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### 1 Claims

- The main claims argued for are:
- quantity words (MUCH/MANY, LITTLE/FEW) (Rett 2016, henceforth Qs) are hybrids combining features of the extended adjectival and nominal functional projection line, explaining their broad syntactic distribution (cf. Solt (2015b)).
  - the properties of the negative quantity words *few/little* cannot be fully captured by the semantic notion downward entailment (Ladusaw 1979), but require the postulation of a Neg-feature in their internal syntax.
  - Q-words consist of [Num], [Div] and [Q] features, with an additional [Neg] feature for negative Q-words and [Cmpr]/[Sprl] for degree morphology.
  - Q-words exemplify the nanosyntactic tenet that language variation boils down to the size of lexically stored trees (Starke 2014).

### 2 Q-words as categorially hybrid

- Adjectival properties**
  - Q-words can be used as attributive adjectives, (1a), and in predicative position, (1b). (Solt 2015a:222)

(1) a. The many/few students who attended enjoyed the lecture.  
b. John's friends are many/few.

  - Q-words have comparative and superlative forms, (2), i.e. are gradable.

(2) English good better best  
many more most  
little less least  
few fewer fewest

  - Q-words share the semantics of gradable adjectives, i.e. their interpretation relies on a contextual dimension (Partee 1989).
- Adverbial properties**
  - Q-words can be adjectival and verbal modifiers (3)-(4).

(3) John drove much faster than Sue. (4) John sleeps little.
- Numeral properties**
  - Q-words are in complementary distribution with numerals, (5) (Barbiers 2007).

(5) these many books/these three books/\*these three many books
- Nominal properties**
  - Q-words sometimes reveal the mass-count distinction, cf. table 1.
- Quantifier properties**

(6) a. Not many arrows hit the target (%though many did)  
b. Many arrows didn't hit the target (but many did) (Freidin 1994:165-166)  
c. I didn't read many books.
- Summary**

(7) Adj (Sprl) (Cmpr) Q a ✓  
N Det Num Div n ✓  
Q-words (Sprl) (Cmpr) Num Div Q

⇒ absence of ✓ in Q-words makes them categorially hybrid

### 3 Neg in FEW/LITTLE

- Typological support**
  - Some languages do not have opaque negative Q-words like *few/little*.
  - They express the meaning of negative Q-words by means of negation and a positive word, as shown by the bold-faced elements in table 1:

	MANY/MUCH		FEW/LITTLE		S-NEG
	count	mass	count	mass	
English	many	much	few	little	not
Swedish	många	mycket	få	lite	inte
Höä	ki-jōa	kāo	xōa	x'ūi	hō'ō
Dutch	veel		weinig		niet
Hebrew	meat		harbe		lo
Mandarin	dūo		shāo		bù
Czech	mnoho		málo		ne
French	beaucoup		peu		pas
Romanian	mult-		putin-		nu
Italian	molt-		poc-		non
Greek	pol-		lig-		dhen
Hungarian	sok		keves		nem
Tümpisa	so'oppüh		tütüttsi(ttsi)		ke
Telugu	ĕk:üvā/ĕaala		tāk:üvā		le-
Malagasy	hetsaka	<b>vi-tsy</b>	kely	<b>tsy</b>	
N Sotho	-ntši	<b>se-kae</b>	-nnyane	<b>se</b>	
Wolof	bēri	<b>bēri-wul</b>	tuuti	<b>-u(l)</b>	
Hixkaryana	thenyehra yake ?	<b>yak-hera</b>	-	<b>-hira</b>	
Japanese	takusan	hotondo+wh+mo+ <b>nai</b>		<b>-nai</b>	
Garifuna	g-ibe- sarāgu	suku- <b>nai</b> m-ibe mama sarāgu		<b>m-(a)</b>	
Western Armenian	jad	ki- <b>tj</b>		<b>tj(i/ə)</b>	

- Some tentative implicative universals:
- (8) a. If a language has only analytic NQ-words, the negative marker used in the formation of the analytic NQ-word is syncretic with the sentential negative marker.  
b. If a mass NQ-word is analytic, the count NQ-word is also analytic.  
c. If a mass NQ-word is analytic, it is syncretic with the count NQ-word.  
d. If a language has an analytic NQ-word, the positive dimension is syncretic between count and mass.

- NPIs, inversion, question tags, split scope**
  - few* licenses NPIs
  - few* gives rise to inversion
  - split scope (Jacobs 1980, Rullman 1995, Zeijlstra 2011) does not only arise with quantifiers like *no*, but also with FEW, (9) (and LITTLE).

(9) Ze hoeven weinig verpleegkundigen te ontslaan  
They need few nurses to fire  
They don't have to fire many nurses.' (after de Swart 2000)

- few* triggers positive question tags
- (10): upward entailing QP *no(t)fewer* licenses inversion ⇒ suggests that the Neg feature is responsible for the inversion and not DE (Collins & Postal 2014:135).

(10) No fewer than three gorillas were they able to teach French to.

- \*Neg Neg: co-occurrence restrictions**
  - Languages with morphologically opaque negative Q-words (like most Indo-European languages) show a polarity restriction in their use of *little* and *few*:
    - little* as adjectival modifier can modify positive adjectives, it cannot modify negative ones, cf. (11) (De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017)

(11)

	LITTLE APOS	LITTLE ANEG
Dutch	weinig gelukkig	*weinig ongelukkig
French	peu crédible	*peu incroyable
	'credible'	'in-credible'

- Whereas it is possible to negate *many* or *much*, (12b) is ungrammatical. (Collins to appear)
- (12) a. Few people were there.  
b. \*Not few people were there. (Collins to appear)

⇒ negative Q-words and negative adjectives contain a Neg feature ⇒ \*Neg Neg.

### 4 Analysis

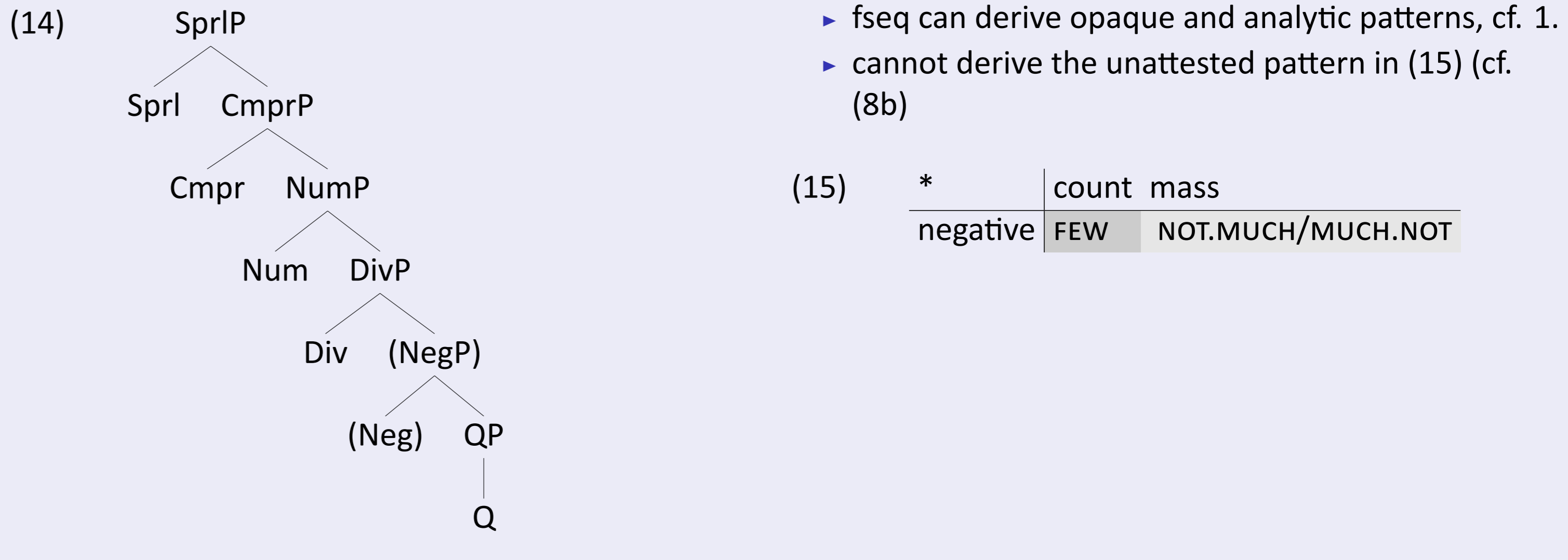
- The feature system**

(13)

	MANY	MUCH	FEW	LITTLE
[Q]	+	+	+	+
[Neg]	-	-	+	+
[Div]	+	-	+	-
[Num]	+	-	+	-
[Cmpr]	+	+	+	+
[Sprl]	+	+	+	+

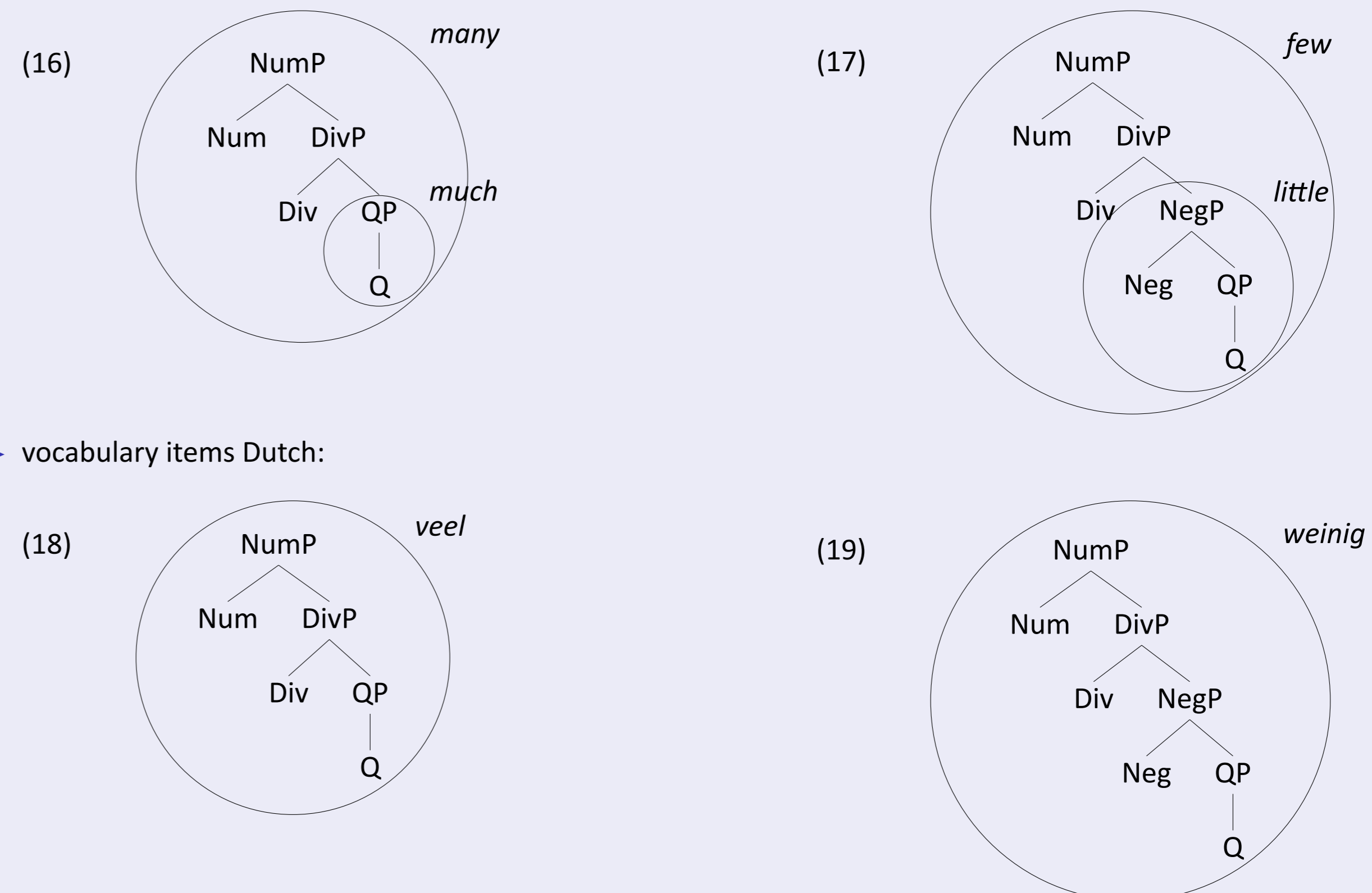
  - [Q] contributes gradability.
  - [Num] and [Div] account for the mass-count distinction, 1;
  - [Num] explains the incompatibility with numerals, (5)
  - [Cmpr] and [Sprl] are optional; they explain the presence of degree comparison, (2).
  - [Neg] accounts for the properties in section 3.

### 2. Nanosyntactic implementation



- fseq can derive opaque and analytic patterns, cf. 1.
- cannot derive the unattested pattern in (15) (cf. (8b))

- Language variation boils down to the size of lexically stored trees (Starke 2014):
  - vocabulary items English:



- vocabulary items Dutch:

- \*Neg Neg and Cmpr**
  - The contrast between (10) and (12b) is due to CMPR intervening between the two Neg features
  - \*NEG-NEG vs NEG-CMPR-NEG.

### 5 Conclusion

- Typological data and data from the literature point to the internal structure of Q-words as consisting of Q, Div and Num in addition to optional Neg, Cmpr and Sprl.
- Q-words lack a root, explaining their categorial hybridity.

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