The Department of Linguistics
is pleased to present

Jess Law

Rutgers University
speaking on

Constraints on distributivity

Thursday, January 17, 2019
3:00 PM
Location: HUM 2 - Room 259

Abstract:
Recent work on distributivity has highlighted that evaluating distributive quantification gives rise not just to truth-conditional effects, but also to data structure that encodes the dependency of distributivity (e.g., Krifka 1996, van den Berg 1996, Brasoveanu 2008, 2011, Henderson 2014, Bumford 2015, Champollion 2017). In this talk, I show that distributivity markers, such as English *each*, impose constraints precisely targeting the dependency contributed by distributivity (see also Farkas 1997, 2002 and Henderson 2014).

It is further shown that a family of these constraints can be subsumed under the notion of monotonicity (Schwarzschild 2006, Wellwood 2015), which requires the partial mereological order observed in one part of the dependency be preserved in another part of the dependency. The family of monotonicity constraints subsumes numerous generalizations accumulated for distributivity markers across languages over the past few decades, including:

(i) the counting quantifier requirement (Sutton 1993, Szabolcsi 2010) and the extensive measurement requirement (Zhang 2013) of binominal *each*,

(ii) the event differentiation requirement of determiner and adverbial *each* (Tunstall 1998, Brasoveanu and Dotlacil 2015),

(iii) the indefiniteness requirement of German *jeweils* (Zimmermann 2002) and Mandarin *ge* (Lee et al. 2009), and

(iv) the definiteness constraint of Cantonese *saai* (Lee 1994, Tang 1996).

To model distributivity dependency, I offer a logic resembling the original Dynamic Plural Logic in van den Berg (1996) but also incorporates more recent innovations such as domain plurality and delayed evaluation, found in its cousin logic Plural Compositional DRT (Brasoveanu 2006, 2008, 2013).