

# Few ≠ Not Many

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**Abstract:** This paper presents evidence that the analysis of downward entailing quantity terms like *few books* should not be unified with the analysis of negative indefinites like *no book*, reinforcing conclusions drawn by Penka (2011). Differences between the two kinds of terms in their interpretational behavior in split scope constructions and negative concord constructions, and differences in their “degree of negativity”, support distinct analyses. Specifically, the evidence reviewed here reinforces the analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier and the analysis of negative indefinites as existential quantifiers that require licensing by a negative operator. I argue that these two analyses give rise to the repertoire of differences that empirically distinguish *few* and *no*.

**Keywords:** few; no; negative indefinites; negative concord; quantificational adjectives; degree semantics

## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I seek to show that the English word *few* cannot be analyzed as an amalgam of *not* and *many*, contrary to intuition, and contrary to the parallel claim for *no*, which has been fruitfully analyzed as an amalgam of negation with an existential component pronounced *any* in isolation. I claim that this view is on the right track for *no*, but that disparities between *no* and *few* counterindicate a parallel analysis of the two terms and suggest that *few* requires an analysis as a degree quantifier not built on analogy to *no*. I begin by describing the decompositional account of *no* and then in section 3 considerations suggesting that *few* might be treated similarly. In section 4, however, I describe differences between *few* and *no* that militate against a parallel treatment and in section 5 show that the analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier makes sense of these differences. Section 6 concludes.

## 2. No as Not Any

Klima (1964) claims that the negative determiner *no* is underlyingly bimorphemic. One component expresses negation and the other expresses existential quantification. An initial observation pointing to this conclusion is that the determiner *no* is intuitively synonymous with *not any*. One reading of (1a) seems to describe the same state of affairs as (1b) (Klima’s example’s (130b) and (130a) respectively, see Klima 1964, 285).

- (1)     a.     I will force you to marry no one.  
       b.     I will not force you to marry anyone.

The fact that (1a) can be interpreted along the lines of (1b) indicates at least that *no* can be paraphrased as *not any*. But moreover there is some evidence that in fact the relevant reading of (1a) is structurally isomorphic to (1b) at the level at which it is interpreted. Although (1a) can be interpreted to mean that I will force you to not get married (that is, “marry no one” is what I will force you to do), it also may mean that I will not force you to get married, just what (1b) means. The reading of (1a) that denies that I will force you to get married requires the logical configuration of elements seen overtly in (1b), where the negative force of *no one* scopes over *force* and the existential force of *no one* remains within the scope of *force*. Klima claims that these observations indicate that *no* is semantically complex. In the derivation of the reading of (1a) synonymous with (1b), the negative component of *no* is given clausal scope, leaving the existential component within the non-finite complement of *force*, deriving an LF that is more or less identical to what we see overtly in (1b).

Additional observations support this idea. Consider first (2a). This sentence consists of two conjuncts, the second of which has an elided VP. That elided VP is identified by an antecedent in the first conjunct, the VP *force you to marry anyone*. The interpretationally similar example in (2b) seems to show a mismatch between the elided content and the antecedent (Klima 1964, 285). Like in (2a), the negation in the second clause is expressed overtly by *neither* (itself evidently an amalgam of *not* and *either*). There is therefore no negation in the elided component, which seems to correspond to the string *force you to marry anyone*. But this string is not found in the first conjunct. That is, there is no antecedent with the exact form of the elided content.

- (2) a. I will not force you to marry anyone, and neither will he ~~force you to marry anyone~~.
- b. I will force you to marry no one, and neither will he ~~force you to marry anyone~~

However, Klima’s suggestion that the first conjunct in (2b) is permuted into a form corresponding to the first conjunct in (2a) derives an appropriate antecedent for the elided VP in the second conjunct of (2b) on the model of (2a). In (2b), ellipsis “splits” the negative indefinite *no one* into a negative component which is interpreted outside the ellipsis site, where it negates the whole antecedent VP *force you to marry anyone*, and an existential component that is interpreted within the ellipsis site, spelled out as *anyone* in the overt antecedent VP in (2a). Further, it is the wide scope of negation in (2b) that licenses the parallel clausal negation expressed by *neither* in the second conjunct. Such constructions are sometimes referred to as “split scope” constructions because the apparently monomorphemic term *no* is split into a negative component and an existential component, which are assigned different scope positions at LF.

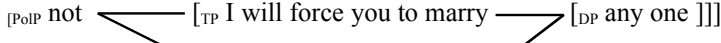
Early literature on negative indefinites takes them to be ordinary individual quantifiers that raise to a licensing position, particularly in the case of negative indefinites that lose their quantificational force under the influence of a negative licenser, as in negative concord constructions (Rizzi 1982, Laka 1990, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman 1995, Beghelli 1995). However, raising the quantifier derives a wide scope interpretation for the indefinite, not the split scope reading described above (Jacobs 1980, Hendriks 1993, and Rullmann 1995). Geurts (1996) and de Swart (2000) develop analyses in which the negative indefinite is a quantifier over kinds (Geurts) or properties (de Swart) and therefore can raise without receiving a *de re* interpretation. However, Penka and Zeijstra (2005) point out a problem for any analysis that raises the

indefinite, namely the fact that negative indefinites have clausal negative force in idiomatic VPs like (3). The VP *einen Bären aufbinden* ‘tie up a bear’ in German means to fool someone. The idiom is negated by replacing the indefinite *einen Bären* ‘a bear’ with its negative indefinite counterpart *keinen Bären* ‘no bear’.

- (3) Hans hat mir keinen Bären aufgebunden.  
 Hans has me no bear tied up  
 literal: ‘Hans tied me up no bear.’  
 idiomatic: ‘Hans didn’t fool me.’

Moving the negative indefinite *keinen Bären* to the clause edge in (3) would split up the idiom and make the idiomatic reading unavailable (see Koopman and Sportiche 1991). The fact that the idiomatic reading is available in (3) militates against quantifier raising in any form.

Zeijlstra (2011) presents a version of the quantifier raising analysis based on copy theory that puts a copy of the negative quantifier in a wide scope position and differentially deletes the restriction in the wide scope position and the quantifier in the in situ copy from the semantic representation, illustrated in (4a). Craenenbroeck and Temmerman (2017) present an analysis in which the clause-level PolP housing negation immediately dominates the negative indefinite DP in situ, shown in (4b), so that DP is multiply dominated by PolP and VP. This configuration subserves fusion of Pol and D into *no*.

- (4) a. [no ~~one~~] I will force you to marry [~~one~~]  
 b. 

Penka (2011, 2012a,b), on the other hand, presents an analysis of negative indefinites that folds them into the negative concord phenomenon, building on Zeijlstra’s (2004) analysis of negative concord. In negative concord languages, negative indefinites are interpreted existentially in the scope of clausal negation. In Italian, for example, the negative indefinite *nessuno* ‘no one’ in object position must occur in the scope of a negative term, here clausal negation *non*.

- (5) \*(Non) ho visto nessuno.  
 \*(not) have.1S seen no one  
 ‘I have seen no one.’

A family of analyses claims that *nessuno* in this context has no negative force of its own, but means ‘someone’. However, it bears a feature that requires licensing by a true negative term elsewhere in the structure (Rizzi 1982, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Ladusaw 1992, Haegeman 1995, Zeijlstra 2004, Penka 2011 and others; see Kratzer 2005 for a general analysis of dependent indefiniteness that includes negative concord and multiple-wh constructions). Zeijlstra (2004), for example, claims that *nessuno* bears an uninterpretable negative feature [uNEG], which requires licensing by an element with the interpretable counterpart [iNEG] under a syntactic Agree relation (Chomsky 1993), clausal negation in (5), as depicted in (6).

- (6) Non<sub>[iNEG]</sub> ho visto nessuno<sub>[uNEG]</sub>

Penka (2011) claims that negative indefinites in English and other non-negative concord languages are also dependent on a higher negative term, which in these languages is covert, represented by the symbol  $Op^{-}$ , as depicted in (7). Penka claims that  $Op^{-}$  is spelled out as clausal negation when the negative indefinite is itself covert, such as when it has been elided, explaining the presence of negative *n-* in *neither* in (2b), where the verb phrase containing the negative indefinite seen overtly in the antecedent has undergone ellipsis. That is, exactly one member of the Agree relation connecting  $Op^{-}_{[iNEG]}$  with a  $[uNEG]$  indefinite must be overt. On this view, negative indefinites are not negative quantifiers but feature-bearing terms that require licensing by a higher negative element, essentially a kind of negative concord.

(7)  $Op^{-}_{[iNEG]}$  I saw no one $_{[uNEG]}$

The various analyses of negative indefinites described above each deal with split scope constructions in different ways. With this background, I turn below to the question of whether *few* can fruitfully be analyzed on the model of any of these approaches.

### 3. *Few as Not Many*

Just as the similarity in meaning between (1a) and (1b) suggests that *no one* is interpreted as *not anyone* in some way, the similarity between (8a) and (8b) suggests that these, too, should receive a parallel syntactic/semantic analysis. That is, just as *no* means *not any*, *few* means *not many*.

(8) a. I will force you to read few books for this class.  
b. I will not force you to read many books for this class.

Just as (1a) admits a low scope reading for *no one*, where it means that what I will force you to do is marry no one, (8a) admits a reading where what I will force you to do is read few books. That is, I will prohibit the reading of large numbers of books. However, (8a) admits another reading that expresses the same proposition as (8b), indicating that *few* has a negative component meaning *not* that may scope above the main verb while the other component meaning *many* remains in situ. Klima endorses this equivalence on the basis of the observations in (9). Here, the negation inherent in *few* licenses the parallelism with negative *neither* in the second conjunct (though in the following section I cast doubt on the informativeness of such examples).

(9) a. Few writers accept suggestions, and neither do many publishers.  
b. Little rain fell, and neither did much snow.

Accordingly, several analyses seek to fold the behavior of *few* fully into that of negative indefinites. De Swart (2000), for example, extends her analysis of negative indefinites as quantifiers over properties to all downward entailing quantifiers, including *few*, though, as mentioned above, this analysis faces difficulties with the interpretation of idioms like (3). Alternatively, Solt (2006) claims that *few* means *many* but insertion of *few* is accompanied by an instruction to place a negative operator in “storage”, where it

stays until a truth value-denoting node is built. Negation is then removed from storage and appended to the truth value-denoting node, yielding the negation of an existential claim without movement of the existential quantifier. This analysis bears a resemblance to Penka’s analysis of negative indefinites except for the difference in how the negative word (*no* or *few*) and negation are connected: While negation percolates from the insertion point of *few* to a truth value-denoting node in Solt’s analysis, negation is base generated at the truth value-denoting node in Penka’s analysis of *no* and licenses the dependent indefinite by virtue of an Agree relation. In the following section, however, I reconsider the question of whether a unified analysis of *no* and *few* is warranted. In fact, the two determiner-like elements display substantial differences in use and interpretation that I claim counterindicate a uniform analysis.

#### 4. Differences between *Few* and Negative Indefinites

Penka (2011, ch. 4, 2012b, §5) considers differences between *few* and negative indefinites and concludes that *few* should not be treated as a kind of negative indefinite, but rather as a degree quantifier. In what follows, I contribute to the empirical picture motivating this conclusion and show how the degree quantifier analysis of *few* explains these differences, lending support to Penka’s conclusion.

In Klima’s ellipsis examples involving *few* in (9), from which he concludes that *few* is semantically complex like *no*, ellipsis itself has no empirical significance. While negation is external to the elided VP in the second conjunct (in the form of *neither*) so is the putative additional component *many*. Ellipsis does not “split” the components of *few* in these cases, unlike what we see with *no* in (2b). If we construct examples in which ellipsis splits the two putative components of *few*, the results are not nearly as acceptable as the counterpart for *no* in (2b). (10) is quite odd.

(10) ??I will force you to read few books for this class, and neither will Prof. Jones

When giving the first conjunct a split scope construal, the second conjunct in (10) is not fully coherent; it leaves one wondering what it is exactly that Prof. Jones will not do. A sensible interpretation would involve construing the elided VP in the second conjunct as *force you to read many books*, as depicted in (11a). But again, this interpretation is marginal, particularly compared to the fully grammatical counterpart in (11b) in which an antecedent of that form is overtly available.

- (11) a. ??I will force you to read few books for this class,  
and neither will Prof. Jones ~~force you to read many books~~
- b. I will not force you to read many books for this class,  
and neither will Prof. Jones ~~force you to read many books~~

The contrast between *few* in (10)/(11a) and *no* in (2b) is reminiscent of an effect observed by Brasoveanu et al. (2014). They demonstrate experimentally that *few* does not license positive tag questions as readily as *no* and other terms they call “n-words”. Tag questions follow a declarative “anchor” and display the reverse polarity of the anchor. The appropriate tag question for the negative sentence in (12a), for example, is the positive tag *did he?*. In Brasoveanu et al.’s experiment, subjects are given a context and an anchor statement and asked to choose for each anchor whether a positive (*did*

*he?*) or negative (*didn't he?*) tag question is most appropriate. They find that the median probability of a positive tag being chosen for an anchor with clausal negation, as in (12a), is a little over 0.8 (on a scale of 0-1), i.e. quite likely, as expected.<sup>1</sup> Negative indefinites in subject position were even better at triggering positive tag questions, at a probability of almost 0.9. The probability of a positive tag being chosen for an anchor with a negative indefinite in object position (12b) was a little over 0.7—still relatively likely, but less so than clausal negation or negative indefinite subjects. In a sense, VP-internal negative indefinites are “less negative” than VP-external negative indefinites, since they pattern less like clausal negation in terms of which tag question they elicit. *Few* in object position, as in (12c), is least negative of all in this sense. The median probability of a positive tag being chosen for an anchor with *few* in object position is about 0.1—very unlikely. Examples (12a)-(12c) are test data from Brasoveanu et al. (2014, 177-178).

- (12) a. The composer did not use the cello in his late period.  
 b. The travel agents visited no Greek islands last summer.  
 c. The managers revised few contracts this month.

That is, people have trouble perceiving the anchor in (12c) with *few* in object position as being negative enough to license a positive tag question. This might mean that part of the difficulty in (10) is that *few* is not negative enough to license the parallel negation in the second conjunct in the form of *neither*. However, subject *few* (or *little*) in (9) licenses it perfectly, in contrast to subject *few*'s poor ability to license positive tag questions, as Brasoveanu et al. report. It appears that positive tag questions fall in the class of ‘strong NPIs’ in requiring the licenser to be not just downward entailing but also anti-additive. Negation and negative indefinites are both downward entailing and anti-additive while *few* is merely downward entailing and not anti-additive (on which see Krifka 1995, Zwarts 1995 and Giannakidou 2011, among others). The inability of *few* to license positive tag questions appears to be due to its lack of anti-additivity. The problem with (10) appears to be due to *few*'s failure to derive an appropriate antecedent for the ellipsis site, as I describe in section 5.

Another dramatic difference between *few* and negative indefinites is that *few* does not participate in negative concord (Muller 1991, Ladusaw 1992, de Swart and Sag 2002). Recall that the negative indefinite *nessuno* in Italian must be licensed by clause-level negation (or other higher negative quantifier) (5). The Italian counterpart of *few* does not require licensing by a higher negative element, and is not readily compatible with clausal negation, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) Fortunatamente, questo farmaco (\*non) ha pochi effetti collaterali.  
 fortunately, this medication (\*not) has few effects collateral  
 ‘Fortunately, this medication has few side effects.’

*Few* therefore behaves very differently from negative indefinites in negative concord languages, and by extension more generally, since cross-linguistically, negative indefinites may participate in negative concord, but *few* may not. This means that

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<sup>1</sup>I say “a little over 0.8” because the paper does not cite exact values, but presents them on a graph with grid marks in increments of 0.2 (Brasoveanu et al. 2014, 182). But these contrasts are statistically significant.

whatever licensing relation obtains between clausal negation and a negative indefinite in negative concord cannot be established with *few*.

The conclusion that *few* cannot be licensed by clausal negation finds a parallel in the fact that its positive counterpart *many* cannot function as a dependent indefinite in languages that admit dependent indefinites. In such languages, a morphological marker may be appended to an existential indefinite noun to signal that it is to be interpreted within the scope of a higher licenser. In Albanian, for example, a numeral may be augmented with the prefix *nga* to signal that a higher plural noun or quantifier distributes over that numeral (Rushiti, 2019). Example (14a), for example, can only be interpreted to mean that the children each built two sand castles. Without *nga* it can be interpreted to mean that the children cooperated in the construction two sand castles total, but *nga* enforces distributivity (Rushiti 2019, 1). However, the quantificational adjective *shumë* ‘many’ in (14b) cannot bear *nga*. Example (14b) cannot mean that the children each built many sand castles; it is outright ungrammatical (Rushiti 2015, 4).

- (14) a. Fëmijët ndërtuan nga dy kështijella në rërë.  
 children-the build-AOR DIST two castles in sand  
 ‘The children built two sand castles each.’  
 b. \*Fëmijët ndërtuan nga shumë kështijella në rërë.  
 children-the build-AOR DIST many castles in sand  
 Intended: ‘The children built many sand castles each.’

While it is not a foregone conclusion that dependent indefinites bear the same kind of dependency to their licenser as morphologically negative words in negative concord constructions, we find in the behavior of *many* a certain resemblance to the behavior of *few*. The quantity words *many* and *few* both fail to occur in licensing configurations that indefinites participate in generally.

These observations militate particularly strongly against applying a feature licensing analysis to *few* on the model of Penka’s analysis of negative indefinites. On such a treatment, *few* would be a [uNEG] form of *many*, licensed by a covert c-commanding Op-[iNEG]. Since this treatment would make *few* fully parallel to the treatment of negative concord, the fact that *few* does not participate in negative concord in languages that have negative concord with morphologically negative indefinites contraindicates such a proposal. While the analyses of Zeiljstra (2011) and Craenenbroeck and Temmerman (2017) do not seek to reduce scope splitting to negative concord, these analyses carry over to *few* “too successfully”, since they do not offer any structural obstacles to a derivation of *few* as *not many* along the lines of *no* as *not any* seen in (4), though again, the facts discussed above contraindicate a parallel analysis. This suggests that *few* warrants a different analysis from negative indefinites. In the following section, I claim that the analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier predicts the behavior seen in the preceding discussion.

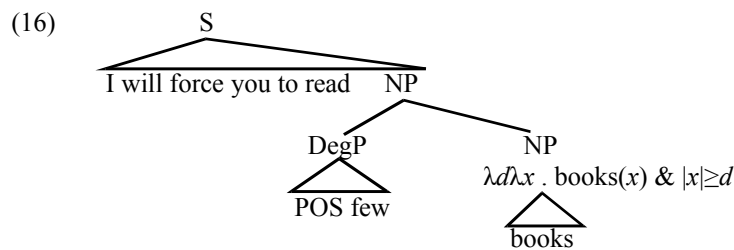
## 5. Few as a Degree Quantifier

In this section, I attempt to show that the analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier (see especially Heim 2006) makes sense of the differences discussed above between *few* and *no*. Building on advances in degree semantics by Cresswell (1976), von Stechow (1984), Heim (1985, 1999), and Rullmann (1995), Heim (2006) claims that *few* denotes the

degree quantifier in (15a) (see also Büring 2007, 2009 and Solt 2015). It combines with a degree and a degree predicate and asserts that the degree predicate does not hold to that degree. *Many* is its non-negative counterpart (15b). These quantifiers occur together with a positive operator POS which combines with a degree predicate and asserts that the degree predicate holds of every degree in a contextually supplied “neutral” or “expected” zone LC. All three terms have the syntactic category DegP for “degree phrase”. Note that on this analysis, *few* has a negative component in its meaning, and is a downward entailing operator, but is not morphosyntactically bimorphemic.

- (15) a.  $[[\text{few}]] = \lambda d \lambda D . \neg D(d)$   
 b.  $[[\text{many}]] = \lambda d \lambda D . D(d)$   
 c.  $[[\text{POS}]]^c = \lambda D . L_c \subseteq D$

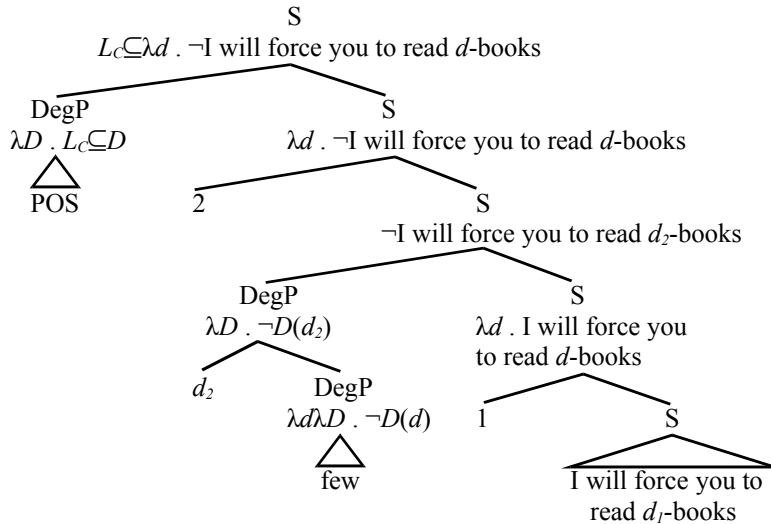
The base structure of example (8a) *I will force you to read few books* is shown in (16), where POS and *few* form a constituent (POS is an adjunct of *few* and will undergo additional movement) that sits in the degree argument slot of *books*, which has a degree argument that measures the number of books; on some accounts this degree argument is provided by plural morphology (Link 1983) and on others it is provided by a covert measure function (Schwarzschild 2006, Solt 2015).



On the split scope reading of (8a), the DegP [POS *few*] moves to the matrix clause edge, leaving a degree denoting trace that saturates the degree argument of *books*. In this step, an abstraction index “1” is inserted that binds the trace of DegP and derives a predicate over that variable (see Heim and Kratzer 1998, ch. 7). In a subsequent step, the DegP headed by POS undergoes additional movement, accompanied by an additional instance of insertion of an abstraction index “2” over its degree-denoting trace within the DegP headed by *few*, resulting in the tree in (17).



(17)



This tree derives the denotation under the topmost “S” node in (17). This formula asserts that the number of books you expected to be forced to read is a subinterval of the set of numbers of books that I will in fact *not* force you to read. You may have expected to be forced to read five, six or seven books, but all these numbers are numbers of books I will not force you to read, nor are any higher numbers due to the monotonicity of degree scales (see Cresswell 1976, Heim 1999). Consequently, any number of books that I will in fact force you to read must be less than the expected number, which is what *few* contributes to the meaning of (8a).

If this analysis is correct, then *few* contains its own negative force—the negative connective “¬” in (15a)—and need not co-occur with a higher negative operator. If negative concord involves feature licensing along the lines of what Penka describes, we do not expect *few* to participate in negative concord in languages like Italian, illustrated in (13), unlike negative indefinites, if we take the latter to be negative-marked existential quantifiers requiring licensing of their negative morphology. I note at this juncture that in some languages, the counterpart of *few* bears a morphological resemblance to other negative items, including negative indefinites (see De Clercq 2017). Such observations, I claim, do not point to the conclusion that *few* is a negative indefinite like *no*. The facts brought up in section 4 militate against this idea. Such observations do open the possibility, though, that *few* is built in the morphosyntax from multiple components, one of which is negation (that is, it is bimorphemic after all). But on the degree quantifier analysis, these components, however defined, never separate in the syntax. That is, split scope constructions do not represent positive evidence for a decompositional account of *few*. As Penka (2011) emphasizes, the degree quantifier analysis accommodates the repertoire of interpretations found for *few* without invoking morphosyntactic decomposition.

The analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier also goes some way toward explaining why examples like (10) are not fully acceptable, where ellipsis struggles to split the putative negative and existential components of *few*, unlike analogous examples with *no* like (2b). If we copy the antecedent VP *force you to read few books* into the ellipsis site in (10), then we copy the negative force of *few* into a context that is already negative by virtue of *neither*, resulting in a double negation that is not a felicitous

continuation of the first conjunct. This would mean that Prof. Jones will also not force you read few books, but that is not the same as what I have promised to do in the first conjunct. The analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier therefore predicts there to be a difference between examples like (10) and corresponding examples with a negative indefinite like (2a).

Recall, though, that (10) is not fully ungrammatical, and in Brasoveanu et al.'s experiment described in section 4, they find that anchors with *few* in object position still trigger positive tags more readily than anchors with no negation at all. They behave at least a little bit like clausal negation. If the degree quantifier analysis of *few* is correct, why is (10) merely marginal and not fully ungrammatical?

I suggest that a marginally grammatical structure for (10) can be derived by building a VP in the ellipsis site with *many* in place of *few*. Raising [POS *many*] to a scope position removes it from the ellipsis site, leaving a degree denoting trace in the position corresponding to the trace of [POS *few*] in the antecedent. As a result, the elided VP in (10) is identical to the antecedent VP at LF, as illustrated in (18).

(18) POS 2 [ $d_2$  few] 1 I will [<sub>VP</sub> force you to read  $d_1$ -books] and ...  
neither POS 2 [ $d_2$  many] 1 will prof. Jones [<sub>VP</sub> force you to read  $d_1$ -books]

The portion of the second conjunct beginning with POS will be interpreted to mean that the neutral range  $L_C$  is a subset of the set of degrees  $d$  such that Prof. Jones will force you to read  $d$  books. The negation in *neither* negates that assertion, so that the second conjunct means that  $L_C$  is not a subset of the set of degrees  $d$  such that Prof. Jones will force you to read  $d$  books. If Prof. Jones is going to force you to read three books, then by the downward monotonicity of degree predication, the degrees “one” and “two” are also in the set of degrees such that Prof. Jones is going to force you to read that number of books. (18) asserts that the expected number of books is not in that set; perhaps you expected him to force you to read six or seven books. The second conjunct in (18), then, means that Prof. Jones is not going to force you to read as many books as you might expect, which is appropriate as a continuation of the first conjunct, making (10) acceptable **to the extent it can be given the LF in (18)**.

I suggest that the marginality of (10), then, is due to a conflict in surface identity between the elided VP (which is, on its acceptable reading, *force you to read many books*) and its antecedent (which is *force you to read few books*), and that this conflict is ameliorated by the fact that the two VPs become identical at LF by virtue of raising of the respective degree quantifiers out of VP, leaving in both cases a VP of the form *force you to read  $d$ -books*. This convergence of the form of the elided VP and its antecedent at LF salvages a sensible interpretation for (10) and partially abrogates the surface disparity in lexical composition of the two VPs (one has *few* where the other has *many*).

If this explanation for the marginality of (10) is on the right track, then the analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier makes sense of the marginality of *few* in contexts like (10), in contrast to negative indefinites, which are not semantically negative, and its non-participation in licensing relations, specifically negative concord, again in contrast to negative indefinites.

## 6. Concluding Remarks

This paper has reviewed differences in the distribution of *few* and *no* and found that scope splitting analyses of *no* should not be extended to *few*. Of various current analyses of *no*, only Penka's (2011) is able to tie the differences between *few* and *no* to the fact that *few* does not participate in negative concord (see Italian (13)) and that its positive counterpart *many* does not function as a dependent indefinite (see Albanian (14)). These observations mean that quantificational adjectives are not able to bear a morphological feature requiring licensing (for reasons that still need to be investigated). The fact that negative indefinites require licensing on Penka's analysis excludes quantificational adjectives from participating in scope splitting in the same manner. Rather, *few* is a degree quantifier, as Heim (2006), Büring (2007, 2009) Solt (2015) and others claim. The observed differences between *few* and *no* therefore fall out from the analysis of *few* as a degree quantifier with its own negative force and the analysis of *no* as a dependent term requiring licensing by a negative element.

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