Chapter 7
Quantifiers in Modern Hebrew

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7.1 Some Basics of Hebrew

This article describes quantifiers in Hebrew, focusing mostly on the standard spoken variety of modern Hebrew. Spoken forms diverge significantly in many cases from written and prescribed forms. Such variations are only noted when relevant. Examples are written in loose transliteration, by which we mean that only those phonological forms distinguished in the standard spoken dialect are distinguished in the transliteration.\(^1\) We use S for the palatal fricative, x for the voiceless uvular fricative, and ’ for the glottal stop. In many cases, the glottal stop is ignored in transliteration.

Hebrew is an SVO language. Verbs come in three tenses (past, present, future), and generally agree with the subject in person, number and gender, though person and gender distinctions are neutralized in parts of the paradigm.

Adjectives follow the noun they modify. Hebrew has prepositions and no case marking except for the accusative marker \(\text{et}\), which marks formally definite nouns, i.e. nouns marked with the definite affix \(\text{ha}\), proper names, and pronouns. Following is a short description of the main facts about definiteness. For more discussion see e.g. Danon (2001, 2008). Definite quantifiers are discussed in more detail in Section 7.5.1.

7.1.1 Definiteness

Definiteness is marked by the clitic \(\text{ha}\) on the head noun, and obligatorily also on all modifying adjectives / demonstratives inside a noun phrase.

\(^1\) The main point of variation from other spoken varieties here is that the voiced pharyngeal stop distinguished in some varieties is here pronounced as the glottal stop, and the voiceless pharyngeal fricative as the voiceless uvular fricative.

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The prepositions *be* ‘in’ and *le* ‘to’ form portmanteaus with the definite article *ha*. We refer to such forms as definite prepositions throughout.

(2)  

a.  

*ba* ‘in the’

b.  

*la* ‘to the’

**The Construct State**

Hebrew also has a definite form traditionally known as the ‘construct state’ (See Heller (2002) for a recent discussion and references). While this form is not productive in spoken Hebrew, it features in many contexts discussed throughout the paper. A construct state NP is formed from a head noun in a special form called the construct state form, followed by a noun in the unmarked, ‘absolute’ form. The construct form of a noun can be suppletive to, derived from, or identical to the absolute form. (3) and (4) exemplify derived and suppletive forms, respectively. Note that definiteness is marked on all modifiers.

(3)  

*tmuna* ‘picture’

a.  

*tmunat ha-yeled ha-katan*  

picture.cs the-boy the-little  

the picture of the little boy

b.  

*tmunat yeled katan*  

picture.cs boy little  

A/the picture of a little boy

(4)  

*iSa* ‘woman’

a.  

*eSet ha-Saxen*  

woman.cs the-neighbour  

the neighbor’s wife

b.  

*eSet saxen*  

woman.cs neighbour  

a neighbor’s wife; the wife of a neighbor

In more formal registers, the construct state noun can participate in a possessive construction involving the preposition *Sel ‘of’*. In this construction, the construct state noun is suffixed with a morpheme expressing the person, number and gender of the possessed noun.
7.1.2 Quantifier Floating

As in English, quantifier floating is only possible with quantifiers that require a definite noun. The quantifiers that may be floated include *kol* in its meaning ‘all’ (but not when it means ‘every’ and ‘each’, in which case it does not occur with a definite noun), *rov* ‘most’ (literally, ‘majority’), all numerals greater than one, and the quantifier *xelek* ‘part’. Floated quantifiers appear in the construct state form\(^2\) and with morphology tracking the person, number and gender of the common noun expressing the domain of the quantifier.

Generally, a quantifier floated from the subject of a sentence (matrix or embedded) can occur either immediately after the subject or else inside the predicate phrase, though we find that the quantifiers *rov* ‘most’ and *xelek* ‘part of’ become less acceptable in predicate-internal position. Examples (6) through (13) show quantifier floating from subject position with transitive and intransitive verbs.\(^3\) When *xelek* is not floated, it requires the preposition *me* ‘from’ on its complement, as shown (12).

\(^2\) Possibly, all determiners taking a definite complement appear in the construct state form. See discussion in Section 7.2.

\(^3\) Numeral quantifiers encode gender, both in the absolute and the construct state form. See Section 7.2.3.

(5) a. *tmunat-o Sel ha-yeled ha-katan*
   picture.cs-3ms the-boy the-little
   The picture of the little boy

   b. *iSt-o Sel ha-Saxen*
   woman.cs-3ms of the-neihbour
   The neighbor’s wife

(6) a. *kol ha-yladim yeSenim.*
   all the-boy.mpl sleep.mpl
   All the boys are sleeping.

   b. *Ha-yladim (kulam) yeSenim (kulam).*
   the-boy.mpl all.cs.3mpl sleep.mpl all.cs.3mpl
   The boys are all sleeping.

(7) a. *kol ha-sefer nirtav.*
   all the-book got.wet.3ms
   The whole book got wet.

   b. *ha-sefer (kulo) nirtav (kulo).*
   the-book all.cs.3ms got.wet.3ms all.cs.3ms
   The book got all wet.
(8) a. kol ha-yladim axlu glida.
   all the-boy.mpl ate.3pl ice cream
   All the boys ate ice cream.

   b. Ha-yladim (kulam) axlu (kulam) glida (kulam).
   the-boy.mpl all.cs.3mpl ate.3pl all.cs.3mpl ice cream all.cs.3mpl
   The boys all ate ice cream.

(9) a. SloSet ha-yladim yeSenim.
   three.m.cs the-boy.mpl sleep.mpl
   The three boys are sleeping.

   b. ha-yladim (SloStam) yeSenim (SloStam).
   the-boy.mpl three.cs.3mpl sleep.mpl three.cs.3mpl
   The boys are all three of them sleeping.

(10) a. SloSet ha-yladim axlu glida.
    three.m.cs the-boy.mpl ate.3pl ice cream
    The three children ate ice cream.

    b. ha-yladim (SloStam) axlu (SloStam) glida
    the-boy.mpl three.cs.3mpl ate.3pl three.cs.3mpl ice cream
       (SloStam).
       three.cs.3mpl
       The children ate all three of them ice cream.

(11) a. rov ha-yladim yeSenim.
    most the-boy.mpl sleep.mpl
    Most (of the) children are sleeping.

    b. ha-yladim (rubam) yeSenim (?rubam).
    the-boy.mpl most.cs.3mpl sleep.mpl most.cs.3mpl
    Most (of the) children are sleeping.

(12) a. xelek me-ha-yladim yeSenim.
    part from-the-boy.mpl sleep.pl
    Some of the children are sleeping.

    b. ha-yladim (xelkam) yeSenim (?xelkam).
    the-boy.mpl part.cs.3mpl sleep.pl most.cs.3mpl
    Some (of the) children are sleeping.

(13) a. rov ha-yladim axlu glida.
    most the-boy.mpl ate.3pl ice cream
    Most (of the) children ate ice cream.

    b. ha-yladim (rubam) axlu (?rubam) glida (?rubam).
    the-boy.mpl most.cs.3mpl sleep.pl most.cs.3mpl
    Most (of the) children ate ice cream.
When the quantifiers rov and xelek are floated, they are often preceded by the preposition be ‘in’, as in (14), in which case they are impeccable in predicate-internal position, and are also ambiguous between D-quantification and A-quantification.\(^4\)

\[(14)\]
\[
a. \text{ha-sfarim retuvim be-rubam.} \\
\text{the-book.mpl wet.pl in-most.cs.3mpl} \\
\text{Most (of the) books are wet. / The books are mostly wet.}
\]
\[
b. \text{ha-sfarim retuvim be-xelkam.} \\
\text{the-book.mpl wet.pl in-part.cs.3mpl} \\
\text{Some of the books are wet. / The books are partly wet.}
\]

Judgments are less clear with ditransitive predicates. Our intuition is that a subject quantifier cannot readily be floated into the verb phrase in a ditransitive clause. Examples such as (15) are certainly marked, though we do not find them clearly ungrammatical.

\[(15)\]
\[
\text{ha-morim her’u (?kulam)} \\
\text{the-teacher.mpl showed.3pl all.cs.3mpl} \\
\text{le-dani (?kulam) et ha-sefer} \\
\text{to-Dani all.cs.3mpl acc the-book} \\
\text{(?kulam)} \\
\text{all.cs.3mpl} \\
\text{The teachers all showed Dani the book.}
\]

Floating out of object position is exemplified in (16), and out of indirect object position in (17).

\[(16)\]
\[
\text{axalti et ha-tapuxim kulam.} \\
\text{ate.1s acc. the-apple.mpl all.cs.3mpl} \\
\text{I ate all the apples.}
\]

\[(17)\]
\[
\text{natati tapuxim la-yladim kulam.} \\
\text{gave.1s apple.mpl to.the-boy.mpl all.cs.3mpl} \\
\text{I gave apples to all the boys.}
\]

When a floated quantifier can be associated with more than one NP in the sentence, as in (18), ambiguity arises.

\[(18)\]
\[
\text{ha-morim her’u li et ha-sfarim kulam.} \\
\text{the-teacher.mpl showed.3pl to.me acc. the-book.mpl all.cs.3ms} \\
\text{The teachers showed me all the books.} \\
\text{The teachers all showed me the books.}
\]

(19) shows that multiple floated quantifiers are possible, but may not be adjacent.

\(^4\) These two points are due to Edit Doron (Personal Communication).
(19) a. SloSet ha-yladim ra’u et kol ha-sfarim.
   three.m.cs the-boy.mpl saw.3pl acc. all the-book.mpl
   The three boys saw all the books.

   b. ha-yladim ra’u SloStam et ha-sfarim kulam
      the-boy.mpl saw.3pl three.m.sc.3mpl acc. the-book.mpl all.cs.3mpl
      The three boys saw all the books.

   c. *ha-yladim ra’u et ha-sfarim SloStam kulam / kulam SloStam.

For more discussion of quantifier float in Hebrew see Shlonsky (1991).

7.1.3 Negative Concord

Hebrew is a negative concord language. In the presence of matrix negation,
certain negative forms which we refer to as n-words occur. Examples are given in
(20) and (21). While some pronouns, such as klum ‘nothing’ in (20-b), have
special forms, other pronoun and all full NP n-words are formed with one of two
negative forms: af (glossed as any\(_c\), since it can only combine with count nouns),
which literally means ‘also’, and Sum (glossed as any\(_m\), since it can combine with
mass nouns and plurals). (22) shows that mass nouns and plurals can only occur
with Sum. A recent discussion of Sum and af is found in Levy (2008).

(20) a. miSehu raa maSu
   someone saw.3sg something
   Someone saw something.

   b. af exad lo raa klum
      any\(_c\) one neg saw.3sg nothing
      Nobody saw anything.

   c. lo raiti Sum davar.
      not saw.1s any\(_m\) thing
      I didn’t see anything.

   d. lo moxrim et ze be-af/Sum makom.
      neg sell.3pl acc. this in-any\(_c\)/any\(_m\) place
      They don’t sell this anywhere.

(21) a. af/Sum yeled lo diber.
      any\(_c\)/any\(_m\) boy neg spoke.3ms
      No boy spoke.

   b. hu lo diber im af/Sum more.
      he neg spoke.3ms with any\(_c\)/any\(_m\) teacher
      He didn’t talk to any teacher.

(22) a. lo Satiti Sum/*af mayim.
      neg drank.1s any\(_m\)/any\(_c\) water
      I didn’t drink any water.
b. lo raiti Sum/*af susim 
   neg saw.1s any_{m}/*any_{c} horses
I didn’t see any horses.

7.2 Three Basic Classes of Quantifiers

7.2.1 Intersective Quantifiers

Hebrew does not have an indefinite article, and indefinites generally occur bare. Plurality is marked by a suffix -im for masculine nouns, -ot for feminine nouns, with some idiosyncratic exceptions.

(23) raiti tmuna Sel ha-rambam me'al ha/la-'ax
   saw.1sg picture of Maimonides above the/to.the-fireplace
   I saw a picture of Maimonides above the fireplace.

(24) malaxim Saru ba-rexov
   sailor.mpl sang.3pl in.the-street
   Some sailors were singing / sang in the street.

A plural indefinite noun as in (24) can also be preceded by one of the following lexemes to express a meaning roughly similar to ‘some’ / ‘several’:

- *kama* ‘several’.
- *mispar* ‘a number of’ (literally ‘number’) (*mispar* can also follow the head noun).
- *axad-im* (feminine *axad-ot*), the plural version of the numeral *exad* (feminine *axat*) ‘one’ discussed below.

(25). a. mispar / kama naSim panu la-avoda ha-zot
   number / some women turned.3pl to.the-work the-this.f
   Several / a number of women applied for this job.

   b. naSim axad-ot panu la-avoda ha-zot.
   women one-fpl turned.3pl to.the-work the-this.f
   A number of women applied to this job.

In subject position, bare indefinites can be interpreted generically. Both (24) above and (26) can be read either existentially or generically.

(26) naSim panu la-avoda ha-zot.
   women turned.3pl to.the-work the-this.f
   Women applied for this job.

The numeral *exad* ‘one’ (feminine *axat*) is unique among the numerals in following the head noun (like adjectives do). It can occur on indefinite NPs to indicate non-specificity, either in the sense of ignorance, or lack of concern (27).
The numeral *exad* ‘one’ cannot mark the object of an opaque verb on its ‘unspecific’, or *notional* reading. Thus, (28) can only have a *de-re* reading.

\[(28)\] 
\begin{align*}
&\text{ani mexapes xad-keren exad.} \\
&\text{I seek.ms one-horn one} \\
&\text{I am looking for some unicorn.}
\end{align*}

The *wh*- word *eze* ‘which’ (Kagan and Spector 2008), as well as the items *eze-Se-hu* (feminine *eze-Se-hi* or *ezo-Se-hi*) and the higher register *kol-Se-hu* (feminine *kol-Se-hi*), can be used in a similar way, though they are not restricted to singular nouns.

\[(29)\] 
\begin{align*}
a. &\text{ten li eze sefer.} & \text{give.imp.ms to.1s which book} \\
&\text{Give me some book.} \\
b. &\text{kaniti lo eze sefer / sfarim.} & \text{bought.1s to.3ms which book / book.mpl} \\
&\text{I bought him some book(s)} \\
c. &\text{kaniti lo eze-Se-hu/hem sefer / sfarim.} & \text{bought.1s to.3sm which-that-he/they book / book.mpl} \\
&\text{I bought him some book(s).} \\
d. &\text{kaniti lo sefer kol-Se-hu.} & \text{bought.1s to.3sm book all-that-he} \\
&\text{I bought him some book.}
\end{align*}

Other numerals are described in Section 7.2.3 below.

### 7.2.2 Existential Sentences

Existential sentences in Hebrew are formed with the lexemes *yeS* (positive) and *en* (negative, in more formal varieties written *eyn*), which we gloss as *ex* and *nex* respectively. In the non-present, these lexemes are replaced with forms of the verb *haya* ‘be’.

\[(30)\] 
\begin{align*}
a. &\text{yeS xameS naSim ba-kita axSav. Sana Se-avra hayu eser.} & \text{EX five women in.the-class now. year that-passed be.3pl ten} \\
&\text{There are five women in the class now. Last year there were ten.} \\
b. &\text{en naSim ba-kita axSav. Sana Se-avra gam lo hayu} & \text{NEX women in.the-class now. year that-passed also neg be.3pl} \\
&\text{There are no women in the class now. Last year there were also none.}
\end{align*}

Hebrew existential sentences have a range of peculiar morphological and morphosyntactic properties which are not yet well understood and which we do not discuss here (for some discussion and references, see Falk 2004, Francez 2006).
Negative existentials must be formed with *en, it is not possible to use sentential negation to negate a positive existential.

(31)  *lo yeS anaSim ba-xeder.
       not EX people in.the-room
   There aren’t any people in the room.

The negative existential lexeme *en is also used for sentential negation in older and more formal varieties, as exemplified in (32). When *en is used as sentential negation, it must agree in person, gender and number with a preceding subject (32-b). Such inflection is possible in existentials only when the pivot is indefinite, and only with positive existentials, as shown in (33). (33-a,b) show that inflection is not possible in existentials with a definite pivot. (33-c) shows it is possible in positive, but not negative, existentials with an indefinite pivot.

(32)  a.  eyn ata mevin.
       neg you understand
   You do not understand.

b.  ata eynxa mevin.
       you neg.2sm understand
   You do not understand.

(33)  a.  en / *eneno oto ba-reshima
       NEX / NEX.3sm acc.3sm in.the-list
   He doesn’t appear on the list. (Lit.: There isn’t him on the list.)

b.  yeS / *yeSno oto ba-reshima.
       EX / EX.3sm acc.3sm in.the-list
   He appears on the list. (Lit.: There is him on the list.)

c.  yeSnam anaSim ba-reshima.
       EX.3plm people in.the-list
   There are people on the list.

d.  *enam anaSim ba-reshima.
       NEX.3plm people in.the-list
   There aren’t people on the list.

The pivot in a negative existential with *en must occur with an *n-word, as shown in (34).

(34)  a.  yeS miSehu ba-bayit.
       EX someone in.the-house
   There is someone in the house.

b.  *en miSehu ba-bayit
       NEX someone in.the-house
   There isn’t anyone in the house.

c.  en af exad ba-bayit.
       NEX n1 one in.the-house
   There isn’t anyone in the house.
Possession

The existential lexemes are also used to form possessive constructions, as exemplified in (35). The possessor is marked with the dative preposition le ‘to’.

(35) 

a. yeS li kesef ba-kis.  
\text{EX to.1s money in.the-pocket}  
I have money in my pocket.

b. en li kesef ba-kis.  
\text{NEX to.1s money in.the-pocket}  
I don’t have money in my pocket.

Restrictions on Determiners

Hebrew existentials can occur with a very wide variety of NP types (the earliest discussion of this we are aware of in the generative literature is Ziv 1982). As shown in (33), pivots can be personal pronouns. Pivots can also be proper names, and can be headed by determiners that are not existential by the definition of Keenan (1987), or that are strong in the sense of Barwise and Cooper (1981), as shown in (36). Note that the examples in (36) are not possessive since no dative case is involved.

(36) 

a. yeS et rov ha-sfarim Sela ba-sifriya.  
\text{EX acc. most the-book.mpl of.3fs in.the-library}  
The library has most of her books.

b. yeS et kol ha-hesberim ba-xoveret.  
\text{EX acc. all the-explanation.mpl in.the-booklet}  
The booklet has all the explanations.

Thus, Hebrew seems to have virtually no definiteness effect. However, this is not entirely accurate, as there are some interpretational restrictions on pivots that are non-existential and/or strong. In particular, such pivots tends to be interpreted as quantifying over types rather than tokens. For example, (36-a) is normally interpreted to mean that the library has copies of most of her books, rather than most of the actual token books she owns or has written.

Furthermore, purely locational readings are blocked for such pivots. For example, (37-a), from Ziv (1982), can only mean that Chomsky is on the MIT faculty list, not that he is physically there, for which the canonical predicative locative (37-b) must be used. (37-b) is ambiguous between a locative reading (Chomsky is physically at MIT) and a reading equivalent to that of (37-a) (Chomsky is faculty at MIT).

(37) 

a. yeS et xomsky be-MIT.  
\text{EX acc. Chomsky in-MIT}  
MIT has Chomsky (on the faculty).

b. Xomsky be-MIT.  
Chomsky in-MIT  
Chomsky is in MIT.
The contrast can easily be intuited by considering which questions (37-a) and (37-b) can answer. (37-a) (or a word-order variant of it) can answer a question like *why did you chose MIT?*, but not *where is Chomsky?* (37-b) can answer either question.

### 7.2.3 Numerals and Modified Numerals

Numerals other than *exad/axat* ‘one’ precede the noun. Numerals have masculine and feminine forms.

(38)  

**a.** xameS naSim rakdu.  
five.f women danced.3pl
Five women danced.

**b.** xamiSa gvarim rakdu 
five.m men danced.3pl 
Five men danced.

The numeral for *two* has a different form (similar to a construct state form) when it occurs as a determiner immediately preceding the common noun, and when it occurs in other positions. This is shown in (39).

(39)  

**a.** Sney anaSim rakdu.  
two.m people danced 
Two people danced.

**b.** A: kama anaSim rakdu? B: Snayim.  
A: how.many people danced? B: two  

For discussion of expressions equivalent to *some* or *several* see Section 7.2.1 above. Following are examples of some other modified numerals.

(40)  

**More than five**  

**a.** yoter mi-xameS 
more from-five.f 
More than five

**b.** le-mala mi-xameS  
to-up from-five.f 
More than five (formal)

(41)  

**Less than five**  

**a.** paxot mi-xameS  
less from-five.f  
Less than five

**b.** le-mata mi-xameS  
down from-five.f  
Less than five (formal)
In (43) to (45), the modifier can precede the numeral or follow it. It may also follow the common noun following the numeral.

(43) *at least five*

a. *le-faxot xameS*
   to-less five.f
   at least five

b. *le-xol ha-paxot xameS*
   to-all the-less five.f
   at least five

(44) *approximately ten*

a. *be-erex eser*
   in-approximation ten.f
   approximately ten

b. *paxot o yoter eser*
   less or more ten.f
   more or less five

c. *eser be-keruv*
   ten.f in-closeness
   approximately ten

(45) *kim’at mea*

almost hundred
almost a hundred

(46) *ben xameS le-eser*

between five.f to-ten.f
between five and ten

(47) *infinitely many*

a. *en-sof*
   NEX-end
   infinitely many (Lit. ‘no end of’)

b. *en-sfor*
   NEX-count
   uncountably many

c. *bli sof*
   without end
   endlessly many

(48) *be-koSi xameS*

in-difficulty five.f
hardly five
All of the modified numerals discussed here can also be separated from the common noun (this is a phenomenon distinct from quantifier floating, discussed above). Some examples are given in (49).

(49) yeladim raiti harbe / SloSa / en-sfor / bekoSi exad.
    children saw.1s many / three / NEX-count / hardly one
    Children I saw many / three / infinitely many / hardly one.

In such cases the bare noun is a contrastive topic. A discourse exemplifying the use of this kind of word order is given in (50).

(50) Samati Se-yeS Sam arayot ve-nemerim, az nasati le-Sam. arayot
    heard.1s that-ex there lions and-tigers, so traveled.1s to-there. lions
    raiti kama, aval nemerim be-koSi exad.
    saw.1s several, but tigers in-difficulty one
    I heard there were lions and tigers there, so I went there. Lions I saw
    several, but tigers hardly even one.

The following modified numerals are syntactically in a type of partitive construction.

(51) \textit{finitely many}
    a. kamut sofit Sel
       quantity finite.f of
       finitely many (lit.: a finite quantity of)
    b. mispar sofi Sel
       number finite of
       finitely many (lit.: a finite number of)

Sel ‘of’ is the possessive preposition. In (51), it is used as a partitive and must be followed by a mass or plural noun.

7.2.4 Value Judgment Cardinals

Hebrew used to encode a mass-count distinction between value judgment cardinals, i.e. between the words for \textit{much} vs. \textit{many} and for \textit{little} vs. \textit{few}. However, this distinction is not maintained in spoken varieties today. The mass forms in (52-a) are used practically exclusively in speech, whereas the count forms in (52-b) are considered archaic. Examples (52-c,d) might be considered colloquial.

(52) a. raiti harbe / meat mayim / anaSim.
    saw.1s much / little water / people
    I saw much / little water / people.

b. raiti anaSim rabim / meatim.
    saw.1s people many / few.mpl
    I saw many / few people.
(53) a. yoter mi-day anaSim ba’u.
    more from-enough people came.3pl
    Too many people came.

    b. paxot mi-day anaSim ba’u.
    less from-enough people came.3pl
    Not enough people came.

    c. (lo) maspik anaSim ba’u.
    neg enough people came.3pl
    (Not) enough people came.

Value cardinals can be adverbially modified to achieve meanings similar to such as surprisingly many, as in (54).

(54) a. raiti kol kax harbe anaSim!
    saw.1s all so much people
    I saw so many people!

    b. raiti mamaS harbe anaSim!
    saw.1s really much people
    I saw a whole lot of people.

### 7.2.5 Interrogatives

The cardinal question word is kama ‘how many’, and the intersective non-cardinal one is eyze ‘which’. In more formal registers, a distinction is made between the masculine singular eyze, the feminine singular eyzo, and the plural elu.

(55) kama anaSim ba’u?
    how many people came.3pl
    How many people came?

(56) eyze/elu anaSim ba’u?
    which people came.3pl
    Which people came?

(56) can also be used to ask what kinds of people came?

### 7.2.6 Boolean Compounds

Some examples of Boolean compounds are given in (57) and (58).
(57) a. lo yoter mi-xamiSa anaSim ba’u.
    neř. more from-five.m people came.3pl
    Not more than five people came.

    b. le-faxot Snayim aval lo yoter mi-asara anaSim ba’u.
    to-less two.m but not more from-ten.m people came.3pl
    At least two but not more than ten people came.

Note the difference in the form of the numeral Snayim ‘two’ when it is adjacent

to the noun, as in (58-b), and when it is not adjacent, as in (58-a) (cf. the
discussion of example (39) above).

(58) a. Snayim o SloSa anaSim ba’u.
    two.m or three.m people came.3pl
    Two or three people came.

    b. Sney banim ve-SaloS banot ba’u.
    two.m boys and-three.f girls came.3pl
    Two boys and three girls came.

(59) shows compounding with negation. The same meaning obtains when

*n-words* are used instead of negation, as in (59-c).

(59) a. (lo) ba’u lo banim ve-lo banot.
    neg came.3pl neg boys and-neg girls
    Neither boys nor girls came.

    b. lo gvarim ve-lo naSim (lo) rocim oto.
    neg men and-neg women neg want.3mpl 3ms
    Neither men nor women want it.

    c. af ben ve-af bat lo ba’u.
    anyc. boy and-anyc. girl not came.3pl
    No boy and no girl came.

### 7.2.7 Numeral Classifiers

Hebrew does not in general require numeral classifiers. Count nouns simply

follow the numeral, as discussed in Section 7.2.3. However, with mass nouns

and some count nouns, various lexemes, which we refer to here as classifiers, are

used to express conventionally or naturally delineated units of measure.

Mass and count nouns can be distinguished in that only the former can

appear in the singular after a determiner like harbe. For current purposes, we

take this to be a defining property, i.e. we use ‘mass noun’ to refer to those

nouns that can occur in the singular after harbe.

(60) a. yeS harbe tiras.
    EX much corn
    There is a lot of corn.
b. #yeS harbe Sulxan.
   \textsc{ex} much table
   \#There is a lot of table.

c. yeS harbe Sulxanot.
   \textsc{ex} much table.fpl
   There are many tables.

A mass noun can either occur in the singular with a classifier, or else in the plural immediately following the numeral. Plural marking thus turns mass nouns into count. For example, compare (60-a) with (61).

(61) yeS harbe tirasim.
   \textsc{ex} many corn.mpl
   There are many ears of corn.

Plural mass nouns denote maximal conventionally or naturally delineated quantities (such as an ear of corn). Classifiers can express either maximal quantities or smaller quantities. Examples are given in (62). (Some classifiers do not have lexical meanings other than the units of measure they express. In such cases, the classifier is glossed \textsc{cls}.)

(62) a. Sney kilxey tira\textsc{s}.
    two.m \textsc{cls.cs} corn
    two ears / kernels of corn

b. Sney tira\textsc{s}im
    two.m corn.mpl
    two ears / kernels of corn

(63) a. Sney raSey Sum
    two.m heads.cs garlic
    two heads of garlic

b. Sney Sumim
    two.m garlic.mpl
    two heads of garlic

(64) a. Stey prusot lexem
    two.f slice.fpl.cs bread
    two slices of bread

b. Stey kikrot lexem
    two.f \textsc{cls.cs} bread
    two loaves of bread

c. Sney lexamim
    two.m bread.mpl
    two loaves of bread

With some mass nouns, a classifier is obligatory and plural marking is not possible.
Count nouns can occur with classifiers that express a quantity different from the conventional single unit associated with the noun. Examples are given in (66).

(66) a. Sney pilxey tapuz
two.m portion.mpl.cs orange
Two pieces of orange.

b. Sney eSkolot anavim
two.m CLS.cs grapes
Two bunches of grapes

Container expressions and measure phrases are exemplified in (67). Container expressions appear in the construct state.

(67) a. Stey xafisot klapim / cigaryot
two.f pack.fpl.cs card.mpl / cigarette.fpl
Two decks of cards / boxes of cigarettes

b. Sney bakbukey yayin
two.m bottle.mpl.cs wine
Two bottles of wine

c. Sney kilo melax
two.m kilogram salt
Two kilograms of salt

The classifier *xatixa* ‘piece’ can precede a mass noun, inducing a partitive meaning, i.e. expressing a quantity smaller than the conventional single unit associated with the noun when it is in the plural. Examples are given in (68) and (69).

(68) a. Stey xatixot Sokolad
two.f piece.fpl.cs chocolate
Two pieces of chocolate

b. Sney Sokoladim
two.m chocolate.mpl
Two bars of chocolate

(69) a. Stey xatixot lexem
two.f piece.fpl.cs bread
Two pieces of bread

---

5 Only mass nouns describing non-fluid material can be preceded by *xatixa.*
b. Sney lexamim
two.m bread.mpl
Two loaves of bread

This classifier can also occur with a count noun, in which case it has the effect of turning it into a mass noun and inducing the same partitive reading (cf. English *There is a lot of dog on the road*).

(70) yeS xatixat Sulxan / kelev ba-rexov.
ex piece.cs table / dog in.the-street
There is a piece of table / dog on the street.

For recent discussion see Rothstein (2009) and Doron and Müller (2011).

### 7.2.8 Units of Time and Distance

Examples of time expressions:

(71) a. yaSanti Seva Saot.
selpt.1s seven hours
I slept seven hours.

b. yaSanti be-meSex Seva Saot.
slept.1s in-duration seven hours
I slept for seven hours.

(72) a. bati hena le-Savua.
came.1s here to-week
I came here for a week.

b. nasati le-Sam le-Savua.
got.1s to-there to-week
I went there for a week.

(73) a. axzor od Siv’a yamim.
will.return.1s more seven day.mpl
I will return in seven days.

b. yeS Siv’a yamim be-Savua.
ex seven day.mpl in-week
There are seven days in a week.

Examples of distance expressions:

(74) a. Tel-aviv rexoka arbaim kilometer mi-xaifa.
tel-aviv far.f forty kilometer from-Haifa
Tel Aviv is forty kilometers from Haifa.
b. Tel-aviv ze arbaim kilometer mi-xaifa.
Tel Aviv is forty kilometers from Haifa.

Examples of comparatives:

(75) a. Dani namux mi-Dina be-arbaim sentimeter.
Dani is 40 centimeters shorter than Dina.

b. Dani arbaim sentimeter yoter namux mi-Dina.
Dani is 40 centimeters shorter than Dina.

7.2.9 A-Quantifiers

Many adverbial quantifiers are formed with some form of the noun paam ‘time’.

(76) a. ani li-f'amim noheg la-avoda.
I sometimes drive to work.

b. bikarti be-taSkent paamayim / arba peamim.
I visited Tashkent twice / four times.

c. bikarti be-taSkent paam.
I visited Tashkent once.

d. bikarti be-taSkent harbe peamim.
I visited Tashkent many times.

e. nahagti la-avoda lo harbe meod peamim.
I drove to work not very many times.

f. ani noheg la-avoda harbe / hamon / meat.
I drive to work a lot / little.

Negative adverbial quantifiers take several forms, all translated as never. The form me-olam can only occur with a past tense verb. The form le-olam only with a future tense verb.

(77) a. ani af paam lo nahagti / enhag / noheg la-avoda.
I never drove / drive / will drive to work.

b. ani le-olam lo enhag la-avoda.
I will never drive to work.
c. ani me-olam lo nahagti la-avoda.
   I from-world neg drove.1s to.the-work
   I’ve never driven to work.

The expression *ey-pa’am* has a meaning roughly parallel to English *ever*. This expression is used in questions, conditionals, and with superlatives, as shown in (78).

(78) a. nahagta ey-pa’am la-avoda?
   drove.2ms ever to.the-work?
   Have you ever driven to work?

b. im ata ey-paam ba-sviva, tavo levaker.
   if you ever in.the-surrounding, will.come.2ms visit.inf
   If you’re even in the area, come visit.

c. zot ha-mem Sala haxi grua ey-pa’am.
   this.f the-government most bad ever
   This is the worst government ever.

d. zot ha-mem Sala haxi grua Se-ey-pa’am nivxera.
   this.f the-government most bad that-ever be.elected.3fs
   This is the worst government that was ever elected.

It can also occur in subordinate clauses of negated or inherently negative verbs (79-a,b). However, unlike English *ever*, it cannot occur in the immediate scope of negation (79-c), where an *n-word* is required. An exception to this seems to be interrogative contexts like (79-d). This is a naturally occurring example, and others similar to it can be found in corpora, though in our own judgment such examples are ungrammatical.6

(79) a. Saxaxti Se-ey-pa’am nahagti la-avoda.
   forgot.1s that-ever drove.1s to.the-work
   I forgot that I ever drove to work.

b. ani *(lo) xoSevet Se-ani ey-paam enhag la-avoda.
   I neg think that-I ever will.drive.1s to.the-work
   I don’t think I will ever drive to work.

c. *ani lo nahagti ey-pa’am la-avoda.
   I neg drove.1s every to.the-work
   Intended: I didn’t ever drive to work.

d. mi lo xalam ey-pa’am lihiyot kosem?
   who neg dreamt.3ms ever be.inf magician.m
   Who has not dreamt of being a magician?

The lexeme *midey* is used with varying quantificational force. Preceding *paam*, it is interpreted as a cardinal quantifier meaning roughly ‘from time to time’.

---

6 We thank Edit Doron for pointing out such examples to us.
Preceding time-unit nouns like *Sana* ‘year’ it is interpreted as a universal quantifier. Examples are given in (80). This is somewhat reminiscent of the use in English of *every* with variable force in examples like “every now and then” vs. “every year”.

(80) a. ani noheg la-avoda midey paam.
I drive.1s to.the-work midey time
I drive to work from time to time.

b. ani noheg la-avoda midey yom.
I drive.1s to.the-work midey day
I drive to work every day

### 7.3 Generalized Universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers

**D-Quantifiers**

Following are examples of co-intersective quantifiers. The determiner *kol*, glossed for convenience as ‘all’, can precede either a bare singular or a definite plural noun. Doron and Mittwoch (1986) show that *kol* can also combine with a bare plural, in which case it is an NPI, as in (81).

(81) lo nigremu kol nezakim.
neg be.caused.3pl any damage.mpl
No damage was caused.

As noted in Section 7.1.2, when the complement of the determiner is definite, the determiner can float, in which case it agrees in person, number and gender with the noun. (84) exemplifies combinations of *kol* with conjoined nouns. Disjunction works in the same way.

(82) a. kol meSoreret xolemet.
all poet.f dream.3fs
every/each poet(s) dream.

b. kol ha-meSorerot xolmot.
all the-poets.f dream.3fpl
All the poets dream(s).

(83) a. kol yeled ba-kita katav Sir.
all boy in.the-class wrote.3ms poem
every/each boy in the class wrote a poem.

b. kol ha-yladim ba-kita katvu Sir.
all the-children in.the-class wrote.3pl poem
All the children in the class wrote a poem.

c. ha-yladim ba-kita kul-am katvu Sir.
the children in.the-class all-3pl wrote.pl poem
The children in the class all wrote a poem.
(84) kol is, isa ve-yeled azvu et ha-ir.
    every man woman and-child left.3pl acc. the-city
    Every man, woman and child left the city.

When *kol* occurs with a singular noun complement, it can only be read distributively, as evidenced by the impossibility of (85-a). When *kol* is followed by a plural definite noun, the resulting NP can be read collectively (85-b).

(85) a. #kol yeled nifgaS ba-kikar.
    all boy met.3ms in.the-square
    # Every boy met in the square.

b. kol ha-yladim nifgeSu ba-kikar.
    all the-boys met.3pl in.the-square
    All the boys met in the square.

(86) demonstrates that *kol* followed by a definite and by a bare singular noun have different scopal behavior inside a possessive NP.

(86) a. tmuna Sel kol ha-yladim amda al ha-Sulxan.
    picture of all the-children stood.3fs on the-table
    A picture of all the children stood on the table. (Possibly one picture, several children)

b. tmuna Sel kol yeled amda al ha-Sulxan.
    picture of all boy stood.3fs on the-table
    A picture of every boy stood on the table. (As many pictures as children)

The default interpretation of the sentences in (87-a,b) is generic, i.e. the sentences deny the generalization that cats are grey. However, (87-a) also has a non-generic interpretation, in which some restricted set of cats is said to include non-grey members. This reading is not available for (87-b).

(87) a. lo kol ha-xatulim (hem) aforim.
    neg all the-cats (cop.mpl) grey.pl
    Not all cats are grey / Not all the cats are grey.

b. lo kol xatul (hu) afor.
    neg all cat (cop.ms) grey
    Not every cat is grey.

Examples of exception phrases are given in (88).

(88) a. kol ha-studentim xuc mi-Snayim xolim.
    all the-students out from-two sick.pl
    All the students except two are sick.

b. kol ha-studentim milvad yosi xolim.
    all the-students except Yosi sick.pl
    All the students except Yosi are sick.
c. kol student xuc mi- / milvad yosi yaxol laavor et ha-bxina
tall student out from- / except yosi can.ms pass.inf acc. the-exam
Every student except Yosi can pass the exam.

Hebrew provides evidence that exceptives can occur with non-universals (García Álvarez 2009).

(89) harbe studentim xuc mi-yosi mitnagdim la-acuma.
many students out from-yosi oppose.mpl to.the-petition
Many students besides Yosi oppose the petition.

The quantifier ha-kol corresponds to English everything.

(90) a. axalti ha-kol.
ate.1s the-all
I ate everything.

b. ha-kol ta’im.
the-all tasty
Everything is tasty.

c. natati la (et) ha-kol.
gave.1s to.her acc. the-all
I gave her everything.

A-Quantifiers

Following are examples of co-intersective adverbial quantifiers and frequency adverbs.

(91) tamid ‘always’
a. ani (kim’at) tamid nosea la-avoda ba-otobus.
I (almost) always ride to.the-work in.the-bus
I (almost) always take the bus to work.

b. ani tamid nextax kSe-ani mitgaleax.
I always get.cut.ms when-I shave.ms
I always cut myself when I shave.

(92) kol paam ‘every time’
a. ani (kimat) kol paam nofel.
I (almost) all time fall.ms
I fall (almost) every time.

b. Dani nextax (be) kol paam Se-hu mitgaleax.
Dani get.cut.ms (in) all time that-he shave.ms
Dani cuts himself whenever he shaves.
Reduplication

Universal A-quantifiers can be formed productively with reduplication of a time-unit word. For example, the reduplicative expression "yom yom" ‘day day’ means ‘daily’. Examples are given in (94).

(94)  yom yom ‘daily’
   a.  ani noheg la-avoda yom yom.
       I drive.to.the-work day day
       I drive to work daily.
   b.  ani mitgaleax yom yom kSe-ani melamed.
       I shave.day day when-I teach.ms
       I shave daily when I teach.
   c.  ani bodek do’ar Sa’a Sa’a.
       I check.ms mail hour hour
       I check mail every hour.
   d.  erev erev megi’a iton.
       evening evening arrives.ms newspaper
       Every evening a newspaper arrives.

Reduplication is also used in a similar way to form distributive quantifiers, described in Section 7.5.14.

Quantifiers Based on Interrogatives

Hebrew equivalents of English wh-ever quantifiers are formed with the wh-words as follows.

(95)  mi ‘who’
   a.  mi Se-nirSam me-roS mekabel hanaxa.
       who that-sign.up.ms from-head receive.ms reduction
       Whoever signs up in advance gets a reduction.
   b.  mi Se-‘asa et ze Se-yakum.
       who that-did.3ms acc. this that-will.stand.3ms
       Whoever did this, stand up!
An interesting property of *wh-*ever phrases in Hebrew is that they license, and sometimes require, expletive negation or the particle *rak* ‘only’. For example, (98) can also be expressed as (99-a), and (96) as (99-b). For a recent discussion of expletive negation in Hebrew see Eilam (2009).

An interesting property of *wh-*ever phrases in Hebrew is that they license, and sometimes require, expletive negation or the particle *rak* ‘only’. For example, (98) can also be expressed as (99-a), and (96) as (99-b). For a recent discussion of expletive negation in Hebrew see Eilam (2009).

In an episodic, extensional context, the presence or absence of expletive negation can mark the difference between a quantificational free relative interpretation involving universal force, and an interpretation similar to that of a definite description. This is exemplified by the contrast in (100).

In an episodic, extensional context, the presence or absence of expletive negation can mark the difference between a quantificational free relative interpretation involving universal force, and an interpretation similar to that of a definite description. This is exemplified by the contrast in (100).

### 7.4 Proportional Quantifiers

**D-Quantifiers**

The determiner *most* is expressed in spoken Hebrew by the noun *rov* ‘majority’ in the construct state (101-a) or in a full possessive form (101-b). In more formal registers the noun *marbit* ‘most’ is also used (101-c).
The exact status of *rov* is not entirely clear to us. It has clear uses as a noun meaning ‘majority’.

Its quantificational use might be argued to involve this noun in the construct state. The fact that *rov* requires a definite NP complement might support this view. However, agreement facts might be taken to argue against it. When a construct state NP is the subject of an agreeing predicate, agreement is always with the construct state noun, as in (103-a). However, an NP in which *rov* occurs as a determiner triggers agreement with the common noun, not with *rov*, as shown for number and gender agreement in (103). In (103-a) the adjective *Svura* ‘broken’ is singular and feminine, like the construct state noun *tmunat* ‘picture (of)’, and unlike the common noun *yladim* ‘children’, which is masculine and plural. In (103-b), the verb *Saru* ‘sang’ agrees not with *rov*, but with the plural common noun *yeladot* ‘girls’.

Nevertheless, this is not conclusive evidence, as clear occurrences of *rov* in the construct state also fail to trigger agreement on an agreeing predicate, which instead agrees with the common noun, as shown in (104).
b. rubam Sel ha-yladim nirdemu /
   majority.ms.cs.3mpl of the-boy.mpl fell.asleep.3mpl /
   *nirdam.
   fell.asleep.3ms
Most of the children fell asleep.

The following proportional quantifiers are formed with the preposition *mi/me*
‘from’, or with the preposition *mitox* ‘from’. The latter is morphologically
complex, composed of the preposition *mi* and the noun *tox* ‘inside’ in the
construct state. In the following examples, both are glossed as ‘from’.

(105) a. Siv’a mi-/mitox asara meSorerim xolmim.
   seven from ten poets dream.mpl
   Seven out of ten poets dream.

   b. rak exad mi-kol asara studentim yekabel milga.
   only one from-all ten.m students will.receive.3ms scholarship
   Only one out of ten students will get a scholarship.

   c. afilu exad mitox asara morim lo yodea et ha-tSuva.
   even one from ten.m teachers neg knows.ms acc. the-answer
   Not even one teacher in / out of ten knows the answer.

Partitives are also formed with the preposition *mi-*. Partitive determiners
generally require definite complements.

(106) a. Smonim axuz me-ha-morim xolim.
   eighty percent from-the-teachers sick.pl
   Eighty percent of the teachers are sick.

   b. Sney SliS me-ha-morim xolim.
   two.cs third from-the-teachers sick.pl
   Two thirds of the teachers are sick.

   c. xelek gadol/katan me-ha-morim xolim.
   part big/small from-the-teachers sick
   A large/small part of the teachers is sick.

More partitive quantifiers are given in (107). The noun *xaci* ‘half’, which is
stressed on the final syllable, is usually pronounced as *xeci*, with stress on the
first syllable, in colloquial speech.

(107) a. paxot mi-reva mi-
   less from-quarter from
   less than a quarter of

   b. axuz katan me-
   percentage small from
   a small percentage of
A-Quantifiers

Proportional A-quantifiers in Hebrew are morphologically complex. Some examples are given in (108).

(108) a. ani la-rov noheg la-avoda.
I to.the-majority drive.1s to.the-work
I usually drive to work.

b. ani be-derex klal noheg la-avoda.
I in-way.cs rule drive to.the-work
I usually drive to work.

c. ani noheg la-avoda le-itim nedirot / rexokot / krovot .
I drive.1s to.the-work to-times rare.pl / far.pl / close.pl
I rarely / seldom / often drive to work.

d. ani harbe peamim noheg la-avoda
I many times drive.1s to.the-work
I often drive to work.

(109) be-derex klal / la-rov kSe ani ayef ani ocer ba-cad.
in-way.cs rule / to.the-majority when I tired.ms I stop.ms in.the-side
Usually when I’m tired I pull over.

(110) gvarim (hem) be-derex klal / la-rov yoter gvohim mi-naSim.
men (are) in-way.cs rule / to.the-majority more tall.pl from-women
Men are usually taller than women.

7.5 Follow Up Questions

7.5.1 Definite NPs

The definite article in Hebrew is the clitic ha. As mentioned earlier, definiteness is marked on the head noun as well as on all modifiers, as shown in (111).
Definite cardinal quantifiers are formed with the construct state form of a cardinal determiner and a definite noun, as exemplified in (112-a). As mentioned in Section 7.1.2, the cardinal determiner can be floated, in which case it agrees with the head noun in person and number, as shown in (112-b).

(112) a. SloSet ha-xatulim Sxorim
three.cs.m the-cats black.mpl
The three cats are black.

b. ha-xatulim SloStam Sxorim
the-cats three.cs.3mpl black
The cats are all three of them black.

Demonstratives

The Hebrew demonstratives are masculine *ze* and feminine *zot* (alternate form *zoti*, possibly a contraction from *zot + hi ‘be.f’*) in the singular, and *ele* (with alternate form *elu* in formal registers) in the plural. Demonstratives are here glossed as DEM. They can occur on their own, as in (113). 7

(113) a. Dani ze ha-xaver haxi tov Seli.
DEM the-friend most good of.1s
Dani is my best friend.

b. xatul zot xaya mafxida.
cat DEM animal scary
A cat is a scary animal.

7 Demonstratives are also used in copular clauses such as (113-a,b). The status of these constructions is controversial (Sichel 1997, Doron 1983, Hazout 1994, Fuerst 2007).
Adnominal demonstratives distinguish distal and proximal forms. The former are formed by appending the definite article to a demonstrative. The latter by appending the definite article to a nominative pronoun. This is summarized in (115). Examples of demonstratives are given in (116).

(115) **Adnominal demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>proximal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. ha-ze</td>
<td>ha-ele (ha-elu)</td>
<td>m. ha-hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ha-zot (ha-zoti, ha-zu)</td>
<td>f. ha-hi</td>
<td>f. ha-hen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(116) a. ha-iSa ha-zot/zoti (hi) ima Seli.
the-woman the-this.f (is.f) mother of.1s
This woman is my mother.

b. ha-studentim ha-ele (hem) xaxamim
the-students the-these (are.pl) smart mpl
These students are smart.

c. *ha-studentim ha-hem (hayu) xaxamim.
the-students the-those (were.pl) smart mplm
Those students were smart.

In more formal varieties, bare demonstratives can occur adnominally, in which case they have both proximal and distal readings. This is not possible with the pronouns that form the basis for distal adnominal demonstratives (117-c).

(117) a. iSa zot/zu
woman this.f
This/that woman

b. studentim ele
students these
These/those students

c. *studentim hem
students those
Those students
Since spoken Hebrew has mostly lost the construct state as a productive grammatical construction, it has only one way of forming nominal possessives, using the preposition Sel ‘of’. Possessive NPs can be definite, as in (118-a), or indefinite as in (118-b). The non-productivity of the construct state in modern Hebrew is evidenced by the fact that neither of the NPs in (118) have construct state alternates.

(118)  a. ha-studentim Sel Tanya
       the-students of Tanya
       Tanya’s students

       b. studentim Sel Tanya
          students of Tanya
          Students of Tanya’s

A possessive NP can have quantified NPs on both sides of the preposition Sel. Some examples of quantified possessives are given in (119). In these sentences, the possessor quantifier is interpreted as outscoping the quantifier over things possessed (though there are cases where scoping is ambiguous, as in (86) above).

(119)  a. ha-mexonit/mexoniyot Sel rov ha-morim Sxora/Sxorot.
       the-car/cars of majority.cs the-teachers black.f/black.fpl
       Most teachers’ car/cars is/are black.

       b. kol mexonit Sel kol more nigneva.
          all car of all teacher was.stolen.3fs
          Every car of every teacher was stolen.

       c. kim’at kol ha-mexoniyot Sel kama morim Sxorot.
          almost all the-cars of some teachers black.pl
          Almost all of some teachers’ cars are black.

There seem to be restrictions on the cooccurrence of quantifiers in possessive NPs, though their exact nature is not clear to us. For example, for at least some speakers, a cardinal quantifier in the possessed NP position requires a partitive structure.

(120)  a. ??le-faxot SaloS mexoniyot Sel harbe morim Sxorot.
       to-less three.f cars of many teachers black.fpl
       Intended: At least three of many teachers’ cars are black.

       b. le-faxot SaloS me-ha-mexoniyot Sel harbe morim Sxorot.
          to-less three.f from-the-cars of many teachers black.fpl
          Intended: At least three of many teachers’ cars are black.

(121)  a. ??kama amudim Sel rov ha-sfarim kruim.
       some pages of majority.cs the-books torn.mpl
       Intended: Some of many books’ pages are torn.
Furthermore, there are restrictions on the distribution of \textit{n-words} in possessives. Some examples are given in (122). More discussion is found in Section 7.5.13.

(122) a. \textit{\textbf{kol} ha-mexoniyot Sel af more lo Sxorot.}
\textit{the-cars of any teacher neg black.fpl}
Intended: No teacher’s car(s) is/are black.

b. \textit{\textbf{kol} ha-mexoniyot Sel af more lo Sxorot.}
\textit{all the-cars of any teacher neg black.fpl}
Intended: No teacher is such that all of her cars are black.

c. \textit{*kol mexonit Sel af more lo Sxora.}
\textit{every car of any teacher neg black.fs}
Intended: No teacher is such that every car of hers is black.

d. \textit{af mexonit Sel af more lo Sxora.}
\textit{any car of any teacher neg black.fs}
No teacher’s car is black.

e. \textit{*af mexonit Sel kol more lo Sxora.}
\textit{any car of all teacher neg black.fs}
Intended: None of every teacher’s cars are black.

f. \textit{*af mexonit Sel rov ha-morim lo Sxora.}
\textit{any car of majority.cs the-teachers neg black.fs}
Intended: None of most teacher’s cars are black.

### 7.5.2 Generic NPs

In Hebrew, both bare singulars and bare plurals can be interpreted generically (Doron 2003).

(123) a. \textit{dvora (lo) okecet.}
\textit{bee (neg) stings.fs}
Bees (don’t) sting.

b. \textit{dvora okecet?}
\textit{bee stings.fs}
Do bees sting?

c. \textit{dvorim (lo) okcot.}
\textit{bees (neg) stings.fpl}
Bees (don’t) sting.

As Doron shows, Hebrew bare singulars can name kinds, unlike English bare singulars.
The tiger developed from the cat. (cf. *A tiger developed from a cat* which has no kind reading).

Definite NPs, both plural and singular, can also refer to kinds.

(125) a. ha-namer hu yonek.
   the-tiger be.m mammal
   The tiger is a mammal.

   b. ha-nemerim yikaxdu tox Sana.
   the-tigers will.become.extinct.pl inside year
   The tiger will become extinct within a year.

### 7.5.3 Morphological Complexity of Quantifiers

#### Monomorphemic A-Quantifiers

(126) a. *tamid* ‘always’
   b. *paam* ‘once’
   c. *harbe* ‘often’
   d. *male* ‘very often’
   e. *hamon* ‘very often’

#### Multimorphemic A-Quantifiers that are a single phonological word

(127) a. *lifamim* ‘sometimes’
   b. *me/le-olam* ‘never’
   c. *la-rov* ‘usually’

#### Monomorphemic D-Quantifiers

(128) a. *rov* ‘majority of’
   b. *kol* ‘all/every/each/any’
   c. *marbit* ‘most’
   d. *exad* ‘one’
   e. *harbe* ‘many’
   f. *male* ‘many’
   g. *hamon* ‘very many, tons (of)’
   h. *meat* ‘few’
   i. *af / Sum* ‘any’
   j. *maksimum* ‘maximum’
   k. *minimum* ‘minimum’

Thus, Hebrew has a monomorphemic determiner *all*, as well as a monomorphemic *one*. However, Hebrew has only one monomorphemic universal quantifier. Whether or not Hebrew has a monomorphemic proportional determiner
is not entirely clear, and depends on how one analyzes words like rov ‘most’, discussed in Section 7.4.

Hebrew has several monomorphemic quantifiers translating many. There is no monomorphemic no.

### 7.5.4 Selectional Restrictions

As mentioned above, the proportional rov cannot occur with a bare noun but requires a definite NP complement. If the common noun is count, then quantification is over individuals when the noun is plural (129-b), and over parts of individuals when it is singular (129-c).

(129)  

| a. | rov yeled | *rov yeled  
| majority.cs child | *Most child |
| b. | rov ha-yladim yeSenim | Most of the children are sleeping. |
| majority.cs the-boy.mpl sleep.mpl |
| c. | rov ha-Sulxan naki | Most of the table is clean. |
| majority.cs the-table clean |

The universal kol can occur with either a bare singular or a definite plural noun.

(130)  

| a. | kol yeled | kol yeled  
| all child | Every / each / any child |
| b. | kol ha-yladim | Every child / all the children. |
| all the-boy.mpl |

All cardinals greater than one generally require a plural complement. However, in some cases singular complements are also possible. It is not clear to us what exactly licenses such singular complements. Intuitively, they seem to occur in NPs that are not thematic arguments of their predicates, but which instead act as measure or extent phrases.

(131)  

| a. | hayu Sam Slosim yeled. | hayu Sam Slosim yeled.  
| were.pl there thirty child | There were thirty children there. |
| b. | bney yisrael nadedu arbaim Sana. | The Israelites wandered for forty years. |
| sons.cs Israel wandered.pl forty year |
| c. | karati kvar SloSim amud. | I read already thirty page |
| read.1s already thirty page |

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The value cardinals *harbe* `many` and *meat* `few` take a bare plural complement (132), or a definite complement in the partitive construction (133). Partitives are discussed in Section 7.5.9.

(132) a. harbe yeladim
    many children
    Many children

   b. meat yeladim
    few children
    Few children

(133) a. harbe me-ha-yeladim
    many from-the-boy.mpl
    Many of the children

   b. meat me-ha-yeladim
    few of-the-boy.mpl
    Few of the children

### 7.5.5 Decreasing NPs

Decreasing NPs were described above, and some examples are repeated here.

(134) a. paxot mi-SloSa anaSim
    less from-three people
    Less than three people

   b. lo kol yeled
    not all child
    Not every child

   c. paxot mi-reva mi-ha-yeladim
    less from-quarter from-the-children
    Less than a quarter of the children

   d. af yeled
    any c boy
    No boy

Decreasing NPs license the NPI *ey-paam*, discussed in Section 7.2.9, as exemplified in (135). It seems that this expression is subject to the same anti-locality constraint described by Csirmaz and Szabolcsi (Chapter 8, this volume) for Hungarian: *ey-paam* cannot occur in the same minimal clause with explicit negation, hence the ungrammaticality of (135-c,d).

(135) a. paxot mi-SloSa anaSim ra’u ey-paam et elohim.
    less from-three people saw.pl ever acc God
    Less than three people ever saw God.
b. paxot mi-reva mi-ha-yldaim ra’u ey-paam
less from-quarter from-the-children saw.pl ever
et elohim.
acc God
Less than a quarter of the children ever saw God.

c. *af yeled lo ra’a ey-paam et elohim.
any, boy neg saw ever acc. God
No boy has ever seen God.

d. *lo kol yeled ra’a ey-paam et elohim.
neg all boy saw ever acc. God
Not every child ever saw God.

7.5.6 Boolean Compounds

Boolean compounds of D-quantifiers were described in Section 7.2.6. Examples of compounds of A-quantifiers are in (136).

(136) a. nahagti la-avoda le-faxot paamayim aval lo yoter mi-Ses
drove.1sg to.the-work to-less twice but neg more from-six
times
I drove to work at least twice but no more than six times.

b. dani hicbia ba-bxirot la-rov aval lo tamid
Dani voted.ms in.the-elections to.the-majority but neg always
to.the-left
Dani usually but not always voted for the left in the elections.

7.5.7 Exceptives

Some exceptives were described in Section 7.3 above. As described there, they involve the form xuc mi- or milvad. The examples in (137) show that there is no reason to assume these expressions to form a constituent with the determiner.

(137) a. xuc mi-dani bau Slosim anaSim.
outside from-Dani came.pl thirty people
Except for Dani thirty people came.

b. bau milvad dani SloSim anaSim.
came.pl except Dani thirty people
Except for Dani thirty people came.
In more formal registers, Hebrew has another exceptive, *ela*, which is only licensed under negation.

(138) a. *(lo) raiti ela et yosi.
    neg saw.1s ela acc. yosi
    I saw nobody except Yosi.

b. *(lo) axalti ela gezer.
    neg ate.1s ela carrot
    I ate nothing but carrots.

*ela* cannot occur with a matrix subject NP.

(139) *ela yosi lo axal.
    ela yosi neg ate.3ms
    Intended: Nobody except Yosi ate.

(140) a. I saw but one man.
    b. *But one man arrived.

The lexemes *yeter* and *S’ar*, both meaning ‘rest of’ or ‘rest’, exhibit a problem similar to the one discussed for *rov* ‘most’ in Section 7.4. As with *rov*, these lexemes have clear uses as nouns (141-c), as well as uses that seem more determiner-like (141-a,b). When they occur as determiners, they do not trigger agreement on the main predicate, unlike construct state nouns.

(141) a. yeter / S’ar ha-studentim nixSelu.
    rest.of the-student.mpl failed.3mpl
    The rest of the students failed.

    Dani passed.3mpl all rest the-student.mpl failed.3mpl
    Dani passed. All the rest of the students failed.

    Dani passed.3mpl all the-rest failed.3mpl
    Dani passed. All the rest failed.

d. kax exad ve-ten li et ha-[yeter / S’ar].
    take.IMP.2ms one and-give.IMP.2ms acc. the-rest
    Take one and give me the rest.

7.5.8 Only

The expressions for ‘only’ is *rak* and the higher register *bilvad*. *bilvad* is, historically, morphologically complex. It is related to the exceptive *milvad*. Both seem to be derived from the adjective *levad* ‘alone’ and a preposition, *be-* ‘in’ and *mi-* ‘from’ respectively, tough we do not know their actual etymology. Synchronically, both are simple forms.
(142)  a. rak Dani ba.
    only Dani came/ms
    Only Dani came.

    b. dani bilvad ba.
    dani only came/ms
    Only Dani came.

    c. rak studentim kiblu hanaxa.
    only students got.3pl reduction
    Only students got a reduction.

    d. studentim bilvad kiblu hanaxa.
    students only got.3pl reduction
    Only students got a reduction.

(143)  a. axalti rak SloSa tapuxim.
    ate.1s only three.m apple.mpl
    I ate only three apples.

    b. axalti SloSa tapuxim bilvad.
    ate.1s three.m apple.mpl only
    I ate only three apples.

7.5.9 Partitives

Hebrew has syntactically complex partitive quantifiers. Proportional partitives were described in Section 7.4. The determiner in a partitive may also be cardinal, interrogative, or negative.

(144)  a. Snayim me-ha-studentim
    two from-the-student.mpl
    Two of the students

    b. harbe me-ha-studentim
    many from-the-student.mpl
    Many of the students

    c. eyze me-ha-studentim?
    which from-the-student.mpl?
    Which of the students?

    d. af exad me-ha-studentim
    n1 one from-the-student.mpl
    None of the students

    e. xaci me-ha-studentim
    half from-the-student.mpl
    Half of the students
The universal determiner *kol* cannot on its own occur in a partitive structure, but it can do so as part of the complex *kol exad* ‘every one’. The resulting quantifier is distributive. (Other distributive readings induced by *kol exad* are described in Section 7.5.14).

(145)  

\[
\text{kol exad me-ha-studentim}  \\
\text{all one from-the-student.mpl}  \\
\text{Each one of the students}
\]

It is possible that Hebrew has morphologically simple partitives, namely *rov* ‘most’ and *marbit* ‘most’, described in Section 7.4, and *yeter* ‘rest’ and *S’ar* ‘rest’, in Section 7.5.7. However, as discussed, this depends on whether these lexemes are to be analyzed as determiners or as construct state nouns.

### 7.5.10 Quantifiers Functioning as Predicates

Only cardinal determiners can be predicative.

(146)  

\[
a. \text{ha-studentim hayu rabim.}  \\
\text{the-students be.3pl many.pl}  \\
\text{The students were numerous.}
\]

\[
b. \text{anaxnu SloSa.}  \\
\text{we three.m}  \\
\text{We are three.}
\]

\[
c. \text{*anaxnu kol / rov.}  \\
\text{we all / most}  \\
\text{*We are all / most.}
\]

However, quantifiers formed from universal and proportional determiners can also be used predicatively.

(147)  

\[
a. \text{anaxnu kol ha-kvuca.}  \\
\text{we all the-team}  \\
\text{We are the entire team.}
\]

\[
b. \text{ele rov ha-klafim.}  \\
\text{these most the-cards}  \\
\text{These are most of the cards.}
\]

\[
c. \text{ha-yladim Seli hem Sney SliS me-ha-kita.}  \\
\text{the-children of.1s be.pl two.cs third from-the-class}  \\
\text{My children are two thirds of the class.}
\]

### 7.5.11 Determiners Functioning as NPs

Universal and proportional determiners cannot function as NPs.
For the determiners *kol* and *rov* to function as NPs they must occur in the construct state with inflection marking the person, gender and number of the noun that denotes their domain.

(149) ha-anivot hayu yekarot az kaniti et ruban / the-ties were.pl expensive.pl so bought.1s acc. most.cs.3fpl / kulan. all.cs.3fpl
The ties were expensive so I bought most / all of them.

### 7.5.12 Distribution

Quantified NPs can occur in all grammatical functions.

(150) a. SloSa anaSim ba’u.
three.m people came
Three people came.

b. raiti SloSa anaSim.
saw.1s three.m people
I saw three people.

c. aniti al kol Se’ela.
answered.1s on all question
I answered every question.

d. natati SloSa sfarim le-kol yeled.
gave.1s three.m book.mpl to-all child
I gave three books to every child.

e. rov ha-mafginim ne’ecru.
majority.cs the-demonstrator.mpl were.arrested.3pl
Most demonstrators were arrested.

f. Sney ha-horim Sel kol mafgin ne’ecru.
two.cs the-parents of every demonstrator were.arrested.3pl
Every demonstrator’s two parents were arrested.

As in English, overtly negated NPs are better in subject position than in other positions.

(151) a. lo kol student ana al kol se’ela.
neg all student answered on every question
Not every student answered every question.
b. *kol student ana al lo kol Se’ela.  
   every student answered.3sm on neg all question  
*Every student answered not every question.

c. *natati le-lo kol student sefer.  
gave.1s to-neg every student book  
*I gave not every student a book.

d. ??kol yeled lo axal af tapuax.  
   all boy neg ate.3sm any.3sm apple  
??Every boy ate no apple.

e. af yeled lo axal kol tapuax.  
   any.3sm boy neg ate.3sm every apple  
No boy ate every apple.

7.5.13 Scope Ambiguities

When a predicate has two or more quantified NP arguments, scope ambiguities arise. (152) has both a subject wide scope (SWS) and an object wide scope (OWS) reading, though OWS seems to us preferred.

(152) orexet axat kar’a kol tyuta.  
editor one.f read.3fs all draft  
One editor read every draft.

When the co-intersective determiner kol has a definite plural complement, the SWS reading is very strongly preferred.

(153) orexet axat kar’a et kol ha-tyutot.  
editor one.f read.3sf acc. all the-drafts  
One editor read all the drafts.

In (154), the collective reading and SWS readings are prominent. OWS is harder to get.

(154) SaloS morot badku mea bxinot.  
three.f teachers.f check.3pl hundred exams  
Three teachers graded a hundred exams.

In (156), the SWS reading is most prominent.

(155) harbe morot badku mea / et kol ha- bxinot.  
many teachers.f checked.3plf hundred / acc. all the-exams  
Many teachers read a hundred / all the exams.

The expression kol exad/axat forces distributive readings.

(156) harbe morot badku kol axat mea / et kol ha- bxinot.  
many teachers.f checked.3fpl all one.f hundred / acc. all the-exams  
Many teachers each read a hundred / all the exams.
For cardinals, including modified numerals, in object position, narrow scope is strongly preferred, though a wide scope reading is also possible for some speakers. The OWS reading is readily available if the object NP is stressed.

(157) a. kol student kara le-faxot maxaze exad Sel levin.  
   all student read.3ms to-less play one of Levin  
   Every student read at least one play by Levin.

b. kol student kara SloSa maxazot Sel levin.  
   all student read.3ms three.m play of Levin  
   Every student read three plays by Levin.

The following examples show the scope possibilities in wh- questions.

(158) a. eyze student ana al haxi harbe Se’elot? (SWS)  
   which student answered.3ms on most many question.fpl?  
   Which student answered the most questions?

b. eyze student ana al kol ha-Se’elot? (SWS)  
   which student answered.3ms on all the-question.fpl?  
   Which student answered all the questions?

c. eyze student ana al kol Se’ela? (SWS/OWS)  
   which student answered.3ms on all question?  
   Which student answered every question?

(159) a. al eyze Se’ela ana kol student? (SWS/OWS)  
   on which question answered.3ms every student  
   Which question did every student answer?

b. al eyze Se’elot ana kol student? (SWS/OWS)  
   on which questions answered.3ms every student  
   Which questions did every student answer?

(160) a. al eyze Se’ela anu kol ha-studentim? (SWS/OWS)  
   on which question answered.3pl all the-student.mpl?  
   Which question did all the students answer?

b. al eyze Se’ela kol ha-studentim anu? (SWS)  
   on which question all the-student.mpl answered.3pl?  
   Which question did all the students answer?

c. al eyze Se’elot anu kol ha-studentim? (SWS)  
   on which questions answered.3pl all the-student.mpl?  
   Which questions did all the students answer?

d. al eyze Se’elot kol ha-studentim anu? (SWS)  
   on which questions all the-student.mpl answered.3pl?  
   Which questions did all the students answer?
Self-Embedding QNPs

As discussed in Section 7.5.1 above, in self-embedding QNPs such as quantified possessives, the possessor NP tends to take scope over the possessed NP. However, if the embedded NP consists of *kol ‘each’ followed by a singular noun, it scopes over the whole QNP.

(161) Sney xaverim Sel kol sar
    two.cs friends of each minister
    Two friends of each minister
    *TWO $X$: $X$ IS A FRIEND OF EACH MINISTER
    FOR EVERY MINISTER $X$: TWO FRIENDS OF $X$.

In (162), with a relational noun, narrow scope for the possessor is strongly preferred, though (163) shows that given enough context, wide scope is also possible when the determiner is stressed.

(162) ima Sel kol ha-sarim
    mother of all the-ministers
    All the ministers’ mother
    THE $X$: $X$ IS THE MOTHER OF ALL THE MINISTERS
    FOR EVERY MINISTER $X$, $X$’S MOTHER.

(163) A: ima Sel sar ha-bri’ut gara be-xul.
    mother of minister.cs the-health lives.sf in-abroad
    The health minister’s mother lives abroad.

    B: ima Sel KOL ha-sarim gara be-xul.
    mother of all the-monisters lives.sf in-abroad
    ALL ministers’ mothers live abroad.
    FOR EVERY MINISTER $X$: $X$’S MOTHER LIVES ABROAD.

As mentioned in Section 7.5.1, there are restrictions on the cooccurrence of QNPs in possessives which have to do with negation. When the possessed NP is an *n-word, it can cooccur naturally with a referential possessor NP, as in (164-a). It can also cooccur naturally with another *n-word in the possessor, as in (164-b). However, it cannot cooccur with a QNP, as the examples in (164-c,d) show. (164-d) is marginally possible if the possessor NP receives narrow scope, but as mentioned earlier, narrow scope for *kol + singular NP, interpreted as ‘each’, is difficult to get.

(164) a. af xaver Sel dani lo ba.
    any.c friend of Dani neg came.3ms
    None of Dani’s friends came.

    b. af xaver Sel af yeled lo ba.
    any.c friend of any.c boy neg came.3ms
    None of any boy’s friends came.
c. *af xaver Sel harbe yladim lo ba.  
any friend of many boys neg came.3ms  
None of many boys’ friends came.

d. *af xaver Sel kol yeled lo ba.  
neg friend of every child neg came.3ms  
Intended: Every boy is such that none of his friends came.  
Marginally possible: NO X SUCH THAT X IS A FRIEND OF EACH BOY CAME.

Similarly, the possessor NP cannot be an n-word unless the possessed NP is also an n-word (as in (164-b)).

(165) a. ??kol xaver Sel af yeled lo ba.  
all friend of any boy neg came.3ms  
Intended: No boy is such that every friend of his came.

b. ??rov ha- / harbe / SloSa xaverim Sel af yeled lo bau.  
majority.cs the- / many / three.m friends of any boy came  
Intended: No boy is such that most / many / three of his friends came.

In short, the generalization seems to us to be that within a possessive NP, an n-word cannot, or cannot easily, cooccur with a QNP.

Ambiguity Between Nominal and Verbal Quantifiers

Many verbal and nominal quantifiers can scope freely.

(166) a. Sney yeladim Saru kol paam.  
Two boy.mpl sang.3pl every time  
Two children sang every time.  
FOR TWO CHILDREN X: X SANG EVERY TIME  
FOR EVERY TIME t, TWO CHILDREN SANG AT t

b. kol ha-yladim Saru paamayim.  
all the-boy.mpl sang.3pl time.dual  
All the children sang twice.  
FOR ALL CHILDREN X: X SANG TWICE  
FOR TWO TIMES t, ALL CHILDREN SANG AT t

When the nominal quantifier is kol followed by a singular noun, i.e. on its interpretation as ‘each’, it preferably has wide scope.

(167) kol yeled Sar paamayim.  
each boy sang.3ms time.dual  
Each child sang twice.  
FOR EACH CHILD X: X SANG TWICE  
??FOR TWO TIMES t, ALL CHILDREN SANG AT t
Scope in Existentials

In an existential, the pivot NP tends to scope below any QNP in the coda (Kuno 1971, Francez 2007, 2009)

(168) yeS Sney kursim kol yom.  
EX two.cs course mpl all day  
There are two classes every day  
FOR EVERY DAY d, THERE ARE TWO CLASSES ON d  
FOR TWO CLASSES c, c TAKES PLACE EVERY DAY.

7.5.14 Distributivity

The expression kol exad/axat mentioned in Section 7.5.9 can occur following a verb to yield a distributive reading of the subject.

(169) a. ha-xayalim hexziku kol exad Stey xanitot.  
the-soldier mpl held.3pl all one two.cs spears.  
The soldiers held two spears each.  

b. SloSa xayalim hexziku kol exad Stey xanitot.  
three soldier mpl held.3pl all one two.cs spears.  
Three soldiers held two spears each.

Another form of distributivity can be achieved by reduplication, either of a numeral or of a common noun. In (170), not only is one of the arguments distributed, but there is an (uncancellable) implication that the different events involved happen in temporal sequence. This implication is not present with stative predicates, as shown in (171). For example, in (171-b), there is no requirement that the songs became great in sequence. Reduplication with stative predicates is only possible with the numeral one.

(170) a. ha-yladim nixnesu exad exad / Snayim Snayim la-kita.  
the-children entered.3pl one one / two two to.the-class  
The children entered the class one by one / two by two.  

b. ha-rofa badka et ha-yldaim exad exad / Snayim  
the-doctor examined.3fs acc the-children one one / two  
Snayim / yeled yeled  
two / boy boy  
The doctor examined the children one (boy) at a time / two at a time.  

c. ha-xayot nixnesu la-teva zugot zugot.  
the-animals entered.3pl the-arc couples couples  
The animals entered the arc one pair at a time.
(171)  a. ha-mexoniyot hayu dfukot axat axat.
      the-cars were.pl crappy one one
      The cars were all crappy.

     b. ha-Sirim Sela me’ulim exad exad.
      the-songs of.3fs good.pl one one
      Her songs are all great.

7.5.15 Count and Mass

The determiner kol cannot combine with mass nouns and can combine with a bare count noun only when the noun is singular (except for the NPI used of kol mentioned in Section 7.3).

(172)  a. kol yeled
      all child
      Every child

     b. *kol yeladim
      all children
      *Every children

     c. *kol sukar
      every sugar
      *Every sugar

Numerals can combine with plural count nouns but not mass nouns.

(173)  a. Sney yladim
        two.cs children
        Two children

     b. *Sney sukar
        two.cs sugar
        Two sugar (Possible only on conventional reading, e.g. two spoonfuls.)

The determiners in (174) can combine with both plural count nouns and mass nouns.

(174)  a. kama? ‘how many’?

     b. harbe ‘many/much’

     c. me’at ‘few/little’

In more formal varieties, the adverbial kcat ‘a little’ combines with mass but not count nouns. However, in spoken varieties this restriction is not maintained. Thus, examples like (175) would be considered ungrammatical by prescriptivist grammarians, but are abundant in informal spoken and written registers. (176) shows kcat in its adverbial use.
(175) ba’u rak kcat anaSim.  
came.3pl only a.little people  
Only a few people came.

(176) ani kcat ayefa.  
I a.little tired.f 
I am a little tired.

7.5.16 The Indexing Function of Universal Quantifiers

The domain of the universal quantifier kol (or kol+numeral, (177-c)) can be used as an index set for the enumeration of another set. No other quantifier is possible in this kind of construction.

(177) a. yoter (ve-yoter) anaSim konim subaru kol Sana. 
more (and-more) people buy.pl Subaru every year. 
More (and more) people buy Subarus each year.

b. al kol ben adam Se-met noldaim xamiSa. 
on every son.cs human that-die.sm born.mpl five.m 
For every death there are five births.

c. al kol SloSa anaSim Se-metim nolad exad. 
on every three.m people that-die.pl born.ms one 
For every three deaths there is one birth.

An effect similar to that of (177-a) can be achieved by adverbials, as in the following examples.

(178) a. yoter anaSim konim subaru ba-Sanim ha-axronot. 
more people buy.3pl Subaru in.the-years the-last.pl 
More people buy Subarus in recent years.

b. mi-Sana le-Sana yoter anaSim konim subaru. 
from-year to-year more people buy.3pl Subaru 
From year to year, more people buy Subarus.

c. ke-xol Se-nos’im daroma yeS paxot ecim. 
as-all that-go.pl south EX less tree.mpl 
There are less and less trees as you go south.

Rate Phrases

(179) a. ha-rakevet nosaat arba-meot kilometer le-Saa. 
the-train travels.3fs four-hundreds kilometer to-hour 
The train goes 400 km/hr.
b. ani rac esrim kilometer be-/le-yom.
I run.sm twenty kilometer in-/to-day
I run 20 km a day.

c. Dan roxec panim SaloS peamim be-yom / kol yom.
Dan wash.sm face three.f times in-day / all day
Dan washes his face three times a day / every day.

7.5.17 Type (2) Quantifiers

(180) a. eze studentim anu al eze Se’elot?
which student.mpl answered.3pl on which question.fpl?
Which students asked which questions?

b. kol ha-studentim anu al otan Se’elot.
all the-student.mpl answered.3pl on same.f question.fpl
All the students answered the same questions.

c. kol student ana al Se’ela axeret.
all student answered.3ms on question other.f
Each student answered a different question.

(181-a) says that not all students answered the same questions. It does not require that no two students answer the same question. Similarly, (181-b) says only that the judges were not all in agreement about the conclusions.

(181) a. studentim Sonim anu al Se’elot Sonot.
student.mpl different.plm answered.3pl on question.fpl different.plf
Different students answered different questions.

b. Softim Sonim hesiku maskanot Sonot judge.mpl different.plm drew.3pl conclusion.fpl different.f from-same.m argument
Different judges drew different conclusions from the same argument.

(182) a. dani ve-rut xayim be-xadarim nifradim (be-oto bayit).
Dani and Rut live.pl in-room.mpl separate.pl (in-same.m house)
Dani and Rut live in separate rooms (in the same house).

b. kol ha-miStatfim lavSu anivot be-oto ceva.
all the-participants wore.3pl ties in-same.m color
All the participants wore the same color ties.

c. dan rakad im rut aval af exad axer lo rakad
Dan danced.3ms with Rut but any.c one other.m neg danced.3sm
with any.c one
Dan danced with Rut but no one else danced with anyone else.
Hebrew does not have equivalents to the English sentences in (183).

(183)  
  a. Some cars are faster than others.  
  b. Some girls’ mothers are bigger than other girls’ mothers

To express these sentences in Hebrew, one of several possible periphrastic constructions is required. Possible translations of (183-a) are shown in (184), and of (183-b) in (185).

(184)  
  a. lo kol ha-mexoniyot mehirot be-ota mida.  
     neg all the-car.fpl fast.pl in-same.f measure  
     Not all cars are fast to the same degree.  
  b. yeS mexoniyot yoter mehirot ve-paxot mehirot.  
     EX car.fpl more fast.fpl and-less fast.fpl  
     There are faster and slower cars.

(185)  
  lo le-kol ha-banot yeS ima be-oto godel.  
     not to-all the-girls EX mother in-same.m size  
     Not all girls have the same size mother.

7.5.18 Type \(\langle 1, 1 \rangle, 1 \) Quantifiers

Comparative D-Quantifiers

Comparative D-quantifiers in Hebrew have the same distribution as other QNPs, with the exception of possessive NPs.

(186)  
  a. yoter / paxot banim mi-banot bau.  
     more / less boy.mpl from-girl.fpl came.3pl  
     More/ less boys than girls came.  
  b. axalti yoter tapuxim mi-bananot.  
     ate.1s more apple.mpl from-banana.fpl  
     I ate more apples than bananas.  
  c. dibarti im yoter / paxot banim mi-banot  
     talked.1s with more / less boy.mpl from girl.fpl  
     I talked to more / less boys than girls.  
  d. ani maxSiv yoter banim mi-banot le-xaverim Seli.  
     I consider more boy.mpl from-girl.fpl to-friends of.1s  
     I consider more boys than girls friends.

In a possessive NP, comparatives are somewhat marginal.

(187)  
  a. ? ha-kelev Sel yoter banim mi-banot barax.  
     the-dog of more boys from-girls escaped  
     More boys’ than girls’ dog escaped.
b. ??ha-yladim Sel yoter amerikaim mi-germanim miStamSim the-child.mpl of more Americans from-Germans use.pl be-samim. in-drug.mpl The children of more Americans than Germans take drugs.

To express the meaning of the English determiner as many . . . as Hebrew employs a locution meaning literally ‘the same number as’.

(188) a. yeS le-faxot oto mispar Sel banim ve-banot ba-kita. EX to-less same.m number of boy.mpl and-girl.fpl in.the-class There are at least as many boys as girls in the class.

b. yeS le-faxot oto mispar Sel banim ba-kita kmo Sel banot. EX to-less same.m number of boys in.the-class as of girls There are at least as many boys as girls in the class.

c. yeS bidyuk oto mispar Sel toSavim po kmo be-italya EX exactly same.m number of resident.mpl here as in-Italy There is exactly the same number of residents here as in Italy.

References


