The interpretation of 'distributive' elements

Bearing on the debate concerning the semantics of certain expressions that are used to talk about groups or collections of objects, like *John and Mary, every girl* and Polish *i Ewa i Kasia* ('Ewa as well as Kasia'), I will discuss the predictions for the path of acquisition of such expressions following from the different theoretical assumptions about structural complexity of and restrictions on distributive and non-distributive readings. In addition, I will present data on Polish conjunction that suggests that collective and cumulative readings represent distinct classes of non-distributive readings. Based on evidence from previous studies, a recent experiment on VP-conjunction and an on-going pilot study on the universal *jed-* ('every') in German it will be shown that i) non-distributive readings of 'distributive' elements are accessible more often than some theories would predict and ii) children are even more tolerant with respect to such readings.