

The Distributive *Dou* in Mandarin Chinese: On its Licensing DPs
(中文的分配性算子“都”: 論“都”的認可名詞短語)

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This article examines the environments in which the distributive *dou* ‘all’ in Mandarin Chinese may and may not occur and provides an explanation of its distribution. Based on actual data, it is shown that the distributive *dou* occurs in much wider environments than what the previous works have assumed. In addition to investigating the types of full DPs that may occur with *dou*, this article pays special attention to what quantifiers admit *dou* in their restrictors. A hypothesis based on monotonicity properties of quantifiers is initially suggested but is later rejected. Instead, it is argued that the complex distribution of *dou* is a consequence of the plurality presupposition imposed on *dou*, Heim’s Maximize Presupposition and syntactic [Dist] feature checking. Finally, this article briefly remarks on Liu’s (2017) and Xiang’s (2020) works, showing that even these most recent works need additional conditions to cover all the relevant data in addition to their proposed unambiguous semantics of *dou*.