# From QPs to non-novel indefinites to person agreement to topic agreement
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*1. Background and core claims*: Taking my cue from clitic doubling constructions, the central claim I put forward in this paper is that topicality (in the sense: 'givenness', cf. Schwarzschild 1999) is syntactically encoded. More specifically, I contend that clitic doubling is always the spell-out of agreement with a topic XP, thus bringing this phenomenon in line with Givón's (1975) idea that (object) agreement is topic-verb agreement, and with the vast typological literature on (other well-known cases of) *differential object marking* (cf. Nikolaeva 2001 on Ostyak, Leonetti 2008 on Spanish, Escandell-Vidal 2009 on Balearic Catalan, É. Kiss 2005, 2013 on the objective conjugation in Hungarian, Lopez 2012 on scrambling in German, among others). In particular, I provide additional evidence for the existence of so-called "non-novel" indefinites (Krifka 2001), thus showing that definites and indefinites are much more closely related than commonly assumed since Heim (1982). Along the way, I also show that Matthewson's (2001) analysis of quantification is analytically superior to the one in Barwise & Cooper (1981), allowing for a rather systematic mapping between syntax and semantics.

*2. Core but lesser known data*: While 'doubling' clitics across languages affect interpretation in ways subject to various idiosyncratic constraints that make it hard to define their function in a unitary manner even if we restrict our attention to just the class of direct objects, a striking fact across several languages is that 'all'-quantifiers are invariably clitic doubled, (1):
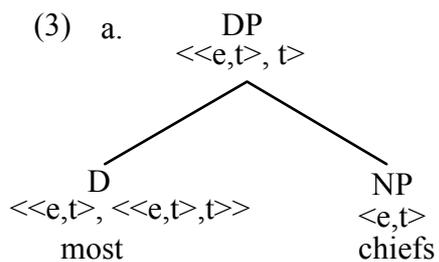
(1) a.    *(I)      pashë      të gjithë.     (Albanian)
    b.    *(Los)    vi         todos.       (Argentinian Spanish)
    c.    *(Tus)    idha       olus.        (Greek)
    d.    *(I-)     am văzut   pe toţi.     (Romanian)
         them$_{CL,ACC}$   saw.1s     all$_{ACC}$
         'I saw them all'

A second observation concerns the fact that in several languages object clitics may even double indefinite DPs, as illustrated in (2a) and (2b) for Albanian and Greek, respectively.
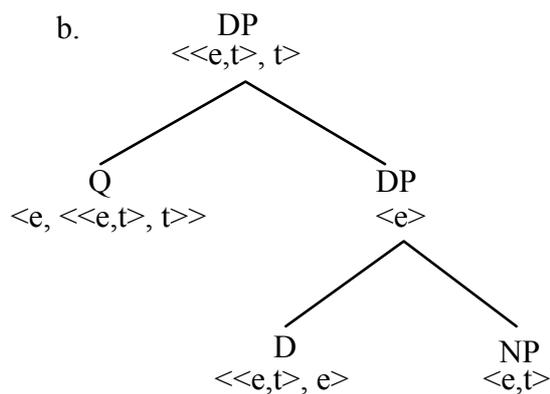
(2) a.    *Do ta   pija me kënaqësi një uiski.*
         Fut  it$_{CL}$ drink with pleasure a whisky
    b.    *To pino       exfaristos     ena ouiskáki.*     (Kazasis & Pentheroudakis 1976: 399)
         it$_{CL,ACC}$ drink  with pleasure a whisky
         'I would gladly drink a whisky.'

*2.1. Clitic doubling, 'all'-quantifiers, and non-novelty*: The fact in (1) can be straightforward-ly derived by combining the view that the restrictor of 'all'-quantifiers is always 'given' (i.e. non-novel) with the idea that doubling clitics trigger 'givenness' (and/or deaccentuation) of their associates (Kallulli 2006). In line with Matthewson's (2001) analysis of quantification, (3b), which differs from the traditional one in Barwise & Cooper (1981), (3a), in that the generalized quantifier is formed in two steps, crucially involving an intermediate DP-layer as the complement of the quantifier head, I assume that the restrictor of 'all' is invariably a DP, both when it is phonetically overt or null. As such, the clitic does not double the quantifier (QP) but only its DP-complement, which – since it is given – may be silent (Merchant 2001).

      The fact that despite the variation observed within the range of clitic doubling patterns 'all'-quantifiers across the clitic doubling languages are obligatorily doubled, points to givenness/non-novelty as the truly common denominator of the clitic doubling phenomenon, in spite of well-known differences with respect to its degree of grammaticalization. In other words, if clitic doubling is a topic-licensing operation (on its doublee), a view that is easily implementable in terms of probe-goal agree (cf. Kallulli 2006), then this is the context where it must occur, as indeed it does. (Note in passing that this idea is in sync with the intuition behind Endriss' (2009) claim that some quantifiers are more 'topical' than others.)

(3) a.

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          DP
        <<e,t>, t>
        /        \
       D          NP
  <<e,t>, <<e,t>,t>>   <e,t>
      most         chiefs
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b.

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          DP
        <<e,t>, t>
        /        \
       Q          DP
  <e, <<e,t>, t>>  <e>
                  /      \
                 D        NP
            <<e,t>, e>   <e,t>
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(Matthewson 2001:146)          (Matthewson 2001:153)

*2.2. Clitic doubling and non-novel indefinites*: Krifka (2001) argues (contra Heim 1982) for a class of so-called "non-novel" indefinites. These are indefinites that pick up discourse referents that exist in the input context. For a discourse referent to exist in the input context, it must either have been mentioned before in the immediate context, or its existence must in some way be presupposed (e.g. through sensory salience, via world knowledge, or typically through accommodation). Crucially, non-novel indefinites must be deaccented, an idea that is in tune with the well-known observation that across languages, 'given' information systematically correlates with lack of phonetic prominence (Halliday 1967, Ladd 1996, Selkirk 1995, Schwarzschild 1999). For Krifka, evidence for non-novel indefinites stems from adverbial quantification in connection with the so-called "requantification problem" (Rooth 1985, 1995, von Fintel 1994). But the intuition that not all indefinites introduce new discourse referents is also important in the context of clitic doubling, as it immediately accounts for examples such as (2a,b). That the clitic doubled indefinite expression in the examples in (2) is a non-novel indefinite is evidenced by several diagnostics. First, it is deaccented; that is, the nuclear pitch accent cannot be borne by the clitic doubled expression. Secondly, it picks up a discourse referent whose existence in the input context is obviously presupposed, as can be seen by the fact that the sentences in (2) can be uttered felicitously in either of the contexts in (4): while the clitic doubled indefinite in (2a,b) function as a kind of quotation in the context of (4a), it stands in a part-whole relationship with the indefinite 'a drink' in (4b), and is presupposed through accomodation in the context of (4c).

(4) a. What about a whisky? / Would you like a whisky?
    b. What about a drink? / Would you like a drink?
    c. I have just stepped out of work.

*3. Conclusion:* The idea that clitic doubling is (object-)topic-verb agreement naturally accounts for several other attested facts across languages, such as the fact that direct objects instantiated by first and second person pronouns are invariably clitic doubled in some languages (e.g. Albanian, Macedonian), and that clitic doubling of dative, experiencer and/or quirky subject-like (non-nominative) arguments is cross-linguistically rather pervasive, since the latter are referentially stable expressions in a sense that directly relates to topicality.

Selected references: **Barwise, J. & R. Cooper. 1981**. Generalized quantifiers and natural language. *L&P* 4: 159–219. **É.Kiss, K. 2013**. The inverse agreement constraint in Uralic languages. *Finno-Ugric Languages and Linguistics* 2:2–21. **Endriss, C. 2009**. *Quantificational Topics*. Springer. **Heim, I. 1982**. *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. PhD dissertation. UMass, Amherst. **Kallulli, D. 2006**. Triggering factivity: Prosodic evidence for syntactic structure. *Proceedings of 25th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* 211-219. **Kazazis, K. & J. Pentheroudakis. 1976**. Reduplication of indefinite direct objects in Albanian and Modern Greek. *Language* 52:398–403. **Krifka, M. 2001**. Non-novel indefinites in adverbial quantification. *Logical Perspectives on Language and Information*. **López, L. 2012**. *Indefinite Objects*. MIT Press. **Matthewson, L. 2001**. Quantification and the nature of crosslinguistic variation. *NLS* 9: 145–189.