



numeral in (4d) could not be a ‘floating’ modifier of the distributive share *wé keitl* ‘those dogs’; rather, it must originate as an adverbial modifier. Furthermore, the contrast between (4a,b) shows that the numeral in (4a) must be adnominal; if it were adverbial, then the ill-formedness of (4b) would not be expected.

**5. Semantics of Distributive Numerals** Importantly, whether the distributive numeral is adnominal or adverbial has no effect upon whether the sentence can describe ‘event key scenarios’ or ‘entity key scenarios’ (Gil 1982, Oh 2005). As shown by (5), an adnominal distributive numeral can describe event key scenarios. As shown by (6), adverbial distributive numerals can describe entity key scenarios.

(5) Scenario: My son went fishing every day last week. Each day, he caught three fish.

A<sub>x</sub> yéet nás’gigáa xáat aawashaat.  
my son three.DIST fish caught

*My son caught three fish each time.*

Judgment: True/felicitous description of scenario above.

(6) Scenario: My neighbors have four dogs. My daughters Hazel and Bea went over to their house to wash their dogs. Hazel washed two dogs, and Bea washed the other two.

A<sub>x</sub> shaa yátx’i dáxgaa has aawashúch wé keitl  
my female children two.DIST they.bathed those dog

*My daughters bathed two of those dogs each.*

Judgment: True/felicitous description of scenario above.

There are, however, a variety of constraints/generalizations governing the possible interpretations of structures containing distributive numerals. Some are listed below; all have been established via the methodology described in Section 3 above.

(7) a. **Sentences of the Form ‘Distributive Numeral > Subject<sub>Plural</sub> > Object<sub>Plural</sub> > Verb’**

(i) Can describe entity key scenario where *share* = subject and *key* = object

(ii) *Cannot* describe entity key scenario where *share* = object and *key* = subject

(iii) Can describe event key scenario where *share* = subject

b. **Sentences of the Form ‘Dist. Num. > Subject<sub>Plural</sub> > Dist. Num. > Object<sub>Plural</sub> > Verb’**

Can *only* describe event key scenarios where *share* = object, *subject*

(e.g. Each time, *num*<sub>1</sub> subjects V-ed *num*<sub>2</sub> objects)

**6. Semantic Analysis** I propose that Tlingit distributive numerals are (always) pluractional operators (Beck & von Stechow 2007). The ability of sentences containing distributive numerals to describe both ‘entity key’ and ‘event key’ scenarios is not due to an ambiguity, but instead to their possessing rather general truth-conditions. I propose two different lexical entries for *-gaa*, one creating adnominal distributive numerals, and the other creating adverbial ones. The semantics for ‘adnominal *gaa*’ is given in (8); ‘adverbial *gaa*’ is similar. I assume that sentence (2) has the LF in (9), and thus the T-conditions in (10). Note that in deriving the T-conditions in (10), I assume many of the key ideas of Kratzer (2008).

(8) [[ *gaa* ]] = [ λn : [ λQ<et> : [ λP<et> : [ λe<sub>e</sub> : ∃x. Q(x) & P(x)(e) &

<e, x> ∈ \*{ <e’, y> : part(e,y) & |y| = n } ] ... ]

(9) [ [ [ three *gaa* ] fish ] [ 1 [ my sons [ v [ caught *t*<sub>1</sub> ] ... ]

(10) ∃e . ∃x . \*fish(x) & \*caught(e,x) & \*agent(e) = my.sons &

<e, x> ∈ \*{ <e’, y> : part(e,y) & |y| = 3 }

*There is a (plural) event e, and a plurality of fish x, and e is a (cumulative) event of catching x, and my sons are the (cumulative) agent of e, and the fish x can be formed from all those triples that participated in a subevent of e.*

As can be seen from the informal paraphrase of the T-conditions above, the analysis correctly predicts that (2) is true both in scenarios where each son caught three fish, and ones where the sons collectively caught three fish on multiple occasions. Thus, the single lexical entry in (8) predicts that (2) is true in both ‘entity key’ (2a) and ‘event key’ (2b) scenarios. The same prediction is shown to hold for sentences containing ‘adverbial *gaa*’. Finally, the analysis correctly predicts all the various generalizations, excerpted in (7), that concern the interpretations of sentences containing distributive numerals. Moreover, I show how the semantics in (8) could be modified to apply to English ‘binominal each’ constructions.