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I will take up a distinction between two kinds of distributive operators: those whose sorting key is a set of individuals, and those whose sorting key is a set of events. I propose that the distributive operator involved in the interpretation of “every NP”, “each NP”, and floated overt “each” belongs to the former kind (individuals in the sorting key), whereas the distributive operator involved in the interpretation of binominal “each”, silent EACH, distributed-share numeral reduplication (‘two-two monkeys’) in Telugu and Hungarian, the suffixes “-ssik” in Korean and “-na” in Basque, etc. belongs to the latter kind (events in the sorting key). The claim that distributive operators have either individuals or events in their sorting keys is not new, but the proposed classification is new. It was first defended in Szabolcsi (2010: Chapter 8). The talk will go a little beyond that proposal, primarily drawing on (sometimes reinterpreting) the data and/or theories in the works listed below.

Balusu 2005, Distributive reduplication in Telugu. Proceedings of NELS 36. Beghelli 1997, The syntax of distributivity and pair-list readings. In Ways of Scope Taking. Brasoveanu 2011, Sentence-internal different as quantifier-internal anaphora. In press in Linguistics and Philosophy. Oh 2001, Distributivity in an event semantics. Proceedings of SALT 11. Solomon 2011, True distributivity and the functional interpretation of indefinites. Ms., NYU. Szabolcsi 2010, Quantification. Cambridge University Press.