

ON THE RELATIVE POSITION OF *BEAUCOUP*, *GUÈRE*, *PEU*,
RIEN AND *TROP* IN FRENCH¹

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1. Introduction

Adverbs and quantifiers have been studied extensively in linguistics and several accounts of their distributional properties have been provided under different approaches. In the generative framework, their nature and behaviour have been considered as possible clues for the internal structure of the sentence. Since Pollock (1989), word order variation concerning adverbs has been dealt with by assuming that it is the verb that moves around the adverb, which always remains *in situ*. Instead, quantifiers are taken to move leftward in the sentence, towards a 'scope' position, either in visible syntax or in Logical Form. What we have seen is an attempt to provide simple and elegant accounts of apparently puzzling facts.

Among the various hypotheses made, I will be mainly concerned with Cinque (1999)'s proposal that there is a single universal hierarchy of adverbs, where each adverb occupies the SPEC position of a functional projection marked with a certain feature (aspect, tense, modality, etc). The idea is that adverbs are licensed by the relevant feature associated with their corresponding functional head.

My purpose in this article is to examine a few French adverbs and quantifiers, not considered in Cinque '99 and to try to determine their position in the hierarchy proposed there. Most of them actually belong to both categories. In fact, while *rien* 'nothing' can be used only as a negative quantifier, *beaucoup* 'a lot', *peu* 'little', *trop* 'too much', *guère* 'not much' can be used either as quantifiers or as adverbs. It would be difficult to establish whether they are actually the same words being used in two ways - as *bare quantifiers* and as *quantificational adverbs* - or distinct homonymic words.

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The testing method is the same as Cinque's ('99) - namely, a comparison between minimal pairs of sentences in which two adverbs appear in opposite orders.

- (1) a. Pierre a tout beaucoup aimé.
 Pierre has everything a-lot liked.
Pierre liked everything a lot.
- b. *Pierre a beaucoup tout aimé.

The order accepted by French native speakers is taken as relevant to establish the position of the examined items in the hierarchy. It seems that each couple adverb-quantifier (i.e. *guère, trop, beaucoup / peu* both as QPs and as AdvPs) occupies exactly the same position in the hierarchy. Despite some difficulties in testing some couples of adverbs due to their semantic incompatibility (for example, *beaucoup* 'a lot' and *complètement* 'completely'), the data point decisively to this direction. This implies the existence, in the hierarchy, of aspectual heads licensing both adverbs and quantifiers by checking the same features. The identified positions are presumably the scope positions to which quantifiers move in overt syntax. I will give some suggestions concerning the names of some heads' features.

This article is organized as follows: in the first part I will present the full hierarchy of Cinque ('99), which is the basis for my analysis; then, I will examine the distributional properties of the QPs/quantificational AdvPs with respect to the auxiliary and lexical verbs in active and passive sentences. The third part is devoted to the crucial data concerning the location of the examined items, followed by an additional section meant to show that, if *beaucoup, guère, peu, rien and trop* are tested with "lower" adverbs other than those presented in the key-sentences, their mutual order is consistent with the identified positions.

2. The hierarchy

The AdvP hierarchy is given in English, since this is the original version of Cinque's work. However, it is positively confirmed by French data. There are three French items; *tout*, corresponding to English *everything*, and two duration adverbs, *longtemps* and *longuement*, which can be both roughly translated with *for long*. The location of *tout* was identified in Cinque ('99), while I have added *longtemps* and *longuement* (see Vecchiato ('99)). These two adverbs exactly cover the position of *brèvement* 'briefly', formerly established as the only duration adverb in the hierarchy.

[*frankly* MOOD_{speech act}] [*fortunately* MOOD_{evaluative}] [*allegedly* MOOD_{evidential}] [*probably* MOOD_{epistemic}] [*once* T(Past)] [*then* T(Future)] [*perhaps* MOOD_{irrealis}] [*necessarily* MOOD_{necessity}] [*possibly* MOD_{possibility}] [*usually* ASP_{habitual}] [*again* ASP_{repetitive (I)}] [*often* ASP_{frequentative(I)}] [*intentionally* MOD_{volitional}] [*quickly* ASP_{celerative (I)}] [*already* T (Anterior)] [*no longer* ASP_{terminative}] [*still* ASP_{continuative}] [*always* ASP_{perfect}] [*just* ASP_{retrospective}] [*soon* ASP_{proximative}] [*longtemps* ASP_{durative (I)}] [*longuement* ASP_{durative (II)}] [*characteristically* (?) ASP-

- (3) a. Marie a *soigneusement* peigné François.
Marie has carefully combed François.
Marie combed François carefully.
b. Marie a peigné *soigneusement* François.
c. Marie a peigné François *soigneusement*.
- (4) Il a *beaucoup* été fait pour eux.
It_{expl} has a-lot been done for them
A lot was done for them.

*Guère*³ and *trop*

The distribution of *guère* and *trop* varies with respect to the passive auxiliary *été* ‘been’ according to their being quantifiers or adverbs. Namely, adverbs can appear in position (ii) in passive sentences, whereas quantifiers cannot.

Guère-QP:

- (5) a. Michel n’a *guère* mangé.
Michel not_{cl} has not-much eaten
Michel didn’t eat much
b. *Michel n’a mangé *guère*.
- (6) a. Il n’a *guère* été fait pour les sauver.
It_{expl} not_{cl} has not-much been done to them_{cl} save
Not much was done to save them.
b. *Il n’a été *guère* fait pour les sauver.
c. *Il n’a été fait *guère* pour les sauver.

³ As a verb modifier, *guère* is currently used with the negative marker *ne* ‘not’ in Modern French. These two negative expressions are interpreted as just one semantic negation (“Negative Concord”): *Je n’aime guère ce quartier* ‘I don’t like this district much’. As a bare quantifier it is very formal: *Le nom d’Alain ne me disait guère* ‘The name of Alain didn’t tell me much’. *Guère* was used without *ne*, with a positive meaning, in Middle French: *Si nature ne prête un peu, il est malaisé que l’art et l’industrie aillent guère avant* (Montaigne) ‘If Nature doesn’t help a bit, it is difficult that industry and the arts make a lot of progress’. In Modern French, it can actually be used without *ne* in elliptical answers or as an adverb modifier, though it keeps its current negative meaning: *Tu connais l’opium? - Guère* (Malraux) ‘Do you know opium? - Not much?; *Une autre possibilité, guère moins irritante, était qu’il s’en fichait peut-être* ‘Another, not much less sad, possibility was that he didn’t give a damn about it’. For an analysis of *guère* in a hierarchy of negative projections, see Zanuttini (’97).

Trop-QP:

- (7) a. Maurice a *trop* mangé.
Maurice has too much eaten
Maurice ate too much.
b. *Maurice a mangé *trop*.
- (8) a. Il a *trop* été fait pour le repas; on a gaspillé la nourriture.
It_{exp1} has too much been done for the lunch PRON_{impers} has wasted the food
Too much was done for lunch; we wasted the food.
b. *Il a été *trop* fait pour le repas; on a gaspillé la nourriture.
c. *Il a été fait *trop* pour le repas; on a gaspillé la nourriture.

Guère-AdvP:

- (9) a. Michel n'a *guère* changé l'ameublement.
M. not_{cl} has not much changed the furniture
Michel hasn't changed the furniture much.
b. *Michel n'a changé *guère* l'ameublement.
c. *Michel n'a changé l'ameublement *guère*.
- (10) a. Ce livre n'a *guère* été lu l'année dernière.
This book not_{cl} has not-much been read the year last
This book wasn't read much last year.
b. Ce livre n'a été *guère* lu l'année dernière.
c. *Ce livre n'a été lu *guère* l'année dernière

Trop-AdvP:

- (11) a. Maurice a *trop* étudié la partition.
M. has too-much studied the score
Maurice studied the score too much.
b. *Maurice a étudié *trop* la partition.
c. *Maurice a étudié la partition *trop*.
- (12) a. La partition a *trop* été changée.
The score has too-much been changed
The score was changed too much.
b. La partition a été *trop* changée.
c. *La partition a été changée *trop*.

Beaucoup and peu

Beaucoup and *peu*, as quantifiers, enjoy more possibilities than *guère* and *trop*. In fact, they can appear also in the post-participial positions. Sentences (13)-(14) and (15)-(16) actually differ in their intonational contour, though the post-participial position is not necessarily focussed.

Beaucoup-QP:

- (13) a. Kay a *beaucoup* fait pour sa famille.
Kay has a-lot done for her family
Kay did a lot for her family.
b. Kay a fait *beaucoup* pour sa famille.
- (14) a. Il a *beaucoup* été fait pour les sauver, mais sans résultat.
It_{expl} has a lot been done to them_{cl} save, but without result
A lot has been done to save them, but unsuccessfully.
b. Il a été *beaucoup* fait pour les sauver, mais sans résultat.
c. Il a été fait *beaucoup* pour les sauver, mais sans résultat.

Peu-QP:

- (15) a. Lola a *peu* fait pour sa famille.
L. has little done for her family
Lola did little for her family.
b. Lola a fait *peu* pour sa famille.
- (16) a. Il a *peu* été fait pour les sauver, et tout le monde a du remords.
It_{expl} has little done to them_{cl} save, and all the world has art_{partitive} remorse
Little was done to save them, and everybody feels remorse.
b. Il a été *peu* fait pour les sauver, et tout le monde a du remords.
c. Il a été fait *peu* pour les sauver, et tout le monde a du remords.

As intensity adverbs⁴, *beaucoup* and *peu* can appear in position (ii) only in passive sentences, like *trop* and *guère*. Then, in (18b) and (20b) respectively, *beaucoup* and

⁴ *Beaucoup* and *peu* have not only an intensive value, but also a (temporal) frequentative value. These two readings are apparently associated with two different positions in the hierarchy, since *beaucoup* can occur twice in a sentence: *La pièce a beaucoup été beaucoup changée*. 'The play has been very changed many times'. The frequentative *beaucoup* apparently enjoys one position more than its intensive equivalent both in active sentences and in passive sentences. On the contrary, the frequentative *peu* does not differ in its distribution from *peu*-intensive-AdvP.

peu modify the past participle *discuté* ‘discussed’ and *frappé* ‘struck’. Since *beaucoup* is incompatible with adjectives⁵, it can be claimed that the past participle is a verbal head, here, and not an adjective. We will see the relevance of this point below.

Beaucoup-intensity AdvP:

- (17) a. On a *beaucoup* discuté ce projet à la réunion.
PRON_{impers} has a lot discussed this project at the meeting.
We discussed this project a lot at the meeting.
b. *On a discuté *beaucoup* ce projet à la réunion.
c. *On a discuté ce projet *beaucoup* à la réunion.
- (18) a. Ce projet a *beaucoup* été discuté à la réunion.
This project has a lot been discussed at the meeting
This project was discussed a lot at the meeting
b. Ce projet a été *beaucoup* discuté à la réunion.
c. *Ce projet a été discuté *beaucoup* à la réunion.

Peu-intensity AdvP:

- (ii) a. On a *beaucoup* discuté ce projet ces derniers jours.
PRON_{impers} has a lot discussed this project these latest days.
We have discussed this project a lot of times the latest days.
b. On a discuté *beaucoup* ce projet ces derniers jours.
c. *On a discuté ce projet *beaucoup* ces derniers jours.
- (iii) a. Ce projet a *beaucoup* été discuté ces derniers jours.
This project has a lot been discussed these latest days
This project has been discussed a lot of times the latest days.
b. Ce projet a été *beaucoup* discuté ces derniers jours.
c. ?Ce projet a été discuté *beaucoup* ces derniers jours.
- (iv) a. On a *peu* discuté ce projet ces derniers jours.
PRON_{impers} has little discussed this project these latest days
We have discussed this project few times the latest days.
b. *On a discuté *peu* ce projet ces derniers jours.
c. *On a discuté ce projet *peu* ces derniers jours.
- (v) a. Il a *peu* été frappé par la violence à la télé.
He has little been struck by violence on TV
He has been struck few times by violence on TV
b. Il a été *peu* frappé par la violence à la télé.
c. *Il a été frappé *peu* par la violence à la télé.

⁵ In French, the modifier of APs (and AdvPs) is *très* ‘very’: *Il est très aimable* ‘He is very lovable’ vs **Il est beaucoup aimable*.

- (19) a. On a *peu* discuté ce projet à la réunion.
PRON_{impers} has little discussed this project at the meeting
We little discussed this project at the meeting.
b. *On a discuté *peu* ce projet à la réunion.
c. *On a discuté ce projet *peu* à la réunion.
- (20) a. Il a *peu* été frappé par cette prédiction.
He has little been struck by this prediction
He was little struck by this prediction.
b. Il a été *peu* frappé par cette prédiction.
c. *Il a été frappé *peu* par cette prédiction.

*Rien*⁶

- (21) a. Paul n'a *rien* fait.
Paul not_{cl} has nothing done
Paul didn't do anything.
b. *Paul n'a fait *rien*.
- (22) a. Il n'a *rien* été fait.
It_{expl} not_{cl} has nothing been done
Nothing was done.
b. Il n'a été *rien* fait.
c. *Il n'a été fait *rien*.

The reader has easily noticed the lack of symmetry in the distribution of the examined items with respect to the passive auxiliary *été* 'been'. As Pollock ('89) argued, it is much costlier to postulate that AdvPs move in the sentence than to assume that only verbal heads move, creating the illusion of adverbial 'transportability' (see

⁶ The distribution of its semantic opposite *tout* 'everything' is slightly different, since it can never appear in the second position:

- (vi) a. André a *tout* compris.
André has everything understood.
André understood everything.
b. *André a compris *tout*.
- (vii) a. Il a *tout* été entrepris pour les sauver, mais sans résultat.
It_{expl} has everything been undertaken to them_{cl} save, but without result
Everything was undertaken to save them, but unsuccessfully.
b. *Il a été *tout* entrepris pour les sauver, mais sans résultat.
c. *Il a été entrepris *tout* pour les sauver, mais sans résultat.

Travis ('88)). Giving up with the idea that adverbs move, then, it may be argued that quantificational adverbs gain the position (ii) because the past participle is, in fact, an adjective, as traditional grammars claim. Thus, *été* 'been' would be a copula and the analysed adverbs would specify the participial adjective. This is actually the unmarked choice in French, since the adjective modifier *très* 'very' is currently employed in passive sentences:

- (23) Ce livre a été très apprécié.
This book has been very appreciated
This book was very appreciated.

However, it is definitely impossible to claim this in the case of *beaucoup*, because *beaucoup* is not an adjective modifier, as said above. Then, it is less costly to assume a unique derivation for all the cases, namely that *été*, being an auxiliary, simply moves further leftward than the active past participle. The fact that *bien* shares this pattern as well (see fn. 9) also supports this hypothesis.

4. Location within the hierarchy

In this section, I try to identify the position of *guère*, *trop*, *beaucoup*, *peu* and *rien* in the hierarchy, both as quantifiers and intensity adverbs. In the data given below, the reader will notice few "gaps" due to the fact that some couples of adverbs are impossible to test since they are semantically incompatible. Unfortunately, one of these gaps concerns the preverbal adverb *complètement* 'completely'⁷, which is often the key-adverb to establish the position of some items. We will see if and when we can make up for this difficulty. My hypothesis, to which the data seem to point, is that each couple adverb-quantifier occupies exactly the same position in the hierarchy.

By the way, we can observe that the behaviour of both *longtemps* and *longue-ment* is the same as that we would expect from *brièvement* 'briefly'.

Trop

Trop-AdvP and *trop*-QP are both found after *presque* 'almost' and before *complètement* 'completely'. I chose to test these adverbs in passive sentences to make

⁷ "Completamente can occupy two distinct positions; a preverbal and a post-object one, associated with two distinct interpretations, which likely depend on their different scope" (Cinque ('99), p. 172):

- (viii) a. John completely forgot her instructions
b. John forgot her instructions completely

The first sentence can only mean that her instruction didn't occur at the appropriate moment, while the second sentence can also mean that John forgot every part of her instruction.

sure a given order was not established because the first adverb was the specifier of the second one. Since the participle *été* ‘been’ can be found between the two adverbs, we are certain that they do not form a constituent.

Presque ‘almost’ > *trop* ‘too much’⁸

- (24) a. Ma mère a *presque été trop* touchée par cette nouvelle.
My mother has almost been too much touched by this piece of news.
My mother has almost been touched too much by this piece of news.
b. *Ma mère a *trop été presque* touchée par cette nouvelle.

Trop ‘too much’ > *complètement* ‘completely’:

- (25) a. Les employés ont *trop été complètement* exploités.
The employees have too much been completely exploited
The employees have been completely exploited too much
b. *Les employés ont *complètement été trop* exploités.

Presque ‘almost’ > *trop* ‘too much’

- (26) a. Il a *presque été trop* fait pour moi, et rien pour toi!
It_{expl} has almost been too much done for me, and nothing for you
Too much was almost done for me, and nothing for you!
b. *Il a *trop été presque* fait pour moi, et rien pour toi!

Trop ‘too much’ > *complètement* ‘completely’

- (27) a. Il a *trop été complètement* refait, ça semble artificiel.
It_{expl} has too much been completely redone, it looks artificial
Too much has been completely redone, it looks artificial
b. *Il a *complètement été trop* refait, ça semble artificiel.

Guère

Guère is found after *presque* ‘almost’ and before *trop* ‘too much’, both as an adverb (28-31) and as a quantifier (32-35). Actually, *presque* can occur with *guère*-AdvP only in the active sentence (28), whereas in the passive sentence (29) both the

⁸ It could be argued that *presque* is found before *trop* through a kind of modification by transitivity - that is, *presque* modify the VP and, by transitivity, *trop*. In fact, in Italian, *È quasi stata troppo commossa da questa notizia* can mean both ‘She risked being too touched by this piece of news’ and ‘She was too touched by this piece of news’. However, in the appendix the reader can find evidence that *trop* actually follows all the adverbs higher than *presque*.

orders seem to be impossible. It could be claimed that (28) is possible only because *presque* is the specifier of *guère*. However, in the Appendix we can see that *guère* actually follows all the adverbs before *presque*. Moreover, *guère*-QP clearly follows *presque* both in the active and in the passive sentence. Then, I would think it is the semantic awkwardness of (29) that causes its rejection. As to the objection that *guère* forms a constituent with *trop*, it is refuted by the fact that in a passive sentence the participle *été* ‘been’ separates the two adverbs.

Presque ‘almost’ > *guère* ‘not much’

- (28) a. ?Les manifestants n’ont *presque guère* gâché l’exposition.
The demonstrators not_{cl} have almost not very much spoiled the exhibition
The demonstrators haven’t almost spoiled the exhibition very much.
b. *Les manifestants n’ont *guère presque* gâché l’exposition.
- (29) a. *L’exposition n’a *presque été guère* gâchée par les manifestants.
The exhibition not_{cl} has not very much been almost spoiled by the demonstrators
b. *L’exposition n’a *guère été presque* gâchée par les manifestants

Guère ‘not much’ > *trop* ‘too much’

- (30) a. Les révolutionnaires n’ont *guère trop* changé la morale publique.
The revolutionaries not_{cl} have not-much too-much changed the morals public
Revolutionaries haven’t much changed public morals too much.
b. *Les révolutionnaires n’ont *trop guère* changé la morale publique.
- (31) a. La morale publique n’a *guère été trop* changée par les révolutionnaires.
The morals public not_{cl} has not-much been too-much changed by the revolutionaries.
Public morals haven’t been much changed too much by revolutionaries.
b. *La morale publique n’a *trop été guère* changée par les révolutionnaires.

Presque ‘almost’ > *guère* ‘not much’

- (32) a. Les manifestants n’ont *presque guère* fait contre la mairie, le soir, mais le lendemain ils ont tout détruit.
The demonstrators not_{cl} not-much almost done against the town hall, the evening, but the following day they have everything destroyed.
The demonstrators almost didn’t much against the town hall in the evening, but the following day they destroyed everything.
b. *Les manifestants n’ont *guère presque* fait contre la mairie, le soir, mais le lendemain ils ont tout détruit.

- (33) a. Il n'a *presque* été *guère* gâché par les manifestants, le soir, mais le lendemain la mairie a été mise en sac.
It_{expl} not_{cl} almost been not-much spoiled by the demonstrators, the evening, but the following day the city hall has been put in sack
Not much was almost spoiled by the demonstrators, in the evening, but the following day the city hall was sacked.
- b. *Il n'a *guère* été *presque* gâché par les manifestants, le soir, mais le lendemain la mairie a été mise en sac.

Guère 'not much' > *trop* 'too much'

- (34) a. Les révolutionnaires n'ont *guère trop* changé dans le monde.
The revolutionaries not_{cl} have not-much too-much changed in the world
Revolutionaries haven't much changed too much in the world.
- b. *Les révolutionnaires n'ont *trop guère* changé dans le monde.
- (35) a. Il n'a *guère* été *trop* repeint dans l'église, presque tous les originaux sont encore là.
It_{expl} not_{cl} has not-much been too-much repainted in the church, almost all the originals are still there
Not much was repainted too much in the church almost all, the originals are still there.
- b. *Il n'a *trop* été *guère* repeint dans l'église, presque tous les originaux sont encore là.

Beaucoup

It is perfectly clear that *beaucoup*-AdvP is between *tout* 'everything' and *bien* 'well'. *Bien* can be employed as an IP-adverb, meaning *in fact, definitely* (*Le prof a bien analysé le théâtre* 'In fact, the teacher has analysed theater'), which obviously produces ambiguity. Thus, I chose to use its modified form *très bien* 'very well'⁹.

⁹ *Très* can be adjoined to *bien* without making its distribution wider nor narrower. The pattern is the same as that of *beaucoup/peu/trop/guère* intensive AdvPs and *rien*.

- (ix) a. Liliane a (*très*) *bien* compris la question.
Liliane has very well understood the question
Liliane understood the question (very) well.
- b. *Liliane a compris (*très*) *bien* la question.
- c. *Liliane a compris la question (*très*) *bien*.

Tout ‘everything’ > *beaucoup* ‘a lot’¹⁰

- (36) a. Pierre a *tout beaucoup* aimé.
Pierre has everything a-lot loved
Pierre liked everything a lot.
b. *Pierre a *beaucoup tout* aimé.

Beaucoup ‘a lot’ > *bien* ‘well’.

- (37) a. ?Le prof a *beaucoup très bien* analysé la pièce de théâtre¹¹.
The teacher has a-lot very well analysed the theater play.
The teacher analysed the play a lot and very well.
b. *Le prof a *très bien beaucoup* analysé le théâtre.

As to *beaucoup*-QP, there are two difficulties in establishing its position: first, it is impossible to test its relative order with *tout*, because they would compete for the position of subject or direct object in the same sentence; second, *beaucoup*-QP cannot appear with *complètement* ‘completely’¹².

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- (x) a. On a (*très bien*) été réchauffés par le feu du camping.
PRON_{impers} has well been warmed by the camp-fire.
We have been warmed well by the camp-fire.
b. On a été (*très bien*) réchauffés par le feu du camping.
c. *On a été réchauffés (*très bien*) par le feu du camping.

¹⁰ Compare the passive sentence: *Il a tout été beaucoup apprécié* ‘Everything was much appreciated’ vs **Il a beaucoup été tout apprécié*.

¹¹ French speakers show some resistance to *beaucoup* and (*très bien*) appearing in the same sentence without being coordinated. The form *beaucoup et (très bien)* is much preferred. However, the passive sentence is judged as perfect: *La pièce a beaucoup été très bien analysée par notre professeur* ‘The play was analysed a lot very well by our teacher vs **La pièce a très bien été beaucoup analysée par notre professeur*.

¹² If *beaucoup* is the ‘dislocated’ quantifier of a DP, it follows *complètement*. By *dislocation* I do not mean Left Dislocation, but a typical French configuration which Obenauer (‘94) defines *Quantification à Distance* (Quantification from the distance, QAD). QAD allows quantifiers to precede the past participle while the quantified DPs follow it:

- (xi) J’ai *beaucoup* lu *de livres*
I have a lot read of books
I read a lot of books

Obenauer (‘94) supposes, following Kayne (‘81), that from its base structure [Q [NP]], the quantifier is allowed to move towards its scope position, which is identified with [Spec, VP]. Moving to [Spec, VP], the quantifier gains a frequentative value: “I often read books”.

- (xii) J’ai beaucoup_k lu [t_k de livres].

- (38) a. *Fanny a *complètement beaucoup* caché.
Fanny has completely a lot hidden
*Fanny a *beaucoup complètement* caché.

However, *beaucoup*-QP follows *presque* ‘almost’ and precedes *bien*, which delimits the range of its possible locations.

Presque ‘almost’ > *beaucoup* ‘a lot’

- (39) a. Il avait *presque* été *beaucoup* fait, mais on nous a communiqué d’arrêter.
It_{expl} had almost been a-lot done, but PRON_{impers} us_{cl} has told to stop
A lot had almost been done, but we were told to stop.
b. *Il avait *beaucoup* été *presque* fait, mais on nous a communiqué d’arrêter.

Beaucoup ‘a lot’ > *bien* ‘well’

- (40) a. ?Lucie a *beaucoup très bien* produit à l’usine.
L. has a-lot very well produced at the factory.
L. has produced a lot at the factory very well.
b. *Lucie a *très bien beaucoup* produit à l’usine.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the data point to the direction that *beaucoup*-QP is in the same position as *beaucoup*-AdvP, and that *beaucoup*-QP’s location after *tout* simply cannot be seen.

Peu

The behaviour of *peu* is identical to that of *beaucoup*: as an adverb, it follows *tout* ‘everything’ and it precedes *bien* ‘well’.

Although the hypothesis of *beaucoup*’s location must be updated, the quantifier’s frequency reading is certainly worth analysing further. In our case, supposing *beaucoup* is ‘dislocated’ (i.e. moved) to its scope position, then it should move to the position in the hierarchy in which it is checked by its corresponding aspectual head - in other words, in the same position as *beaucoup* bare quantifier.

- (xiii) a. Fanny a *complètement beaucoup* caché *de choses*.
Fanny has completely a lot hidden of things
Fanny has completely hidden a lot of things
b. *Fanny a *beaucoup complètement* caché *de choses*.

However, this tempting hypothesis needs verification. Alternatively, one should check if this ‘dislocated’ position, having a frequentative meaning, coincides with the location of frequentative quantificational adverbs (i.e. *beaucoup* meaning *beaucoup de fois* ‘a lot of times’).

Tout ‘everything’ > *peu* ‘little’

- (41) a. Jacques a *tout peu* révisé.
J. has everything little revised.
J. revised everything little.
b. *Jacques a *peu tout* révisé.

Peu ‘little’ > *bien* ‘well’

- (42) a. ?Il a *peu très bien* marché.
He has little very well walked.
He has little walked very well.
b. *Il a *très bien peu* marché.

Peu-QP follows *presque* ‘almost’ and precedes *bien* ‘well’. *Presque* ‘almost’ together with *peu* is felt as somewhat unnatural by native speakers. Consequently, (43) has been given an ironic sense.

Presque ‘almost’ > *peu* ‘little’¹³

- (43) a. Il a *presque été peu* fait pour le Kosovo. Quelle honte!
It_{exp1} has almost been little done for Kosovo. What a shame!
Little has almost been done for Kosovo. What a shame!
b. *Il a *peu été presque* fait pour le Kosovo. Quelle honte!

Bien ‘well’ > *peu* ‘little’

- (44) a. Il a *peu très bien* mangé.
He has little very well eaten
He has eaten little very well
b. *Il a *très bien peu* mangé.

Peu-QP cannot appear with *complètement*¹⁴. The reading where *peu* modifies *complètement* has obviously been excluded.

¹³ Compare: *Yves a presque peu fait aujourd’hui...quel garçon paresseux!* ‘Yves has almost done little today...what a lazy boy!’ vs **Yves a peu presque fait aujourd’hui...quel garçon paresseux!*

¹⁴ However, just like its antonym *beaucoup*, *peu* can actually follow *complètement* if it is a ‘dislocated’ quantifier: *Fanny a complètement peu caché de choses* ‘Fanny has completely hidden few things’ vs **Fanny a peu complètement caché de choses*.

- (45) a. *Fanny a *peu complètement* changé dans le théâtre moderne
Fanny has completely little changed in the theatre modern
b. *Fanny a *complètement peu* changé dans le théâtre moderne.

Rien

Rien seems to be located between *presque* and *complètement*¹⁵.

Presque ‘almost’ > *rien* ‘nothing’¹⁶

- (46) a. Il n’a *presque* été *rien* changé.
It_{expl} not_{cl} has almost been nothing changed
Nothing has almost been changed.
b. *Il n’a *rien* été *presque* changé.

Rien ‘nothing’ > *complètement* ‘completely’

- (47) a. Daniel n’a *rien complètement* changé.
Daniel not_{cl} has nothing completely changed.
Daniel hasn’t completely changed anything.
b. *Daniel n’a *complètement rien* changé.

5. Conclusion

We have seen quite clear-cut data for the location of the examined quantifiers in the general hierarchy. As to their corresponding aspectual heads, one of them had already been identified in Cinque (1999) - namely, *guère* (Neg4). However, no reference is made there to the other four. Here, I would like to label the aspectual projections corresponding to *beaucoup*, *peu*, *trop* and *rien*, at least in a tentative way.

¹⁵ It could be argued that *rien* cannot be found after *complètement* because of semantic reasons. In fact, though *complètement* normally precedes *tout*, the antonym of *rien*, it can also follow it with some lexical choices (see Cinque (’99), p. 10):

- (xiv) a. Tu as *complètement tout* refait?
b. Tu as *tout complètement* refait?

In (a) *complètement* modifies both the verb and the object (the natural answer could be *Non! Je n’ai fait que la cuisine*). In (b) the adverb modifies just the verb (the answer could be: *Non! Je n’ai fait que la peinture*). Being *rien* a negative quantifier, it would be impossible for it to be under the scope of a ‘completion’ adverb. Then, it would exploit only the second option, where *complètement* is focussed on the verb. I leave the question open.

¹⁶ Compare: Jean n’a *presque rien* changé dans son milieu de travail. ‘Jean has changed almost nothing in his place of work’ vs *Jean n’a *rien presque* changé dans son milieu de travail.

- (55) a. On a *trop très bien* dansé et on est crevés.
b. *On a *très bien trop* sauté et on est crevés.
- (56) a. On a *de nouveau trop* poussé à l'extrême le réacteur.
b. *On a *trop de nouveau* poussé à l'extrême le réacteur.
- (57) a. Les gardiens du zoo ont *vite trop* nourri les lions.
b. *Les gardiens du zoo ont *trop vite* nourri les lions.
- (58) a. Tu l'as *rarement trop* embarrassé par tes remarques
b. *Tu l'as *trop rarement* embarrassé par tes remarques

Trop-QP:

- (59) a. David a *toujours trop* mangé.
b. *David a *trop toujours* mangé.
- (60) a. On a *récemment trop* fait pour influencer sa décision.
b. *On a *trop récemment* fait pour influencer sa décision, il nous en veut beaucoup.
- (61) a. ?Tu as *bientôt trop* acheté, il fallait que tu attendes d'avoir l'argent.
b. *Tu as *trop bientôt* acheté, il fallait que tu attendes d'avoir l'argent.
- (62) a. Les médecins ont *longtemps trop* ignoré pour pouvoir soigner réellement.
b. *Les médecins ont *trop longtemps* ignoré pour pouvoir soigner réellement.
- (63) a. ??Yvonne a *trop très bien* produit, je l'envie, franchement.
b. *Yvonne a *très bien trop* produit, je l'envie, franchement.
- (64) a. *Sa famille n'a *guère toujours* influencé Claude.
b. Sa famille n'a *toujours guère* influencé Claude
- (65) a. *Les spectateurs n'ont *guère récemment* écouté son discours.
b. Les spectateurs n'ont *récemment guère* écouté son discours.
- (66) a. *Les gens âgés du village n'ont *guère bientôt* apprécié la musique techno
b. Les gens âgés du village n'ont *bientôt guère* apprécié la musique techno
- (67) a. *Paul n'a *guère brièvement* utilisé son ordinateur.
b. Paul n'a *brièvement # guère* utilisé son ordinateur.
- (68) a. *Je n'ai *guère longtemps* soigné le jardin.
b. Je n'ai *longtemps guère* soigné le jardin.

- (69) a. Tom n'a *longuement guère* examiné le problème.
b. *Tom n'a *guère longuement* examiné le problème.
- (70) a. *L'incendie n'a *guère complètement* touché la bibliothèque
b. *L'incendie n'a *complètement guère* touché la bibliothèque
- (71) a. Les révolutionnaires n'ont *guère trop* changé la morale publique.
b. *Les révolutionnaires n'ont *trop guère* changé la morale publique.
- (72) a. Tu n'as *guère tout* envisagé.
b. *Tu n'as *tout guère* envisagé.
- (73) a. Gilles n'a *guère beaucoup* estimé sa mère.
b. *Gilles n'a *beaucoup guère* estimé sa mère.
- (74) a. Les citoyens n'ont *guère bien* compris son emprisonnement
b. *Les citoyens n'ont *bien guère* compris son emprisonnement
- (75) a. ?David n'a *guère vite* affaibli le géant
b. David n'a *vite guère* affaibli le géant.
- (76) a. *Ils n'ont *guère de nouveau* amélioré le jus de fruit.
b. Ils n'ont *de nouveau guère* amélioré le jus de fruit.
- (77) a. Cette thérapie n'a *rarement guère* soigné un claustrophobe.
b. Cette thérapie n'a *guère rarement* soigné un claustrophobe.
- (78) a. *Sa famille n'a *guère toujours* fait pour Claude
b. Sa famille n'a *toujours guère* fait pour Claude
- (79) a. *Les spectateurs n'ont *guère récemment* vu, les lumières ne marchaient pas.
b. Les spectateurs n'ont *récemment guère* vu, les lumières ne marchaient pas.
- (80) a. *Les gens âgés du village n'ont *guère bientôt* mangé, ils ont perdu l'appétit.
b. Les gens âgés du village n'ont *bientôt guère* mangé, ils ont perdu l'appétit.
- (81) a. *Je n'ai *guère longtemps* acheté dans ce magasin, il était déguelasse, vraiment.
b. Je n'ai *longtemps guère* acheté dans ce magasin, il était déguelasse, vraiment.
- (82) a. *Tom n'a *longuement guère* écouté, il en avait marre de la radio.
b. *Tom n'a *guère longuement* écouté, il en avait marre de la radio.
- (83) a. Il n'a *longuement été guère* fait pour l'hôpital, il est presque ruiné.
b. *Il n'a *guère été longuement* fait pour l'hôpital, il est presque ruiné.
- (84) a. *L'incendie n'a *guère complètement* détruit, il en reste assez de choses.
b. *L'incendie n'a *complètement guère* détruit, il en reste assez de choses

- (85) a. Les citoyens n'ont *guère très bien* fait pour leur ville.
b. *Les citoyens n'ont *très bien guère* fait pour leur ville.

Beaucoup-AdvP

- (86) a. Marguerite Duras a *toujours beaucoup* lu.
b. *Marguerite Duras a *beaucoup toujours* lu.
- (87) a. On a *récemment beaucoup* voyagé en Angleterre.
b. *On a *beaucoup récemment* voyagé en Angleterre.
- (88) a. Yves a *bientôt beaucoup* aimé sa fille adoptive.
b. *Yves a *beaucoup bientôt* aimé sa fille adoptive.
- (89) a. Jeanne a *longtemps beaucoup* ignoré son fils.
b. *Jeanne a *beaucoup longtemps* ignoré son fils.
- (90) a. Pascal a *longuement beaucoup* ignoré sa sœur.
b. *Pascal a *beaucoup longuement* ignoré sa sœur.
- (91) a. Nous avons *brièvement beaucoup* souhaité la victoire de ce candidat.
b. *Nous avons *beaucoup brièvement* souhaité la victoire de ce candidat.
- (92) a. Nicolas a *beaucoup trop* surchargé ses collègues.¹⁷
b. *Nicolas a *trop beaucoup* surchargé ses collègues.
- (93) a. Gilles a *de nouveau beaucoup* travaillé.
b. *Gilles a *beaucoup de nouveau* travaillé.
- (94) a. Jean a *rarement beaucoup* apprécié le travail des autres.
b. *Jean a *beaucoup rarement* apprécié le travail des autres.
- (95) a. Vous avez *vite beaucoup* couru dehors.
b. *Vous avez *beaucoup vite* couru dehors.

Peu-AdvP

- (96) a. Les lecteurs moyens ont *toujours peu* apprécié son livre.
b. *Les lecteurs moyens ont *peu toujours* apprécié son livre.

¹⁷ *Beaucoup* (a lot) seems to follow *trop* (too much). However, it is difficult to interpret the data, because *trop* and *beaucoup* are apparently incompatible from a semantic point of view: They can appear together in an active sentence because *beaucoup* is *trop*'s specifier: "far too much". Instead, in passive sentences, the higher *beaucoup* and *trop* have a frequency reading. Consequently, we are obliged to establish *beaucoup*'s position with respect to *trop* by transitivity.

- (97) a. Gilles m'a *récemment peu* écouté.
b. *Gilles m'a *peu récemmment* écouté.
- (98) a. Ses camarades ont *bientôt peu* estimé Céline.
b. *Ses camarades ont *peu bientôt* estimé Céline.
- (99) a. Les soldes ont *longtemps peu* attiré les gens.
b. *Les soldes ont *peu longtemps* attiré les gens.
- (100) a. On a *longuement peu* laissé les animaux du zoo en liberté.
b. *On a *peu longuement* laissé les animaux du zoo en liberté.
- (101) a. Les armes à feu ont *brièvement peu* effrayé Geneviève.
b. *Les armes à feu ont *peu brièvement* effrayé Geneviève.
- (102) a. Les critiques musicaux ont *presque peu* considéré Jimi Hendrix
b. *Les critiques musicaux ont *peu presque* considéré Jimi Hendrix
- (103) a. *On a *peu trop* exercé sa conscience morale.
b. *On a *trop peu* exercé sa conscience morale.
- (104) a. On a *de nouveau peu* reconnu Agnès comme un auteur important.
b. *On a *peu de nouveau* reconnu Agnès comme un auteur cela.
- (105) a. Ton patron t'a *vite peu* chargé de travail.
b. *Ton patron t'a *peu vite* chargé de travail.
- (106) a. Le professeur a *rarement peu* blâmé Guitry.
b. *Le professeur a *peu rarement* blâmé Guitry.

Rien

- (107) a. Valentine n'a *rien très bien* fait.
b. *Valentine n'a *très bien rien* fait.
- (108) a. Il n'a *rien été très bien* fait.
b. *Il n'a *très bien été rien* fait.

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