

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

No number restriction on object argument

MULT and DIST forms are also found with singular objects

(5) Context: Juan opened the (same) door repeatedly.
 Juan quih hahoot hac cöiyeemetim.
 Juan det door DET.SG 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.MULT
Juan opened the door multiple times.

(6) Juan quih haaco cap cöiyeemla.
 Juan det house DET.SG 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.DIST
Juan opened several doors/windows in the house. [Questionnaire2FT5]

7/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

No multiplication of singular indefinites

(7) Context: In a game, Juan opened a different door every day last week.

a. #Juan quih hahoot zo cöiyeemetim /
 Juan det door.SG INDEF.SG 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.MULT
 cöiyeemla.
 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.DIST
Juan opened a door.

b. Juan quih hahootj pac cöiyeemetim /
 Juan DET door.PL INDEF.PL 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.MULT
 cöiyeemla.
 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.DIST
Juan opened doors.

8/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Summary

- Both MULT and DIST forms are sensitive to event number
 - They are not compatible with one-event scenarios
 - They are compatible with multiple-event scenarios
- They do not mark object number agreement
- Like other pluractional markers (Laca 2006 and references therein), they do not multiply a singular indefinite DP in their scope
- In what follows, we describe and contrast some salient properties of these two forms wrt
 - event distribution and individuation
 - argument orientation
 - scope wrt quantifiers

9/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Individuating (sub-)events through event distribution

- Events in general have a time, a participant, a location, etc

(8) **Yesterday**, my friends visited **Puerto Libertad**.

- Pluractional forms can be licensed by establishing distributive dependencies between the multitude of events and a multitude of times or participants or locations (Dressler, 1968; Cusic, 1981)
- E.g. this sentence is true if each of my friends visited Puerto Libertad just once at the same time but separately

t ₁	_____	e ₁	_____	John
t ₁	_____	e ₂	_____	Mary
t ₁	_____	e ₃	_____	Matt

- Is distribution (over any argument) enough to license a pluractional form in Seri?

10/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

MULT requires temporal distribution

(9) Juan quih xiica an iqueeecalca coi hant iyootoxim.
 Juan DET suitcases DET.PL land 3;3.RLYO.carry.MULT
Juan carried the suitcases. [Questionnaire2FT5]

Picture A, MULT: true

Picture B, MULT: false

11/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

DIST requires distribution over participants

(10) Juan quih xiica an iqueeecalca coi hant iyootyax.
 Juan DET suitcases DET.PL land 3;3.RLYO.carry.DIST
Juan carried the suitcases. [Questionnaire2FT5]

Picture A, DIST: true

Picture B, DIST: true

12/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Event individuation depends on configuration of theme

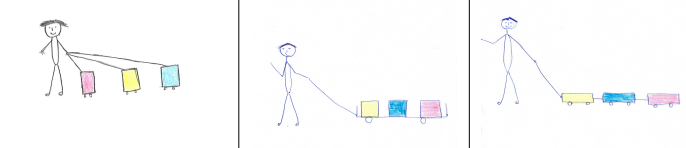
(11) Juan quih xiica an iqueecalca coi hant iyootyax.
 Juan DET suitcases DET.PL land 3;3.RLYO.carry.DIST
Juan carried the suitcases. [Questionnaire2FT5]

Picture B, DIST: true Picture C, DIST: false Picture D, DIST: true

SITUACIÓ: ESTA TARDI D' A DUMI ARRIBARONDO
 SU MALCALI... TENIA S MALCALI, ENTENEDU
 SU MAL CALORAL.

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18/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Event individuation depends on configuration of theme


- Problem with picture C: there is only one event of 'pulling'
- In pictures B and C: three events of 'pulling'
 - picture B: three events of pulling (one suitcase) by Juan
 - picture C: one event of pulling by Juan + two events of pulling by another suitcase

Picture B, DIST: true Picture C, DIST: false Picture D, DIST: true

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18/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Argument orientation

- MULT can distribute over any argument (e.g. subject), in addition to time
- DIST must distribute over the theme argument

(12) Context: Several women found an old shirt. They dyed it yellow one after the other.
 Cmajiic coi haticj z iyamasolam /
 woman.PL DET.PL shirt INDEF.SG 3;3.RLYO.CAUS.yellow.MULT.PL
 #iyamasloj.
 3;3.RLYO.CAUS.yellow.DIST.PL
The women dyed a shirt yellow.
 SC on DIST-form: it means they painted yellow spots

- Distribution over the subject and times: ok for MULT, not enough for DIST
- We interpret this as DIST requiring distribution over its theme argument independently of other distributive options being available

15/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Argument orientation

- DIST must distribute over the theme argument (object or PP)

(13) a. *Kika quih poosj quih hehe quih tazo iiqui
 Kika DET rope DET pole DET one [3POSS.]towards
 iyahizlca.
 3;3.RLYO.attach.DIST
Int. Kika tied the rope to one pole.

b. Kika quih poosj quih hehet pac iiqui
 Kika DET rope DET pole.PL INDEF.PL [3POSS.]towards
 iyahizlca.
 3;3.RLYO.attach.DIST
Kika tied the rope to poles.

c. Kika quih poosilca quih hehe quih tazo iiqui
 Kika DET rope.PL DET pole DET one [3POSS.]towards
 iyahizlca.
 3;3.RLYO.attach.DIST
Kika tied the ropes to one pole. [EDGEI30NOV2017DRPM]

15/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Narrow scope wrt universal Q subjects – MULT

- The plurality of events of dying cannot distribute over the plural domain of women introduced by the quantifier *cmajiic coi iij càap* 'each of the women'

(14) #Cmajiic coi iij càap tazo cah haxc yomihtim.
 woman.PL DEF.PL apart SBJ.NMLZ:stand one DEF.FOC apart RLYO.die.MULT
Int. Each of the women died (one after the other).

- By contrast, the plurality of events can distribute of the plurality of women introduced by the definite description *cmajiic coi* 'the women'

(15) Cmajiic coi haxc yomihtolca.
 woman.PL DEF.PL apart RLYO.die.MULT/DIST.PL
The women died (one after the other).

17/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 0000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Narrow scope wrt universal Q subjects – DIST

- The quantifier *DP iij càap tazo cah* can multiply a singular indefinite

(16) Cmajiic coi iij càap tazo cah hahoot zo
 woman.PL DEF.PL apart SBJ.NMLZ:stand one DEF.FOC door INDEF.SG
 cōiyeemt.
 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open
Each of the women opened a (different) door.

- But the plurality of events (required by DIST) cannot distribute over the (evaluation) plurality of doors

(17) #Cmajiic coi iij càap tazo cah hahoot zo
 woman.PL DEF.PL apart SBJ.NMLZ:stand one DEF.FOC door INDEF.SG
 cōiyeemla.
 3IO.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.DIST
Int. Each of the women opened a (different) door.

18/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 00000000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

DIST: plurality requirement on theme of plural event

- It could be that the plurality requirement on events merely **implies** distinct theme (sub-)referents
- We have observed that as soon as speakers are fully aware of the unity of the suitcase referent in picture F, they tell us the sentence is a lie
- We have analyzed it for now as a requirement that the cumulative theme of the plural event be non-atomic
- But this could equally well be analyzed as a condition of non-certainty, with the unacceptability due to the plural DP *xiica an iqueecalca coi* 'the suitcases' referring to a unique suitcase


25/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 00000000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

MULT: temporal gaps are not required

- Gaps are one way to make clear where an event can be divided into sub-events along the time axis, but it's not the only way
- Other ways include
 - Changes in direction of motion

(23) Quisil quih xiica coquehelam quih
 SBJ.NMLZ.small DET balloon.PL DET
 iyoontim.
 3;3.RLYO.hold.MULT
The child held two balloons. [Questionnaire2FT4]
SC: FALSE unless she is moving around the village with the balloons



- Changes in intensity/degree

25/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 00000000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

MULT and DIST can distribute to parts of participants

- MULT distributes events of building over times and parts of a house

(24) Mike quih haaco z iyaaitim.
 Mike DET house INDEF.SG 3;3.RLYO.make.MULT
Mike built a house (little-by-little). [EDSEI26ABR2018DRPM]

- DIST distributes events of opening to parts of a house, its doors and windows

(25) Juan quih haaco cap cöiyeemla.
 Juan DET house DET.SG 3;0.3;3.RLYO.CAUS.open.DIST
Juan opened (doors/windows in) the house. [Questionnaire2FT5]

- NB: events can distribute to the material parts of an individual (Link 1983), i.e. doors/windows are not in the extension of the predicate *house

27/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 00000000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Summary of findings

SUMMARY	MULT	DIST
plurality req. on theme	no	yes
distribution required	time	(parts of) participant
distribution orientation	none	theme
dist. to m-parts allowed	yes	yes
gaps required	no	no
scope wrt subject 'each of DP'	narrow	narrow
multiply indefinites	no	no

28/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 00000000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Summary of analysis

- We analyze MULT/DIST as overt distributive operators (e.g. similar to adverbial *each* in Champollion 2016), to which we added:
 - plurality requirement on events
 - partition of events (instead of cover) to rule out overlap on at least one dimension (time for MULT, contextually determined *k* for DIST)
 - just for DIST: plurality requirement on theme of plural event *e*
- MULT/DIST apply at the V-level (not e.g. VP), this is why they do not multiply a sg indefinite object (under the view that arguments of the verb are introduced by theta-heads in the syntax)
- Theta-roles only get specified for the plural event *e*, not the singular events *e'*: sub-events can be identified independently

29/34

Introduction 0000 Description of MULT and DIST 00000000000000000000 Analysis and predictions 00000000 Conclusion 0000

Perspectives

- We have not talked about overlapping distribution of events (difficult to see with singular subjects), but it is relevant for the semantics of MULT/DIST in Seri
- Syntax (internal/external) of DPs is relevant to distribution over participants (e.g. the dogs vs. three dogs, in subject vs. object position)
- Do DIST forms really require a plurality of theme referents? Or is this a condition on non-certainty? How can we tell and test the difference?
- DIST also combines with numeral verbs to produce effects of distributive numerals
 See Pasquereau's poster presentation on this topic!

30/34

