

Left-Dislocated Quantifiers in Macedonian

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This paper argues that left-dislocated quantifiers in Macedonian can either move or be base-generated in their clause initial position. This gives rise to two different constructions, Topicalization (TOP) and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), respectively. The evidence for the existence of the two constructions comes from the scopal interaction of quantifiers and clitic doubling.

The Data: Object quantifiers in Macedonian can occupy three different positions in the clause: i) an argument position, ii) a pre-verbal position, and iii) a clause initial position. Here, I concentrate on quantifiers in clause initial position, as in (1a-c).

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|--------|---|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---|
| (1) a. | Sekoja kniga _i ,
every book | dvajca
two | studenti
students | ja _i
it | pročitaa.
read | (i) O>S: \forall book > 2 students
(ii) S>O: 2 students > \forall book |
| b. | Dve knigi _i ,
two books | sekoj
every | student
student | gi _i
them | pročita.
read | (i) O>S: 2 books > \forall student
(ii) S>O: \forall student > 2 books |
| c. | Dve knigi _i ,
two books | sekoj
every | student
student | pročita.
read | | (i) O>S: 2 books > \forall student
(ii) S>O: \forall student > 2 books |

The position of the quantifier determines its scope. While object quantifiers in argument and preverbal position can take either narrow or wide scope w.r.t. the subject quantifier, object quantifiers in clause initial position can only take wide scope w.r.t. the subject quantifiers, as shown in (1a-b). An obvious exception to this generalization is (1c), where the subject, rather than the object quantifier, gets wide scope. An additional difference between (1a-b) vs. (1c) is the presence vs. absence of a clitic pronoun coindexed with the dislocated quantifier.

Proposal & Analysis: To account for the data in (1a-b), I argue that the left-dislocated quantifiers in (1a-b) are base-generated in their surface positions, and thus are instances of CLLD constructions, following Cinque (1990) etc. The left dislocated quantifier in (1c), on the other hand, moves to its clause initial position and as such is an instance of Topicalization. Evidence for the analysis comes from the behavior of dislocated quantifiers w.r.t. WCO effects. As (2a-c) shows, TOP constructions, but not CLLD, give rise to WCO effects. The analysis incorporates the claim that the presence/absence of the clitic associated with the dislocated quantifier *does not* determine the scope relations in the clause, but is indicative of a referential reading of the dislocated quantifier.

- (2) a. Sekoe dete_i, majka mu_i go_i saka.
every child mother his him loves
'Every child, his mother loves him.'
- b. Dve deca_i, majka im_i gi_i saka.
two children mother theirs them loves
'Two children, their mother loves them.'
- c. *Dve deca_i, majka im_i saka.
two children mother theirs loves

The universal in (1a) and the numeral in (1b) co-occur with a clitic pronoun in the IP. Based on the fact that they show lack of WCO effects, the quantifiers in (1a-b) are base-generated in their surface position; the clitic pronoun with which they are coindexed is an agreement marker (following Suñer 1988, Rudin 1997, etc.). The wide scope of the object quantifiers in (1a-b) is a result of their interpretation in base position. To ensure that the object takes scope over the subject, I assume that QR is subject to locality conditions and as such cannot cross TopP (the position occupied by a CLLDed quantifier). As a result, the subject in (1-b) cannot take wide scope over the dislocated object. The numeral in (1c) only gets a narrow scope reading. The absence of a clitic signals a non-referential (i.e. cardinal) reading of the numeral: *There is a number, namely 2, such that every student read that number of books*. In this case, the dislocated numeral is generated in the argument position of the verb, and as such receives its theta role. The constituent then moves to SpecTopP, leaving a trace behind. The trace is a variable bound by the left dislocated element (hence the WCO violation in (2c)). Being non-referential, the numeral obligatorily reconstructs (Heycock 1995), i.e. it is interpreted in the argument position of the verb. This, in turn, results in a wide scope reading of the universal.