**Introduction** Chinese *dou* has drawn lots of attention as a distributor (1) (Huang 1996, Lin 1998, Wu 1999). In addition to this meaning, *dou* can also be translated roughly as *even*, and *already* (2 & 3). It is also known that *dou* can license existential polarity wh-items and give rise to universal readings (4). Many previous analyses have assumed that *dou* itself is a universal quantifier (e.g. Cheng 1995), and hence binds indefinite wh-variables in the sense of Heim (1982) and gives universal readings. However, this analysis can’t explain the contrast in (5), where the indefinite can be interpreted universally only in (5a). I will argue for a unified analysis to cover all three uses of *dou* in (1) through (3), which in turn provides a natural explanation of (4) and (5).

**The Idea in a Nutshell** Dou is not a universal quantifier. Instead, it is an adverb that strengthens the event in the sense that it zooms in to the maximal point of a contextually determined scale. The surface universal quantification in (4) and (5) is derived through the end of scale implicatures.

**Dou**\textsubscript{distributor} as the end of a quantity scale Unlike the English distributor *each*, *dou* is compatible with collective predicates (6). Based on the concept of a cover in the sense of Schwarzschild (1996) (Gillon 1987, Higginbotham 1981), collective readings, various intermediate readings and distributive readings can be regarded as ordered on a quantity scale, which orders different covers based on how many atomic events they give rise to (see an example in (7&8) (c.f. Verkuyl & van der Does 1996). The function of *dou* is to pick out one end of that quantity scale, which is the distributive reading (c.f. Huang 1996).

**Dou**\textsubscript{even} as the end of a likelihood scale In the construction [CP (lian) X\textsubscript{focus} dou VP], the focused element X introduces a set of alternatives. VP applies to each member of the set and gives us a set of events that can be ordered on a contextually determined scale. The event PRED (X) is on the end of this scale (c.f. Portner 2002).

**Dou**\textsubscript{already} as the end of an expectation scale *Dou* is used in this case to express certain subjective emotion, opinion or expectation. For example, (3) can be uttered in a high school reunion thirty years after graduation. Among all the events that witness the change of time, the growing up of the next generation is probably the most impressive one. (9)&(10) also show that with certain pre-determined expectation in the context, *dou* can only be used to assert events that are beyond the expectation. *Dou* in this use can often be translated as *already*, because the semantics of *already* expresses certain presupposition and scalar implicatures (Michaelis 1996, Garrido 1992, Van der Auwera 1993). Interpreting Indefinites Universally Under the present analysis of *dou*, indefinites in (4)&(5a) are interpreted universally because *dou* operates on the set of alternatives introduced by the indefinites and picks out the end of the contextually determined scale, and universal interpretations arise through scalar implicatures. Pragmatic concerns about a well formed scale can rule out (5b). This is consistent with the analysis in Giannakidou (2001) and Giannakidou & Cheng (2004), where free choice wh-items are analyzed as containing a world variable. This analysis is also extended to explain the licensing of negative polarity items in comparatives (11), which is a puzzle because comparative clauses are not standard downward entailing environments (Schwarzschild & Wilkinson 2002). Although NPIs are licensed in English comparatives, they are not licensed in Chinese unless *dou* is added (12). The licensing mechanism in (11) is argued to be spelled out explicitly through *dou* in Chinese.
(1) a. Z. he L. dou chang-le yi-zhi-ge   
   b. Z. he L. chang-le yi-zhi-ge   
   Z. and L. dou sing-perf. one-CL-song   
   Z. and L. sing-perf. one-CL-song   
   Z. and L. each sang a song.   
   Z. and L. each/together sing a song.   
(2) (Lian) shagua **dou** zhidao zhege. (*lian* is the optional focus marker)   
   (focus) idiot  **dou** know this   
   Even idiots know this.   
(3) Shijian guo de zheng kuai. yi-zhu'an,  
   haizi **dou** zhangda le.  
   time pass really fast. one-blink-eye child dou grow-up perf.   
   Time flies! (It seems that) Just in a blink the child/children has/have already grown up.   
(4) Ta sheme **dou** chi   
   He what  **dou** eat   
   He eats everything   
(5) a. Ta **yi-fen-qian** dou jinjinjiao.  
   b. *Ta **yi-fen-qian** dou hua  
   he one-penny-money **dou** calculate  
   he one-penny-money **dou** spend   
   He calculates every thing.   
   He spends everything.  (Portner 2002)   
(6) Tamen **dou** jian-le-mian/zhangde hen xiang   
   they **dou** see-perf.-face/grow very alike   
   They all/*each met/look alike   
(7) John, Mary, Bill and Chris wrote musicals.   
   a. J, M, B and C collaborated to write musicals (collective reading)   
   b. J, M, B and C each wrote musicals independently (distributive reading)   
   c. J and M collaborated, B and C collaborated; or J wrote by himself, M wrote by   
      herself, but B and C collaborated; or other possibilities (intermediate reading)   
(8) C1 \{\{J,M,B,C\}\}  0 atomic sub-event   
   C2 \{\{J\},\{M\}\{B,C\}\}  0 atomic sub-event quantity scale   
   Cn-1 \{\{J\},\{M\}\{B,C\}\}  2 atomic sub-events   
   Cn \{\{J\}\{M\}\{B\}\{C\}\}  4 atomic sub-events   
(9) Scenario: we need **10** students to open a graduate class   
   (Chen 2004)   
   #You **liu-ge** xuesheng **dou** xuan-le zhe-men-ke, dan hai yuanyuan bu go   
   there six-CL student **dou** enroll-perf. this-CL-class but still far-far not enough   
   Six students have already enrolled for this class, but it is far from enough.   
(10) Scenario: we need **10** students to open a graduate class   
   You **shiwu-ge** xuesheng **dou** xuan-le zhe-men-ke, jiaoshi haoxiang xiao le   
   There **fifteen**-CL student **dou** enroll-perf this-CL-class, classroom seem small perf   
   Fifteen students have already enrolled for this class, so the classroom seems to be too small.   
(11) John is taller than anybody (is).   
(12) Zhangsan bi shei *(**dou**) gao   
   Zhangsan bi who *(**dou**) tall   
   Zhangsan is taller than anybody.