|ye|ren)**: N-men excluding pronoun-men and *renmen*

77,418 results are displayed where not only personal pronouns, but also the common human noun *ren* (person) are filtered out. Comparing this figure with that of Context 2, it turns out that **71,120** occurrences of *men* attaching to non-pronoun nominals are suffixes to *ren*. On percentage terms, among all *N-men* phrase where N is not a personal pronoun, about **48%** of them are *ren-men* ‘person-men’, and the occurrences of *ren-men* make up about **10%** of all *N-mens*.

Next I scanned through the first 500 results⁸, among which there is **1** occurrence

⁸ It is necessary to admit that among these 500 results, not all are exactly N-men. The data are polluted in some degree due to a limitation of my context restriction as well as the corpus itself.

of *proper name + men*:

(12) (I am very sure in China you can not find a single father having two children.)
Shanghai mei you MuQi-men.
Shanghai not have MuQi-MEN
'There are no *MuQis* in Shanghai.'

Due to an insufficiency of the context, I could only infer that *MuQi* is a single father having two children. The sentence negates the existence of a father who is in a situation similar to that of *MuQi* (i.e. be single and has two children) in Shanghai.

This sentence is a very good example, for it contradicts the claim that *men* cannot be used in an existential construction because once being suffixed with *men*, N becomes definite. In this sentence, I do not think *MuQi-men* here is definite or, in other words, can be uniquely identified by the writer. If *N-men* is not necessarily definite, there can be existential sentences like (12) which are acceptable. For more details about the definiteness of N-men, please refer to the discussion on the results of Context 7 and 8.

Back to the first 500 results of Context 3, there are also 4 occurrences of *non-human noun + men* including 2 cases of *dongwu-men* 'animal-men', 1 case of *houzi-men* 'monkey-men' and 1 case of *qingwa-men* 'frog-men'.

One occurrence of *dongwu-men* 'animal-men' and *houzi-men* 'monkey-men' are from The Chinese Encyclopaedia for Children. The other occurrence of *dongwu-men* is from a piece of news on a circus where animals are usually regarded as human actors / actresses. *Qingwa-men* (frog-men) appears in a title of a fable. So in all these contexts the attachment of *men* can be categorized as personification in accordance with what has been suggested in Chinese grammars so far.

Finally, on scanning through all the occurrences in this context, I discovered that as much as about **74%** nouns refer to people with a **profession / social status / religion**, including 'teacher', 'scientist', 'villager', 'citizen', 'official', 'Buddhist', etc. **14%** nouns preceding *men* are descriptions for certain **relationship**, such as 'friend', 'colleague', 'daughter', etc. **6%** are used to address person depending on their **gender** ('woman', 'young girl', 'young man', etc) and/or **age** ('teenager', 'child', etc.). Others categories include people with certain **hobby** ('movie fan', 'traveler', etc, **2%**) and **property** ('famine victim', 'hero', 'brave man', etc. **2%**), **animals (0.8%)**, **proper name (0.2%)** and some occurrences of nouns that I cannot categorize with.

To sum up, the result of Context 3 indicates that:

- a. *Ren* (person) is the mostly frequently used common human noun suffixed by *men*; about half *N-men* where N is a common human noun is *ren-men* (person-men).
- b. Compared to those attaching to a personal pronoun or a common human noun, there are much fewer occurrences of *men* attaching to non-human animates. This usage is usually a way of personification.
- c. Among all the common human nouns excluding *ren* (person), a majority of nouns (74%) refer to people with a certain profession, social status or religion.

4. (zhege|nage) \$3 men: this/that + CL+ N-men

46,964 results are displayed with only 1 matched occurrence⁹ in the first 500 results:

- (13) zhe ge da guan-men
this CL big official-MEN
'this big official-MEN'

In fact, this example might not even qualify as an expected occurrence, for in spoken Mandarin, *zhege* also served as an inserted element used by the speaker for longer time to think, usually accompanied by a pause after it. Due to an insufficiency of the context and lack of an audio record, I failed to tell whether *zhege* in (13) is a combination of *demonstrative* + *classifier*, or some word like 'well' in English. No matter what it is, the rare occurrence of this kind of nominal phrase confirms the incompatibility between *zhege/nage* (this/that + classifier) and *N-men*.

5. (zhexie|naxie) \$3 men: this/that + xie-men

There are 52,016 results. In the first 500 results, 186 are expected occurrences, confirming the acceptability of *demonstrative* + *xie* + *N-men* as I have discussed in Section 1.1. On scanning through the 186 matched cases, I further found 2 occurrences where *N* is an animal and 3 occurrences where *N* is monosyllabic.

- (14) a. Na xie habagou-men bu neng fang dao, zhi hui xiangshou.
that XIE Pekingese-MEN not can prevent steal, only can enjoy
'Those Pekingese-men know only enjoying life but cannot stop stealing.'

b. Nan dao na xie niao-men zhen de hui tong renxing?
could it be said that XIE bird-MEN true DE able have connect human nature
'Is it true that those bird-men are really able to be human?'

c. Lao mo bu shi ge xing ying xing, dan tamen zai Tian'Anmen que yingde
labor model not be song star movie star, but they loc. Tian'Anmen (but) win
na xie xing-men suo wu fa huoqu de rongyao.
that XIE star-MEN SUO no way gain DE honor
'Model workers are not singer stars or movie stars, but at Tian'Anmen they won honors that are not gained by those star-men.'

d. Zhexie guan-men daduoshu ye shi ke'ai de.
This XIE official-MEN most also be lovely DE
'Most of these official-men are lovely.'

⁹ By 'matched results/occurrences' I mean the results apparently meet the condition/context I designed. For example, a matched result of context 4 is *zhe/na ge*+ three characters + *men*, but it's possible that the three characters is not a single nominal. So a *matched* result is not necessarily an *expected* result. The latter cases are less than the former.

(14a) and (14b) are cases of *animal-men* (*Pekingese-men* and *bird-men*), but here they do not seem to be cases of personification¹⁰. I cannot tell at present if the canceling of personification has anything to do with the demonstrative *zhe /na* plus *xie*. (14b), (14c) and (14d) are cases of *men* attaching to monosyllabic nouns. These cases contradict the view that monosyllabic nouns cannot be suffixed with *men* (Li and Thompson 1981). Note though that they occurred in literature works rather than in spoken language (see footnote 1).

6. **x ge \$3 men (x=2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10...)**: number CL (ge)+ N-men

Since X ranges from 2 to *shiji* ‘ten and more’ in Mandarin, I did actually ten trials of searching. Most results do not match this condition mainly because this expression *number + CL + N-men* is not acceptable at all. In most cases the quantity expression and *N-men* belong respectively to two phrases, usually divided by punctuation. For example:

(15) Pao le sange. Tamen shi WuLong, LuoPan, ZhouZheng.
Run ASP three CL. He-men be WuLong, LuoPan, ZhouZheng
‘Three persons escaped. They are WuLong, LuoPan, ZhouZheng.’

Compared to results like (15), the expected cases are very rare and only happened with some values of X. I will list all of them below.

When X=3, there is **1** expected occurrence out of 115 results:

(16) sange qingnian-men
three CL young man-MEN
‘three young man-MEN’

When X=5, there are 24 results with **1** expected occurrence:

(17) si wu ge wei cunjing-men
four five CL fake village policeman-men
‘four or five fake village policeman-MEN’

When X=8, there are 29 results with 1 expected occurrence:

(18) qi ba ge guniang-men
seven eight CL girl-men
‘seven or eight CL girl-MEN’

When X=shi-ji (ten or more), within 9 results there is **1** expected occurrence:

(19) shijige mama-men
Ten several CL mother-MEN
‘Over ten CL mother-MEN’

I will discuss these occurrences later in Chapter four.

¹⁰ (14b) could be a case of personification because birds are described as being human (could experience or understand human’s feelings). As for (14a), it might turn out to be a kind of metaphor if more contexts were available.

7. **you ren-men**: have person-men

There are only 127 results displayed, among which 3 are expected occurrences.

(20) Zai zhege wenti shang cengjing you ren-men zuoguo zhe zhong tansuo.
Loc. this CL problem on once have person-MEN do ASP this kind exploration
'There have been person-MEN who have explored this problem.'

(21) Chang you ren-men qiancheng de fengshang yi shou shou yue'erdongting de
Often have person-MEN devoutly DE present one CL CL beautiful DE
zanmeishi.

Hymn

'There are often person-MEN who devoutly compose one after another beautiful hymns.'

(22) Zhiyu chanpin de you lie, zi you ren-men an qi suo
As for product De good bad, naturally have person-MEN according to his SUO
xu jinxing xuanze he pingpan.

Need conduct choose and judge

'As for the quality of a product, there are naturally person-MEN who make their choices and judgment according to their needs.'

These three examples demonstrate that *ren-men* (person-men) can appear in an existential sentence, though not very frequently. This contradicts the view that *N-men* cannot occur in such a sentence because it is definite. Furthermore, it challenges the suggested definite understanding of all *N-men* phrases. I will discuss this construction again in Chapter two.

To gain more evidence, I substituted *haizi* 'child' for *ren* 'person' in the *you N-men* context. Out of 52 results, there are 6 (12%) occurrences of sentences similar to (20-22), positing the existence of some children performing a particular actions and 1 occurrence which ends with *haizi-men*:

(23) Fanshi you renqun de defang dou you haizi-men.

All have human gathering DE place will have child-MEN

'Where there is crowd of people, there are child-MEN.'

8. **mei you ren-men**: not have person-men

For this context there are only 37 results with no matched occurrences. Substituting *haizi* 'child' for *ren* 'person' only 7 results are reached with 1 matched occurrence as the following:

(24) Ci shi jinguan meiyou haizi-men zai xixi, wo que gandao zhe ge cunzi

This time though not have hills-MEN ASP play, I still feel this CL village
huozhe.

alive ASP.

‘Although at the moment there are no playing child-men here, I still felt that the village is alive.’

This sentence is similar to (20-22) where *child-men* are performing some action. Still under the scope of a negation, the noun phrase can only have an indefinite reading.

My conclusion for Context 7 and 8 is that there are cases discovered in the corpus where *N-men* appear in an existential sentence, either a positive or a negative sentence. But generally speaking both the total results and matched occurrences are not in big amount. Contrasting 7 and 8, it seems that *N-men* is more frequently used in a positive sentence implying a better acceptability than in a negative sentence. Comparing the two common human nouns selected, *haizi-men* ‘child-men’ are more acceptable than *ren-men* ‘person-men’ in such constructions, though *ren* is the most possible attached common human noun by *men*. What impressed me most is that in some contexts we **can** have an indefinite reading for *N-men*, which is quite the opposite with what have been argued for the definiteness of *N-men* and which is hopefully to explain the existence of instances displayed in the results of Context 7 and 8. In the next chapter I will go deeper into the men-as-definite analysis.

Chapter two: *men* as a definite marker

2.1 Optional plural marker as definite marker

Many literatures on Chinese have argued that after a nominal is suffixed with *men*, it becomes definite (among others, Iljic 1994, Cheng & Sybesma 1999, Li 1999 and Rullmann and You 2003). In other words, *men* is also a *definite marker*. But so far few semantic accounts have been given for this additional function of *men*.

In fact, Mandarin is not the only language where the (optional) plural marker is claimed to be a definite marker as well. The optional plural marker *tati* in Japanese not only excludes the singular reading of a bare noun with a general number, but also eliminates many of the interpretations typically associated with indefinite plurals. In addition, the noun *tati* attaches must be a common human noun or a proper name which resembles *men* in Mandarin. (Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004). Thus a *tati* plural is always treated on a par with a *men* plural in Mandarin.

Different from English bare plurals, *tati* plurals display the following puzzles (Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004) which are also shared by *men* plurals:

Puzzle 1, *tati* plurals do not have a generic or a kind-reference reading. Instead, bare nouns in the two languages do.

(25) Generic

English

a. Italians are cheerful.

Japanese

b. Itariazin-wa yooki-da.

Italian-Top cheerful-Cop

✓ Generic: 'Italians are cheerful.'

c. Itariazin-tati-wa yooki-da

Italian-TATI-Top cheerful-Cop

??? Generic: 'Italians are cheerful.'

✓ 'Some group of Italians are cheerful.'

(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

Mandarin Chinese

d. Yidali ren hen kailang.¹¹

Italy people very cheerful

Generic: 'Italians are cheerful.'

¹¹ In Mandarin, when the predicate is an adjective there is no need to use a copula. Rather, it is more natural to add a modifier like *hen* 'very' before the adjective.

- e. *Yidali ren-men hen kailang.
 Italy people-MEN very cheerful
 *Generic: ‘Italians are cheerful.’

(26) Kind-reference

English

- a. Female private detectives are rare.

Japanese

- b. Zyosei-tatei (?*-tati)-wa mezurasii.
 female-detective-TATI-Top rare
 ‘Female private detectives are rare.’

(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

Mandarin Chinese

- c. Nv sijia zhentan hen shao.
 female private detective very rare
 Kind-referring: ‘Female private detectives are rare.’

- d. Nv sijia zhentan-men hen shao.
 female private detective-MEN very rare
 * Kind-referring: ‘Female private detectives are rare.’
 ✓ The female private detectives are rare.

As Japanese, in Mandarin generic and kind reading must be expressed by bare nouns as shown by (25d) and (26c). Sentences like (25e) and (26d) where common human nouns are suffixed with *men* in such contexts are unacceptable. This is confirmed by relevant data collected from a questionnaire, in which 32 native Chinese speakers were required to select a value from a 1 (unnatural) to 4 (natural) continuum to judge the grammaticality / naturalness of 49 sentences according to their intuitions¹². The average values for (25e) and (26d), which are item 46 and 47 in the questionnaire, are respectively **1.2** and **1.1** and there is no single value higher than 2, confirming that bare nouns with *men* are not preferred for generic/kind reading in Mandarin.

Puzzle 2, *tati* plurals cannot take narrow scope with respect to intentional verbs like *need*, *look for*.

(27)a. English

- That hospital is looking for nurses.
 ✓ look-for > nurses, *nurses > look-for

Japanese

- c. Sono byooiin-wa kangohu-o sagasi-teiru

¹² See the appendix at the end of this paper for the questionnaire.

that hospital-Top nurse-Acc look for-Prog
√ look-for > nurse(s): ‘That hospital is looking for a nurse/ nurses (to hire).’
?? nurse(s) > look-for: ‘There is a nurse /are nurses that hospital is looking for.’

- d. Sono byooin-wa kangohu-tati-o sagasi-teiru.
that hospita0-Top nurse-TATI-Acc look for-Prog
*? look-for > nurse-TATI: ‘That hospital is looking for nurses (to hire).’
√ nurse-TATI > look-for: ‘There is a group of nurses that hospital is looking for.’
(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

Mandarin Chinese

e. Na jia yiyuan zhengzai zhao hushi.
that CL hospital Prog look for nurse
√ look-for > nurse(s): ‘That hospital is looking for a nurse/ nurses (to hire).’
?? nurse(s) > look for: ‘There is a nurse / are nurses that hospital is looking for.’

f. Na jia yiyuan zhengzai zhao hushi-men.
that CL hospital Prog look for nurse-MEN
*? look-for > nurse-MEN: ‘That hospital is looking for nurses (to hire).’
√ nurse-MEN > look-for: ‘There is a group of nurses that hospital is looking for.’

I also involve sentence (27f) in my questionnaire (sentence 48). The average value given by the participants is **1.2** with only one participant scoring a 4. This result indicates that native speakers generally reject a narrow-scope reading of *N-men* with respect to intentional verbs.

Puzzle 3, *tati* plurals cannot be an internal argument of the possession verb *aru/iru* ‘to have, to exist’, unlike English bare plurals.

(28) English

- a. Mrs. Inoue has children.

Japanese

b. Inoue-san-ni-wa kodomo-ga aru/ iru
Inoue-Mrs.-Dat-Top child-Nom exist
‘Mrs. Inoue has a child / children’ (*It asserts that Mrs. Inoue is a mother*).

- c. *?Inoue-san-ni-wa kodomo-tati-ga aru/ iru
Inoue-Mrs.-Dat-Top child-TATI-Nom exist

Mandarin Chinese

- d. Wang nvshi you hazi.
Wang Mrs. have child

‘Mrs. Wang has a child/ children’ (*It asserts that Mrs. Wang is a mother*).
(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

- e. Wang nvshi you hazi-men.
Wang Mrs. have child-MEN

‘Mrs. Wang has the children.’¹³

I involved (29e) as sentence 49 in my questionnaire, which was valued as low as **1.1** on average when the intention is to assert Mrs. Wang’s motherhood. In this sense, *men* plurals behave like *tati* plurals in Japanese in such a context.

However, English definite plurals share the core properties of *men/ tati* plurals mentioned above. Examples in (29) show that they are incapable of being interpreted as generic. Definites, singular or plural, have a strong tendency to have scope over the intensional transitive verbs and they cannot be used in the relational possession construction.

(29)a. The Italians are cheerful. (No generic reading)

b. The hospital is looking for the nurses. (No narrow scope for ‘the nurses’)

c. Mrs. Inoue has the children. (Does not assert Mrs. Inoue’s motherhood)

These similarities between *tati* plurals and English definite plurals are elaborated by Kurafuji (1999, 2003), upon which he treats *tati* as a definite marker and proposes that *men /tati* encodes both the meaning of a pluralizer and that of a definite determiner.

Indeed, if we believe that *men /tati* plurals are definite, all the three puzzles can be easily explained semantically. But recently there arise challenges for *tati* as a definite marker. Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) argue that *CN (common noun) + tati* is not inherently definite and offer a variety of empirical reasons for this. I will elaborate on them and discuss their reliabilities as arguments against a definite interpretation for *CN + tati* and further, whether they apply to Mandarin as well.

First, if a *tati* plural is definite, it should not take narrow scope with respect to other scope-bearing elements. However, there are some examples which show that the contrary is true; (30) does not refer to children whose existence is presupposed, but rather it merely *asserts* that there are always some children playing in the park.

Japanese

(30) Kono kooen-de-wa itumo kodomo-tati-ga asonde-iru.

This park-Loc-Top always child-TATI-Nom play-Prog

✓ always> child-tati: ‘In this park, there are always children playing.’

??? child-tati> always: ‘In this park, there are some children who are always playing.’

¹³ (28c) is acceptable if the sentence have the interpretation similar to ‘Mrs. Inoue has the children’ (Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004). This is also true of the Mandarin sentence (28e). Then neither of these two sentences is used to assert Mrs. Inoue’s motherhood.

(31) Kooen-ni kodomo-tati-ga ita
park-Loc child-TATI-Nom existed
'There were children in the park.'

(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

From the English translation, (30) seems to be an existential sentence like (31) which is quite acceptable in Japanese. If this is true, the Chinese counterpart of (30) would be the existential sentence (32a), in which *haizi-men* cannot take a wider scope than 'always' and will only have an indefinite reading.

Chinese

(32) a. Zhe ge gongyuan li zong you haizi-men zai wanshua.
This CL park inside always have child-men Prog play
✓ always > child-men: 'In this park, there are always children playing.'
* child-men > always: 'In this park, there are some children who are always playing.'

Given that the verb *ita* 'exist' is absent from (20), I construct (32b) which expresses the existential meaning without the verb *you* 'have' in a typical existential sentence like (32a)¹⁴. Again the existence of *xuesheng-men* is not presupposed; (3b) asserts that there are always some students sitting on the playground.

(32) b. Zhe ge caochang shang zongshi zuo zhe xuesheng-men.
This CL playground on always sit Prog student-men
✓ always > student-men: 'There are always students sitting on this playground.'
* student-men > always: 'There are some students who are always sitting on this playground.'

When being consulted on the grammaticality of (32) some informants suggested (33) as a more natural construction, in which a definite interpretation of *CN-men* is more preferred.

(33) a. Haizi-men zong zai zhe ge gongyuan li wan.
Child-MEN always LOC this CL park in play
? always > child-men: 'There are always children playing in this park..'
✓ child-men > always: 'The children are always playing in this park.'

b. Xuesheng-men zongshi zuo zai caochang shang.
Student-men always sit LOC playground on
? always > student-men: 'There are always students sitting on the playground.'
✓ student-men > always: 'The students are always sitting on this playground.'

However, as I will discuss later, this preference for definite reading of *CN-men* in

¹⁴ The verbs appearing in the construction of (32b) in Mandarin are highly restricted, such as *sit* or *park*. In addition, some informants regard (32b) as unnatural though it is not necessarily ungrammatical. One points out that he prefers a bare noun in such a context.

(33) could derive from the topical status of *CN-men* in the subject position as well as from the nature of the noun indicating a human being. As a result, one cannot tell whether it is these factors or the suffix of *men* that determines the definite reading of *CN-men* in such a sentence; in other words, whether definiteness is really part of the semantics of *men*.

So this argument against a definite reading of *tati* plurals also holds for *men* plurals in Mandarin Chinese: with respect to other scope bearing element like ‘always’, *CN-men* could take narrow scope and hence has an indefinite reading which is supported by (32). As we will see in the following sections, this is the only strong argument for an indefinite reading of men-plurals.

Second, according to Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) it is also possible to combine *tati* with the wh- demonstrative ‘what kind of’, as shown in (34):

Japanese:

(34) a. Donna gakusei-tati-ga kita-no?
What kind of student-TATI-Nom come-Q
‘What kind of students came?’

b. Majimena gakusei-tati-ga kita.
Serious student-TATI-Nom came
‘Serious students came.’

(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

It is argued by Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) that because of the ungrammaticality of ‘what kind of *the* student(s) came’ in English, ‘what kind of’ and definite article ‘the’ are in competition with each other. As a result, nouns following ‘what kind of’ cannot take ‘the’ and are indefinite. Accordingly a definite *gakusei-tati* ‘student-tati’ in (5a) cannot survive in such a construction.

I do not accept this as a strong argument. The incompatibility of ‘what kind of’ with the definite article has nothing to do with definiteness. In English ‘what kind of’ is not only incompatible with the definite article, but also with indefinite determiners, as illustrated by (34c) and (34d).

English

(34) c. *What kind of a student came?

d. *What kind of some students came?

Given this reason, it is not appropriate to test the (in)definiteness of *CN-tati* with the probe of ‘what kind of’ sentence in English. What is more, *gakusei-tati* with the Nominative case-marker *-ga* is very likely to be interpreted as indefinite¹⁵, both in the

¹⁵ The topic/ case status have some connection with the definiteness of a *tati* plural in Japanese. In particular, nouns suffixed with the topic marker *-wa* are usually interpreted as definite and with the Nominative case-marker

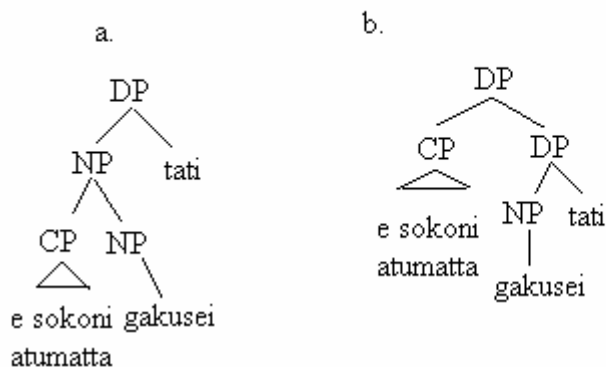
question (34a) and the answer (34b). The failure to tease between *-ga* and other possible factors indicating an indefinite interpretation weakens the argument, which I will not apply to Mandarin Chinese.

Third, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) believe that relative clause formation provides another piece of evidence against the *tati*-as-definite hypothesis.

Japanese

(35) *sokoni atumatta gakusei-tati*
 There gather student-TATI
 ‘(the) students who gathered there.’

(36)



It is said that the relative clause CP in (35) is most naturally interpreted as a restrictive modifier. And the possible structures of the DP are illustrated as (36). If *gakusei-tati* denotes a definite plural entity, (36b) would yield only the non-restrictive interpretation for the CP, i.e. ‘the students, who gathered there’. But if we turn to (36a), we will find that the collective predicate ‘to gather’ requires that *gakusei* ‘student’ itself must be implicitly pluralized. In other words, if we want to reserve the definite-marking function of *tati*, its pluralization part of the meaning should be nullified, which is definitely not the case¹⁶. In contrast, if definiteness were not part of

-ga are usually indefinite in Japanese.

¹⁶ This is not necessarily true. Bert Le Bruyn (personal communication) suggested that *tati* in (36a) could be generated within NP *gakusei* to realize its pluralization and move up to DP to realize its definite-marking function; for *tati*, sitting up on DP does not mean the definite-marking function must be nullified.

the meaning of *tati*, we could use (36b) to obtain the restrictive interpretation.

The Chinese counterpart of (35) is (37), where an auxiliary word *de* is needed to indicate the modifying relationship.

(37) Ju zai nali de xuesheng-men
gather LOC there DE student-MEN
'(the) student who gathered there'

The structural account for the relative clause formation in (35), either convincing or not, can not be applied to Mandarin here simply because I cannot give the structural counterpart as (36) in Mandarin and compare it with those in Japanese. The attributive marker *de* in Mandarin, whose position on the tree structure is still controversial will make the problem complicated. Thus this argument is hard to be an argument against the definite reading of *men* plurals.

Finally, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) argue that since a *tati* plural can be the antecedent of a sluiced wh-phrase, it cannot be definite.

According to Ross (1969), sluicing is reducing a wh-question to its wh-phrase(s) in a context where the omitted part can be reconstructed from the preceding sentence. For example, in (38a) the content of the complement clause of *know* is understood as *which one John met*. Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) point out that in English, the antecedent of a sluiced wh-phrase is played by an indefinite, rather than a definite, as shown by (38b).

- (38) a. John met a student, but Sue doesn't know which one.
b. #John met the student, but Sue doesn't know which one.

As shown by the contrast between (39) and (40), in Japanese *CN-tati*, rather than a definite phrase, can function as an appropriate antecedent for a sluiced wh-phrase. Therefore Nakanishi and Tmioka (2004) conclude that a *tati* plural cannot be definite and accordingly *tati* cannot be a definite marker.

(39) # John-no titioya-wa John-ga sono ko-to tukiatteiru koto-o sitteiru-kedo,
John-Gen father-Top John-Nom that girl-with the dating that-Acc know-while
John-no hahaoya-wa dare-to-ka sira-nai.
John-Gen mother-top who-with-Q know-Neg.
'John's father knows that John is dating with that girl, but John's mother doesn't know with who.'

(40) Inoue-sensei-no ie-ni kodomo-tati-ga atumatta-to-kiita-kedo,
Inoue-Prof.-Gen house-at child-TATI-Nom gathered-Comp-heard-while
watasi-wa dono kodomo-tati-ka sira-nai.
I-Top which child-TATI-Q know-Neg
'(I) have heard that children gathered at Prof. Inoue's house, but I don't know which

children.’

(Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004)

Chinese

(41) #Wo tingshuo haizi-men ju zai Zhang jiaoshou jia, danshi wo bu zhidao
I heard child-MEN gather LOC Zhang Prof. home, but I not know
*(shi) naxie haizi.
be which children
‘I heard that children gathered at Prof. Zhang’s house, but I don’t know who they are.’

However, the Mandarin counterpart of (40), i.e. (41), is unnatural, though the hearers may understand what the speaker means. Two out of three native speakers I consulted expressed explicitly that they prefer an existential construction with the quantifier *yixie* ‘some’ and bare noun *haizi* ‘child’, i.e. *you yixie haizi* (have some children) in the first clause, in which *haizi* is indefinite. But none of the informants rejects the sentence in the sense that *haizi-men* is an inappropriate antecedent for *naxie haizi* ‘which children’. This result can be accounted for by the fact that (41) is not a sluiced wh-question.

By the definition given by Ross (1969), it is hard to say there is sluicing in Mandarin Chinese. Notice that different from in English and Japanese, in the Mandarin example (41) a copula *shi* ‘be’ is obligatory for the second clause, hence the inability to “reconstruct the wh-question from the preceding sentence”. An additional contrast between English and Chinese is illustrated by (42):

(42) a. Mary wanted to eat something, but she didn’t know what (she wanted to eat).

b. Mali xiang chi dian dongxi, danshi ta bu zhidao *(chi) shenme.
Mali want eat some thing, but she not know eat what
‘Mali wanted to eat something, but she didn’t know what (she wanted to eat).’

In (42b), the verb *chi* ‘eat’ is required in the second clause. Thus the wh-question in Mandarin can never be reduced to a wh-phrase. Rather, it always need a verb /copula to appear. Realizing that there is no sluicing wh-question in Mandarin, the last argument from Japanese does not apply to Mandarin, either.

To sum up, among the four arguments against the *tati-as-definite* hypothesis in Japanese, I conclude that the second (‘what kind of’ construction) is a weak argument itself and the last two (relative clause formation and sluicing wh-question) do not apply to *men* in Mandarin. But the first argument is strong enough to claim that *men* plurals are not always definite and can be indefinite sometimes supported by the evidence that *CN-men* can take narrow scope with respect to other scope-bearing element such as *always*.

Since *tati*-as-definite hypothesis is problematic to account for the three puzzles in Japanese, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) propose that *CN-tati* is appropriate when the prominent part of a given plural entity has the property of denoted by the *CN* and those who do not have the property are closely associated with those who do, that is, *tati* as the non-uniform pluralizer. To put it simply, *CN-tati* has exceptions in its extension.

In most cases, the property that is shared by all or the majority of a given plural entity is used in *tati* plural. Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) offer a party situation where the guests are composed of:

13 students and 2 of them brought their non-student spouses.

7 professors and 3 of them brought their non-professor spouses.

3 librarians and 1 of them brought his non-librarian wife.

They confirm that a plurality consisting of 13 students and 2 non-student spouses can be in the extension of *gakusei-tati* ‘student-TATI’ in particular when contrasted with another (e.g. a group of professors and their spouses). So (43) is quite natural:

(43) *Kyoozyu-tati-wa yoku syabetta-kedo, gakusee-tati-wa otonasi-katta.*
professor-TATI-Top a lot talked-but student-TATI-Top quiet-was
‘The professors (and their spouses) talked a lot, but the students (and their spouses) were quiet.’

However, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) argue that the majority requirement is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition. On the one hand, the ‘exceptions’ must have some close association with the ‘non-exceptions’. Thus a plurality consisting of 13 students and one of the three librarians cannot be labeled as *gakusei-tati*, unless the students and the particular librarian can be somehow closely connected. On the other hand, the majority is not always necessary. For example:

(44) *Kaseijin-tati-ga semetekita.*
Martian-TATI-Nom came to attack
Martians came to attack.’

The imaginary story is that Martians came to conquer the earth. The army storming towards Canada actually consists mainly of earthlings, led by a handful of Martians. In this situation, (44) is likely to be uttered even if Canadians are aware that the number of Martians in the army is rather small. Thus in certain cases, the majority does not matter.

I personally doubt the reliability of the argument exemplified by (43) in the party situation. In their paper, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) verify (43) by claiming that *tati* plurals as “associative plurals” do not require uniformity in its atomic parts. As a result, *gakusei-tati* ‘student-TATI’ can consist of non-student spouses in its extension. But they do not strengthen their points by contrasting *gakusei-tati* with a bare *gakusei*. Does *gakusei* sound natural in (43)? Could it also allow for such non-uniformity or

not in the same context? I question this because nouns and number marking in Japanese resemble those in Mandarin in many ways. Both languages have number-neutral bare nouns, which are pervasively used; both *tati* and *men* attach to nouns indicating human beings, and such a morphological number marking is optional. However, the party situation does not apply to *CN-men* in Mandarin judged by my intuition. *Xuesheng-men* ‘student-men’ in (45) can hardly include their non-student spouses in its extension, nor can the bare noun *xuesheng*. This intuition of mine is also confirmed by the data from my questionnaire. Given the same background as that in English, the participants gave an average value of 1.6 for (45) (sentence 45 in the questionnaire) which indicates a low acceptance. So I conclude in Mandarin Chinese the suffix of optional plural marker *men* cannot include the extension of the noun.

- (45) Jiaoshou-men tan le xuduo, xuesheng-men hen anjing.
 professor-MEN talk ASP a lot, student-MEN very quiet
 ✓ ‘The professors talked a lot, the students were very quiet.’
 * ‘The professors (and their spouses) talked a lot, the students (and their spouses) were quiet.’

At the same time, the Martians’ story is more applicable. A non-native Spanish speaker accept this situation in Spain, that when this story happens to Spain, the Spanish could say (46), even if they are aware that the army consists of many earthlings

- (46) Los Marcianos venían a atacar.
 The Martians came to attack.

If (46) is really acceptable as natural with the same story, then the non-uniformity in the extension of a plural entity, the fact that a prominent part can represent the group of the plural entity, is not unique in Japanese, but a cross-linguistic feature of plural nouns. Furthermore, this non-uniformity may be unaffected by the morphology of the plural noun. For instance, in Mandarin (47) can be uttered with a bare noun and still has the non-uniform reading:

- (47) Huoxing ren lai jingong le.
 Mars people come attack ASP
 ‘The Martians came to attack.’

Actually bare noun *huoxing-ren* may be the only choice for this sentence. This is probably because ‘Martian’ in Mandarin is made up of two words, *huoxing* ‘Mars’ and *ren* ‘person’, rather than a single word like ‘Martian’. So it sounds unnatural to attach *men* to *huoxing-ren*. Alternatively we could say *huoxing-de-ren-men* where DE is an attributive marker indicating *huoxing* ‘Mars’ is a modifier. But still the appearance of *men* has nothing to do with the non-uniformity of the plural noun.

A more appropriate example for Mandarin could be (48):

(48) Guizi(-men) lai le.
(Japanese) enemy (-MEN) come ASP
'The Japanese enemies have come.'

Guizi is mostly used to call the Japanese enemies who invaded China in the World War Two. The Japanese army consisted of not only Japanese soldiers but also puppet army and prisoners of the war from other countries such as Korea and China. Since the army was led by Japanese and fight for Japan, Chinese people would say (48) even if they knew *guizi* could have exceptions. Although using a men-plural or not could make a subtle difference in meaning, the suffix of *men* is not responsible for the non-uniformity of the noun here.

There are three more pieces of evidence for the existence of exceptions in *tati* plurals offered by Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004). The first one comes from the focus particle *-dake* 'only'. It is said even when a teacher or two were also kidnapped along with the kindergartners, (49b) is still be judged true as long as all other relevant kids, such as elementary school kids, are safe.

(49) a. Yootienji-dake-ga yuukai s-are-ta
Kindergartners-only-Nom kidnap do-Pass-Past
'Only (a) kindergartener(s) were kidnapped.'

b. Yootienji-tati-dake-ga yuukai s-are-ta
Kindergartners-TATI-only-Nom kidnap do-Pass-Past
'Only kindergarteners (but possibly a teacher or two) were kidnapped.'

As I have discussed, the party situation does not apply to Mandarin because neither a bare noun nor a *men* plural can allow for exceptions in its extension in such a context. It is thus almost impossible to obtain such a non-uniform interpretation from the Mandarin counterpart (50) with *zhiyou* 'only' modifying the noun.

(50) Zhiyou you'eryuan xiao pengyou-men bei bangjia le.
only kindergarten little friend MEN PASSIVE kidnap ASP
'Only kindergarteners (*but possibly a teacher or two) were kidnapped.'

The second piece of evidence comes from the restriction on combining an associative plural with a numeral. To put it simply, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) hold that the bigger and the less exact a numeral is, the more comfortably it is combined with CN + *tati*, as shown by (52).

(52) a. 129-nin-no gakusei (??-tati)-ga miitingu-ni sankasita
120-Cl-Gen student (-TATI)-Nom meeting-Loc participated

‘129 students (and possibly others) participated in the meeting.’

b. 200-nin-izyoo-no gakusei (-tati)-ga miitingu-ni sankasita
200-CL-or more-Gen student (-TATI)-Nom meeting-Loc participated
‘200 or more students (and possibly others) participated in the meeting.’

Again I do not think this argument for Japanese can apply to *men* in Mandarin. I will reserve this part of discussion for Chapter four with relevant data from web search and the questionnaire.

Finally, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) offer the following paradigm to support the non-uniformity of a *tati* plural. They argue that while (53b) sounds contradictory, (53a) is totally natural because *onnnanoko-tati* ‘girl-TATI’ has some room for non-girls in its denotation.

(53) a. Kooen-de utat-tei-ta onnanoko-tati-no nakani-wa otokonoko-mo
Park-at sing-Prog-Past girl-TATI-Gen among-Top boy-also
ni,san-nin mazatteita
a few-CL were included
‘Among (the) girls who were singing in the park, a few boys were included.’

b. ??Kooen-de utat-tei-ta onnanoko-no nakani-wa otokonoko-mo
Park-at sing-Prog-Past girl-Gen among-Top boy-also
ni,san-nin mazatteita
a few-CL were included
??‘Among (the) girls who were singing in the park, a few boys were included.’

It seems that (54), the Mandarin counterpart of (53) is bad either with or without *men*.

(54) a. ??Zai gongyuan li change de nvhai dangzhong, ye baokuo ji ge nanhai.
At park inside sing DE girl among, also include several CL boy
??‘Among the girls who were singing in the park, a few boys were included.’

b. ??Zai gongyuan li changge de nvhai-men dangzhong, ye baokuo ji ge nanhai.
At park inside sing DE girl-MEN among, also include several CL boy
??‘Among the girls who were singing in the park, a few boys were included.’

My intuition is supported by the data from my survey for this sentence. (54a) (sentence 39 in the questionnaire) got an average value of **2.7** and (54b) (sentence 38 in the questionnaire) got a **2.1**. This result obviously does not support a non-uniformity analysis for *men* plurals in Mandarin. On the contrary, it seems that bare nouns in Mandarin are more tolerant to exceptions in the extension of a noun; (36a) was scored 4 (natural) by 15 participants while (54b) only got 9 of the same score. There are 9 participants who scored 4 for (54a) but 1 or 2 for (54b). So this argument for Japanese *tati* plurals can not apply to Mandarin.

So far almost all the arguments for a non-uniformity analysis for tati-plurals in Japanese cannot apply to *men* plurals in Mandarin. Even if a *men* plural does allow for exceptions in its extension of the plural entity, this non-uniformity is not brought about by *men*; or if *men* had such a function, at least we cannot test it with the evidence similar to those in Japanese. Thus I conclude either *CN-men* is definite or not, a non-uniformity analysis cannot explain the three puzzles in Mandarin.

2.2 Relevant data from corpus study/ web search and survey

Many linguists agree that *CN-men* is definite. One piece of evidence is that *CN-men* is not allowed in an existential sentence in Mandarin. My CCL corpus study shows this is not true; at least there are occurrences of the positive existential sentence *you ren-men* ‘have person-men’. To confirm this observation, I did it again on the internet with the same construction as adopted in the CCL corpus study.

2.2.1 Methodology

This web search was conducted simply with Google in which I restricted the website as blogbus.com, a website where people post personal blogs. My motivation for searching in blog texts is that language there is more colloquial and personal than that from a corpus on average, so that some constructions or usage of *men* is likely to be found there. All the web search results in the following Sections /Chapters were gained in this way without specification.

2.2.2 Results and discussion

2.2.2.1 *you ren-men* ‘have person-men’

There are all together 127 occurrences of *you ren-men* in the same website. Among them 3 cannot be judged. So there are 124 matched results. 18 out of them are of the expected type such as (55a) and (55b):

(55) a. You ren men gei wo ji shu, fang zai shou zhong hen shi huanxi.
Have person-MEN for me post book, put LOC hand inside very FOC happy
‘There are people who sent books to me. Holding (the books) in my hands, (I feel) very happy.’

irismsu.blogbus.com/logs/55221040.html

b. Bushi you ren-men daitou hanqi fan mei kouhao.
Now and then have person-MEN take the lead cry out protest US slogan
'Now and then there were people who took the lead to cry out anti-US slogans.'

24hour.blogbus.com/logs/310052.html

All the other sentences resemble (55a) and (55b) in that *ren-men* are modified by a relative clause. There is no sentence ending with *ren-men*.

The frequency of *you ren-men* in this web searching, **14.5%**, is much higher than that in my CCL corpus study, where there are 3 out of 127 results, amounting to only **2.4%**. This contrast indicates that in colloquial texts *ren-men* is more frequently used in an existential sentence.

I also test native speakers' intuition for this construction in my questionnaire where I involved the following sentences with their average values of naturalness¹⁷ in the front:

(1.2) 7. Haitan shang you ren-men.
beach LOC have person-MEN
'There are people on the beach.'

(1.5) 8. Jie shang you haizi-men.
street LOC have child-MEN
'There are children on the street.'

(1.5) 9. Gongyuan li you ren-men zai tiaowu.
park LOC have person-MEN ASP dance
'There are people dancing in the park.'

(2.1) 10. Caochang shang you tiqiu de xuesheng-men.
playground LOC have play football DE student-MEN
'There are students who are playing football on the playground.'

Sentence 7 and 8 in the questionnaire are similar in that *CN-men* in it are not modified. As we can see they are not preferred with a low score for naturalness. Comparatively 8 is a little more acceptable than 7, which I assume is due to the fact that *haizi-men* 'child-men' is more natural than *ren-men* 'person-men' in an existence construction. Meanwhile, 9 and 10 include modified men-plurals. 10 is judged more natural because relative clause posited preceding the noun with a attributive marker DE is

¹⁷ The numbers of these sentences are the same with those in the questionnaire. For the every participant's rating for all items and the rating distribution of each item please refer to Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

more common in Mandarin Chinese. But still, 9 and 10 are regarded less natural (both lower than 2.5) by the participants.

2.2.2.2 *mei you ren-men* ‘not have person-men’

The matched results are rare compared with the results displayed. By scanning through the first 10 pages of results (50 results per page), I only found 52 occurrences of *mei you ren-men* where there are no insertion of spaces / other characters in between. Among those 52 occurrences there is only one sentences of the type we want which is listed below:

- (56) a. Dang ta zou zai jie shang shi, mei you ren men zai lai zhao ta
When he walk LOC street on time, not have person-MEN again come find him
mafan le.
trouble ASP
‘When he walked on the street, no one would bring trouble to him again.’

holyspirit.blogbus.com/logs/17073996.html -

The fewer occurrence of *mei you ren-men* compared with that of *you ren-men* is in accordance with the results from the earlier CCL corpus study, in which there are a few *you ren-men* but no *mei you ren-men* at all.

Again I designed the following existential sentences with *mei you* in my questionnaire. Overall they are less acceptable than positive existential sentences with *CN-men* in the questionnaire.

- (1.0) 11. Ditie li mei you ren-men.
subway LOC not have person-MEN
‘There are no people in the subway.’
- (1.1) 12. Zhe ge gongchang li mei you gongren-men
this CL factory LOC not have worker-MEN
‘There are no workers in this factory.’
- (1.7) 13. Jiaoshi li mei you haizi-men zai shangke.
classroom LOC not have child-MEN ASP have class
‘There are no children in the classroom who are having class.’
- (1.2) 14. Jianshenfang li mei you duanlian de ren-men.
gym LOC not have do exercise DE person-MEN
‘There are no people in the gym who are doing exercises.’

There is one more result from the web search for *mei you ren-men* that, though not quite the type I expected, can offer stronger evidence against a men-as-definite hypothesis.

(56) b. Wo bu zhidao qita de defang hai **you mei you** ren men huò xialai.

I not know other DE places still have not have person-MEN alive COMP
'I don't know whether or not there are survivors in other places.'

gushihuis.blogbus.com/logs/41067008.html

The combination of *bu zhidao* 'not know' and *you mei you* 'have not have' can be translated as 'not know whether there are', implying that the existence of a group of survivors is neither posited nor negated, but is totally unknown to the speaker. If so, then *ren-men* in this sentence can never be definite.

To sum up, *CN-men* is more frequently used in positive existential sentence than in negative ones, and its frequency is higher in colloquial texts like blogs than in corpus with diverse sources of texts. Results from the web search assert that it is not impossible to use *CN-men* in existential sentences, which offers strong arguments against the men-as-definite hypothesis. But meanwhile in real use men-plurals in existential sentences are less natural and not preferred, as shown by the low average in the questionnaire.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I firstly compared the optional markers in two languages: *men* in Mandarin Chinese and *tati* in Japanese. These two optional markers have a lot in common and traditionally are both regarded as definite markers as well. In their paper, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) come up with three puzzles about *tati* plurals which are shared by *men* plurals. They do not accept that *tati*-as-definite hypothesis can explain these puzzles and give their arguments. Applying these arguments to *men* plurals I discovered that with respect to other scope bearing element such as 'always', *men* plurals could take narrow scope indicating an indefinite interpretation. Thus the men-as-definite hypothesis does not hold. However, the non-uniformity hypothesis Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) propose for *tati* plurals to account for the three puzzles is not convincing enough and can hardly be borrowed by *men* plurals.

To further strengthen my point that *men* plurals are not inherently definite, I conducted a web search with Google plus a intuition survey for the existential construction *you ren-men* 'have person-men' and *mei you ren-men* 'not have person-men' based on my earlier corpus study on the same constructions. The results from the web search show that the existence of a group of people (*ren-men*) can be

posited and negated or even unknown to the speaker, which strongly argue against the men-as-definite hypothesis. Data from the questionnaire imply that in some cases, e.g. when *CN-men* is modified and when *CN* is common human noun rather than *ren* 'person', such sentences are more acceptable and more natural.

Given these pieces of evidence together, I am confident to claim that *men* is not a definite marker in Mandarin and *CN-men* can be indefinite.

Chapter three: *men* as a collectivity marker

3.1 Theoretical claims and accounts

For many linguists working on *men* it has long been a controversial issue whether this suffix is a plural marker, a collectivity marker or plays both roles with a complementary distribution. A plural marker is attached to a noun to pluralize it. *S* in English, for instance, is a representative of plural markers. A collectivity marker, by my understanding, is attached to a nominal to refer to a whole. To put it simply, the distinction between the two terms is that the former deals with individuals while the latter deals with groups.

Some linguists have claimed the suffix *men* is a plural morpheme when attached to pronouns and a collectivity marker when attached to nouns (Chao 1968, Norman 1988). I think this complementary distribution of *men* as two kinds of markers is mainly out of the fact that in Mandarin singular personal pronouns have to be **obligatorily** suffixed with *men* to become plural, while this marking to indicate a quantity ‘more than one’ is **optional** (yet not random) for nouns and is often believe to connect with some other semantics such as definiteness.

3.1.1 *Men* as a unified collectivity marker

Iljic (1994) argues that *men* is not a plural marker at all and gives a unified analysis for *men* as a collectivity marker. According to him, speaking of a collective is tantamount to speaking of a group. And a group designated by *CN-men* is formed as the followings:

First, different from plural nouns in English, *CN-men* can never have a generic reading. For example:

- (57) Tamen shi laoshi. but not (58) * Tamen shi laoshi-men.
 they are teacher they are teacher-MEN
‘They are teachers.’

Second, Iljic (1994) agrees that *CN-men* always refer to the definite. As a rule, one can neither posit nor negate the existence of *CN-men*. But as we have seen from the results of corpus study /web search displayed in last chapter, this is not true. Iljic (1994) takes the definiteness of *CN-men* to support his view that *men* plurals invariably refers to a situationally anchored and defined group. One situation par excellence in which *men* is mandatory is the allocution, where words such as ‘lady’, ‘gentleman’, ‘friend’ and ‘guest’ have to be suffixed with *men*. Iljic (1994) argues that *pengyou-men* is neither equal to ‘friends’ nor ‘friends in general’, but ‘the friends in

question’, this group of ‘friends’ is defined by the speaker relative to himself. It is a matter of personal location similar to that of personal pronouns. Thus *pengyou-men!* ‘(My dear) friends!’ functions as a qualified *you*.

According to Iljic (1994), apart from the occasions where *men* is obligatorily used, there are also cases that *men* is better used than not. In narration, when a noun is suffixed by *men*, there is generally a subject-locator in the context, relative to whom the group is viewed.

(59) Sima Guang he xiao pengyou-men
Sima Guang and little friend-MEN
‘Sima Guang and [his] little friends.’

(60) Shuishou-men cheng ta ‘Zhang jiazhang.’
sailor-MEN call he ‘Zhang captain’
‘[His] sailors called him captain Zhang’

(Zhang and Sang 1986: 404 cf. Iljic 1994)

It is said the possessive adjective in the English translation of (59) and (60) is the evidence of such an underlying link to a locator; here the possessive adjectives do not mark ‘possession’, but is a location relative to a given person, the ‘locator’ (Sima Guang and Zhang jiazhang’).

Third, as mentioned in Chapter one *men* may directly suffix a proper name, which is the name of the locator.

(61) Xiao Qiang-men
‘Xiao Qiang’s group’

(Lü 1980: 342 cf. Iljic 1994)

Xiao Qiang-men refers to a temporary group, explicitly presented as subjective, which does not necessarily coincide with an objective group, a gang or the like.

Finally, when there is no locator other than the speaker in context, a modal value, ‘sympathy’, is bound to show up. In this situation, the locator coincides with the speaker or narrator. For example:

(62) Taiyang zai re, ye re bu guo zhanshi-men de xin qu.
sun again hot, also hot NEG pass warrior-MEN De heart go
‘However hot the sun may be, it cannot be hotter than the hearts of [our dear] soldiers’
(XHC 1977: 384 cf. Iljic 1994)

In a word, Iljic (1994) proposes that *men* constructs a group from several already posited elements rather than just positing a set of elements. It basically marks a subjective location: several individuals are grouped together relative to the speaker or some other subjective origin. With this proposal, he further elaborates on some other

behaviors of *men* and offers a unique fundamental value for *men* following both common nouns and pronouns.

For the comparatively rare occurrences of *non-human being + men*, Iljic (1994) explains that with nouns designating animals or inanimate objects, it is less a question of personification, in the sense of anthropomorphization, than of projection by the enunciator of a personal link to these animals or objects. The speaker resorts to *men* whenever he has grounds to view several persons as a group, either relative to himself or relative to a third party. Obviously, it is more natural to establish such a link with humans rather than animals, let alone with inanimate objects.

Iljic (1994) believes that his analysis for *CN-men* also applies to *pronoun-men*. The so-called “plural” of personal pronouns is not an addition or a multiplication of elements, but a grouping of entities into one whole according to their position relative to the origin. *We* does not amount to several *I*'s nor even to two or more *I*'s expressing themselves simultaneously, but to the group in the name of which *I* speaks. *We* and *you* (pl.) refer to two collective partners respectively grouping the individuals assimilated to the speaker and those constructed opposite to him, gathered into a collective interlocutor. So the alleged “plural” of personal pronouns covers exactly the same type of operation for *men* after nouns and *men* has a unique fundamental value as a collectivity marker.

3.1.2 *Men as a unified plural marker*

In contrast to Iljic (1994), Li (1999) shows that a “collective” analysis fails to capture many important generalizations concerning the behavior of *men*. For example, even though a “collective” *men* can be suffixed to a definite nominal such as a proper name (as well as a pronoun) referring to a group of people anchored or defined by a particular person, cannot be suffixed to definite expressions consisting of a demonstrative as illustrated in example (9), repeated here as (63).

- (63) a. * zhe ge/ na ge ren-men
this CL/ that CL person-MEN
'this / that person and the others'
- b. * ni de na ge pengyou-men
your DE that CL friend-MEN
'that friend of yours and the others'

This is not a strong argument because the ungrammaticality of (63) can be due to the incompatibility between classifier *ge* and *men*. As we know in Mandarin, a classifier language, number is not marked in nouns. Thus *ge*, as well as other classifiers, plays the role of individuating and it is the most general classifier for singular count nouns. Given that *men* marks plurality and *ge* marks singularity, they cannot co-occur in a

construction like (63). In addition, if we replace *ge* with *xie* ‘some’, a quantifier¹⁸ that is used for mass nouns and plural count nouns, the definite expression can be compatible with *men* with the disappearance of the kind of collective reading suggested by Iljic (1994).

(64) a. zhe xie/ na xie ren-men
 this XIE/ that XIE person-MEN
 ‘these / those persons’

b. ni de na xie pengyou-men
 your DE that XIE friend-MEN
 ‘those friends of yours’

Another puzzling fact Li (1999) raises about the collective analysis of *men* is the seemingly chaotic co-occurrence restrictions on quantity expressions, for one of the arguments for the collective analysis of *men* is the incompatibility of *men* with quantity expressions, which makes *men* different from a typical plural marker as *s* in English. Li (1996) argues that while *men* is incompatible with [number + classifier] preceding it as illustrated in (65a), (65b) is acceptable with the sequence of *ta-men san ge (haizi)* ‘them three CL (child)’. However, in a sentence such as (65c), which is comparable to (65b) except for the replacement of the pronoun with a common noun, the use of *men* becomes unacceptable again.

(65) a. * wo qing san ge ta-men chifan.
 I invite three CL them eat
 ‘I invited three them for a meal.’

b. wo qing ta-men san ge (haizi) chifan.
 I invite them three CL (child) eat
 ‘I invited them three-CL (children) for a meal.’

c. * wo qing haizi-men san ge (ren) chifan.
 I invite child-MEN three CL (person) eat
 ‘I invited three children for a meal.’

(65d) is not acceptable either, with the same word order as (65a).

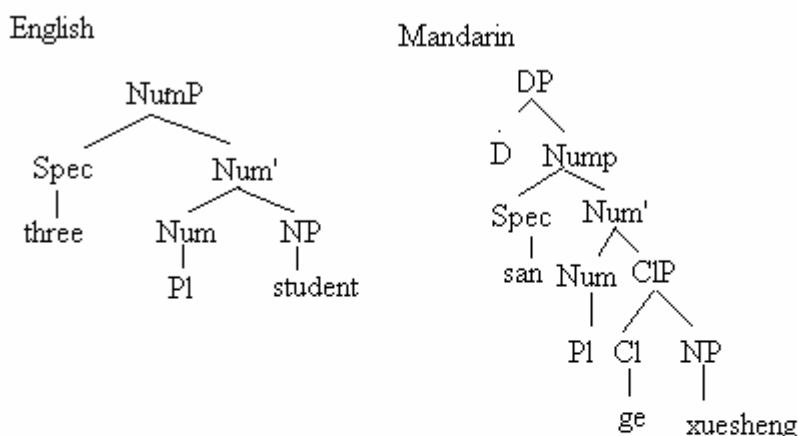
d. * wo qing san ge haizi-men chifan.
 I invite three CL friend-MEN eat
 ‘I invited three children for a meal.’

These chaotic restrictions on quantity expression cannot be explained immediately

¹⁸ The identity as for either it is a classifier or not is controversial. Relevant discussion can be found in Iljic (1994) and Li (1999).

with a collective analysis.

In her paper, Li (1999) provides a unified structural account for the behavior of *men* in Mandarin and the plural marker *s* in English. She suggests that in a classifier language like Mandarin, a nominal with a classifier has a Classifier projection: [D[Num[Cl[N]]]]. Although for both Mandarin and English the plural feature is base-generated in Num, *s* is realized on N while *men* is on an element in Determiner. The syntactic structures of a nominal in Mandarin and English are illustrated below.



According to Head Movement Constraint, while in English N can move upwards to Num to realize the Pl feature, in Mandarin the intervening Cl projection blocks the upward movement of N to realize the plural feature. So the only option left is for the Pl feature to be raised to D and suffixed to the nominal element there, deriving the generalization that the Pl feature is suffixed (realized as *men*) to the element in D.

Li (1999) adopts this theory to account for the chaotic co-occurrence restrictions on quantity expressions illustrated in (65) (repeated here as 66) and their corresponding structures in (67).

(66) a. * wo qing san ge ta-men chifan.

I invite three CL them eat

‘I invited three them for a meal.’

b. wo qing ta-men san ge (haizi) chifan.

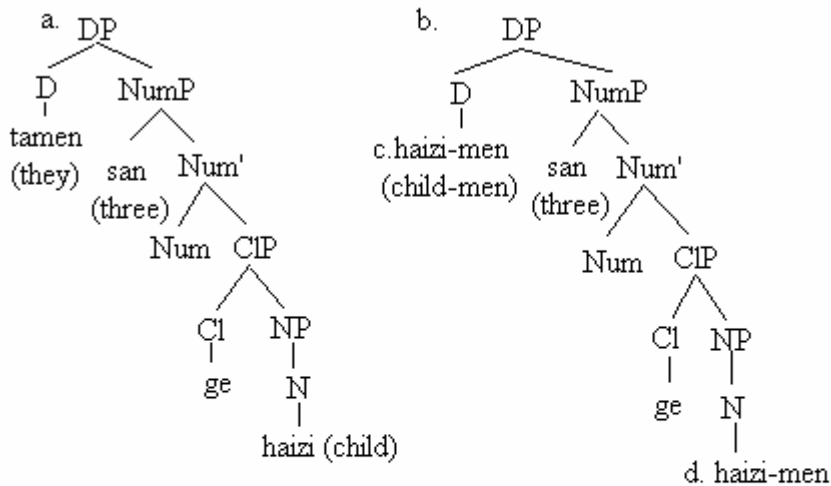
I invite them three CL (child) eat

‘I invited them three-CL (children) for a meal.’

c. * wo qing haizi-men san ge (ren) chifan.
 I invite child-MEN three CL (person) eat
 ‘I invited three children for a meal.’

d. * wo qing san ge haizi-men chifan.
 I invite three CL friend-MEN eat
 ‘I invited three children for a meal.’

(67)



(67a) manages to account for the grammaticality of the noun phrase in (66b). Because all pronouns are base-generated in D, there is not any problem for singular personal pronoun *ta* ‘he/she’ to realize its plural feature in D with *men* there. Thus with every element sitting right in their position, even a common noun in N, the sentence is quite acceptable. And it is easy to understand why (66a) is not available, for *ta-men* ‘they’ cannot appear in the position of N.

(67b) can be used to account for the ungrammaticality of the noun phrases in (66c) and (66d). In (66c) the nominal *haizi-men* precedes the quantity expression *san-ge* ‘three CL’. Because *haizi*, as a common noun, is base-generated in N, not in D, and because N to D raising is impossible when a Number of Classifier head intervenes between N and D, it is expected that [number + classifier] expressions (with or without a N) cannot follow a common noun suffixed with *men* (cf. the unacceptability of (66c)). Since *men* is suffixed to a common noun only when the noun is moved up to D, a common noun staying in the N position cannot be suffixed with *men*. Then it is also expected that a quantity expression [number + classifier] cannot precede *CN-men* and (66d) is unacceptable either.

Meanwhile, Li (1999) claims that *men* does exhibit some of the properties of a plural marker. Not only must *men* attach to pronouns when the pronoun refers to a plural entity, but it can also be suffixed to a common noun to express plurality. In addition, a proper name denoting a person can be suffixed with *men* to mean a group of people with the same name or characteristics as that person (the “plural reading”, in contrast to the interpretation of referring to that person and others, the “collective reading”, as in (68)).

(68) XiaoQiang-men

- a. Plural reading: a group of persons with the name *XiaoQiang* or with the same characteristics as *XiaoQiang* (for instance: to be kind-hearted).
- b. Collective reading: a group of persons represented or, as Iljic (1994) said, anchored or defined by a person among them named *XiaoQiang*.

The plural reading of *proper name* + *men* in Mandarin is not distinctive among languages with optional plural marking. In Dëne Sųliné, a language spoken by the Chipewyan people of central Canada, suffix *kui* occurs on kinship terms as a plural/number inflection (Wilhelm 2008). For example:

- (69) a. sare ‘my older sister/ parallel female cousin’
 b. sarakui ‘my older sisters/ parallel female cousins’

There is no strong evidence that *kui* has a collective meaning and (69b) can be alternatively interpreted as ‘the group surrounding and including my older sister / my older sister and others’.

In other languages, there exist suffixes which only attach to nouns indicating humans (including proper names) and which only induce a collective / associative interpretation. For example:

- (70) a. Maria-nan (Papiamentu)
 Maria-them
 1. ‘Maria and her folks.’ 2. ‘Maria and another person’¹⁹,
- b. Pa-hulle (Afrikaans)
 Dad-them
 1. ‘Dad and his folks.’ 2. ‘Dad and another person, especially Mum: Mum and dad, my/our parents’.

It is not coincident to me, however, that both *nan* and *hulle* in the two languages are

¹⁹ The interpretation for *Marianan* here is from Hans den Besten (1996). In their paper, Kester and Schmitt (2007) offer an interpretation for this expression as ‘Maria and her family/ her group of friends’.

third person plural pronouns as well, which may explain the unavailability of a plural reading of (70). In fact it is still controversial whether such a suffix is syntactic or morphological and whether it is more a plural marker or a collectivity marker.

Back to Li (1999), to verify a plural analysis for *men* she further mentions that an *N-men* expression can co-occur with the distributive marker *dou*, as in (71):

(71) Xuesheng-men dou likai le.
student-MEN all leave ASP
'Each of the students has left.'

(Li 1999, P80)

Her idea is that since a collective group is not concerned with or not compatible with individuals, and the use of the distributive marker *dou* must involve individuals, so *men* cannot have collective status, otherwise (71) could not be accepted and natural.

This argument is very weak, mainly because *dou* is not a distributive marker to me. In (71) *dou* is translated as *each*, but it is better translated as 'all/both' in English. Never have I read other literatures except Li (1999) that define *dou* as a distributive marker. Rather, as a counterpart of *all* in English it should be neutral while *ge* 'each' has distributive status in Mandarin.

However, the collectivity/ distributivity of *dou* is not mentioned in any Chinese grammar I have viewed. Some grammars introduce *dou* as a plural marker. For example:

(72) Shu dou dao le.
book all arrive ASP
'All the books have arrived.'

In (72) the subject is a bare noun with the number of *shu* 'book' being unmarked. But the appearance of *dou* makes it clear to readers that the number of book is plural.

One argument for the distributivity of *dou* raised by Li (1999) is that the following sentence supports that *dou* must involve individuals.

(73) Tamen liang ge dou jiehun le.
they two CL DOU marry ASP
'They two have been married.'

In (73) 'they' cannot marry to each other; this sentence must be about two marriages. But in English, *they both have been married* also involves two marriages rather than one, which does not induce that *both* is a distributive marker.

I will discuss the compatibility of *dou* with *men* later in this chapter. No matter what *dou* is, this argument from Li (1999) becomes one of our motivations to conduct

the web search and the survey for the compatibility between *dou* and *CN-men*.

Another literature we could refer to is Le Bruyn (2010) who discusses the collectivity and distributivity of indefinite article *unos* in Spanish. In his dissertation, Le Bruyn expects that *unos* has a strong preference for collective reading. The reason is that as noted by Villalta (1994, cf. Le Bruyn 2010), *unos* cannot induce distributive interpretations of (74) e.g. is that a group of men bought one lottery ticket:

(74) *Unos hombres compraron un billete de loteria.*

unos men bought a ticket of lottery

(Villalta 1994)

Replace *unos hombres* with *nanren-men* ‘man-men’ in Mandarin, as illustrated in (75), has the same interpretation that ‘a group of men bought a single lottery ticket’ by default. In the survey, where (75) is sentence 44, an intended interpretation for this sentence was given that ‘only one lottery ticket was bought, rather than every man bought a lottery ticket’ which is the collective reading of *nanren-men* (See Appendix 1). It turns out that this interpretation got an average value of **3.1**, implying that most readers agreed that the sentence can be well interpreted by the given interpretation. This seems to support that in Mandarin *CN-men* also has a preference for collective reading²⁰.

(75) *Nanren-men mai le yi zhang caipiao.*

man-MEN buy ASP one CL lottery

‘(The) men bought one lottery ticket.’

At the same time, Le Bruyn (2010) rejects the strong claim made by Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001) that *unos* cannot combine with an overt distributive operator like *cada uno* ‘each’ shown in (76) which suggests it actively blocks distributive dependencies. He does not agree the prediction that DPs headed by *unos* will not get a distributive interpretation or be compatible with distributive operators like *cada uno* ‘each’ with the counterexample (77) and (78):

(76) *Unos estudiantes se comieron una tarta (* cada uno).*

unos students clitic ate a cake each one

(Gutiérrez-Rexach, cf. Le Bruyn 2010)

(77) *Unos cuantos invitados se comieron un plato de jamon.*

unos many guests SE eat a plate of ham

‘Many guests (each) ate a plate of ham.’

(Lopez-Palma 2007, cf. Le Bruyn 2010)

²⁰ Le Bruyn (personal communication) is not sure about my conclusion that an average of 3.1 implies a preference for collective reading of men-plurals. What the 3.1 score shows, according to him, is that people are fine with the interpretation, not that they prefer it over another interpretation.

(78) [...] quedaron sobre las armas unos treinta mil hombres, ganando cada uno un carlino.

Stayed on the arms unos thirty thousand men, making each one a carline (=coin)

(data drawn from the Corpus del Español)

According to Le Bruyn (2010), the acceptability of (77) and (78) indicates that adding quantifiers within the DP headed by *unos* make it possible in general to induce distributive dependencies.

Le Bruyn (2010) further points out that the unacceptability of (79) for his informant, which is regarded natural by Gutiérrez-Rexach, together with some sentences from CREA corpus where *unos* and *cada uno* can co-occur in one sentence suggest that there is something weird going on with the example (76) and not necessarily with the combination of *unos* and *cada uno*. So *unos* cannot block distributive readings.

(79) Algunos estudiantes se comieron una tarta cada uno.

Some students clitic ate a cake each one

Meanwhile the Mandarin counterpart of (76), namely (80), is quite natural with the distributive operator *ge* ‘each’.

(80) Xuesheng-men ge chi le yi kuai dangao.

student-MEN each eat ASP one CL cake

‘The students ate one cake each.’

Since (76) cannot be used as a strong claim for the collectivity of *men*, I will not discuss the acceptability of the counterparts of (77) and (78) in Mandarin. Then at least in Mandarin there is no strong claim for *men* as a collectivity marker while *men* may prefer such a reading, as *unos* does in Spanish.

There are two other ‘overly distributive’ expressions adopted by Le Bruyn (2010) to test their compatibility with *unos* and *algunos*: *uno a uno* ‘one by one’ and *sendos* ‘each one’. As for *uno a uno*, he did not find any example for *unos* nor for *algunos* in the CREA and the CORDE corpus. As for *sendos*, he found two examples for *unos* and three for *algunos*, which I will not copy here. These examples strongly suggest that the unacceptability of (76) should not be taken as evidence in favor of the claim that *unos* actively blocks distributive dependencies.

Corresponding to Le Bruyn’s methodology, in my corpus study I will explore the compatibility of *men* with distributive operators *ge* ‘each’²¹, and *yi ge jie yi ge* ‘one by one’. And in my survey I will collect native speakers’ intuitions for some aforementioned constructions.

²¹ Due to limited knowledge on Spanish, I will not discuss the counterpart of *sendos* ‘each one’ in Mandarin (and I do not think there exists a counterpart in Mandarin after I asked some Spanish speakers) and restrict my corpus study on that of *cada uno* ‘each’ in Mandarin, namely *ge*.

There are actually more operators to check the collectivity/distributivity contrast. The first one is what I have mentioned before, the adverbial quantifiers *dou* ‘all /both’. In English, one contrast displayed by *all* vs. *every/each* is that while the former is neutral, the latter has a distributive interpretation. *All* is compatible with both distributive predicates and collective predicates. But *every/each* is only compatible with distributive predicates but not collective ones. For example:

- (81) a. All the children are sleeping. (distributive predicate)
b. All the students gathered at the gate of the school. (collective predicate)

- (82) a. Every child is sleeping.
b.* Each of the students gathered at the gate of the school.

If we assume that their counterparts in Mandarin, namely *dou* ‘all / both’ and *ge* ‘each’, also has this contrast, and if *men* is a collectivity marker, then *dou* should be compatible with *men* plurals while *ge* cannot due to the contradiction between its distributive requirement and the collectivity of *men*. My intuition is that the first half of the expectation is right, but the second half is not exactly the case in Mandarin, as shown in (83) and (84).

- (83) a. Haizi-men dou shuizhao le.
child-MEN all fall asleep ASP.
‘They have all fallen asleep.’

- b. Xuesheng-men dou ju zai nail.
student-MEN all gather LOC there
‘All the students were gathered there.’

- (84) a. Women ge you yi duan shibai de hunyin.
We each have one CL unsuccessful DE marriage
‘Each of us had an unsuccessful marriage.’

- b. Gongren-men ge yong yi tai jiqi.
worker-MEN each use one CL machine
‘Each of the workers uses a machine.’

This intuition does not support a collective analysis for *men*, thus *men* is likely to be neutral as for its collectivity /distributivity status. I will further test this conclusion in my corpus study/ web search and the survey.

Another adverbial modifier, in contrast to *yi ge jie yi ge* ‘one by one’, is *yi qi* ‘together’. This pair displays their contrast in English, even with a distributive predicate, to indicate event distributivity / collectivity. For example:

(85) a. The students left together. (collective leaving at the same time)

b. The students left one after another. (distributive leaving at different times)

If *men* is a collectivity marker, *CN-men* is expected to co-occur with ‘together’ but not with ‘one by one’. But my intuition tells that *men* plurals are compatible with both of them.

(86) Haizi-men yi qi likai le.
child-MEN together leave ASP
‘The children left together.’

(87) Haizi-men yi ge jie yi ge de likai le.
child-MEN one CL follow one CL DE leave ASP
‘The children left one after another.’

Again, more data will be collected from the following corpus study /web search and the survey.

3.2 Relevant data from corpus/ web search and survey

In last section, I corrected Li (1999)’s view that *dou* is a distributive maker in Mandarin and claimed that it should be neutral as for its distributivity / collectivity status. By comparing English and Mandarin and adopting some operators from Spanish to test *unos*’ distributivity/collectivity, I expected that if *men* is a collectivity marker, it should be compatible with *dou* ‘all/ both’ and *yi qi* ‘together’, but not with *ge* ‘each’ and *yi ge jie yi ge* ‘one by one’. But if *men* does not have a collective status, this expectation will be wrong.

3.2.1 Methodology

As what I did for the existential construction in Mandarin in Chapter two, I conducted a web search for some relevant constructions mentioned above with Google and restricted the website as blogbus.com. I also involved similar sentences in my questionnaire to acquire native speakers’ intuitions for them.

3.2.2 N-men + dou (all / both)

3.2.2.1 Dou

Dou in Mandarin is an adverb indicating all entities / the whole denoted by the nominal mentioned before. For example:

(88) Tamen dou lai le.
They all come ASP
'They have all come.'

(89) Yingyu, riyu, fayu, ta dou hui shuo.
English, Japanese, French, he all can speak
'English, Japanese and French, he can speak all of them.'

Notice that in a question with an interrogative pronoun, *dou* applies to the nominal following it, as illustrated by (90):

(90) Ni jia dou you xie shenme ren?
You family all have XIE what person
'What members do you have in your family?' / 'What are all your family members?'

In the web search I picked up such cases and categorized them as unmatched occurrences.

3.2.2.2 Results and discussion

It turns out that *N-men + dou* is very common. By scanning through the first 526 occurrences, I found only 1 unmatched result. Among the left, there are 468 cases where N is a common human noun, 32 are personal pronouns and 26 are non-human nouns. This is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Results *N-men + dou*

Noun	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Common N	468	89%
Non-human N	26	5%
Personal pronoun	32	6%
Unmatched	1	--

Some examples in context from blogs are listed below.

(91)Yatou-men dou zhang da le.
girl-MEN all grow big ASP
'The girls have all grown up.'

lilisha.blogbus.com/logs/65473383.html

(92)Guo shu-men dou hen gandong.
fruit tree-MEN all very touched
'All the fruit trees are very touched.'

weizhoushiwang.blogbus.com/logs/387816.html

(93)Tamen dou jiao wo Jingjing.
they all call me Jingjing.
'They all call me Jingjing.'

kaffa.blogbus.com

The percentages of different kinds of nominals preceding *men* indicate that **common human noun (89%)** is the most frequently used one in such a construction. This conclusion is very striking in that if we compare it with the corpus study I did in my term paper, which reveals that **81%** occurrences from Context 1 (N-men) are cases where *men* is a plural suffix of a **personal pronoun**. I think *dou* will play a role in explaining this sharp contrast. Furthermore, I think this contrast also confirm the semantic differences between *men* attaching to personal pronouns and that attaching to a common human noun.

It is also found that the **non-human noun** is more frequently used (**5%**) than what I found in the CCL corpus study (**0.8%**). This may not due to the influence of *men* in the search condition, but just due to a more colloquial style in blogs. The reason I claimed so is that not only the frequency of non-human noun increases, but the objects are more diverse, too. In the CCL corpus study, all non-human nouns are animals. But there are inanimate objects in the web searching which are really odd, such as *jiyi-men* 'memory-men', *che-men* 'car-men', *jiaju-men* 'furniture-men'. Here I attribute this phenomenon again to personal writing styles of the bloggers.

The compatibility of *dou* with *N-men* is confirmed by the data collected from the questionnaire, in which I included the following relevant sentences:

(3.8) 1. Ta-men dou hen congming.
he-MEN all very smart
'They are all very smart.'

(3.5) 2. Ta-men dou ju zai xuexiao menkou.
he-MEN all gather LOC school gate

‘They all gathered at the gate of the school.’

(3.9) 3. Haizi-men dou shui zhao le.

child-MEN all sleep COM ASP

‘All the children fell asleep.’

(3.6) 4. Gongren-men dou juji zai gongchang menkou.

worker-MEN all gather LOC factory gate

‘All the workers gathered at the gate of the factory.’

The high average values of the four sentences indicate that *dou* is compatible with both plural pronouns (1 and 2) and *CN-men* (3 and 4), both distributive predicate (1 and 3) and collective predicate (2 and 4). This result also shows that *dou* is neutral as for its status of collectivity/distributivity in Mandarin Chinese.

3.2.3 N-men + ge (each)

3.2.3.1 Ge

In Mandarin, *ge*²² is a distributive pronoun (Norman 1988) referring to all entities in a *certain set / group*, approximately corresponding to *each* in English.

Ge can be used in the following construction:

a. *Ge* + CL + noun

(94) *Ge men gongke dou*²³ *bu cuo*

each CL course all not wrong

‘The result of each course is good.’

b. *N(P) + ge + verb*

Ge usually appears immediately before verb, for example:

(95) *Zhe liang zhong baozhi wo ge ding yi fen.*

this two kind newspaper I each subscribe one CL

‘I subscribed to each of these two kinds of newspapers.’

c. *Ge* in a compact set phrase

There are many what I call compact set phrase, which are phrases composed of 4 morphemes expressing a specific meaning. This kind of phrase usually originates from Classical Chinese and is used so frequently that it behaves like a single word and functions as a predicate in modern Chinese. For example:

²² This *ge* is a different morpheme with the general classifier *ge*. They are represented with two characters.

²³ In this construction *dou* always accompanies *ge* emphasizing that there is no exception.

‘Gazi’s mother bought a toy for each of the children.’

waterfish.blogbus.com/logs/61053616.html

Thus it is clear that *dou* allows both collective and distributive readings, but *ge* only imposes distributivity, which is the same as the contrast between *all* and *each/every* in English.

3.2.3.3 Results and discussion for *N-men + ge (each)*

The key words in searching are set to be two characters *men* and *ge* with no space in between. There are no matched results from construction *ge + CL + N-men*, for as expected the singular number ‘*ge (each) +CL+ N*’ indicates contradicts with the plurality *men* imposes. Thus the only possible occurrences are those where *N-men* is the subject of the sentence and *ge* precedes the predicate.

Here are the results:

Table 2: Results *N-men + ge* (119 matched results)

Noun	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Common N	106	89%
Non-human N	5	4%
Personal pronoun	8	7%

Some examples in context from blogs are listed below.

(102) Weile xiyin yanqiu, shangjia-men ge xian shentong.
for attract eyeball, seller-MEN each display special skill
‘To attract attentions, each of the sellers displays their special skills.’

hahnforest.blogbus.com/logs/2009/02/

(103) Kan jizhe-men ge zhi ji jian, ta ye canyu le
look journalist-MEN each hold self opinion, she also attend ASP
yi liang ju taolun.
one two CL discussion
‘Seeing that each of the journalists clung to his own view, she joined the discussion and had some words, too.’

minako-alan.blogbus.com/logs/46980065.html

Among all the displayed results in blogbus.com, there are 203 occurrences where *men* and *ge* appear together with the former preceding the latter. Among them 119 are of the type we want where *ge* refers to the N-men preceding it. Looking closer into the nominals *men* attaches, 89% are common human noun, 4% are non-human noun and 7% are personal pronoun. The rate of non-human noun is comparable to that in Table 1. Given that the contrast between common noun and personal pronoun is too fierce, I conduct another searching for *ta*²⁵-*men* + *ge* which will be reported in next section.

In the questionnaire sentence 5 and 6 are relevant to this construction. Sentence 5 is (80) mentioned before.

(2.3) 5. Xuesheng-men ge chi le yi kuai dangao.
 student-MEN each eat ASP one CL cake
 ‘Each of the students ate a piece of cake.’

(3.1) 6. Wo-men ge you yi duan shibai de hunyin.
 I-MEN each have one CL unsuccessful DE marriage
 ‘Each of us has an unsuccessful marriage.’

The average value of 2.3 (less natural) seems to contradict the compatibility of *CN-men* with *ge* shown by the web search. With a second thought I think this is understandable. As I have pointed out *ge* is usually used for every entity in a *certain* group. Hence it is supposed to be more compatible with a definite antecedent such as *wo-men* ‘we’. The comparatively lower acceptance of 5 just strengthens the point that *CN-men* is not definite inherently. In fact one participant specified below sentence 5 that it is more natural for her to use *mei* ‘every’ rather than *ge* ‘each’ in this sentence.

It is no surprising for 6 to get 3.1 (basically natural) especially given that the subject is a definite *women* ‘we’.

3.2.3.4 *ta-men* + *ge*

Quite surprisingly, altogether there are 181 occurrences of *ta-men* + *ge*, among which 117 are of the expected type where *ge* functions as a distributive pronoun referring to every entity of *ta-men* (they/ them). I list some examples below:

(104) Ta-men ge yuanyi chu duo shao qian?
 he-MEN each will pay much little money
 ‘How much would each of them like to pay?’

s686.blogbus.com/logs/52817526.html

²⁵ *Ta* is specified as the third singular personal pronoun for male.

(105) Ta-men ge ju tese.
he- MEN each have feature
'They each has his/her own features.'

laddertothsun.blogbus.com/index_44.html

(106) Zai Hafo daxue dongya xi, ta-men ge you yi jian
LOC Harvard University East Asia department, he-MEN each have one CL
bangongshi.
office
'In East Asia department of Harvard University, each of them has an office.'

siyueleibo.blogbus.com/logs/10919787.html

Comparing 117 with 119 which are the numbers of occurrences of *ta-men*+ *ge*²⁶ and *N-men* + *ge*, it is implied that:

1. *Personal pronoun* + *ge* is very common and acceptable.
2. The contrast between *common noun* + *ge* and *pronoun* + *ge* is not as sharp as is displayed by Table 2.
3. For some unknown reason, when searching for *men* + *ge*, lots of occurrences of *pronoun-men* + *ge* are filtered out, but more occurrences *common noun* + *ge* are remained.

Given these implications, I am curious whether this is true for *N-men* + *dou* as well. So I searched for *ta-men* + *dou* with the same *ta* as is in *ta-men* + *ge*.

3.2.3.5 ta-men + dou (all / both)

Again I exclude the cases where *dou* appears in a question and refers to the interrogative pronoun after it.

The results show that *ta-men* + *dou* is very common and acceptable, too. In the first 8 pages of 33 pages' results (30 results /page), there are 313 occurrences of *ta-men* + *dou* and 288 are of the type we need where *dou* is a pronoun. Some examples are listed below.

(107) Ta-men dou lao le.
he-MEN all old ASP
'They are all grown old.'

laobanggua.blogbus.com/logs/14993229.html

²⁶ Remember that only the male *ta* is searched. The occurrences could be larger if the female *ta* and nonhuman *ta* are involved.

(108) Ta-men dou qu kan dianying.
he-MEN all go see movie
'They all went to cinema.'

mumujiji.blogbus.com/logs/12399132.html

(109) Ta-men dou lai zi nali.
he-MEN all come from there
'They all come from there.'

shaoguangjian.blogbus.com/logs/10385315.html

Due to a large number of results for both *N-men + dou* and *ta-men + dou*, I cannot compare whether their difference of frequency is as large as is shown on Table 1. But take implication 3 mentioned above, it is quite likely the same case as *common noun-men + ge* and *pronoun + ge*.

3.2.4 Mei (every) + N-men

A Chinese-speaking reader may wonder why I do not involve another distributive pronoun *mei* 'every' in Mandarin into the web search. In fact I did. However, I do not think the results are qualified for reaching any conclusion and I will explain the reason following a brief introduction on *mei*.

3.2.4.1 Mei

In Mandarin, *mei* is a pronoun indicating every entity / portion in a group and emphasizing the meaning of 'without exceptions'. Thus I think this is the counterpart of 'every' in English. The common constructions with *mei* include:

a. *mei + noun*²⁷

(110) Ta mei tian qu xuexiao.
he every day go school
'He goes to school every day.'

b. *mei + Num + noun*

²⁷ Nouns in construction (a) and (b) always behave like a classifier. Such nouns include *tian* 'day', *xiaoshi* 'hour', *yue* 'month', *ke* 'lesson /class', etc.

(111) Xuexiao mei liang zhou juxing yi ci huodong.
school every two week hold one CL activity
'The school holds an activity every one week.'

c. mei + CL + noun

(112) Mei ge ren dou you ziji de jia.
Every CL person all have self DE home
'Everyone has his own home.'

d. mei + Num + CL + noun

(113) mei san ge ren yong yi jian bangongshi
every three CL person use one CL office
'Every three people share one office.'

3.2.4.1 Results and discussion for *mei* (every) + *N-men*

During the search, I did not specify any classifier or noun for the condition. The key words are set only *mei* and *men* with no space between the two characters. So the expected results are those in which at least the two morphemes occur in the same clause.

Unfortunately there are no matched results even in a colloquial text. Thinking that the other distributive pronoun *ge* 'each' can be very well compatible with *men*, this result seems to be weird at the first sight. The contradictory behaviors of *ge* and *mei* make it difficult to explain the nature of *men*.

The problem of *mei* seems to be linked to the fact that *mei* - when combining with full lexical nouns - needs a classifier²⁸ whereas *men* doesn't like to combine with classifiers to begin with. This would explain the distribution difference between *mei* and *dou* independently of the distributive/collective contrast.

Without the search results from this construction being considered, I would still think *men* is compatible with a distributive operator like *ge* 'each'.

3.2.5 *N-men* + *yi ge jie yi ge* (one by one) and *N-men* + *yi qi* (together)

Inspired by Le Bruyn (2010), I suggested in 3.1.2 that if *men* is inherently collective, it is expected to be compatible with *yi qi*²⁹ 'together' but not with *yi ge jie yi ge* 'one by one'. However, this is not true. A quick web search in blogbus.com shows that *men*

²⁸ In (110) and (111) the kind of nouns following *mei* are highly restricted to time measurement, etc. which can be regarded as classifiers.

²⁹ *Yi qi* 'together' in Mandarin has synonym like *yi kuai* which also be searched for sufficient data. 'One by one' in Mandarin may also has more than one expressions but *yi ge jie yi ge* is the most straightforward counterpart of it.

actually can co-occur with both of them.

It can be imagined that the frequencies of *yi ge jie yi ge* ‘one by one’ and *yi qi* ‘together’ are lower than *dou* ‘all’ and *ge* ‘each’ in texts. Thus the number of matched items is fewer, which however does not affect the conclusion that *N-men* is compatible with both of them. I picked up some examples and list them below:

(114) Tongxue-men yi ge jie yi ge ban shu ziji de zongjie
classmate-MEN one CL follow one CL board write self DE summary
he zhanwang.
and expectation

‘The classmates wrote their own summaries and expectations one by one on the blackboard.’

yipingzhou.blogbus.com/logs/59601195.html

(115) Haizi-men yi ge jie yi ge de xiaopao chu jiaoshi.
child-MEN one CL follow one CL DE trot out classroom

‘The children trotted out of the classroom one by one.’

beanrobbie.blogbus.com/logs/47806852.html

(116) An³⁰-men yiqi qu Yanji jin xiu san nian ba.
I-MEN together go Yanji further study three year AUX

‘Let’s go to Yanji together to engage in advanced studies for three years!’

chenghaoyang.blogbus.com/logs/6618380.html

(117) Xueyuan-men yiqi nuli tichu le
learner-MEN together take efforts come up with ASP
henduo youxiao de jiejue fang’an.

many effective DE resolve method

‘The learners took efforts together and came up with many effective solutions.’

phoenixtoday.blogbus.com/logs/28533541.html

The data collected from the questionnaire are in accordance with those from the web. Participants’ intuitions for *N-men* and *yi ge jie yi ge/ yiqi* were tested by question 32 to 35:

(3.8) 32. Huoban-men yi ge jie yi ge de bing dao le.
friend-MEN one CL follow one CL DE ill down ASP

³⁰ *An* is a synonym of *wo* (I) used in some dialects in Chinese.

‘(My) Friends fell ill one after another.’

(3.6) 33. Zaoshang jiazhang-men yi ge jie yi ge kai zhe che song haizi lai le.

morning parent-MEN one CL follow one CL drive Prog car send child come ASP.
‘In the morning, parents sent their children (to school) by car.’

(3.7) 34. Xin ren-men yiqi zhong xia le aiqing shu.

new person-MEN together plant COM ASP love tree
‘The newly married couples planted together ‘love trees’.’

(3.3) 35. Wo zai wuzi li kan linju de xiaohai-men fangbianpao.

I LOC room in look neighbor DE kid-MEN play fireworks
‘I look at the neighbor kids who played fireworks.’

Needless to say, the high averages of naturalness of these sentences confirm again that *N-men* is compatible with both ‘one by one’ and ‘together’, which if *men* imposes collectivity is not expected to happen.

Together the data from corpus study, web search and the survey imply that *men* is not an inherent collectivity marker.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter I discussed the status of collectivity /distributivity of *men*; in particular, whether *men* is an inherent collectivity marker.

I firstly displayed two extreme claims, one of which is that *men* is a unified collectivity marker presented by Iljic (1994), the other of which is that *men* is nothing but a pure plural marker presented by Li (1999). Iljic (1994) proposes that *men* constructs a group from several already posited elements rather than just positing a set of elements. *Men* basically marks a subjective location: several individuals are grouped together relative to the speaker or some other subjective origin. With this proposal, he further elaborates on some other behaviors of *men* and offers a unique fundamental value for *men* following both common nouns and pronouns. In contrast to Iljic (1994), Li (1999) shows that a “collective” analysis fails to capture many important generalizations concerning the behavior of *men* and she provides a unified structural account for the behavior of *men*. Li (1999) also believes that *men* does exhibit some of the properties of a plural marker. For example, it can attach to a common noun as well as a pronoun to express plurality. In addition, a proper name can be suffixed with *men* to mean a group of people with the same name, the “plural reading”, in contrast to the interpretation of referring to that person and others, the “collective reading”. Both of them list their arguments for their claims. But some of the arguments are weak or inappropriate.

Inspired by Le Bruyn (2010) who selected many operators in a corpus study to test the collective status of the indefinite article *unos* in Spanish, I conducted a series of web search as well as a survey making use of some of the operators to know the distribution of *men*. The results show that *N-men* is compatible with both *dou* ‘all/both’ and *ge* ‘each’, the former of which is neutral and the latter is a distributive marker in Mandarin. *N-men* can also co-occur with the distributive adverbial *yi ge jie yi ge* ‘one by one’ and the collective adverbial *yi qi* ‘together’. These behaviors of *men* do not support a collective interpretation of it. So far the only evidence for the collectivity of *men* is that in a sentence like (75), repeated here as (118), *men* cannot induce distributive interpretations and the sentence could only be interpreted as ‘a group of men bought a single lottery ticket’ by default.

(118) Nanren-men mai le yi zhang caipiao.
man-MEN buy ASP one CL lottery
‘(The) men bought one lottery ticket.’

Chapter four: Large number and/or imprecise number

4.1 Optional plural marker in Indonesian and Japanese

Indonesian is a language with optional classifiers³¹ and optional plural marking. Nouns can be inflected for plural via full reduplication, which is not obligatory for the expression of plurality.

Many Indonesian grammars suggest that a semantically plural noun typically undergoes reduplication when context would not otherwise reveal that it is intended to be plural. The grammars have less to say about the circumstances under which reduplication is allowed but does not occur (Chung 2000)

Dalrymple and Mofu (to appear) hold that in Indonesian reduplicated nouns intuitively refer to a relatively **large number** of instances of the noun. They found no instances of 2 *orang-orang* ‘two person-REDUP’ or 2 *siswa-siswa* ‘two student-REDUP’ in a web search, and in fact such phrases are intuitively found to be unacceptable. This is puzzling if reduplication has semantics like English plurals and is simply used when referring to more than one entity.

This is claimed to be true also in Japanese. Although *Num + CL + CN-tati* is unnatural, even this unnaturalness disappears when the number is big and not so exact, as shown in (119).

(119) a. ?? san-nin-no gakusei-tati
three-CL-Gen student- TATI

b. a. 129-nin-no gakusei (??-tati)-ga miitingu-ni sankasita
129-CL-Gen student(-TATI)-Nom meeting-Loc participated
‘129 students (??and possible others) participated in the meeting.’

c. 200-nin-izyoo-no gakusei (-tati)-ga miitingu-ni sankasita
200-CL-or more-Gen student(-TATI)-Nom meeting-Loc participated
‘200 or more students (and possible others) participated in the meeting.’

According to Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004), a *tati* plural is a plural of approximation with which the speaker has chosen to be not so precise about the extension of the common noun. ‘129’ is a very specific and precise number. Thus, combining a *tati* plural with it causes some kind of pragmatic conflict. In contrast, ‘200 or more’ is better accepted.

The generalization that emerges in Japanese is the following: the bigger and the less exact a numeral is, the more comfortably it is combined with *CN + tati*. This also explains the example of (17a) raised by Kurafuji in which the numeral 3 is used. The

³¹ Classifier is often omitted in colloquial Indonesian after numerals meaning ‘two’ or some number greater than two. But it is obligatory with the numeral *se* ‘one’.

unnaturalness of the example is due to pragmatic inappropriateness rather than semantic mismatch.

Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) argue that such an amendment does not make a significant improvement in Chinese, as shown in (120a):

(120) a. * Chao-guo 200-ge haizi-men
 more than 200-CL child-MEN
 ‘more than 200 children’

In my view the counterpart of (119c) should be (120b) in Mandarin:

(120) b. *Liang bai ge naizhi gengduo de haizi-men
 two hundred even more DE child-MEN
 ‘200 or even more children’

Two native speakers being asked think (120b) is unnatural and prefer using bare noun in this construction. I collected more data for (120) in my questionnaire, the results of which will be revealed and discussed in next section.

4.2 Relevant data from corpus/ web search and survey

It is technically hard to search relevant data (large/imprecise number + *CN-men*) in this section from the internet with Google. So for the following discussion I will just display some of my findings from the CCL corpus and the survey.

Remember that from the corpus study in my term paper (Lan 2010b), examples of (*imprecise*) number + *CL* + *N-men* do exist in Mandarin though unnatural and with fewer occurrences. The whole searching results of condition **x ge \$3 men** are repeated below:

(121) sange qingnian-men
 three CL young man-MEN
 ‘three young man-MEN’

(122) si wu ge wei cunjing-men
 four five CL fake village policeman-men
 ‘**four or five** fake village policeman-MEN’

(123) qi ba ge guniang-men
 seven eight CL girl-men
 ‘**seven or eight** CL girl-MEN’

(124) shijige mama-men

Ten several CL mother-MEN
'Over ten CL mother-MEN'

The rare results can be expected due to the contradiction between a classifier and the plural marker *men*. I did not mean to explore the compatibility between imprecise number and *men*, but what is surprising is that within all the 4 results listed above, X in 3 of them is not a precise number. 'Four five' means a number of four or five, 'seven eight' means a number of seven or eight, but also eligible if the real number is six or nine. And *shiji* in principle could be any number between ten and twenty.

To test native speakers' intuitions for imprecise number + *CN-men* I included the following sentences in the survey.

(1.6) 18. Yi ge yue lai, ji shi ge gongren-men zuo zai gongchang
one CL month since, several ten CL worker-MEN sit LOC factory
menkou, biaoshi kangyi.
gate, show protect
'For more than one month, dozens of workers sat at the gate of the factory to show their protest.'

(1.4) 19. Yi ge yue lai, shi ji ge nongmin-men zuo zai zhengfu
one CL month since, ten several CL peasant-MEN sit LOC government
menkou, biaoshi kangyi.
gate, show protect
'For more than one month, more than ten peasants sat at the gate of the government to show their protest.'

(1.7) 20. Wo kanjian qi ba ge nvhaizi-men zai Xingbake li liaotian.
I see seven eight CL girl-MEN LOC Starbucks inside chat
'I saw seven or eight girls who were chatting in Starbucks.'

The low acceptance for sentence 18 to 20 in the questionnaire suggests that participants feel weird about the usage of *men* when it co-occurs with an imprecise number. This conclusion is strengthened given that when compared with sentences in with precise number + *CN-men* in the same questionnaire the values of 18 to 20 do not perform significantly better.

(1.4) 16. Wo gei shi ge pengyou-men ji le kopian.
I for ten CL friend-MEN post ASP card
'I posted cards for ten friends of mine.'

(1.5) 17. Jintian wo qing bangongshi de wu ge tongshi-men lai wo jia
Today I invite office DE five CL colleague-MEN come my home
chifan.

have dinner

‘Today I invited five persons in my office for dinner at my home.’

There is no evidence from the CCL corpus that a relatively large number is more compatible with *CN-men* than small numbers. I tried to substitute *bai* ‘hundred’ and *qian* ‘thousand’ for X in the same formula **x ge \$3 men** but ended up with 0 results.

In the survey I included the following sentences.

(2.0) 21. San bai ge jiali-men zhanshi le bu tong fengge de shizhuang.
three hundred CL beauty-MEN display ASP not same style DE fashionable dress
‘The three hundred beauties displayed fashionable dresses of different styles.’

(1.5) 22. Chaoguo liang bai ge haizi-men shiyong le zhe zhong naifen.
over two hundred child-MEN eat ASP this kind milk powder
‘Over three hundred children have had this kind of milk powder.’

(2.0) 23. San bai ming naizhi geng duo de yanyuan-men canjia le juankuan.
three hundred CL even more DE player-MEN participate ASP donation
‘Three hundred or more players participated the donation.’

(1.5) 24. Gaokao qianxi, liang wan duo ming gaozhongsheng baokao le
college entrance exam eve, two ten thousand CL high school student-MEN apply ASP
Beijing daxue.
Peking University
‘Before the College Entrance Exam, over twenty thousand high school students applied for Peking University.’

Sentence 22 and 23 in the questionnaire resemble (120a) and (120b) mentioned above. In accordance with my intuition, they are less natural to other native speaker, too. But obviously 23, which I believe is more appropriate counterpart of the Japanese example (119c), behaves better than 22 with *men*.

With similar results is sentence 24, in which *liang wan duo ming* ‘over 20,000’ is both large and imprecise, which does not make the sentence even better when combined with *men*.

Compared with 21 which adopted a precise number 300, sentences 22 to 24 failed to get a higher value for naturalness, thus I conclude that *men* is not more compatible with an imprecise and/or large number as the optional plurals do in Indonesian and Japanese.

4.3 Xuduo ‘many’ + N-men

One may argue that the rare occurrences of *imprecise/ large Num + CL + N-men* listed above does not necessarily induce that such a quantifier is not compatible with *men*, rather it could mainly be the consequence of a contradiction between a classifier and *men*. So I did another search in CCL corpus in which I adopted *xuduo* ‘many’ + *N-men*. In Mandarin, *xuduo* ‘many’ indicates a comparatively large yet unspecified quantity, which is normally followed by a bare noun. For example:

(125) Lai le xuduo ren.
come ASP many people
‘Many people have come.’

(126) Mama mai le xuduo pingguo.
mother buy ASP many apple
‘My mother bought many apples.’

As we know, bare nouns in Mandarin are number-neutral and can be specified as singular or plural determined by contexts. With the quantifier *xuduo* ‘many’ preceding it, a bare count noun can only be interpreted as plural and need not to be suffixed with *men*. But if there are some cases where *xuduo* co-occurs with *N-men*, it can be a piece of evidence supporting that a large number is more compatible with *men*, though not very natural.

I restricted the number of character between *xuduo* ‘many’ and *men* to 2 so that only nouns of more than 2 characters are involved. There are altogether 284 results displayed, among which 71 results are actually *xuduo + N-men*. I translated some of them and listed below:

(127) Rujin, xuduo fu mu-men hui miandui zheyang de wenti.
today, many father mother-MEN will confront such DE problem
‘Today, many parents will confront such problems.’

(128) Xuduo dakuan-men ba qian hua zai xiangle shang, jiushi bu mai shu.
many rich man-MEN OBJ money spend at enjoy LOC, only not buy book
‘Many rich men spend money in indulging themselves but not on books.’

(129) Xuduo nongfu-men mang zhe kan shu xue jishu.
many peasant woman-MEN busy ASP read book learn technique
‘Many peasant women are busy with reading books to learn techniques.’

In the survey, I collected native speakers’ intuition for (127) and (128), which are 30 and 31 in the questionnaire. They both got **2.2** on average. This result indicates that *xuduo + N-men* is a little more acceptable than (*large/imprecise*) *number + CL + N-men*, which does not change the fact that they strike native speakers as unnatural.

4.4 Summary

To sum up, *men* differs from reduplication of nouns in Indonesian in that in principle any entity numbered over 1 can be expressed with *men*, but reduplication in Indonesian only happens with ‘large numbers’, at least ‘two N-REDUP’ is unacceptable. In this aspect, *men* differs from *tati* in Japanese, too. While a *tati*-plural is more compatible with a number modifier which is comparatively large and/or imprecise, native speakers of Mandarin Chinese do not seem to be more tolerant for such kind of numbers modifying *men*-plurals. Even with a quantifier like *xuduo* ‘many’ that does not specify for number, *men*-plurals are not perform much better in co-occurring with it. Thus relevant claims for optional plural marking in Indonesian and Japanese do not apply to that in Mandarin.

Chapter five: specificity marker

5.1 The specificity of *nan* in Papiamentu

In a comparative study of bare nominals in Papiamentu and Brazilian Portuguese, Kester and Schmitt (2007) argue that the plural marker *nan* in Papiamentu not only has number features but also has a D feature that imposes backgrounding of the DP. According to them, bare plural in Papiamentu with *nan* is not really a *bare* plural. It is felicitous if interpreted in a context where a **specific** reading can be obtained.

Such a proposal is induced from the fact in Papiamentu bare plurals with *nan* have a much narrower distribution in comparison with bare plurals in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) which resemble English bare nouns.

First, bare plurals in Papiamentu are excluded from existential sentences contexts (130) and from generic contexts (131).

(130)**Tin computernan riba mi mesa.*

Have computers on my desk
'There are computers on my desk.'

(131)a. **Muchanan ta inteligente.*

'Children are intelligent.'

b. **Kabritunan ta masha komun na Korsou.*

'Goats are very common in Curacao.'

c. **Mi ta gusta pushinan.*

'I love cats.'

Second, the bare plural in Papiamentu is possible in subject position when the discourse allows it to refer to a pre-specified set, as illustrated by the contrast in (132).

(132) a. *Despues ku *hende /hendenan a keha, nan a drecha e pelicula.*

after that person/ persons PAST complain, they PAST fix the film
'After some people complained, they fixed the film.'

b. *Si hende/*hendenan keha, no wori kun an.*

If person/persons complain, no worry with them
'If people complain, don't worry about them.'

It is said in (132a) the bare plural is not generic; it is felicitous in a context where the speaker is reporting an episode he witnessed in the movie theatre. On the other hand, in (132b), the statement is generic; it is felicitous in a context where the manager of

the movie theatre is explaining the usher that he does not need to worry about the complaints (Kester and Schmitt 2007).

So the distribution of bare plurals in Papiamentu seems to be discourse dependent. More specifically, the ability of nouns pluralized by *nan* to appear as subjects³² of episodic sentences suggest that some degree of specificity may be involved.

The most common definition of specificity is in which the speaker has a particular referent in mind. As noted by many linguists, specificity actually has different levels and there are other types of specificity that do not seem to require a unique referent in the speaker's mind. Geurt (2003 cf. Kester and Schmitt 2007) argues that specificity is to be associated with backgrounding, which is less central to the concerns of the speaker than foregrounded information. The notion of backgrounding is adopted by Kester and Schmitt (2007) to tentatively explain the distribution of nan-plurals in the following contexts:

(i) **The subject is interpreted as specific**, which is exemplified by (132), repeated here as (133):

(133) a. Despues ku *hende /hendenan a keha, nan a drecha e pelicula.

After that person/ persons PAST complain, they PAST fix the film
'After some people complained, they fixed the film.'

b. Si hende/*hendenan keha, no wori kun an.

If person/persons complain, no worry with them
'If people complain, don't worry about them.'

(ii) **The subject has a contrastive/focus reading:**

(134) Muhenan ta lesando i hombernan ta skibiendo.

Women-pl are reading and man-pl are writing
'Women are reading and men are writing.'

(iii) **The object is modified by an adjective or relative clause:**

In object position bare plurals are not felicitous in Papiamentu. But modified form is perfectly acceptable for all speakers (Kester and Schmitt 2007). See example (135) and (136).

(135) a. Mi ta mira *bukinan/buki riba mesa.

I PRES see *books/ book on table
'I see books on the table.'

b. Mi ta mira bukinan na spañó riba mesa.

³² In object position bare plurals in Papiamentu are not felicitous, unless they are modified.

I PRES see books in Spanish on table
'I see Spanish books on the table.'

(136) a. El a bin ku *regalonan/regalo pa mi.
he PAST come with *presents/ present for me
'He came with presents for me.'

b. El a bin ku regalonan mashá karu pa mi.
he PRES come with presents very expensive for me
'He came with very expensive presents for me.'

(133a) is suggested backgrounded by contextual information regarding the people in the audience of a movie theatre; in (134) backgrounding is expressed by the contrastive /focus intonation and in (135b) and (136b), the objects are backgrounded by means of modification (Kester and Schmitt 2007).

5.2 Relevant data from the survey

Due to limited contexts and time, I cannot judge the specificity of sentences searched from the web/corpus one by one. The only option for me to collect relevant data is from the survey answered by native speakers of Chinese.

In the survey I examine whether *CN-men* can have a specific reading with the three constructions above.

i. (3.1) 40. Guanzhong-men/ guanzhong baoyuan yihou, tamen xiuli le jiaopian.
audience-MEN / audience complain after, they fix PAST film
'After some audiences complained, they fixed the film.'
(Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of audience in mind?)

(2.3) 41. Ruguo guanzhong-men/ guanzhong baoyuan, bu yong danxin.
If guanzhong-MEN /guanzhong complain, not need worry
'If audiences complain, do not worry.'
(Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of audience in mind?)

The contrast between 40 and 41 indicates that while in 40 *guanzhong-men* 'audience-men' is likely to get a specific reading, in 41 it is not. This result is understandable because in a clause with *ruguo* 'if', the subject can hardly be specific, unless in a certain context. However, there is no evidence that men-plurals cannot appear as the subject in sentence 41 (of in other words, such a sentence is odd), which is different from Papiamentu where only bare nouns can occur in a sentence like 41. In such a case, we cannot say *men* imposes specificity on a noun.

ii. (3.2) 42 Nvren-men zai yuedu, nanren-men zai xiezu.

Woman-MEN PROG read, man-MEN PROG write

‘(The) Women are reading while (the) men are writing.’

(Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of audience in mind?)

The high average of 3.2 seems to indicate that most participants believe that *nvren-men* ‘woman-men’ and *nanren-men* ‘man-men’ are specific here. However, as one could suggest the specific reading in 42 is brought about by the topic status of the noun, I also included 43 in the survey. If, as in Papiamentu, the contrastive construction helps identify the intended referent and makes backgrounding possible, the native speakers are expected to agree that *nvren-men* ‘woman-men’ and *nanren-men* ‘man-men’ in 43 are specific to the speaker.

(1.8) 43 Zou le nvren-men, lai le nanren-men.

leave ASP woman-MEN, come ASP man-MEN

‘Women came and men left.’

(Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of audience in mind?)

The low value of 1.8 does not support the men-as-specific analysis and indicates that the specificity in 42 is very likely out of the topic status of men-plurals there.

iii. Since *men* usually does not attach to non-human nouns, I cannot borrow (136) directly from Papiamentu. More importantly, unlike Papiamentu in which only when being modified can a bare plural (CN-nan) be accepted in object position, *CN-men* can appear in object position freely even without a modifier. For example:

(34) Wo kanjian le haizi-men.

I see PAST child-MEN

‘I saw the children/ some children.’

(35) Wo kanjian le chuan hong qunzi de haizi-men.

I see PAST wear red dress DE child-MEN.

‘I saw children with red dresses.’

The absence of such a contrast displayed by modified /unmodified bare plural in object position thus fails to offer any evidence for a specific interpretation of *CN-men* as the case of *CN-nan*. So I will not test similar constructions in my questionnaire.

5.3 Evidence against a specific interpretation for *men*

As a matter of fact, there is stronger evidence against a specific interpretation of *CN-men*. Here I repeat sentence (56b) as (137) searched from the internet and presented in Section 2, where the existence of *ren-men* ‘person-men’ is known to the speaker. In that case, the speaker cannot have a specific referent of *ren-men* in mind, either.

(137) Wo bu zhidao qita de defang hai **you mei you** ren men huo xialai.

I not know other DE places still have not have person-MEN alive COMP
‘I don’t know whether or not there are survivors in other places.’

gushihuis.blogbus.com/logs/41067008.html

5.4 Summary

In this section, I first introduced briefly the optional plural marker *nan* in Papiamentu. Apart from marking plurality, researchers such as Kester and Schmitt (2007) suggest that *nan*-plurals appear only in contexts where it is backgrounded and it gets a specific interpretation. Thus by comparing *nan*-plurals in Papiamentu with *men*-plurals in Mandarin, I want to see whether the optional plural marker in Mandarin functions as a specificity marker as well. It turns out that the distribution of *men* is not the same as *nan* in that *men*-plurals and number-neutral bare nouns in Mandarin do not display some distributional contrasts as *nan*-plural and bare nouns do in Papiamentu. In addition, data from the survey and web search do not give further support for a *men*-as-specific analysis. From what we have discovered so far, the conclusion is reached that *men* does not have a specificity implication with it.

Chapter six: The majority of men as definite

So far I have looked in Chapters two through five at all the possible supplementary meaning effects that have been proposed for *men* and similar items in other languages, but it turns out that none of them - upon closer scrutiny - really apply to *men*. So I conclude that *men* is nothing more than a plural marker.

In Chapter six I intend to look into one supplementary meaning effect in particular: definiteness, which is the meaning effect along with *men* most often cited by many Chinese grammars. In 2.1 I have challenged the men-as-definite hypothesis. At the same time, we must admit that men-plurals, as tati-plurals in Japanese, seem to eliminate many of the interpretations typically associated with indefinite plurals. Given that *men* is not a definite marker itself, the definite reading of men-plurals cannot be brought about by *men*. What are the possible factors, either syntactic or semantic ones, that make men-plurals prone to be interpreted as definite then? I will give a tentative explanation and a principled analysis in this section.

6.1 Default definite reading for preverbal *men* plurals

Several factors have been known to determine the interpretation of bare nominals in Mandarin. Among them the most determinant ones are predicate types, syntactic function and topic status of a bare noun. Others factors include aspects, sentence constructions and extra-grammatical pragmatic principles (Lan 2010a). Kuo (2008) points out that bare nouns have a generic interpretation with individual-level predicates. With stage-level predicates, they have a definite interpretation when they are in (preverbal) topic position and an existential interpretation (while a definite reading is possible) when they are not in topic position. For example:

Subjects of individual-level predicates: generic or type-referring

(138) Konglong jueji le.

Dinosaur extinct-PERF

“Dinosaurs are extinct.”

Objects of individual-level predicates: generic, either preverbal or postverbal

(139) a. Wo xihuan shu.

I like book

“I like books.”

b. Shu, wo xihuan. Ta bu xihuan.

Book, I like. He not like

“Books, I like. He doesn’t like.”

Subjects of stage-level predicates: definite

(140) Ren dao-le.

Person arrive-PERF

“The person has arrived.”

“The persons have arrived.”

Objects of stage-level predicates:

Preverbally: definite

(141) a. Shu ta nian-le.

Book he read-PERF

“He has read the book(s).”

b. Ta shu nian-le.

He book read-PERF

“He has read the book(s).”

Postverbally: existential; definite is also possible

(142)a. **Context I**

Waiter: What would you like?

A: Ta chi niurou. Wo chi zhurou.

He eat beef. I eat pork.

“He would like beef and I would like pork.”

b. Context II

A: We had lunch together.

Ta chi niurou. Wo chi zhurou.

He eat beef. I eat pork.

“He ate beef. I ate pork.”

As we can see, although case is not morphologically marked, in Mandarin Chinese the subject is always the topic of a sentence by default and the object can be topicalized to a preverbal position. Thus in topic positions bare nouns are usually interpreted as definite unless in a sentence with an individual-level predicate.

In a microscopic corpus research, I (2010a) scanned through a Chinese novel, categorized bare nominals and *yi* nominals³³ with regard to their syntactic positions / topic status (preverbal or postverbal) and their definiteness³⁴. The basic methodology is that I picked up as many as bare nominals I found in the texts and judged its status of definiteness according to the context. I will offer two examples that show how

³³ *Yi* is the cardinal ‘one’ in Mandarin and *yi* nominals refer to the sequence ‘*yi* + CL + noun’ in this classifier language. It is said that *yi* behaves like an indefinite article in Mandarin as ‘a/an’ in English. My text study in my internship is to display the relationship between topic status and definiteness and the competitive correlation between *yi* nominals and bare nominals in Mandarin.

³⁴ In the corpus study, I restrict the nominals to argument positions. Nominals which are mass nouns or abstract nouns are also excluded because there won’t be a competition between a bare nouns and a *yi* nominal.

context defines and affects the interpretation of a bare noun.

- (143) (Laoli) Ba **dayi** tuo le.
(Laoli) OBJ coat take off ASP
“Laoli took off his coat.”

Preverbal object *dayi* ‘coat’ is not introduced before in the context that Laoli is visiting a friend. But we can imagine when he entered the host’s house he must take off his own coat rather than any other coat. So ‘coat’ here is a *bridging* definite.

- (144) Zhang dage diao zhe **yandou**.
Zhang brother hold in the mouth ASP pipe
“Brother Zhang was holding the pipe in his mouth.”

Yandou ‘pipe’ is definite simply because the same referent is introduced before by the sentence:

- (145) Zhang dage dian shang yandou.
Zhang brother light COMP pipe
“Brother Zhang lit a pipe.”

So *yandou* ‘pipe’ in (144) is a very typical definite.

Indefinites also have different realizations in this novel, which could be bare nouns or yi-nominals and can appear in a general story or under a modal operator/negation, etc.

The results show that 69% preverbal bare nominals are definite and 30% are indefinite in different ways. 53% postverbal bare nominals are definite and 48% are indefinite. These figures indicate that definite is the default reading for bare nominals and preverbally they are more likely to be definite due to its topic status. The empirical evidence confirms the correlation between definiteness and syntactic position / topic status of bare nouns as suggested by some linguists (among others, Kuo 2008).

With this conclusion for bare nominals, we have reason to suppose that *men* plurals tend to be definite partially because they appear more in preverbal positions of a sentence. To test this supposal, I made a corpus study with the CCL corpus, and searched for the occurrences of *men* as a suffix to common human nouns³⁵ except *ren*, the general word for ‘person’³⁶. I also exclude the cases that *men* immediately follows the morpheme *ge* ‘brother’ or *jie* ‘sister’ where *men* is not a plural marker but a content morpheme. Altogether I collected 529 results and selected among them 319

³⁵ The cases where *men* is the obligatory plural marker for personal pronouns are not considered because plural personal pronouns are always definite.

³⁶ *Ren*-men (people) behaves differently from other kind of *CN+ men* in that it occurs much more frequently and it is more likely to be indefinite. So I excluded this noun from my search.

occurrences where *CN + men* is the sentence argument and is not preceded by any quantifiers such as *yixie* ‘some’. The relevant data is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3

	Matched occurrences	Preverbal CN-men	Postverbal CN-men
Number	319	306	13
Percentage	100%	95.5%	4.1%

The surprising contrast between the frequencies of preverbal and postverbal *CN + men* in argument positions reveals that most *men*-plurals are the topic of a sentence where they are most likely to be definite. Furthermore this might lead directly to the fact that the majority of *men* plurals have a default definite interpretation. Here I listed some sentences from the corpus search result. All the *men*-plurals are subjects and from the limited context we can tell they are interpreted as definite.

(146) ...Jihua shi xiang yishujia dinggou le dapi zuopin, zai kunjing zhong,
 plan room from artist order ASP many work, LOC hardship in,
 yishujia-men budan meiyou esi, faner hai chuanguo chu le xuduo weida de zuopin.
 artist-MEN not only not starve, but still create out ASP many great DE work
 ‘...The planning office ordered lots of works from the artists. Thus in a difficult position, the artists were free from starvation and created many great works.’

(147) ...Ta pai ren zhuan Cheng jie hui HeLong furen XueMing, shisan wu
 he assign person special trip send back HeLong wife XueMing, scattered five
 nian de haizi-men ye tuanju le.
 year DE child-MEN also get together ASP
 ‘He assigned people to send back HeLong’s wife XueMing with a special trip. And their children who had scattered for five years also got together.’

(148) Zai Chaoxian zhanzheng jieshu qianxi de yi ge zhendi shang, ta shi weiyi de
 LOC Korea war end eve DE one CL position on, he is only DE
 xingcunzhe, zhanyou-men dou xisheng le.
 survivor, comrade-MEN all die ASP
 ‘In a battlefield before the end of the Korean War, he was the only survivor; all his comrades had died.’

In (146) *yishujia-men* ‘artist-men’ must refer to *yishujia* ‘artist’ mentioned in the first clause, hence it is definite. Given the context of (147) *haizi-men* ‘child-men’ can only be the children of HeLong and his wife XueMing and be better translated as ‘their children’. Similarly, *zhanyou-men* ‘comrade-men’ in (148) refer to the comrades of *ta* ‘him/he’.

The close correlation between topic status and definiteness is not uniquely

reflected in Mandarin Chinese. In their paper, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) confirm that such a relation happens between topic marker *-wa* and definiteness in Japanese, as has been illustrated here in (149):

(149) a. *Otokonoko-tati-ga asonde-iru*

boy-TATI-Nom play-Prog

‘(The) boys are playing.’

b. *Kyoozyu-tati-wa yoku syabetta-kedo, gakusee-tati-wa otonasi-katta*

professor-TATI-Top a lot talked-but student-TATI-Top quiet-was

‘The professors talked a lot, but the students were quiet.’

It is more natural to interpret *otokonoko-tati* as indefinite because it has the nominative marker *-ga*. If marked with *-wa*, it would only have the definite interpretation as illustrated by (149b).

6.2 A side-effect of common human noun *men* attaches

As is mentioned, a distinctive feature of *men* from a normal plural marker like *s* in English is that the common noun it attaches usually refers to human beings. Some effects associated with this feature lead to a higher likelihood of *men* plurals to be definite.

First, a human noun in a sentence is more topic-oriented, thus is more likely to be posited in the subject position and gain a definite interpretation.

Second, common human nouns in a sentence usually refer to a referent that has been familiar to the speaker. A quick scan of web-searching data on *CN + men* shows that the most frequently used common nouns suffixed by *men* are those with one or more of the semantic features of [+ family relationship] (sister, child, parent), [+ profession] (doctor, teacher, artist) and [+ social relationship] (guest, neighbor, friend, colleague, audience). It is not difficult to understand that most human common nouns with such a semantic property are definite. Thus *sister-men* are *sisters of mine/the speaker* but not any irrelevant persons. In the same vein, *doctor-men*, being unable to have a generic interpretation, is most likely to refer to the doctors in a certain circumstance under a certain context. Needless to say, when *men* attaches to a proper name to indicate the group of people represented by the person denoted by that proper name (*XiaoQiang-men*: XiaoQiang and those together with him/ his friends), the *proper name + men* must be definite.

In a word, the fact that the majority of *men* plurals are interpreted as definite is not caused by the semantics of *men* but originates from the topic status of most *men* plurals as bare nominals behave in Mandarin and are side-effects of common human nouns it attaches.

Conclusion

In this paper I aimed to explore the semantics of the suffix *men* in Mandarin Chinese, in particular, to define its identity from a plural marker vs. collectivity marker debate and to test other possible interpretations suggested by Chinese grammars/researchers or inspired by other languages.

Taking into the distributional behavior of *men*, I presented a comparative study on men-plurals in Mandarin and optional plural markers in other languages, including tati-plural in Japanese, nan-plurals in Papiamentu, reduplication of noun in Indonesian. English, Afrikaans, Dëne Sųliné and Spanish are also referred to where necessary. To make my findings more convincing, I conducted a series of corpus studies, web search as well as a survey to collect empirical data as strong support.

It is known that in languages with optional plural marking, the so-called plural marker are often found with other semantics/ functions such as indicating definiteness, collectivity, specificity or being more compatible with a large and/or imprecise number. My conclusion is that although some cases show that *men* seems to have these interpretations, no evidence is significantly strong enough to support any optional roles other than a plural marker performed by *men*. Nor is there any convincing theoretic account so far for a non-plural-marker identity of *men*. I claim that very probably, the seemingly strong men-as-definite interpretation is brought about by other factors like the topic status or is just the side-effects of the human noun *men* attaches.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for the survey

1. Ta-men dou hen congming.
he-MEN all very smart
'They are all very smart.'
2. Ta-men dou ju zai xuexiao menkou.
he-MEN all gather LOC school gate
'They all gathered at the gate of the school.'
3. Haizi-men dou shui zhao le.
child-MEN all sleep COM ASP
'All the children fell asleep.'
4. Gongren-men dou juji zai gongchang menkou.
worker-MEN all gather LOC factory gate
'All the workers gathered at the gate of the factory.'
5. Xuesheng-men ge chi le yi kuai dangao.
student-MEN each eat ASP one CL cake
'Each of the students ate a piece of cake.'
6. Wo-men ge you yi duan shibai de hunyin.
I-MEN each have one CL unsuccessful DE marriage
'Each of us has an unsuccessful marriage.'
7. Haitan shang you ren-men.
beach LOC have person-MEN
'There are people on the beach.'
8. Jie shang you haizi-men.
street LOC have child-MEN
'There are children on the street.'
9. Gongyuan li you ren-men zai tiaowu.
park LOC have person-MEN ASP dance
'There are people dancing in the park.'
10. Caochang shang you tiqiu de xuesheng-men.
playground LOC have play football DE student-MEN
'There are students who are playing football on the playground.'

11. Ditie li mei you ren-men.
 subway LOC not have person-MEN
 ‘There are no people in the subway.’
12. Zhe ge gongchang li mei you gongren-men
 this CL factory LOC not have worker-MEN
 ‘There are no workers in this factory.’
13. Jiaoshi li mei you haizi-men zai shangke.
 classroom LOC not have child-MEN ASP have class
 ‘There are no children in the classroom who are having class.’
14. Jianshenfang li mei you duanlian de ren-men.
 gym LOC not have do exercise DE person-MEN
 ‘There are no people in the gym who are doing exercises.’
15. Dizhen hou, wo bu zhidao you mei you ren-men huo xialai.
 earth quake after, I not know have not have person-MEN live COMP
 ‘After the earthquake, I did not know whether there were survivors.’
16. Wo gei shi ge pengyou-men ji le kopian.
 I for ten CL friend-MEN post ASP card
 ‘I posted cards for ten friends of mine.’
17. Jintian wo qing bangongshi de wu ge tongshi-men lai wo jia
 Today I invite office DE five CL colleague-MEN come my home
 chifan.
 have dinner
 ‘Today I invited five persons in my office for dinner at my home.’
18. Yi ge yue lai, ji shi ge gongren-men zuo zai gongchang menkou,
 one CL month since, several ten CL worker-MEN sit LOC factory gate,
 biaooshi kangyi.
 Show protect
 ‘For more than one month, dozens of workers sat at the gate of the factory to show their protest.’
19. Yi ge yue lai, shi ji ge nongmin-men zuo zai zhengfu menkou,
 one CL month since, ten several CL peasant-MEN sit LOC government gate,
 biaooshi kangyi.
 show protect
 ‘For more than one month, more than ten peasants sat at the gate of the government to show their protest.’

20. Wo kanjian qi ba ge nvhaizi-men zai Xingbake li liaotian.
I see seven eight girl-MEN LOC Starbucks inside chat
'I saw seven or eight girls who were chatting in Starbucks.'
21. San bai ge jiali-men zhanshi le bu tong fengge de shizhuang.
three hundred CL beauty-MEN display ASP not same style DE fashionable dress
'The three hundred beauties displayed fashionable dresses of different styles.'
22. Chaoguo liang bai ge haizi-men shiyong le zhe zhong naifen.
over two hundred child-MEN eat ASP this kind milk powder
'Over three hundred children have had this kind of milk powder.'
23. San bai ming naizhi geng duo de yanyuan-men canjia le juankuan.
three hundred CL even more DE player-MEN participate ASP donation
'Three hundred or more players participated the donation.'
24. Gaokao qianxi, liang wan duo ming gaozhongsheng baokao le
college entrance exam eve, two ten thousand CL high school student-MEN apply ASP
Beijing daxue.
Peking University
'Before the College Entrance Exam, over twenty thousand high school students
applied for Peking University.'
25. Ta zhoumo qu dongwuyuan kanwang le da xiongmao-men.
he weekend go zoo visit ASP giant panda-MEN
'In the weekend he visited the giant pandas in the zoo.'
26. Gege zou hou, chongwu-men you wo lai zhaokan.
brother left after, pet-MEN PASS I come look after
'After brother left, I looked after his pets.'
27. Xiao houzi-men xihuan ting hou mama jiang gushi.
little monkey-MEN like listen monkey mother tell story
'The little monkeys like listening to the stories told by their mother.'
28. Wo ba wo de zhaopian-men zhengli le yibian. (inanimate object)
I OBJ I DE picture-MEN sort ASP once
'I sorted / documented my pictures.'
29. Dixia tingchechang li tingfang zhe zhuhu de che-men.
Underground parking site LOC park ASP tenement DE car-MEN
'In the underground parking site parked the cars of the tenements.'

30. Rujin, xuduo fumu-men hui miandui zhe yang de wenti.
today, many father mother-MEN will confront this kind DE problem
'Today, many parents will confront such problems.'
31. Xuduo dakuan-men ba qian hua zai xiangle shang, jiushi bu mai shu.
many rich man-MEN OBJ money spend at enjoy LOC, only not buy book
'Many rich men spend money in indulging themselves but not on books.'
32. Huoban-men yi ge jie yi ge de bing dao le.
friend-MEN one CL follow one CL DE ill down ASP
'(My) Friends fell ill one after another.'
33. Zaoshang jiazhang-men yi ge jie yi ge kai zhe che song haizi lai le.
morning parent-MEN one CL follow one CL drive Prog car send child come ASP.
'In the morning, parents sent their children (to school) by car.'
34. Xin ren-men yiqi zhong xia le aiqing shu.
new person-MEN together plant COM ASP love tree
'The newly married couples planted together 'love trees''.
35. Wo zai wuzi li kan linju de xiaohai-men fangbianpao.
I LOC room in look neighbor DE kid-MEN play fireworks
'I look at the neighbor kids who played fireworks.'
36. Zhe ge gongyuan li zong you haizi-men zai wanshua.
this CL park inside always have child-MEN Prog play
'In this park, there are always children playing.'
37. Zhe ge caochang shang zong zuo zhe xuesheng-men.
this CL playground LOC always sit ASP student-MEN
'There are always students sitting on this playground.'
38. Zai gongyuan li changge de nvhai-men dangzhong ye baokuo ji ge nanhai.
at park inside sing DE girl-MEN among also include several CL boy
'Among the girls who were singing in the park, a few boys were included.'
39. Zai gongyuan li changge de nvhai dangzhong, ye baokuo ji ge nanhai.
at park inside sing DE girl among, also include several CL boy
'Among the girls who were singing in the park, a few boys were included.'
40. Guanzhong-men/ guanzhong baoyuan yihou, tamen xiuli le jiaopian.
audience-MEN / audience complain after, they fix PAST film

‘After some audiences complained, they fixed the film.’

Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of audience in mind?

41. Ruguo guanzhong-men/ guanzhong baoyuan, bu yong danxin.

If guanzhong-MEN /guanzhong complain, not need worry
‘If audiences complain, do not worry.’

Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of audience in mind?

42. Nvren-men zai yuedu, nanren-men zai xiezu.

Woman-MEN PROG read, man-MEN PROG write
‘(The) Women are reading while (the) men are writing.’

Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of women /men in mind?

43. Zou le nvren-men, lai le nanren-men.

leave ASP woman-MEN, come ASP man-MEN
‘Women came and men left.’

Do you think the speaker has a **specific** group of women /men in mind?

44. Nanren-men mai le yi zhang caipiao.

man-MEN buy ASP one CL lottery
‘(The) men bought one lottery ticket.’

The intended meaning of this sentence is, only one lottery ticket was bought rather than every man bought a lottery ticket.

45. (In a party 7 professors came with 3 of them taking their non-professor spouses; 13 students came with 2 of them taking their non-student spouses; and 3 librarians came with 1 of them taking his non-librarian wife.) Then if I say:

Juhui shang jiaoshou-men shuo le xuduo hua, xuesheng-men ze hen anjing.
party at professor-MEN talk ASP many word, student-MEN but very quiet

‘At the party the professors talked a lot, but the students were quiet.’

Can ‘professor-men’ and ‘student-men’ include their spouses here?

46. Yidali ren-men hen kailang.

Italy person-MEN very cheerful
: ‘Italians are cheerful.’

47. Nv sijia zhentan-men hen shao.

female private detective-MEN very rare
‘Female private detectives are rare.’

48. Na jia yiyuan zhengzai zhao hushi-men.

that CL hospital Prog look for nurse-MEN
‘That hospital is looking for nurses (to hire).’

49. Wang nvshi you hazi-men. (*It asserts that Mrs. Inoue is a mother*).

Wang Mrs. have child-MEN

'Mrs. Wang has the children.'

Appendix 2: All ratings the participants gave for each item in the survey³⁷

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
1	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	
2	4	4	4	4	2	4	3	3	4	4	2	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	
3	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	
4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	1	4	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	3	3	4	4	
5	2	3	3	3	2	2	4	1	2	1	1	1	4	2	4	1	2	1	1	2	4	4	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	4	2	2	
6	2	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	1	2	4	3	3	4	2	4	3	2	3	4	3	4	1	4	4	3	2	4	4	2	4	
7	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	
8	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	4	1	1	1	
9	1	1	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	
10	1	1	4	3	2	3	4	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	2	2	
11	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
12	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
13	1	1	3	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	3	
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	
16	1	1	2	1	4	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	
17	1	1	1	1	4	4	3	1	1	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
18	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	4	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	
19	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	
20	1	1	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	2	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	
21	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	4	1	2	1	1	3	4	1	4	1	1	4	4	3	4	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	3	
22	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	
23	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	4	1	2	2	1	3	4	3	4	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	
24	1	1	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	
25	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	
26	2	1	3	4	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	1	3	4	4	4	4	1	3	2	3	4	4	2	4	
27	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	1	1	3	4	1	3	1	4	2	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	
28	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	
29	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
30	1	1	3	4	1	4	3	1	1	4	2	2	2	1	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	4	4
31	1	1	1	1	2	4	3	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	4	1	3	2	2	4	4	4	4	1	1	3	3	1	2	2	3	4
32	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	
33	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	1	4	3	3	3	4	3	4	
34	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	3	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	
35	4	4	1	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	3	4	1	2	3	2	3	4	3	4	
36	4	2	4	3	1	4	4	1	4	2	1	4	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	3	1	4	4	4	1	3	3	3	1	4	3	4	
37	1	2	1	2	1	3	3	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	3	1	3	4	3	2	1	3	2	2	

³⁷ The numbers on the first row stand for 32 participants.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
38	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	2	4	1	1	4	4	1	4	1	1	1	3	4	4	4	1	3	4	4	
39	4	1	4	4	2	2	1	4	4	1	4	1	2	4	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	1	4	4	4	3	4	1	3	3	4	
40	4	4	1	4	4	3	1	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	3	1	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	1	4	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	
41	1	3	1	4	2	1	1	1	4	4	1	4	1	4	4	1	4	2	4	1	4	1	1	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	
42	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	1	1	4	4	4	4	4	3	1	4	3	4	4	4	4	1	1	1	3	4	2	3	4	4	1	
43	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	1	1	3	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	3	1	1	
44	4	4	4	4	1	3	4	4	4	1	4	1	4	4	4	1	4	3	4	4	1	4	1	1	4	1	3	4	3	3	4	4	
45	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	4	1	1	
46	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	
47	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	
48	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	2	1	
49	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1

Appendix 3: Rating distribution, standard deviation and average of each item in

the survey³⁸

	1	2	3	4	S.d.	Average
1	0	1	3	28	0.447889	3.8
2	0	3	9	20	0.671271	3.5
3	0	0	2	30	0.245935	3.9
4	1	2	6	23	0.756024	3.6
5	8	11	7	6	1.065875	2.3
6	2	6	9	15	0.954087	3.1
7	29	1	2	0	0.514899	1.2
8	21	8	2	1	0.761339	1.5
9	18	7	3	4	0.803219	1.5
10	12	8	10	2	0.981687	2.1
11	31	1	0	0	0.176777	1.0
12	27	3	2	0	0.552669	1.1
13	19	5	7	1	0.931094	1.7
14	28	4	0	0	0.336011	1.2
15	27	1	3	1	0.780302	1.3
16	24	5	1	2	0.837021	1.4
17	25	1	3	3	1.016001	1.5
18	21	5	4	2	0.945597	1.6
19	23	6	2	1	0.756024	1.4
20	19	6	5	2	0.965117	1.7
21	19	3	3	7	1.216486	2.0
22	24	4	2	2	0.91526	1.5
23	14	8	6	4	1.062085	2.0
24	22	4	5	1	0.879883	1.5
25	29	2	1	0	0.535061	1.1
26	6	3	8	15	1.216486	2.9
27	4	3	6	19	1.077632	3.3
28	27	5	0	0	0.368902	1.2
29	30	1	0	1	0.553581	1.0
30	11	11	3	7	1.148281	2.2
31	13	5	8	6	1.184153	2.2
32	1	1	3	27	0.672022	3.8
33	1	1	8	22	0.712079	3.6
34	1	1	4	26	0.683179	3.7

³⁸ This table displays, for example, how many participants rated items 1 as 1/2/3/4 and what is the standard deviation of each item.

	1	2	3	4	S.d.	Average
35	3	5	5	19	1.04727	3.3
36	6	3	7	16	1.201058	3.0
37	14	7	8	3	1.045343	1.9
38	16	3	3	10	1.338029	2.1
39	10	3	3	16	1.344043	2.7
40	6	3	4	19	1.203154	3.1
41	15	5	1	11	1.367833	2.3
42	7	1	5	19	1.282245	3.2
43	21	2	5	4	1.194325	1.8
44	8	0	5	19	1.268413	3.1
45	23	2	4	3	1.015505	1.6
46	24	8	0	0	0.439941	1.2
47	29	3	0	0	0.296145	1.1
48	26	4	0	2	0.780302	1.2
49	29	2	1	0	0.447889	1.1

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