**Introduction**

Distributive numerals in Mandarin Chinese (NumNum) are adverbial constructions formed by reduplicating a numeral+classifier combination: (1) *Huaizhi-men liang-ge liang-ge-de chi-wan le* kausheng child-PL RED-two-NCL-DR2 eat-finish PERF peanut 'The children ate the peanuts two by two.' [3, p.96]

a. For each occasion, there is an event of two children eating peanuts.
b. For each occurrence, there is an event of children eating two peanuts.

**Objective:** Provide a compositional semantics for NumNum in light of novel data.

**Syntax**

Distributive numerals in Mandarin Chinese at the syntax-semantics interface captures this, with a semantics of reciprocals adopted from [5]:

\[ \exists [\lambda x \cdot \Lambda E(E) \cdot \lambda y \cdot \lambda y (x[y]) \cdot \lambda y \cdot \lambda y = 2] \]

**(15) Xuezheng-men liang-ge liang-ge-de quzhiao le bici. student-PL RED-two-NCL-DR2 mock PERF each other 'The students two by two mocked each other.'**

**Scenario:** Today, a group of students mocked each other....

**(False)**

**(True)**

**Lexical entry for NumNum:**

\[(7) \text{NumNum} = \lambda P \cdot \lambda \text{E suic}, \lambda \text{E,} \lambda E, \lambda y \cdot \lambda y (E) \cdot \lambda y \cdot \lambda y = 2 \]

**LF and truth-conditions of (1a):**

\[ \exists [\lambda x \cdot \Lambda E(E) \cdot \lambda y \cdot \lambda y (x[y])] \]

**Modifying sets of events**

Sentences with two NumNums require breaking down into the same subevents.

**Scenario:** There was a three-day festival.....

**References**


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