4   Degree quantifiers and categorial underspecification

D<small>EGREE</small> <small>QUANTIFIERS</small> or DQs operate both in the nominal and in the verbal system. Some French examples are given in (1):

(1)   a.   Jean   a   beaucoup/peu/énormément dansé   la salsa
              Jean   has   a-lot/ little/ a-whole-lot   danced   the salsa
           b.   Jean   a   lu   beaucoup/peu/énormément de livres
              Jean   has   read   a-lot/ few/ a-whole-lot   of books

In this chapter I will propose a categorial underspecification analysis for DQs. In the next two chapters this analysis will be further motivated on the basis of the distribution of DQs in the context of VPs and NPs. The analysis of DQs will constitute a reference point in the discussion of other types of Qs in subsequent chapters.

The possibility to combine the DQ with different categories can be approached in different ways. On the one hand, one could say that the different categories that may be modified by the DQ are specified in the lexicon. On the other, the compatibility with different categories might be attributed to the absence of categorial selection. As announced in the introduction of this thesis, I will defend the idea that the first option is excluded. In case a quantifying expression is compatible with different categories, this is due to underspecification or lack of categorial selection, not to multiple categorial selection. I will argue below that DQs should be analysed as adjuncts and not as heads selecting the phrase they modify (cf. chapter 1). The head-complement structure will be seen as a reflection of the presence of categorial selection.

Elements which will be called DQs on the basis of their distributional properties may have different forms: the DQ *much* seems to be adjectival while *a lot* is a construction containing an indefinite article and the element *lot*, which I call a classifier (cf. 1.1.2). I will argue that all these elements are XPs which have in common that their thematic grid contains only one,

saturated position. This position expresses a value on a scale. In (1) the relative quantity of dancing and books depends on the choice of Q. The only way in which DQs can be interpreted is by identifying their scalar argument position with an open position in another phrase, which they then saturate through identification, as defined in section 1.2 above. If not, they cannot contribute to the meaning of the sentence and become uninterpretable. As the theta position in the DQ is scalar, DQs can only modify phrases containing a compatible, and hence scalar, open argument position. As such, they can be said to theta select a scalar theta position (cf. chapter 1).[1]

The defining property of DQs is that their distribution is uniquely determined by theta selection of a scalar position, and not by categorial selection. Note that there are degree expressions which do not qualify as DQs. *Many*, for instance, though very close in meaning to the DQ *a lot*, categorially selects a plural NP and belongs to the class of adnominal quantifiers. *Souvent* 'often' is in some contexts almost synonymous to *beaucoup*, but I will argue in chapter 9 that it does not theta select a scalar argument position. Elements such as *so* and *too*, which I will call Deg-heads, categorially select APs, and hence do not fall into the category of DQs either. High degree adverbs, such as *extremely* and *badly*, express high degree but, contrary to DQs, they cannot modify a quantity. **Extremely sand/ books* is out. A detailed comparison between these expressions and DQs follows below and in subsequent chapters.

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[1]   I will concentrate on non-predicative DQs. DQs can function as predicates in sentences where the subject defines a quantity or a degree, as in (i):

(i)   a.   Two kilos is too much/a lot
         b.   Trop,   c'est   trop   *[French]*
               too-much   that-is   too-much
               'Too much is too much'

Although I will not deal with these cases, I assume them to be compatible with the lexical specification I propose for DQs in the text.

In some cases DQs may predicate over a subject which does not define a quantity or a degree. The acceptability of this second type of predicative DQ depends on a number of factors, which are not well understood. In French, for instance, certain DQs can be used as predicates with a pronominal plural subject, but others cannot. Furthermore, it is not possible to use a predicative DQ when the subject is a mass noun:

(ii)   a.   Ils   sont trop/?*énormément
               they   are   too-many/a-whole-lot
         b.   *Le   sable   est   beaucoup/trop
               the   sand   is   a-lot/too-much

A full investigation and an explanation of the restrictions on this type of predicative DQs is beyond the scope of this thesis.

As I already mentioned in chapter 1 and 2.1.4, a subset of DQs, such as *more* and *less*, is found in the context of scalar adjectives. This constitutes an important piece of evidence in favour of categorial underspecification. Zwarts (1992) has argued that scalar adjectives contain a *g*-position, where *g* stands for *grade*. The presence of a scalar position is the only selection criterion I ascribe to DQs, and hence the compatibility of DQs and adjectives is expected. I will argue that in case a DQ cannot be combined with an adjective, this is not due to selectional restrictions but to the Elsewhere Condition (cf. Kiparsky 1973).

The chapter is organized as follows. It starts out in 4.1 with a discussion of some basic empirical facts in support of the categorial underspecification analysis. Section 4.2 contains a typology of DQs. In this section I will examine differences between for instance *much*, which has adjectival properties, and *a lot*, which derives from a classifier construction. The topic of 4.3 is the distribution of DQs in the context of adjectives. I will argue against a recent proposal by Corver (1997), who argues that certain DQs (*more* for instance) are generated in a head position and select APs.

4.1   DQs, theta selection and adjunction

French has a rich collection of DQs. The list in (2), though not exhaustive, gives a fair impression:

(2)   *à peine* 'hardly any'; *assez* 'enough', 'a fair number'; *autant* 'as many/much'; *beaucoup* 'a lot'; *combien* 'how much/many' *davantage* 'more'; *énormément* 'a whole lot'; *guère* 'hardly any'; *moins* 'less'; *pas mal* 'a lot' lit. 'not badly'; *peu* 'few'; *plus* 'more'; *rudement* 'a lot', lit. 'rudely'; *suffisamment* 'enough'; *tant* 'so many/much'; *tellement* 'so many/much'; *trop* 'too (many/ much)'; *un peu* 'a bit'; *vachement* 'a lot', lit. '#cowly'

The Qs in (2) indicate a value on a scale. *Beaucoup* 'a lot', *énormément* 'a whole lot', *pas mal* 'a lot' etc. express high degree. *A peine* 'hardly', *guère* 'hardly', *peu* 'little' and *un peu* 'a little' express a low degree. *Plus* 'more', *davantage* 'more', *autant* 'as much', and *moins* 'less' compare two degrees. *Assez* 'enough' and *suffisamment* 'enough' define a degree on the basis of what is required. *Trop* 'too much' indicates excess. *Tellement* and *tant* express high degree and consecution. From a semantic point of view the interpretation of DQs is defined on the basis of a scale, which is in accordance with the restriction on the type of theta position they can saturate.

The different categorial contexts in which the DQ appears have in common that there is always a **scalar** theta position present. When the DQ

is combined with a VP, this VP must have cumulative reference, i.e. it must have either a mass or an iterated interpretation (cf. section 2.2.5 above). In the examples below, *beaucoup* 'a lot' will be used as the standard example of a French DQ. Unless the contrary is explicitly stated, *beaucoup* can be replaced by any of the other DQs in (2).

(3) a. Sylvie va   beaucoup au   cinéma
         Sylvie goes   a-lot   to-the cinema
     b. Anne danse   beaucoup
         Anne dances   a-lot

(3a) contains a count predicate. In the context of *beaucoup* the predicate has cumulative reference and is interpreted as an iteration of 'going to the movies' events. The iterated interpretation corresponds to the presence of a scalar *q*-position, and the number of visits can be modified by the DQ. The singular interpretation of the predicate, in which the *q*-position would not define a scale, is excluded, and the DQ is uninterpretable. *Danser* 'to dance' in (3b) is mass and hence contains a scalar *q*-position.

In the context of nouns the presence of a scalar position is necessary as well. DQs combine with mass nouns and plurals, and not with singulars, which contain a non-scalar *q*-position (cf. section 2.1.4 above):

(4) a. #beaucoup de cheval
         a-lot   of horse (SG)
     b. beaucoup   de chevaux
         a-lot   of horses (SG)
     c. beaucoup   de thé
         a-lot   of tea

A subclass of DQs is found in the context of adjectives. An example is *trop* 'too much'. Again we see that the adjective must be scalar. The scalar adjective in (5a) is compatible with *trop* 'too much' and the non-scalar adjective in (5b) is not:

(5) a. trop   grand
         too-much big
         'too big'
     b. *l'année trop   dernière
         the-year too-much last
         'too last year'

In English and Dutch we find the same contextual restrictions on DQs, even though the set of DQs which can be used in combination with

adjectives is different in all three languages. More about that will follow in 4.3.

I analyse DQs as adjuncts. DQs can be adjoined to any projection, provided that they can be interpreted, which means that their saturated scalar theta position is identified with an open scalar argument position. The adjunct status of DQs reflects the absence of categorial selection, which I will argue to be typically found in a head-complement structure.

The syntactic status of the DQ can be motivated on the basis of extraction data. As shown in (6), the DQ *combien* 'how much/many' can be extracted:[2]

(6)   a.   Combien$_i$ as-tu   lu   [$_{NP}$ t_i de livres]?
             how-many   have-you read   of books
             'How many books did you read?'
        b.   Combien$_i$ les enfants   ont-ils   [$_{VP}$ ri t_i]?
             how-much   the children have-they   laughed
             'How much did the children laugh?'
        c.   Vous verrez   combien$_i$ il   est [$_{AP}$ t_i méchant]
             you   will-see how-much   he   is   evil
             'You will see how evil he is'

The possibility of *wh*-extraction of *combien*, leaving behind the lexical category it modifies, is evidence against an analysis in which *combien* 'how much/many' functions as a head selecting NP, VP or AP, as movement of a head to a specifier position is barred (cf. Chomsky 1986). The data are unproblematic when *combien* has adjunct status.

Adverbially used DQs provide a further argument in favour of their adjunct status. If the adverbial DQ were a head selecting the VP, we would not expect the verb to raise to I given the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), which blocks movement of a head past an intervening head position. The example in (7) shows that V-to-I movement is not blocked by an intervening DQ, in accordance with the adjunction analysis:

(7)   [$_{IP}$ Sylvie [$_{IP}$ danse$_i$ [$_{VP}$ beaucoup [$_{VP}$ t_i la salsa]]]]
             Sylvie   dances   a-lot   the salsa

The adjunct status of DQs is in accordance with the ideas about categorial selection set out in the introduction. Heads categorially select at most one category, and adjuncts are categorially underspecified.

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[2]   *Combien* can be either exclamative or interrogative. In the context of adjectives only the exclamative reading is available. I will not address the distinction between interrogative and exclamative *combien*.

This section put forward some empirical facts in favour of the idea that what the DQ actually selects is a scalar argument position. The absence of categorial selection corresponds to an adjunction analysis, which receives independent evidence from extraction data and the Head Movement Constraint.
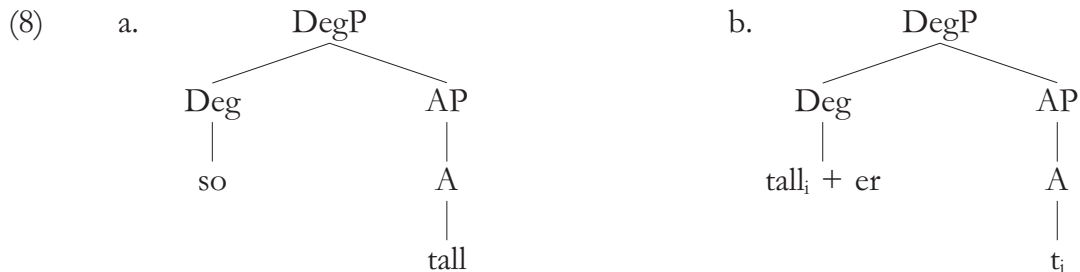
4.2   Types of DQs

As I said in the introduction of this chapter, a quantifying expression falls in the class of DQs on the basis of its external distribution. In this section it will be shown that the class of DQs is not a homogeneous one, but contains elements with clearly distinct properties. The different types of DQs have in common that they do not categorially select, and that their theta grid contains exactly one saturated, scalar argument position, which determines their distribution as I stated above.

I will examine four classes of DQs: adjectival DQs (4.2.1), complex DQs (4.2.2), DQs which are derived from classifier constructions (4.2.3), and DQs derived from high-degree adverbs (4.2.4). In establishing the typology, Deg-heads (*so*, *too*), which categorially select adjectives, play an important part. Adjectival DQs, such as English *much*, can be detected by their compatibility with Deg-heads. Complex DQs are formed on the basis of a Deg-head and an adjectival DQ, which in many cases turns out to be incorporated. Examples are English *more* and French *plus* 'more'. Classifier constructions which function as DQs usually contain an indefinite article. In the default case, classifiers categorially select NPs. Loss of this categorial specification, which turns the classifier construction into a DQ, turns out to be a two step process, in which the classifier first loses part of its meaning. An example of the last type of DQ, which derives from high degree adverbs, is *énormément* 'enormously/a whole lot'. Whereas the first three types of DQs are found in all of the three languages I examined, the last type of DQs typically occurs in French. 4.2.5 contains a schema of the different types of DQs.

4.2.1   Deg-heads and adjectival DQs

The English expressions *how*, *so*, *as*, comparative *–er*, superlative *–st* and *too*, are analysed by Corver (1990) and Zwarts (1992) as heads of a DegP. Deg-heads, as I call these elements, cannot be combined with expressions other than adjectives (or adverbs). Instead of **so water*, **to dance as* and **dresseser* we have to say *so much water*, *to dance as much* and *more dresses*. The sensitivity to the categorial properties of the phrase they modify is a first indication that

they function as selecting heads and not as adjuncts. The structure adopted for DegPs is given in (8). (8a) is the standard case, where the Deg-head and the AP are two separate lexical items, and (8b) illustrates incorporation of the adjective into a suffixal Deg-head:

(8)   a.   DegP   b.   DegP

             Deg   AP   Deg   AP
              | | | |
             so   A $tall_i$ + er   A
                               | |
                              tall t_i

Corver (1990, 1996) gives a convincing argument in favour of head status of the Deg-heads on the basis of extraction. His argument, which was briefly mentioned in section 1.2, is based on so called left branch effects (cf. Ross 1967). Deg-heads cannot be extracted stranding an adjective, as the paradigm in (9) shows:

(9)   a.   *How_i is Peter [t_i sane]?
         b.   *Too is Peter [t_i tall]!
         c.   *How do you think he is [t_i dependent] on his sister?

The ungrammaticality of this type of sentences has been explained by Ross (1967) in terms of the Left Branch Condition, which bans extraction from a left branch. (10) shows, however, that extraction from a left branch is possible:

(10)   How $heavily_i$ do you think he is [t_i dependent] on his sister?

On the basis of (10) Corver rejects the Left Branch Condition and argues that the elements in (9) cannot be extracted because they are heads.
    The existence of suffixal Deg-heads in which an adjective incorporates is a further argument in favour of head status. In order to make incorporation possible the suffixes must be reachable for the adjective via head-to-head movement. This is possible in the adopted configuration in (8b), where the suffix is generated in the head position of a dominating DegP, but not in (11), where DegP is adjoined (cf. Corver 1997):

(11)   *[$_{AP}$ [$_{DegP}$ [$_{Deg0}$ –er]] [$_{AP}$ tall]]

Movement of *tall* to Deg^0 in (11) would move the adjective to a non-c-commanding position, which is not allowed. In the structure in (8b) A-to-

Deg movement is possible.

The French degree expressions *si* 'so', *aussi* 'as' and *très* 'very' are restricted to adjectives and adverbs and will be analysed as Deg-heads:

(12) a. si/très/aussi beau
          so/very/as   beautiful
      b. *si/très/aussi de livres
          so/very/as   of books
      c. *Marie a   si/très dansé
          Marie   has so/very   danced
      d. *Marie a   aussi dansé   que Pierre
          Marie   has as   danced   as Pierre

Note that there are no suffixal Deg-heads in French.[3] Some Dutch examples of Deg-heads are *te* 'too', *–er* '–er', *–st* '–st' and *even* 'as'.
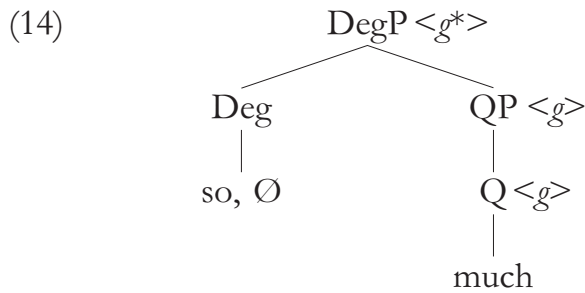
Some DQs can be preceded by a Deg-head, suggesting that they are adjectival in nature. Examples are French *peu* 'little', English *much*, *little* and Dutch *veel* 'much' and *weinig* 'little':

(13) a. si peu;   aussi peu;   très peu
          so little   as little   very little
      b. so much; as much; too much
      c. so little; as little; too little
      d. even veel;   te veel
          as much   too much
      e. even weinig;   te weinig
          as little   too little

The assumption that the Qs in (13) are adjectival in nature is also made by Corver (1997), who refers in turn to Bowers (1975), Klein (1982) and Brame (1986).

Adjectival DQs which combine with Deg-heads can be seen as a special type of scalar adjective, containing a *g*-position. The theta criterion requires that every position be discharged (cf. 1.2). In accordance with Zwarts (1992), I assume that in the absence of an overt Deg-head, the *g*-position in scalar adjectives can be bound by an empty Deg. (14) represents binding of the *g*-position in the DQ by either an overt or a covert Deg-head:
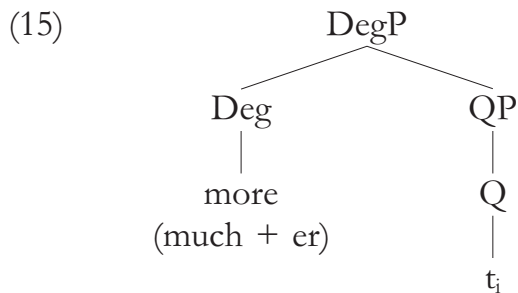
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[3] As in English, there exist cases where the comparative is derived from an adjective by suppletion: *bon* 'good' and *meilleur* 'better'; *mauvais* 'bad' and *pire* 'worse'.

(14)   DegP <*g**>
                    ╱   ╲
              Deg   QP <*g*>
               │   │
             so, Ø   Q <*g*>
                                      │
                                    much

The default interpretation of the adjectival DQ is found in the context of an empty Deg.

4.2.2   Complex DQs

The idea that *more* and *most* are the comparative and superlative forms of *much* is quite commonly accepted in traditional grammar, and adopted within a generative framework by Selkirk (1970) and Bresnan (1973). I will treat *more* and *most* as amalgams consisting of a DegP and an incorporated adjectival DQ (cf. (8b) and (14)). From a syntactic point of view, these DQs are complex, on a par with *so much*. The analysis will be extended to some other forms, which are morphologically less transparent than *more* and *most*. The structure I adopt for complex DQs is given in (15) and corresponds to the structure for *taller* in (8b):

(15)   DegP
                    ╱   ╲
              Deg   QP
               │   │
             more   Q
          (much + er)   │
                                  t$_i$

Stacking of two DegPs is not possible as the ungrammaticality of **so too much* illustrates. Therefore we expect that complex DQs, contrary to the adjectival ones, cannot be preceded by a Deg-head. The impossibility of **très plus* 'very more' and **si trop* 'so too much' in French is correctly predicted under the complex DQ analysis of *plus* 'more' and *trop* '. A number of French DQs are plausibly analysed as complex DQs, consisting of a DegP and an adjectival DQ. This incorporating adjectival DQ never surfaces in French, given that there is no adjectival DQ in French corresponding to

English *much*.[4]

In this view, the French comparative forms *davantage* 'more', *plus* 'more' and *moins* 'less' contain an abstract Deg-head corresponding to English *–er* which never surfaces in French (the comparative in French is always expressed by a DQ, never by a suffix); *autant* 'as much' contains the Deg-head *aussi* 'as' and *tant* 'so much' contains *si* 'as'. I also assume the presence of an abstract degree in *assez* 'enough' and *suffisamment* 'enough', which stands for sufficiency, and an abstract *too* in *trop* 'too much'. There are more simplex lexical items that structurally form complex DQs in French than in English. The English translations of the French forms often consist of a Deg-head and *much*, reflecting the complex underlying representation.

Complex DQs differ from the Deg-words they contain, because they can modify verbs and nouns, due to the presence of the QP. As I said in the beginning of the previous section, we must use *so much water*, *to dance as much* and *more dresses* instead of **so water*, **to dance as* and **dresseser*. The choice of a complex DQ instead of a Deg-head is syntactically determined. Deg-heads categorially select AP. They cannot be used in the context of other categories, unless the categorial selection requirement is satisfied by the presence of an adjectival DQ such as *much*. Insertion of *much* in *so much water* can be seen as a way to fulfil the selectional requirements of *so*, without changing the interpretation. The resulting expression is categorially underspecified, and can modify any category.

4.2.3 Classifier constructions

Quite a different class of DQs involves a special type of classifier construction, consisting of a classifier and an indefinite article.[5] An example is *a lot*. Normally classifiers are exclusively found in the context of NPs, but under certain conditions classifier constructions can turn into DQs. A necessary property for this is that the classifier can indicate a non-specific amount. This type of interpretation of a classifier is incompatible with the presence of a cardinal numeral. Consider for instance the English example *a lot*. It does not make sense to talk about two lots or seven lots, unless *lot* is interpreted in its original sense of 'parcel'. The non-specific interpretation of *lot* does not allow us to count. The possibility to use a classifier to express a non-specific quantity can be seen a first step in the process of becoming a DQ. The classifier turns from an expression indicating a specific

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[4]   French *beaucoup* does not have the properties of an adjectival DQ and will be discussed in the next subsection.

[5]   Cf. section 1.1.2 for my use of the notion 'classifier'.

amount only (for instance the amount put together in a parcel) into an expression which can also be used to indicate a non-specific quantity, which is either relatively big (*a lot*) or small (*a bit*).

It is not the case, however, that when a classifier construction can be used to indicate a non-specific small or big amount, it automatically functions as a DQ. Take for instance the French examples *une montagne* 'a mountain' et *un tas* 'a pile', both of which refer to 'a big quantity' without implying that a concrete heap of stuff/objects is formed, as shown in (16):

(16)   a.   Pierre a   toute une montagne   de travail à faire
            Pierre has   all   a mountain   of work   to do
            'Pierre has a whole lot of work to do'
       b.   Pierre a   eu un tas   de problèmes
            Pierre has   had a lot   of problems

Still *une montagne* and *un tas* do not function as DQs as they cannot be used adverbially:

(17)   *Pierre a   une montagne/un tas travaillé
            Pierre   has a mountain/a heap   worked

In Dutch there is a difference between, on the one hand, *een hoop* 'a pile' and *een boel* 'a lot'/ *een heleboel* 'a whole lot'   (*boel* originally means 'belongings') and, on the other, *een berg* 'a mountain'. Whereas *een hoop* and *een boel* are DQs, the use of *een berg* is restricted to the nominal system:

(18)   We hebben een boel/   een hoop/   *een berg   gepraat
            we have   a lot/   a pile/   a mountain   talked
            'We talked a lot'

It cannot be the case that *een berg* is impossible in (18) because it has not completely lost its literal meaning. *Een berg* is used for a non-specific, big quantity in (19):

(19)   Jan heeft een berg   geld   verdiend met zijn louche zaakjes
            Jan has   a mountain   money   gained   with his louche affairs
            'Jan gained a lot of money with his louche affairs'

This sentence does not presuppose the existence of a concrete 'mountain' of money. In this respect Dutch *een berg* is similar to French *une montagne* 'a mountain' and *un tas* 'a heap'.

In general, non-specific classifier constructions which do not function as DQs cannot combine with any noun, contrary to DQs. They impose lexical

restrictions, which have an idiomatic flavour.[6] Whereas *een berg geld* 'a mountain of money' and *veel/ een hoop geld* 'a lot of money' are both possible, and have roughly the same meaning, *een berg* is quite strange in (20):

(20)   Er waren veel/   een hoop/   ??een berg   mensen op de receptie
          there were   many/   a pile/   a mountain   people at the reception

The same obtains for *een schep* 'a shovel(ful)', which can be used in the sense of 'a lot' in the context of some nouns only, and is completely excluded in non-nominal contexts. *Een schep geld* 'a lot of money' is fine, according to some sources it is possible to say *een schep mensen* 'a lot of people', but *een schep koekjes* for me means 'a spoonful of cookies' and not 'a lot of cookies'. Again this shows that a non-specific classifier construction which cannot be used as a DQ imposes lexical restrictions on the choice of NP.

The process by which a classifier construction becomes a DQ is a gradual one. First the concrete meaning of the classifier gets lost in certain uses of the classifier. At this stage, classifiers still select an NP, and impose some further lexical restrictions on this NP. In a second stage they lose their property of being a categorial selector, and can be used in combination with other categories than NPs.

In Dutch there are quite a few classifier constructions which function as DQs: *een hoop* 'a lot', *een boel* 'a lot', *een beetje* 'a little bit' and *een (ietsie)pietsie* 'a bit'. English examples are *a bit* and *a lot*. In French there are several DQs which etymologically form classifier constructions, even though this is not always relevant from a synchronic point of view. *Un peu* 'a bit' is the only French DQ which clearly has the form of a classifier construction, even though *peu* 'little' alone functions as an adjectival Q.[7] The DQ *trop* 'too much' finds its origin in a classifier, and is etymologically related to *troupeau* 'flock, troop'. As shown in the previous subsection, *trop* functions as a complex DQ from a synchronic point of view. *Beaucoup* 'a lot' is also derived from a classifier construction, and originally means 'good strike'.

There are reasons to believe that *beaucoup* still functions as a classifier construction, even though the indefinite article is missing. DQs that are formed by classifier constructions cannot be combined with a DegP:

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[6]   In general, the distribution of classifiers involves quite some idiosyncratic behaviour; cf. for instance the overview of Mandarin classifiers and the nouns they can be used with in Chao (1968).

[7]   We see the same in English *a little* and Dutch *een weinig* 'a little'. These cases suggest that an adjectival DQ can become a classifier, and that the resulting classifier construction can be used as a DQ as well.

(21)   a. French: *si   un   peu
                       so   *a*   *little*
       b. English: *too a lot
       c. Dutch: *te   een   hoop
                       too   *a*   *lot*

This is in accordance with the categorial selection properties of DegP. *Beaucoup* is incompatible with the Deg-heads *très*, *si* and *aussi*:

(22)   *si beaucoup;   *aussi   beaucoup;   *très beaucoup
             so   much   *as*   *much*   *very   much*

Plausibly the reason for these restrictions is that *beaucoup* still counts as a classifier construction for the DegP, and not as an adjective.

4.2.4   High degree adverbs

In French there are a number of DQs which correspond to high degree adverbs in other languages. High degree adverbs express a high degree but cannot act as quantifiers. Consider for instance the English example *enormously*. This adverb can modify a scalar adjective, as in for instance *enormously happy*, but it cannot be used as a quantifier in the context of NPs and VPs. **Enormously books* is excluded as is **John went enormously to the movies last week*. Dutch *enorm* is similar in this respect to English *enormously*. French *énormément*, however, has the distribution of a DQ, as shown in the examples in (23):[8]

(23)   a. Anne était   énormément   contente
           Anne was   enormously   happy
       b. Anne a   énormément de livres
           Anne has enormously of books
           'Anne has a whole lot of books'
       c. ?Anne va   énormément   au   cinéma
           Anne   goes   enormously   to-the cinema
           'Anne goes to the movies a whole lot'

Some more cases are *étonnamment* 'amazingly', *drôlement* 'funnily' and *infiniment*

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[8]   (23c) was accepted, marginally accepted and rejected depending on the informant. In general, speakers do not like the use of *énormément* as an adverbial DQ as much as its use as an adnominal DQ. Further empirical study is necessary, as the judgments vary from speaker to speaker, and as individual speakers would not judge all sentences in which *énormément* functions as an adverbial DQ alike.

'infinitely' (cf. Gross 1977:242), though it seems to be the case that some of these former high degree adverbs are more easily accepted as DQs than others. My informants did not agree, for instance, on the status of *rudement* 'rudely', which some of them accepted in contexts such as (23b,c) and others did not.

In English and Dutch I did not find this type of DQ. I will come back to high degree adverbs in the next chapter, though the cross-linguistic differences will remain a puzzle for further research.

4.2.5   An overview

In the schema below an overview is given of the different types of Deg-heads and DQs discussed in this section, which means that it is not intended to be a complete inventory. Adjectival DQs (e.g. *much*) contain a hidden DegP, which can contain an overt Deg-head (e.g. *so*), yielding a complex DQ (e.g. *so much*). The complex DQs in the schema are amalgams of a Deg-head and an adjectival Q (e.g. *more*). As the Deg-position is filled, and stacking of DegPs is excluded, complex DQs cannot be preceded by another Deg-head, as shown by the impossibility of **so more*. The third class of DQs consists of a special type of classifier constructions (e.g. *a lot*). Again, these cannot be combined with Deg-heads, as Deg-heads select an AP. These DQs are formed on the basis of classifiers that have lost their selectional properties. The last type of DQs discussed above, exemplified by *énormément* 'a whole lot', only exists in French, and derives from high degree adverbs.

Deg-heads
(categorially select AP)

French: *si* 'so'; *aussi* 'as'; *très* 'very'
English: *too*; *–er*; *–st*; *so*; *as*
Dutch: *te* 'too'; *–er* '–er'; *–st* '-st'; *even* 'as'

Degree Quantifiers
(lack categorial selection and combine with phrases containing an open scalar argument position which they saturate through identification)

simplex/ adjectival
(selected by a covert or overt Deg-head)

      French: *peu* 'little'
      English: *much*; *little*
      Dutch: *veel* 'much'; *weinig* 'little'

complex
(contain a Deg-head)

      French: *plus* 'more'; *davantage* 'more'; *moins* 'less'; *trop* 'too much'; *autant* 'as much'; *tant* 'so much'; *tellement* 'so much'; *assez* 'enough'; *suffisamment* 'enough'
      English: *more*; *enough*
      Dutch: *meer* 'more'; *minder* 'less'; *genoeg* 'enough'

classifier constructions
(lost the property of categorially selecting an NP)

      French: *beaucoup* 'a lot'; *un peu* 'a bit'
      English: *a lot*; *a bit*
      Dutch: *een hoop* 'a lot'; *een boel* 'a lot'; *een heleboel* 'a whole lot'; *een beetje* 'a bit'; *een ietsiepietsie* 'a bit'

former high degree adverbs
(may be used as quantifiers, contrary to high degree adverbs in other languages, cf. 5.2.1.1)

      French: *énormément* 'enormously; a whole lot'; *vachement* '#cowly; a whole lot'; *rudement* 'rudely; a whole lot'; *pas mal* 'not bad; a lot', *drôlement* 'funnily; a whole lot'; *infiniment* 'infinitely; a whole lot'; *étonnamment* 'amazingly; a whole lot'
      English: —
      Dutch: —

4.3 DQs in the context of adjectives

Given the presence of the *g*-position in scalar adjectives, the possibility to combine DQs with adjectives follows from my analysis, and yields evidence for the categorial indifference of DQs. I will defend the idea that in principle all DQs can adjoin to an AP headed by a scalar adjective and saturate the *g*-position and that the reason why a subset of DQs is excluded in the context of adjectives is the Elsewhere Condition (cf. Kiparsky 1973, and Di Sciullo & Williams' 1988 discussion of 'blocking'). The use of a DQ is blocked in case a more specific, competing form exists. Deg-heads, which are only found in the context of APs will in many cases supersede a semantically equivalent DQ. Distributional gaps in the adjectival domain and an explanation in terms of the Elsewhere Condition will be the topic of section 4.3.1.

The proposed analysis of DQs and its implementation in the domain of adjectives is close to Bresnan's (1973) split degree system hypothesis, in which the degree is set by a combination of a degree expression (in my analysis the Deg-head) and a Q. Jackendoff (1977) rejects the split degree system in the domain of adjectives, and I will argue he is right as far as the Deg-heads are concerned, which directly combine with adjectives. Recently, Corver (1997) has made yet another proposal which makes use of a split degree system. Corver only looks at the degree system of adjectives, and his analysis of DQs such as *more* cannot be extended to the use of *more* in other contexts, which obviously is a serious disadvantage. The different systems will be discussed in the context of the present proposal in section 4.3.2.

The most important piece of evidence for Corver's analysis is the phenomenon of *much*-support. *Much*-support is illustrated in (24):

(24)   John is fond of Sue. Maybe he is even too *(much) so.

Even though the Q *much* must be absent in *too (*much) fond*, it obligatorily shows up in (24), where the adjective is replaced by the pronominal form *so*. I will propose an alternative to Corver's analysis in terms of the Elsewhere Condition in section 4.3.3.

4.3.1 Elsewhere

It is clearly not the case that all DQs can be combined with adjectives. Though *more intelligent* is fine, **much intelligent* is out. In French, *trop grand* lit. 'too much big' and *plus grand* lit. 'more big' are fine, but **autant grand* 'as much big', **tant grand* 'too big' and **beaucoup grand* 'much big' are excluded. In Dutch we find *minder groot* 'less big' but not **meer groot* 'bigger'.

All impossible cases have in common that the DQ corresponds to a Deg-head which expresses the same value on a scale. The DQ is underspecified with respect to the categorial properties of the phrase it modifies, while the corresponding Deg-head categorially selects an AP. I will argue that the existence of a competing form is the source of the ungrammaticality of DQ-AP combinations such as *much intelligent* and *autant grand* 'as much big', not a lexical specification of the DQ itself. For example, the fact that the form *très* has the lexical property that it can only occur in the context of APs, blocks the use of the DQ *beaucoup* in this context, as the DQ is not categorially specified.

The idea that if two linguistic rules can apply in the same context the more specific rule supersedes the more general one goes back to the Indian scholar Pāṇini (± 6th century BC). Kiparsky (1973) develops this idea, which he calls the Elsewhere Condition, for rule ordering systems in phonology. In morphological paradigms we find phenomena that can be explained by the Elsewhere Condition as well. An example is the distribution of the third person suffix *–s* in English. According to Halle and Marantz (1993) the absence of the suffix *–s* corresponds to the absence of person specification. The unspecified 'elsewhere' form corresponding to the stem cannot be used for third person because of the existence of the more specific form *–s*.[9]

Accounting for the distribution of pairs such as *très* 'very' and *beaucoup* 'much' in terms of the Elsewhere Condition implies that the condition is active in certain domains of syntax as well. The forms *très* and *beaucoup* have exactly the same function and both indicate a neutral high degree. They differ only in terms of the lexical specification of the context in which they can be used. *Très* can only modify adjectives, while the DQ *beaucoup* is found 'elsewhere'. In the morphological example of the suffix *–s* in English, 'elsewhere' means elsewhere in the morphological paradigm. In the case of French *très* and *beaucoup* it means in other, less specific, syntactic contexts. *Beaucoup* adjoins to XP, unless XP is AP, the context in which *très* prevails.

This way of approaching the distribution of *beaucoup* and *très* is similar to Di Sciullo & Williams' (1987) account of the complementary distribution of *more* and *–er* in terms of 'blocking'. The term 'blocking' has been introduced by Aronoff (1976), and was originally used to account for processes in lexical morphology. For instance, the existence of the form *gloriousness* is said to block derivation of a form *gloriosity* with the same meaning. According to Di Sciullo & Williams the use of *more* is blocked in those contexts where *–er* is possible, in a similar way. They add that 'it remains a mystery what blocking actually is, and it is quite unclear under what circumstances it obtains' (Di Sciullo & Williams 1987:13). Looking at the distribution of *more*

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[9]   See Ferdinand (1996) for an account of the acquisition of the French verbal paradigm in terms of the Elsewhere Condition.

and –er in terms of the Elsewhere Condition seems to solve at least part of this mystery. The blocked form is the elsewhere form, which is the less specific form. *More* is blocked by –er and not the other way around, because *more* is the underspecified elsewhere form, which we also find in nominal and verbal contexts, while –er categorially selects an AP headed by an adjective with certain prosodic properties.

The 'elsewhere' explanation of the distribution of *très* 'very' and *beaucoup* 'a lot' makes the prediction that we do not find a stable system in which a neutral high degree expression restricted to adjectives and a neutral high degree DQ are both freely available in the context of adjectives. In many languages we find the same type of complementary distribution as in French. Spanish has *muy* to express a neutral high degree with adjectives and the morphologically related form *mucho* in the other DQ contexts. In English *very* alternates with *much* in the same way.[10] Portuguese is particulary interesting in this respect. The DQ *muito* 'much' is used in the context of adjectives as in *muito bom* 'very good'. The form *mui* 'very' exists as well, and is restricted to the adjectival system. At first sight the mere existence of the form *mui* is evidence against an elsewhere account. However, the form *mui* 'very' is archaic, excluded in oral communication and not very common in written Portuguese (João Costa p.c.). Looking at the morphological paradigms in terms of which the Elsewhere Condition has been formulated, one can see that the loss of the more specific form and restoration of the less specific form is a frequent phenomenon. Strong past tense forms that supplant the weak form because of the Elsewhere Condition, for instance, may diachronically be substituted by the more general weak form. An example of this is the past tense of the Dutch verb *raden* 'to advice/guess'. This verb used to have a strong, irregular, past tense form, *ried* 'adviced/guessed', which has been supplanted by the regular past tense form *raadde* 'adviced/guessed' (the elsewhere form). The change of a two case system to a one case system for noun phrases in the history of French is another example (cf. Foulet 1977). In Old French there used to be a distinction between subject case and oblique case. The Old French oblique form can be seen as the Elsewhere form, and is used in all contexts except when the noun phrase is the subject of the sentence. In modern French only the elsewhere form survived, and is used for subjects as well. The Portuguese data can be interpreted as an example of a similar diachronic process.

The story for *très* 'very' and *beaucoup* 'much' can be extended to the other

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[10] There is a small class of adjectives which can be combined with both *very* and *much* (cf. for instance Bresnan 1973). For example, *very different* alternates with *much different*. I will come back to these adjectives, and their unexpected compatibility with *much* in 5.2.2.

cases mentioned in the beginning of this section. In 4.2.2 I argued that *tant* 'so much' and *autant* 'as much' are amalgams formed on the basis of *si* and *aussi*, respectively, and an abstract adjectival DQ corresponding to English *much*. The complex DQs *plus* 'more' and *trop* 'too' contain a Deg-head which does not surface as an independent lexical item. Under the assumption that the presence of the Q-element does not alter the interpretation, but only the distributional properties of the degree expression, we correctly predict that *plus* 'more' and *trop* 'too' can occur with adjectives, while *tant* 'so much' and *autant* 'as much' are blocked by the Elsewhere Condition, as they have to compete with the more specific Deg-heads *si* 'so' and *aussi* 'as':

(25)   a.   plus grand;   trop grand
            more big   *too much big*
       b.   *tant grand;   *autant grand
            so much big   *as much big*
       c.   si grand;   aussi grand
            so big   *as big*

Similarly, as we have seen above, the possibility of *bigger* rules out **more big*. We find *more* only in the context of those adjectives that for phonological reasons cannot combine with the suffix *-er*. In Dutch *minder groot* 'less big' is possible while **meer groot* 'more big' is excluded, because *minder* does not alternate with a Deg-head, while *meer* corresponds to the comparative suffix *–er* '–er'.
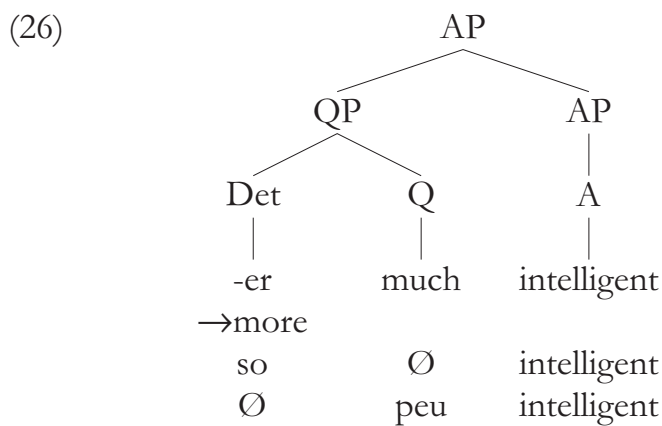
   The elsewhere account of the incompatibility of certain DQs with adjectives is in accordance with the aim to keep the lexical specification of DQs maximally general. The only lexical restriction a DQ imposes on the phrase it combines with is the presence of an open scalar theta position. Other restrictions are not due to properties of the DQ itself but to the Elsewhere Condition. I will argue in section 5.2.2 that the Elsewhere Condition is responsible for some distributional idiosyncrasies of DQs in the context of verbs as well.

4.3.2   The degree system of adjectives in the literature

The degree system of adjectives has received quite some attention in the literature. In this section I will briefly discuss three proposals: Bresnan (1973), Jackendoff (1977) and Corver (1997). Each of these approaches has something in common with the proposal presented here, but none of them makes a principled distinction between elements that are restricted to the adjectival system and elements that are not.

   Bresnan (1973) defends the hypothesis that degree expressions constitute

a split system. In her view, there is a difference between quantifiers (Qs) such as *much* on the one hand, and degree terms such as *as* and *too* and the comparative suffix –*er* on the other. The latter function as determiners of Q, and correspond roughly to the set of Deg-heads. The comparative form *more* is the result of combining the Det –*er* with the Q *much* (cf. also Selkirk 1970). Bresnan assumes that the Det and the Q positions are always present, but that either position can remain empty. For her, *so intelligent* and *as intelligent* contain an empty Q position. French *peu intelligent* 'little/not very intelligent' would be a case of an empty Det. The example in (26) illustrates Bresnan's proposal:

(26)

```
                           AP
                          /  \
                      QP       AP
                     /  \       |
                  Det    Q      A
                   |     |      |
                  -er   much  intelligent
                →more
                   so    Ø    intelligent
                   Ø    peu   intelligent
```

According to Jackendoff (1977) Bresnan's split degree system is mistaken. According to him all degree words are DegPs, and occupy the specifier position of AP.[11] His main argument is that adjectives usually do not combine with Qs. Bresnan's empty Qs are, according to him, non-existent. Jackendoff assumes that words such as *more* and *less* occupy the same position as *too* or *as*, and that these are not formed by combining a degree expression and a Q.

   The analysis proposed above combines both Bresnan's split degree system and Jackendoff's insight that we do not seem to need Qs when combining a DegP and an AP. DQs, which often introduce a split system, are available in those cases where the corresponding Deg-head is not, as discussed in the previous section. Hence I assume with Bresnan that *more* consists of a Deg-head (Bresnan's Det) and a Q (cf. (15)), and that *peu intelligent* contains an empty Deg/Det-position (cf. (14)). In accordance with Jackendoff, however, I assume that *so intelligent* does not contain an empty Q, as the Deg-head directly combines with the adjective (cf. (8)). The approaches of Bresnan and Jackendoff have in common that they represent Deg-heads in the same way as DQs. This leaves the important distributional differences between

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[11]   I changed Jackendoff's original terminology A''' and Deg''' into AP and DegP, respectively.

Deg-heads and DQs unexplained. A principled syntactic distinction between Deg-heads and DQs throws light on the question why we can say *more dresses* next to *more intelligent*, but not **so tea* next to *so intelligent*.
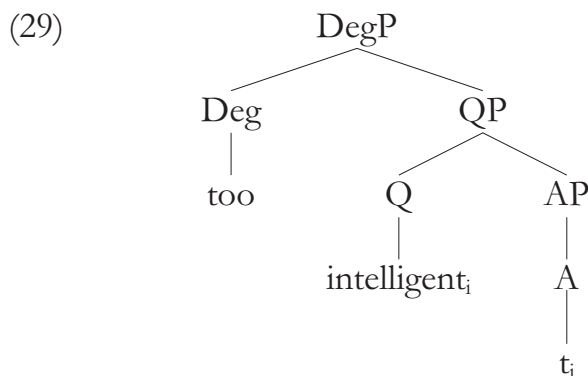
Recently, Corver proposed an alternative to Bresnan's version of the split degree system hypothesis. Corver (1997) distinguishes a DegP and a Q and generates both projections as part of the functional superstructure of the adjective. The DegP is the highest projection and its head position is filled by elements such as *too* and *so*. This part of his proposal has been adopted above in 4.2.1. Corver's proposal diverges from mine where the QP is concerned, which in his view is part of the functional superstructure of AP as well. Corver's version of the split degree system is given in (27):

(27)   [$_{DegP}$ Deg [$_{QP}$ Q [$_{AP}$ A]]]

The main argument Corver puts forward for adopting this structure is based on a phenomenon he calls *much*-support, which is illustrated in (24) above, and repeated here in (28):

(28)   John is fond of Sue. Maybe he is even too *(much) so.

                                                                              (= (24))

The obligatory presence of *much* in the context of *so* is explained as follows. The element *too* occupies the head position of the DegP. Given the structure in (27) *too* is separated from the adjective by the QP. Theta binding is a local operation, which cannot take place when the binder is separated from its bindee by an intervening XP. Corver argues that the required configuration is obtained by A-to-Q movement:

(29)   DegP
                           ┌────────┴────────┐
                         Deg   QP
                          │   ┌───────┴───────┐
                         too   Q   AP
                                       │   │
                                 intelligent$_i$ A
                                                        │
                                                       t$_i$

Under the assumption that pronominal *so* cannot undergo movement to Q, the interpretive relation between *too* and *so* cannot be established. Insertion of the dummy element *much* saves the structure, as it functions as a bridge between *too* and *so*. *Much*-support is similar to *do*-support. In verbal *so*-pronominalization contexts, the dummy verb *do* must be inserted to

establish a relation between the VP and tense:

(30)   John ate an apple and Sue *did* so too

According to Corver, the DQs *more*, *less* and *enough* occupy the Q position, which correctly predicts that *much*-support does not apply in the context of these elements:

(31)   Of all the careless people, noone is more (*much) so than Bill

Corver's account of *much*-support is attractive, but there is a significant drawback. Taking Corver's proposal seriously would mean that the hypothesis according to which DQs combine with all lexical items in the same way cannot be maintained. As I have shown in section 4.1, we do not want to project the DegP and the QP as part of the superstructure of VP, as this would prevent the verb from getting out of the VP via head movement. An analysis which generalizes over all the different contexts in which DQs are found is obviously preferable.

Moreover, extraction facts are in accordance with the adjunct status of *more*, though at first sight, they constitute evidence against an adjunction analysis. Corver argues that the Qs *more* and *less* cannot be extracted, similarly to the Deg-heads *how* and *too* in (9). The data supporting Corver's claim are given in (32):

(32)   a.   (?)How many IQ-points$_i$ is John [t$_i$ less smart (than Bill)]?
        b.   *How many IQ-points less is John smart (than Bill)?
        c.   How many IQ-points less smart (than Bill) is John?

The contrast between (32a) and (32b) can be taken as evidence that *how many IQ-points less* is not a constituent. This is in accordance with Corver's structure under the assumption that *less* occupies the Q position and the phrase *how many IQ-points* is generated in the specifier of QP. The impossibility of (32b) is not expected when this QP, with *less* in its head position and *how many IQ-points* in its specifier, is adjoined to AP.

However, the evidence is not conclusive. Corver suggests that adjectives such as *tall* have a measure phrase in their complement position, on a par with measure verbs such as *to weigh*, following the analysis of measure verbs of Koopman and Sportiche (1986). This complement has been moved to the left in for instance *[five feet$_i$ [tall t$_i$]*. The adjective *smart* in the examples in (32) is similar in this respect to *tall*. The phrase *how many IQ-points* should be seen as a measure phrase originating as the complement of the adjective *smart*. In that case the data in (32) follow independently of the position of *less*. Whether the QP containing *less* is adjoined or not, the string *how many*

IQ-points less does not form a constituent.

   Looking at adjectives that do not have an internal measure argument, we see that extraction facts support an adjunction analysis. In (33) *how much more* is extracted as a whole:

(33)   a.   (?)How much more is he [t_i afraid] of cats than of rats?
        b.   *How much is he more afraid of cats than of rats?

These data show that *more* in (33) cannot be a head selecting the AP, because this would block its movement along with *how much*.

   Summarizing, the proposals found in the literature have in common that they do not make a clear difference between Deg-heads and DQs on the basis of their distribution. Bresnan proposes that all adjectival degree expressions contain a Q element, which rises the question why only the ones with an overt Q occur in quantificational contexts. Jackendoff proposes that Qs do not occur in the adjectival degree system at all, which makes us wonder why certain adjectival degree expressions can function in quantificational contexts while others cannot. Corver makes a distinction between two categories of degree expressions. Roughly speaking, the elements I call Deg-heads are generated in the Deg position in his view as well, and the DQs (*more*, *enough* etc.), which do not trigger *much*-support, are generated in Q. However, the structure he proposes cannot account for the distribution of DQs in general.

4.3.3   *Much*-support in terms of Elsewhere

Much support is not an English-specific phenomenon. In the French example in (34) we see that when an adjective is pronominalized by *le* 'it', the DQ *autant* 'as much' has to be used instead of the Deg-head *aussi* 'as', while in the context of a real adjective only *si* is possible:

(34)   a.   Marie est aussi/*autant nerveuse que sa mère
              'Marie is as nervous as her mother'
        b.   *Marie est très nerveuse pour l'examen et sa mère l'est aussi
              qu'elle
              'Marie is very nervous for the exam, and her mother is as so as
              she is'
        c.   Marie est très nerveuse pour l'examen et sa mère l'est autant
              qu'elle
              'Marie is very nervous for the exam, and her mother is as much
              so as she is'

The way to save (34b) is not to insert an element such as *much*, but to replace the Deg-head *aussi* by the complex DQ *autant*, which was analysed above as an amalgam of *aussi* 'as' and an abstract Q corresponding to English *much*.

Quite in general, the elements that trigger *much*-support are Deg-heads (*as*, *so*, *too*), and the ones that do not are DQs (*more*, *enough*), as illustrated by the English *much*-support cases discussed above:

(35)   a.   John is fond of Sue. Maybe he is even too *(much) so. (= (24))
       b.   Of all the careless people, noone is more (*much) so than Bill
                                                                    (= (31))

Given these distributional facts, *much*-support could be described as interchanging a Deg-head for the corresponding DQ. If we assume that there is no DegP present in the superstructure of *so* and its French counterpart *le*, the phenomenon of *much*-support follows from the Elsewhere Condition. In (34b) and (35a) the Deg-heads *aussi* 'as' and *too* cannot be used in combination with *le* and *so* respectively, which clears the way for the DQ. In sentences where the original adverbial modifier is a DQ, we expect *much*-support to be absent, as the DQ is insensitive to the categorial properties of *so* and *le*. Recall that for Corver (1997), as well, *so* has a special status. In Corver's view, *much* has to be inserted because *so* cannot move to Q.

The DegP is found in the context of adjectival projections only. It might be the case that *so* is a DegP itself, given that the form *so* also functions as a Deg-head. This immediately predicts the incompatibility of *so* with another Deg-head, as stacking of DegPs is excluded. In that case, *too so is out for the same reason as **so too intelligent*. The French pronominal form used for adjectives is the clitic *le*. This form also functions as a pronominal clitic and a definite article. Given that pronominal clitics and the definite article are usually analysed as D-heads (cf. Raposo 1973, Uriagereka 1988), it is plausible that the pro-form *le* used for adjectives is of the category D as well. This would prevent it from being selected by a Deg-head as well. In brief, from the motivated assumption that the pro-forms used for adjectives *so* and *le* are not APs and the fact that DegPs exclusively select APs follows that the pro-forms cannot be selected by Deg-heads, and the impossibility of *as so and *aussi le 'as it' is expected. Obviously, modification by a DQ is still possible, because the DQ is not sensitive to the categorial properties of the phrase it modifies.

The account of *much*-support in terms of Elsewhere has an important advantage over Corver's analysis. It allows us to relate the behaviour of DQs in *much*-support contexts to the large distribution of DQs. DQs do not trigger *much*-support and they replace a corresponding Deg-head in a *much*-

support context exactly because they have such a large distribution, which makes them function as an elsewhere form. Within Corver's approach these facts are unrelated.

In this section I argued that *much*-support is due to the impossibility to modify the forms *so* and *le* by a Deg-head. On the basis of the Elsewhere Condition, we expect that as a result of the impossibility to use the more specific Deg-head, the corresponding DQ (the elsewhere form) can be used. This accounts for the alternations in (34) and (35).

4.4   Conclusions

In this chapter I proposed an analysis for degree quantifiers (DQs). I started out with the observation that DQs are found in the context of both nouns and verbs, whereas other Qs are restricted to either the nominal or the verbal system. I argued that the occurrence of the DQs in different categorial contexts is not the result of multiple categorial selection, but of the lack of categorial selection, corresponding to an adjunction structure. DQs theta select their host on the basis of the availability of a scalar theta position which can be saturated through identification by the DQ. I distinguished four different types of DQs: adjectival DQs such as English *much*, which may be preceded by a Deg-head (e.g. *so much*); complex DQs such as English *more* and French *tant* 'so much', which consist of a Deg-head and an adjectival DQ; classifier constructions, such as *a lot*; and finally former high degree adverbs such as *énormément* 'enormously', which are only found in French. The idea that DQs are insensitive to the categorial properties of their host is reinforced by the occurrence of a subset of DQs in the context of adjectives. I have argued that compatibility with adjectives is the normal case, but that many DQs are superseded by a Deg-head, which expresses the same scalar value. Deg-heads only combine with adjectives, and as a result of the Elsewhere Condition, they supersede the more general DQs in case they have the same lexical specification. Finally, I gave an analysis of *much*-support based on the Elsewhere Condition, which makes it possible to relate the phenomenon of *much*-support to the large distribution of DQs and the more restricted distribution of Deg-heads.