

Hebrew Floating Quantifiers

Introduction: The FQ construction has not received much attention in the LFG literature (a notable exception being Hurst 2007 for the FQ *each* in English). This talk investigates FQs in Hebrew, focusing on the quantifier *kol* 'all'. The quantifier may appear adjacent to the DP, forming a QP (1a) or it can appear in FQ constructions (1b,c). There it must appear in its inflected form with an incorporated pronoun, thus agreeing with the subject in number and gender:

- (1) a. *kol ha-yeladim halxu la-yam*
all the-children.MASC.PL went to-the-sea
'All the children went to the sea'.
b. *ha-yeladim halxu kul-am la-yam*
the-children.MASC.PL went all3.MASC.PL to-the-sea
'The children went all to the sea'.
c. *ha-yeladim kul-am halxu la-yam*
the-children.MASC.PL all3.MASC.PL went to-the-sea
'The children all went to the sea'.

I argue against the stranding analysis, commonly adopted in the transformational literature, based on the observation that FQs are not semantically equivalent to DP adjacent Qs (cf. Bobaljik 2003) and propose an alternative, in which the FQ construction is discourse-motivated, being an instance of Topicalization. The preposed DP, generally thought to be a subject, is argued here to be a topic, associated with the incorporated pronoun of the FQ via anaphoric binding (Dalrymple 1993), while the FQ functions as a subject (2a,b):

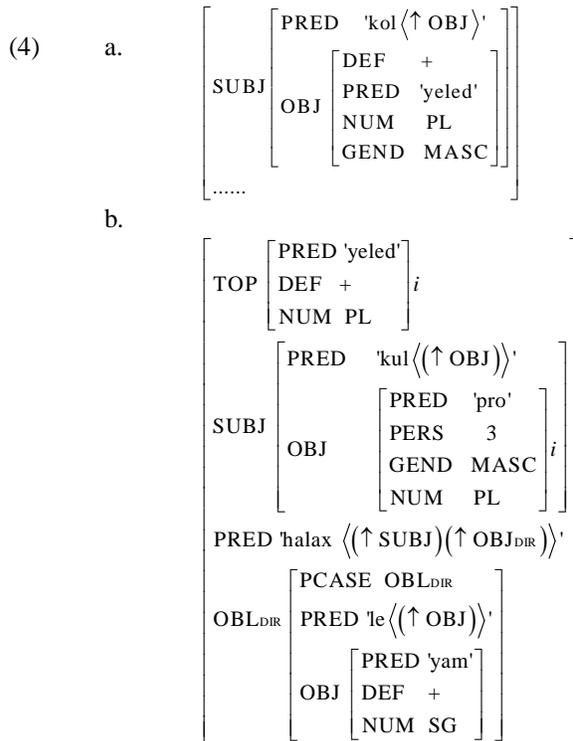
- (2) a. [*ha-yeladim i* -TOP] [*halxu kul-am i* - SUBJ *la-yam*]
the-children.MASC.PL went all3.MASC.PL to-the-sea
'The children went all to the sea'.
b. [*ha-yeladim i* -TOP] [*ku-lam i* - SUBJ *halxu la-yam*]
the-children.MASC.PL all3.MASC.PL went to-the-sea
'The children all went to the sea'.

The problem: It is claimed (Sportiche 1988 for French, Shlonsky 1991 for Hebrew) that sentences such as (1b,c) have a derivational relation with (1a). This stems from the observation that the quantification contributed by the quantifier *kol* is identical in both (1a) and (1b,c), therefore the quantifiers in (1a) and in (1b,c) are of the same logical type. This forms the basis for a syntactic dependency and an identical underlying structure for (1a,b,c). The problem for any derivational analysis is that (1a) and (1b,c) are not semantically equivalent on three counts; They differ in terms of type of predication (i.e. distributive vs. collective reading), type of quantification (ranging over sets vs. ranging over members of sets and presupposition of existence) and scopal properties (cf. Dowty and Brodie 1984). Moreover, from this follows a syntactic dependency and an identical underlying structure for (2a,b,c), by assuming that the quantifier forms a QP with its DP also in the FQ construction, which I will argue against.

The analysis: If there is no semantic identity between (1a) and (1b,c), there is no reason to assume syntactic identity. Furthermore, the quantifier in the FQ construction does not form a constituent with its DP, another crucial ingredient of the stranding analysis (for 1c). As an alternative, I will propose an LFG analysis, claiming that the DP-adjacent and the floated Qs are different, but related lexical items. Particularly, I claim that the inflected form of FQ (1b,c) is discourse motivated, such that FQ constructions are Topicalizations or Left Dislocations(2). The initial DP in the FQ construction is claimed to be a topic on several accounts; first, in terms of being an entity about which the main predication holds (Chafe 1976); second, in terms of given vs. new information (ibid.); third, topics are usually definite and clause-initial (Lambrecht 1981), and finally, topics resist wh-extraction, since this would lead to focus-topic function clash (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987). Thus, the obligatory presence of an incorporated pronoun on the quantifier (that functions as SUBJ) is explained by the Extended Coherence Principle, claiming that it is associated by the overlay function TOPIC of the initial DP. Following Dalrymple (1993), topics must be associated with core functions, represented here as anaphoric binding of the incorporated pronoun by the topic (co-indexation in 2). This idea is also expressed in Hurst (2007); although he analyses the FQ *each* in English as belonging to the VP, he also proposes that the floated Q and its antecedent are linked in the f-structure. The ungrammaticality of (3a,b,c) follows from the absence of association between the topic and the subject via anaphoric binding (cf. Bresnan 2000, Dalrymple 2001, Falk 2001):

- (3) a. **ha-yeladim halxu kol la-yam*
the-children.MASC.PL went **all** to-the-sea
'The children went all to the sea'.
b. **ha-yeladim kol halxu la-yam*
the-children.MASC.PL **all** went to-the-sea
'The children all went to the sea'.
c. **ha-yeladim halxu kul-an la-yam*
the-child.PL.MASC went.3.PL. all-3.PL.FEM to-the-sea
'The children went all(fem.) to the sea'.

This also explains the markedness of the FQ construction in Modern Hebrew, since Topicalization constructions are generally marked. Following Shlonsky (1997) and Falk (2004), I assume Triggered Inversion (a stylistically marked inversion of the verb and subject in a clause in which something has been topicalized) to account for the difference between (2a) and (2b). From this analysis follows no derivational relation between (1a) and (1b,c) since these claimed to be two different types of constructions in Hebrew, as can be seen from the f-structures in (4a,b): (Co-reference is informally represented by the use of referential indices)



Selected references:

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