C-particles

**CROSS-LINGUISTIC OCCURRENCE**

- Iterative e-type conjunctions with conjunction particles (‘C-particles’) exist in several languages ([1], [2, 3]).
- a. Polish [i a B i C]
- b. Turkish [A d (ve) B d(ve) C d(ve)]
- c. Japanese [A-mo B-mo C-mo]
- d. Hungarian [A is (ész) B is (ész) C is]
- e. Serbo-Croatian [A i B i C]

**Usualy associated with distributivity ([1], [2, 3]).**

**PREDICATE TYPE**

- Only a subclass of collective predicates is compatible with C-particles ([8, 9, 10]).

(10) I Ewa i Karol i Iza trzymali się za rękę.
I Ewa i Karol i Iza held REFL:PREP hands
Ewa, Karol and Iza were holding hands.

(11) I Ewa i Karol i Iza są podobni do siebie.
I Ewa i Karol i Iza are similar to REFL.
Ewa, Karol and Iza are similar to each other.

- Predicates that allow for distributive subentailments about the members of the plural subject ([11, 8, 9, 10] a.o.).

**D-operator at the VP-level**

- D-reading of ambiguous predicates results from a D-operator at the VP-level.

**Ewa C-particles (3) are only compatible with a D-reading (‘D-reading’) (4a) and a non-distributive reading (‘ND-reading’) (4b).**

- C-particles (3) are only compatible with a D-reading – like in Turkish, Japanese, and Serbo-Croatian ([1], [2, 3]).

**With an ambiguous predicate the ‘standard’ conjunction (2) may receive a distributive reading (‘D-reading’) (4a) and a non-distributive reading (‘ND-reading’) (4b).**

**Ewa (i) Karol i Iza zarobili 100 euro.**
Ewa (and) Karol and Iza earned 100 euros ‘Ewa, Karol and Iza earned 100 euros.’ (D and ND)

(3) I Ewa i Karol i Iza zarobili 100 euro.
I Ewa 1 Karol i Iza earned 100 euros
Ewa, Karol and Iza earned 100 euros each. (D)

(4) a. S1: Ewa earned 100 euros, Karol earned 100 euros and Iza earned 100 euros.
b. S2: Ewa earned 60 euros, Karol earned 10 euros and Iza earned 30 euros.

**THE PUZZLE**

- However, C-particles also allow for a ND-reading – when combined with a collective predicate.

(5) I Ewa i Karol i Iza spotkali się o 11.
I Ewa 1 Karol i Iza met REFL at 11
‘Ewa, Karol and Iza met at 11.’

**Further restrictions**

**Contextual restrictions**

- C-particles stress the fact that every member of the subject plurality partakes in the action expressed in the predicate.

(17) I Ewa i Karol i Iza spotkali się.
I Ewa 1 Karol i Iza met REFL.
‘Ewa, Karol and Iza met.’

(18) a. C1: Ewa, Karol and Iza are organizing a conference together. They have tried to set up a meeting once a week but it has never worked out for all of them. Two weeks ago, only Karol and Iza met. Last week, only Ewa and Iza met. Yesterday...

b. C2: Ewa, Karol and Iza are organizing a conference together. They have tried to set up a meeting once a week and, surprisingly, it always worked out. Yesterday...

- Intuitively, (17) means “not only Ewa and Karol, but also Ewa, Karol and Iza met” and C1 suggests that a meeting in which all of them took part was unexpected.

**Requirement on the number of individuals**

- C-particles may only combine with collective predicates if the number of conjunctions is more than two.

(19) #C2: Ewa, Karol and Iza spotkali się.
I Ewa 1 Karol i Iza met REFL.
‘Ewa, Karol and Iza met.’

(20) #C3: Ewa, Karol and Iza zarobił 100 euro.
‘Ewa, Karol and Iza earned 100 euros.’

(21) # should mean something like “not only Ewa, but also Ewa and Karol met”, which is odd for several reasons.

**Discussion**

- Cross-linguistic evidence suggests the structure in (20) with C-particles (following [2]):

(20) [[µ A] [COORD [µ B] [COORD [µ C]]]]

- The fact that every member of the subject plurality is involved is stressed – excluding alternatives

- Requirement on number of conjunctions with collective predicates may be tied to the function as focus particle: Can only combine with a collective if an alternative is available that can be the argument of the collective (like stressed and as

- Are only compatible with a certain subclass of collective predicates (like ad) – the class of collective predicates is indeed heterogeneous.

- This class allows for distributive subentailments and, at least in Polish, involves a reflexive pronoun

- Could be an overt realization of a silent syntactic element stipulated in [9] (cf. [12]): Some collective predicates are treated as inherently reciprocal predicates that contain a silent other and are derived from reflexive predicators bearing a non-identity presupposition:

(21) [Ewa (and) Karol i Iza met] = 1 iff for each individual that is part of the plural individual Ewa, Karol and Iza there is at least one other individual in Ewa, Karol and Iza who stands in the meet with each other relation to him or her.

- Forces a D-reading with ambiguous predicates (analogous to every)

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